History of the Christian Church Vol VIII Modern Christianity The Swiss Reformation

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Title: History of the Christian Church, Volume VIII: Modern

Christianity. The Swiss Reformation.

Creator(s): Schaff, Philip (1819-1893)

Print Basis: Third edition, revised

CCEL Subjects: All; History; Proofed;

LC Call no: BR145.S3

LC Subjects:

Christianity

History

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

This volume constitutes the second part of

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

by Philip Schaff

It is included as Volume VIII in the 8-volume

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Volume VII in this series, on the German

Reformation, constitutes the first part of

this 2-volume unit on he The History of the

Reformation

HISTORY

of the

CHRISTIAN CHURCH [1]

by

PHILIP SCHAFF

professor of church history in the union theological seminary

new york

Christianus sum: Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

VOLUME VIII.

MODERN CHRISTIANITY

THE SWISS REFORMATION

This is a reproduction of the Third Edition, Revised

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1] Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church, (Oak Harbor, WA:

Logos Research Systems, Inc.) 1997. This material has been carefully

compared, corrected� and emended (according to the 1910 edition of

Charles Scribner's Sons) by The Electronic Bible Society, Dallas, TX,

1998.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

PREFACE.

This volume concludes the history of the productive period of the

Reformation, in which Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were the chief

actors. It follows the Protestant movement in German, Italian, and

French Switzerland, to the close of the sixteenth century.

During the last year, the sixth-centenary of the oldest surviving

Republic was celebrated with great patriotic enthusiasm. On the first

day of August, in the year 1291, the freemen of Uri, Schwyz, and

Unterwalden formed, in the name of the Lord "a perpetual alliance for

the mutual protection of their persons, property, and liberty, against

internal and external foes. On the same day, in 1891, the great event

was commemorated in every village of Switzerland by the ringing of

bells and the illumination of the mountains, while on the following

day--a Sunday--thanksgiving services were held in every church,

Catholic and Protestant. The chief festivities took place, from July 31

to Aug. 2, in the towns of Schwyz and Brunnen, and were attended by the

Federal and Cantonal dignitaries, civil and military, and a vast

assembly of spectators. The most interesting feature was a dramatic

representation of the leading events in Swiss history--the sacred oaths

of Schwyz, Brunnen, and Gr�tli, the poetic legend of William Tell, the

heroic battles for liberty and independence against Austria, Burgundy,

and France, the venerable figure of Nicolas von der Flue appearing as a

peacemaker in the Diet at Stans, and the chief scenes of the

Reformation, the Revolution, and the modern reconstruction. The drama,

enacted in the open field in view of mountains and meadows and the lake

of Luzern, is said to have equalled in interest and skill of execution

the famous Passion Play of Oberammergau. Similar celebrations took

place, not only in every city and village of Switzerland, but also in

the Swiss colonies in foreign lands, notably in New York, on the 5th,

6th, and 7th of September. [2]

Between Switzerland and the United States there has always been a

natural sympathy and friendship. Both aim to realize the idea of a

government of freedom without license, and of authority without

despotism; a government of law and order without a standing army; a

government of the people, by the people, and for the people, under the

sole headship of Almighty God.

At the time of the Reformation, Switzerland numbered as many Cantons

(13) as our country originally numbered States, and the Swiss Diet was

then a loose confederation representing only the Cantons and not the

people, just as was our Continental Congress. But by the revision of

the Constitution in 1848 and 1874, the Swiss Republic, following the

example of our Constitution, was consolidated from a loose,

aristocratic Confederacy of independent Cantons into a centralized

federal State, [3] with a popular as well as a cantonal representation.

In one respect the modern Swiss Constitution is even more democratic

than that of the United States; for, by the Initiative and the

Referendum, it gives to the people the right of proposing or rejecting

national legislation.

But there is a still stronger bond of union between the two countries

than that which rests on the affinity of political institutions.

Zwingli and Calvin directed and determined the westward movement of the

Reformation to France, Holland, England, and Scotland, and exerted,

indirectly, a moulding influence upon the leading Evangelical Churches

of America. George Bancroft, the American historian, who himself was

not a Calvinist, derives the republican institutions of the United

States from Calvinism through the medium of English Puritanism. A more

recent writer, Douglas Campbell, of Scotch descent, derives them from

Holland, which was still more under the influence of the Geneva

Reformer than England. Calvinism breeds manly, independent, and earnest

characters who fear God and nothing else, and favors political and

religious freedom. The earliest and most influential settlers of the

United States--the Puritans of England, the Presbyterians of Scotland

and Ireland, the Huguenots of France, the Reformed from Holland and the

Palatinate,--were Calvinists, and brought with them the Bible and the

Reformed Confessions of Faith. Calvinism was the ruling theology of New

England during the whole Colonial Period, and it still rules in great

measure the theology of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist

Churches.

In the study of the sources I have derived much benefit from the

libraries of Switzerland, especially the Stadtbibliothek of Z�rich,

which contains the invaluable Simler collection and every important

work relating to the Reformation in Switzerland. I take great pleasure

in expressing my obligation to Dr. G. von Wyss, president, and Dr.

Escher, librarian, for their courtesy and kindness on repeated visits

to that library.

The sources on the Reformation in French Switzerland are now made fully

accessible by the new critical edition of Calvin's works, by

Herminjard's collection of the correspondence of the French-speaking

Reformers (not yet completed), and by the publications of the

documentary history of Geneva during the period of Calvin's labors,

including the registers of the Council and of the Consistory.

I have freely quoted from Calvin's works and letters, which give us the

best insight into his mind and heart. I have consulted also his chief

biographers,--French, German, and English: his enthusiastic

admirers,--Beza, Henry, St�helin, Bungener, and Merle D'Aubign�; his

virulent detractors--Bolsec, Galiffe, and Audin; and his impartial

critics,--Dyer, and Kampschulte. Dr. Henry's work (1844) was the first

adequate biography of the great Reformer, and is still unsurpassed as a

rich collection of authentic materials, although not well arranged and

digested. [4] Dr. Merle D'Aubign�'s "History of the Reformation" comes

down only to 1542. Thomas H. Dyer, LL. D, the author of the "History,

of Modern Europe," from the fall of Constantinople to 1871, and other

historical works, has written the first able and readable "Life of

Calvin" in the English language, which is drawn chiefly from Calvin's

correspondence, from Ruchat, Henry, and, in the Servetus chapter, from

Mosheim and Trechsel, and is, on the whole, accurate and fair, but cold

and unsympathetic. The admirable work of Professor Kampschulte is based

on a thorough mastery of the sources, but it is unfortunately

incomplete, and goes only as far as 1542. The materials for a second

and third volume were placed after his death (December, 1872) into the

hands of Professor Cornelius of Munich, who, however, has so far only

written a few sections. His admiration for Calvin's genius and pure

character (see p. 205) presents an interesting parallel to D�llinger's

eloquent tribute to Luther (quoted in vol. VI. 741), and is all the

more valuable as he dissented from Calvin's theology and church polity;

for he was an Old Catholic and intimate friend of Reusch and D�llinger.

[5]

The sole aim of the historian ought to be the truth, the whole truth,

and nothing but the truth.

I have dedicated this volume to my countrymen and oldest surviving

friends in Switzerland, Dr. Georg von Wyss of Z�rich and Dr. Fr�deric

Godet of Neuch�tel. The one represents German, the other French

Switzerland. Both are well known; the one for his historical, the other

for his exegetical works. They have followed the preparation of this

book with sympathetic interest, and done me the favor of revising the

proof-sheets. [6]

I feel much encouraged by the kind reception of my Church History at

home and abroad. The first three volumes have been freely translated

into Chinese by the Rev. D. Z. Sheffield (a missionary of the American

Board), and into Hindostani by the Rev. Robert Stewart (of the

Presbyterian Mission of Sialkot).

I have made considerable progress in the fifth volume, which will

complete the history of the Middle Ages. It was delayed till I could

make another visit to Rome and Florence, and study more fully the

Renaissance, which preceded the Reformation. Two or three more volumes

will be necessary to bring the history down to the present time,

according to the original plan. But how many works remain unfinished in

this world! Ars longa, vita brevis.

June, 1892.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[2] The celebration has elicited some valuable contributions to the

authentic history of Switzerland, which may be added to the literature

on p. 3. I mention Dr. W. Oechsli: Die Anf�nge der schweizerischen

Eidgenossenschaft. Z�rich, 1891.--Jos. Ig. von Ah: Die Bundesbriefe der

alten Eidgenossen von 1201 bis 1513. Einsiedeln, 1891--Pierre Vaucher:

Les Commencements de la Conf�d�ration suisse. Lausanne, 1891.--Prof.

Georg von Wyss: Rede bei der Bundesfeier der Eidgen�ssischen polytechn.

Schule, und der Hochschule Z�rich am 25 Juli 1891. Z�rich,

1891.--Denkschrift der historischen u. antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu

Basel. Zur Erinnerung an den Bund der Eidgenossen vom 1. Aug. 1291.

Basel, 1891.--The second volume of Dierauer's Geschichte der

Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft appeared at Gotha, 1892, but goes

only to the year 1516, when the history of the Reformation began.

[3] Bundesstaat, as distinct from a Staatenbund.

[4] The first and second volumes of Dr. Henry's larger biography are

sometimes quoted from the English translation of Dr. Stebbing; but the

third volume always from the original, as Dr. Stebbing omits the

appendices and nearly all the original documents.

[5] Professor Reusch of Bonn kindly informed me by letter (Sept. 8,

1891) that Kampschulte first studied for the priesthood and was an

orthodox and pious Catholic, but opposed the Vatican decree of papal

infallibility in 1870, and may therefore be considered as having been

virtually excommunicated. He administered to him the last sacrament

(which the ultramontane priest was prohibited from doing by the

Archbishop of Cologne). The first volume of Kampschulte's work was

fully and favorably reviewed in Reusch's Literatur-blatt for 1869, No.

662, by Dr. Hefele of T�bingen, shortly before he became bishop of

Rottenburg. Hefele, as a member of the Vatican council, was one of the

most learned opponents of papal infallibility, but afterwards submitted

for the sake of peace. A biographical notice of Kampschulte by

Cornelius is to be found in the fifteenth volume of the Allgemeine

Deutsche Biographie.

[6] I take the liberty of quoting a few passages from recent letters of

these Swiss scholars which will interest the reader. Dr. von Wyss

writes: "Ihr Vaterland in Amerika und die englische Sprache geben dem

Werke ein Gepr�ge, welches dasselbe von deutschen �hnlichen Schriften

eindr�cklich unterscheidet--es liegt ein so unmittelbares Auffassen und

Erfassen der Hauptsache, auf die es ank�mmt, ein so bestimmtes Losgehen

auf das Leben, das Praktische, darin--dass mich dieser

charakteristische Zug Ihrer gewaltigen Arbeit ungemein anzieht. Wie

verschieden sind doch die Anlagen und die Bed�rfnisse der V�lker! Wer

wollte deutsches, franz�sisches, englisches, amerikanisches Blut und

Wesen (ich nenne sie nach der historischen Reihenfolge)

zusammenschmelzen k�nnen! �berall ein eigenth�mlicher Zug! Jeder

werthvoll und lieb, wenn er nicht �bertrieben wird! Wer soll die

Einheit bilden? Dar�ber sind wir, mein hochverehrter Freund (ich bin

gl�cklich, so sagen zu d�rfen), einig. Aber was wird es einst sein,

wenn wir diese Einigung in ihrer vollen Verwirklichung, �ber dieser

Erde, erblicken werden!"--"Ich lese die Probebogen allezeit mit dem

gr�ssten Vergn�gen. Die Klarheit, Bestimmtheit und Genauigkeit Ihrer

Darstellung (bis in's Einzelnste) und der Geist von dem sie getragen

ist, gew�hren mir die gr�sste Befriedigung.... Was Zwingli in seiner

Expositio Fidei an K�nig Franz I. �ber die Weit jenseits des Grabes

sagt, ist mir von allen seinen Aeusserungen stets das Liebste, und in

nichts f�hle ich mich ihm mehr verwandt als gerade darin,--sowie in der

Liebe, die ihn zu Bullinger zog."--Dr. Godet (Dec. 3, 1891): "Du

scheinst zu f�rchten, dass die Druckbogen mir eine Last seien. Im

Gegentheil, sie sind mir eine Freude und Belehrung gewesen. Ich habe

nie etwas so Befriedigendes �ber den Gegenstand gelesen. Calvin tritt

hervor mit seinem wahren Gesicht und in seiner hehren Gestalt. Ich

danke Dir herzlich f�r diese Mittheilung." The same, in a more recent

letter: ..."Qu'il nous soit donn��tous deux avant de quitter cette vie

de pouvoir terminer nos travaux commenc�s,--toi, ton Histoire ... moi,

mon Introduction au Nouveau Testament.... Le premier volume, les

�pitres de Paul, sera, j'esp�re, termin�et imprim�avec la fin de Pann�e

(1892) si ..." The venerable author is now in his eightieth year.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

POSTSCRIPT.

The above Preface was ready for the printer, and the book nearly

finished, when, on the 15th of July last, I was suddenly interrupted by

a stroke of paralysis at Lake Mohonk (where I spent the summer); but,

in the good providence of God, my health has been nearly restored. My

experience is recorded in the 103d Psalm of thanksgiving and praise.

I regret that I could not elaborate chs. XVII. and XVIII., especially

the influence of Calvin upon the Reformed Churches of Europe and

America (�� 162 and 163), as fully as I wished. My friend, the Rev.

Samuel Macauley Jackson, who happened to be with me when I was taken

sick, aided me in the last chapter, on Beza, for which he was well

prepared by previous studies. I had at first intended to add a history

of the French Reformation, but this would make the volume too large and

delay the publication. I have added, however, in an appendix, a list of

literature which I prepared some time ago in the Library of the Society

of the History of French Protestantism at Paris, and brought down to

date. Most of the books are in my possession.

I may congratulate myself that, notwithstanding this serious

interruption, I am enabled to publish the history of the Reformation of

my native land before the close of the fiftieth anniversary of my

academic teaching, which I began in December, 1842, in the University

of Berlin, when my beloved teacher, Neander, was in the prime of his

usefulness. A year afterwards, I received, at his and Tholuck's

recommendation, a call to a theological professorship from the Synod of

the German Reformed Church in the United States, and I have never

regretted accepting it. For it is a great privilege to labor, however

humbly, for the kingdom of Christ in America, which celebrates in this

month, with the whole civilized world, the fourth centennial of its

discovery.

Thankful for the past, I look hopefully to the future.

Philip Schaff.

Union Theological Seminary

New York, October 12, 1892.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition (of 1500 copies) being exhausted, I have examined the

volume and corrected a number of typographical errors, mostly in the

French words of the last chapters. There was no occasion for other

improvements.

P. S.

August 9, 1893.

----------------------

HISTORY

of

THE REFORMATION

SECOND BOOK.

THE SWISS REFORMATION.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 1. Switzerland before the Reformation.

Switzerland belongs to those countries whose historic significance

stands in inverse proportion to their size. God often elects small

things for great purposes. Palestine gave to the world the Christian

religion. From little Greece proceeded philosophy and art. Switzerland

is the cradle of the Reformed churches. The land of the snow-capped

Alps is the source of mighty rivers, and of the Reformed faith, as

Germany is the home of the Lutheran faith; and the principles of the

Swiss Reformation, like the waters of the Rhine and the Rhone,

travelled westward with the course of the sun to France, Holland,

England, Scotland, and to a new continent, which Zwingli and Calvin

knew only by name. Compared with intellectual and moral achievements,

the conquests of the sword dwindle into insignificance. Ideas rule the

world; ideas are immortal.

Before the sixteenth century, Switzerland exerted no influence in the

affairs of Europe except by the bravery of its inhabitants in

self-defence of their liberty and in foreign wars. But in the sixteenth

century she stands next to Germany in that great religious renovation

which has affected all modern history. [7]

The Republic of Switzerland, which has maintained itself in the midst

of monarchies down to this day, was founded by "the eternal covenant"

of the three "forest cantons," Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, August 1,

1291, and grew from time to time by conquest, purchase, and free

association. Lucerne (the fourth forest canton) joined the confederacy

in 1332, Zurich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, Berne in 1353,

Freiburg and Solothurn (Soleur) in 1481, Basle and Schaffhausen in

1501, Appenzell in 1513,--making in all thirteen cantons at the time of

the Reformation. With them were connected by purchase, or conquest, or

free consent, as common territories or free bailiwicks, [8] the

adjoining lands of Aargau, Thurgau, Wallis, Geneva, Graub�ndten

(Grisons, Rh�tia), the princedom of Neuchatel and Valangin, and several

cities (Biel, M�hlhausen, Rotweil, Locarno, etc.). Since 1798 the

number of cantons has increased to twenty-two, with a population of

nearly three millions (in 1890). The Republic of the United States

started with thirteen States, and has grown likewise by purchase or

conquest and the organization and incorporation of new territories, but

more rapidly, and on a much larger scale.

The romantic story of William Tell, so charmingly told by Egidius

Tschudi, the Swiss Herodotus, [9] and by Johannes von M�ller, the Swiss

Tacitus, and embellished by the poetic genius of Friedrich Schiller,

must be abandoned to the realm of popular fiction, like the cognate

stories of Scandinavian and German mythology, but contains,

nevertheless, an abiding element of truth as setting forth the spirit

of those bold mountaineers who loved liberty and independence more than

their lives, and expelled the foreign invaders from their soil. The

glory of an individual belongs to the Swiss people. The sacred oath of

the men of Gr�tli on the Lake of Lucerne, at the foot of Seelisberg

(1306 or 1308?), and the more certain confederation of Dec. 9, 1315, at

Brunnen, were renewals of the previous covenant of 1291. [10]

The Swiss successfully vindicated their independence against the

attacks of the House of Habsburg in the memorable battles of Morgarten

("the Marathon of Switzerland" 1315), Sempach (1386), and N�fels

(1388), against King Louis XI. of France at St. Jacob near Basle (the

Thermopylae of Switzerland, 1444), and against Duke Charles the Bold of

Burgundy at Granson, Murten (Morat), and Nancy (1476 and 1477).

Nature and history made Switzerland a federative republic. This

republic was originally a loose, aristocratic confederacy of

independent cantons, ruled by a diet of one house where each canton had

the same number of deputies and votes, so that a majority of the Diet

could defeat a majority of the people. This state of things continued

till 1848, when (after the defeat of the Sonderbund of the Roman

Catholic cantons) the constitution was remodelled on democratic

principles, after the American example, and the legislative power

vested in two houses, one (the St�nderath or Senate) consisting of

forty-four deputies of the twenty-two sovereign cantons (as in the old

Diet), the other (the Nationalrath or House of Representatives)

representing the people in proportion to their number (one to every

twenty thousand souls); while the executive power was given to a

council of seven members (the Bundesrath) elected for three years by

both branches of the legislature. Thus the confederacy of cantons was

changed into a federal state, with a central government elected by the

people and acting directly on the people. [11]

This difference in the constitution of the central authority must be

kept in mind in order to understand why the Reformation triumphed in

the most populous cantons, and yet was defeated in the Diet. [12] The

small forest cantons had each as many votes as the much larger cantons

of Zurich and Berne, and kept out Protestantism from their borders till

the year 1848. The loose character of the German Diet and the absence

of centralization account in like manner for the victory of

Protestantism in Saxony, Hesse, and other states and imperial cities,

notwithstanding the hostile resolutions of the majority of the Diet,

which again and again demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms.

The Christianization of Switzerland began in the fourth or third

century under the Roman rule, and proceeded from France and Italy.

Geneva, on the border of France and Savoy, is the seat of the oldest

church and bishopric founded by two bishops of Vienne in Southern Gaul.

The bishopric of Coire, in the south-eastern extremity, appears first

in the acts of a Synod of Milan, 452. The northern and interior

sections were Christianized in the seventh century by Irish

missionaries, Columban and Gallus. The last founded the abbey of St.

Gall, which became a famous centre of civilization for Alamannia. The

first, and for a long time the only, university of Switzerland was that

of Basle (1460), where one of the three reformatory Councils was held

(1430). During the Middle Ages the whole country, like the rest of

Europe, was subject to the Roman see, and no religion was tolerated but

the Roman Catholic. It was divided into six episcopal

dioceses,--Geneva, Coire, Constance, Basle, Lausanne, and Sion

(Sitten). The Pope had several legates in Switzerland who acted as

political and military agents, and treated the little republic like a

great power. The most influential bishop, Schinner of Sion, who did

substantial service to the warlike Julius II. and Leo X., attained even

a cardinal's hat. Zwingli, who knew him well, might have acquired the

same dignity if he had followed his example.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[7] "The affairs of Switzerland," says Hallam (Middle Ages, II. 108,

Am. ed.), "occupy a very small space in the great chart of European

history; but in some respects they are more interesting than the

revolutions of mighty kingdoms. Nowhere besides do we find so many

titles to our sympathy, or the union of so much virtue with so complete

success.... Other nations displayed an insuperable resolution in the

defence of walled towns; but the steadiness of the Swiss in the field

of battle was without a parallel, unless we recall the memory of

Lacedaemon."

[8] They were called gemeine Herrschaften or Vogteien and zugewandte

Orte.

[9] Or the father of Swiss historiography, as he is also called. His

Chronicon Helveticum or Eidgen�ssische Chronik (1000-1470) was first

edited by Professor Iselin, Basle, 1734 and '36, in 2 vols. Aegidius

Tschudi of Glarus (1505-1572) derived the Tell legend from the Weisse

Buch of Sarnen, and Etterlin of Lucerne, and adorned it with his fancy,

and masterly power of narration. He was a pupil of Zwingli, but

remained in the old church. In a letter to Zwingli, February, 1517, he

says, "Non cum aliquo docto libentius esse velim, quam tecum." Zw.,

Opera, VII. 21. The MS. of his Chronik is preserved in the city library

of Z�rich. It is carefully described, with a facsimile in the

Neujahrsblatt of the Stadtbibliothek in Z�rich auf das Jahr 1889

(Z�rich, Orell F�ssli & Co.).

[10] On the origin of the Swiss Confederation and the Tell and Gr�tli

legends, see the critical researches of Kopp, Urkunden zur Geschichte

der eidgen�ssischen B�nde, Luzern, 1835, and Wien, 1851, 2 vols.

Hisely, Recherches critiques sur Guillaume Tell, Lausanne, 1843. Kopp,

Zur Tell-Sage, Luzern, 1854 and '56. Karl Hagen, Die Politik der Kaiser

Rudolf von Habsburg und Albrecht I. und die Entstehung der

schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, Bern, 1857. G. von Wyse, Die Gesch.

der drei Lander Uri, Schwyz und Unterwalden,1212-1315, Z�rich, 1858;

Z�rich am Ausgange des dreizehnten Jahrh., Z�rich, 1876. A. Rilliet,

Les origines de la conf�d�ration suisse, histoire et l�gende, 2d ed.,

Gen�ve, 1869. Dierauer, Gesch. der Schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft, Gotha,

1887, vol. I. 81-151.

[11] The Staatenbund became a Bundesstaat. The same difference exists

between the American Confederacy during the Revolutionary War and the

United States after the war, as also between the old German Bund and

the new German Empire.

[12] The numerical strength of Protestantism at the death of Zwingli

was probably not far from two-thirds of the population. The relation of

the two confessions has undergone no material change in Switzerland. In

1888 the Protestants numbered 1,724,257; the Roman Catholics,

1,190,008; the Jews, 8,386.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 2. The Swiss Reformation.

The Church in Switzerland was corrupt and as much in need of reform as

in Germany. The inhabitants of the old cantons around the Lake of

Lucerne were, and are to this day, among the most honest and pious

Catholics; but the clergy were ignorant, superstitious, and immoral,

and set a bad example to the laity. The convents were in a state of

decay, and could not furnish a single champion able to cope with the

Reformers in learning and moral influence. Celibacy made concubinage a

common and pardonable offence. The bishop of Constance (Hugo von

Hohenlandenberg) absolved guilty priests on the payment of a fine of

four guilders for every child born to them, and is said to have derived

from this source seventy-five hundred guilders in a single year (1522).

In a pastoral letter, shortly before the Reformation, he complained of

the immorality of many priests who openly kept concubines or bad women

in their houses, who refuse to dismiss them, or bring them back

secretly, who gamble, sit with laymen in taverns, drink to excess, and

utter blasphemies. [13]

The people were corrupted by the foreign military service (called

Reislaufen), which perpetuated the fame of the Swiss for bravery and

faithfulness, but at the expense of independence and good morals. [14]

Kings and popes vied with each other in tempting offers to secure Swiss

soldiers, who often fought against each other on foreign battle-fields,

and returned with rich pensions and dissolute habits. Zwingli knew this

evil from personal experience as chaplain in the Italian campaigns,

attacked it before he thought of reforming the Church, continued to

oppose it when called to Zurich, and found his death at the hands of a

foreign mercenary.

On the other hand, there were some hopeful signs of progress. The

reformatory Councils of Constance and Basle were not yet entirely

forgotten among the educated classes. The revival of letters stimulated

freedom of thought, and opened the eyes to abuses. The University of

Basle became a centre of literary activity and illuminating influences.

There Thomas Wyttenbach of Biel taught theology between 1505 and 1508,

and attacked indulgences, the mass, and the celibacy of the priesthood.

He, with seven other priests, married in 1524, and was deposed as

preacher, but not excommunicated. He combined several high offices, but

died in great poverty, 1526. Zwingli attended his lectures in 1505, and

learned much from him. In Basle, Erasmus, the great luminary of liberal

learning, spent several of the most active years of his life (1514-1516

and 1521-1529), and published, through the press of his friend

Frobenius, most of his books, including his editions of the Greek

Testament. In Basle several works of Luther were reprinted, to be

scattered through Switzerland. Capito, Hedio, Pellican, and

Oecolampadius likewise studied, taught, and preached in that city.

But the Reformation proceeded from Zurich, not from Basle, and was

guided by Zwingli, who combined the humanistic culture of Erasmus with

the ability of a popular preacher and the practical energy of an

ecclesiastical reformer.

The Swiss Reformation may be divided into three acts and periods, --

I. The Zwinglian Reformation in the German cantons from 1516 to

Zwingli's death and the peace of Cappel, 1531.

II. The Calvinistic Reformation in French Switzerland from 1531 to the

death of Calvin, 1564.

III. The labors of Bullinger in Zurich (d. 1575), and Beza in Geneva

(d. 1605) for the consolidation of the work of their older friends and

predecessors.

The Zwinglian movement was nearly simultaneous with the German

Reformation, and came to an agreement with it at Marburg in fourteen

out of fifteen articles of faith, the only serious difference being the

mode of Christ's presence in the eucharist. Although Zwingli died in

the Prime of life, he already set forth most of the characteristic

features of the Reformed Churches, at least in rough outline.

But Calvin is the great theologian, organizer, and discip-linarian of

the Reformed Church. He brought it nearer the Lutheran Church in the

doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but he widened the breach in the

doctrine of predestination.

Zwingli and Bullinger connect the Swiss Reformation with that of

Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia; Calvin and Beza, with that of France,

Holland, England, and Scotland.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[13] Schuler, Huldreich Zwingli, p. 196; M�rikofer, Ulrich Zwingli,

vol. I. 67. Zwingli was reported to have said, that of a thousand

priests and monks, scarcely one was chaste. Egli, Actensammlung, p. 62.

[14] Reislaufen means running to war (from Reis = Kriegszug, war). The

heroic devotion of Swiss soldiers in defence of foreign masters is

immortalized by the Thorwaldsen statue of the wounded lion in Luzern.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 3. The Genius of the Swiss Reformation compared with the German.

On the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed Confessions see

G�bel, Hundeshagen, Schnekenburger, Schweizer, etc., quoted in Schaff,

Creeds of Christendom, vol. I. 211.

Protestantism gives larger scope to individual and national freedom and

variety of development than Romanism, which demands uniformity in

doctrine, discipline, and worship. It has no visible centre or

headship, and consists of a number of separate and independent

organizations under the invisible headship of Christ. It is one flock,

but in many folds. Variety in unity and unity in variety are the law of

God in nature and history. Protestantism so far has fully developed

variety, but not yet realized unity.

The two original branches of evangelical Christendom are the Lutheran

and the Reformed Confessions. They are as much alike and as much

distinct as the Greek and the Roman branches of Catholicism, which rest

on the national bases of philosophical Greece and political Rome. They

are equally evangelical, and admit of an organic union, which has

actually been effected in Prussia and other parts of Germany since the

third anniversary of the Reformation in 1817. Their differences are

theological rather than religious; they affect the intellectual

conception, but not the heart and soul of piety. The only serious

doctrinal difference which divided Luther and Zwingli at Marburg was

the mode of the real presence in the eucharist; as the double

procession of the Holy Spirit was for centuries the only doctrinal

difference between the Greek and Roman Churches. But other differences

of government, discipline, worship, and practice developed themselves

in the course of time, and overshadowed the theological lines of

separation.

The Lutheran family embraces the churches which bear the name of Luther

and accept the Augsburg Confession; the Reformed family (using the term

Reformed in its historic and general sense) comprehends the churches

which trace their origin directly or indirectly to the labors of

Zwingli and Calvin. [15] In England the second or Puritan Reformation

gave birth to a number of. new denominations, which, after the

Toleration Act of 1689, were organized into distinct Churches. In the

eighteenth century arose the Wesleyan revival movement, which grew into

one of the largest and most active churches in the English-speaking

world.

Thus the Reformation of the sixteenth century is the mother or

grandmother of at least half a dozen families of evangelical

denominations, not counting the sub-divisions. Lutheranism has its

strength in Germany and Scandinavia; the Reformed Church, in Great

Britain and North America.

The Reformed Confession has developed different types. Travelling

westward with the course of Christianity and civilization, it became

more powerful in Holland, England, and Scotland than in Switzerland;

but the chief characteristics which distinguish it from the Lutheran

Confession were already developed by Zwingli and Calvin.

The Swiss and the German Reformers agreed in opposition to Romanism,

but the Swiss departed further from it. The former were zealous for the

sovereign glory of God, and, in strict interpretation of the first and

second commandments, abolished the heathen elements of creature

worship; while Luther, in the interest of free grace and the peace of

conscience, aimed his strongest blows at the Jewish element of monkish

legalism and self-righteousness. The Swiss theology proceeds from God's

grace to man's needs; the Lutheran, from man's needs to God's grace.

Both agree in the three fundamental principles of Protestantism: the

absolute supremacy of the Divine Scriptures as a rule of faith and

practice; justification by free grace through faith; the general

priesthood of the laity. But as regards the first principle, the

Reformed Church is more radical in carrying it out against human

traditions, abolishing all those which have no root in the Bible; while

Luther retained those which are not contrary to the Bible. As regards

justification by faith, Luther made it the article of the standing or

falling Church; while Zwingli and Calvin subordinated it to the

ulterior truth of eternal foreordination by free grace, and laid

greater stress on good works and strict discipline. Both opposed the

idea of a special priesthood and hierarchical rule; but the Swiss

Reformers gave larger scope to the popular lay element, and set in

motion the principle of congregational and synodical self-government

and self-support.

Both brought the new Church into Close contact with the State; but the

Swiss Reformers controlled the State in the spirit of republican

independence, which ultimately led to a separation of the secular and

spiritual powers, or to a free Church in a free State (as in the free

churches of French Switzerland, and in all the churches of the United

States); while Luther and Melanchthon, with their native reverence for

monarchical institutions and the German Empire, taught passive

obedience in politics, and brought the Church under bondage to the

civil authority.

All the evangelical divines and rulers of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries were inconsistently intolerant in theory and practice; but

the Reformation, which was a revolt against papal tyranny and a mighty

act of emancipation, led ultimately to the triumph of religious freedom

as its legitimate fruit.

The Reformed Church does not bear the name of any man, and is not

controlled by a towering personality, but assumed different types under

the moulding influence of Zwingli and Bullinger in Zurich, of

Oecolampadius in Basle, of Haller in Berne, of Calvin and Beza in

Geneva, of Ursinus and Olevianus in the Palatinate, of Cranmer,

Latimer, and Ridley in England, of Knox in Scotland. The Lutheran

Church, as the very name indicates, has the stamp of Luther indelibly

impressed upon it; although the milder and more liberal Melanchthonian

tendency has in it a legitimate place of honor and power, and manifests

itself in all progressive and unionistic movements as those of

Calixtus, of Spener, and of the moderate Lutheran schools of our age.

Calvinism has made a stronger impression on the Latin and Anglo-Saxon

races than on the German; while Lutheranism is essentially German, and

undergoes more or less change in other countries.

Calvin aimed at a reformation of discipline as well as theology, and

established a model theocracy in Geneva, which lasted for several

generations. Luther contented himself with a reformation of faith and

doctrine, leaving the practical consequences to time, but bitterly

lamented the Antinomian disorder and abuse which for a time threatened

to neutralize his labors in Saxony.

The Swiss Reformers reduced worship to the utmost simplicity and naked

spirituality, and made its effect for kindling or chilling-devotion to

depend upon the personal piety and intellectual effort of the minister

and the merits of his sermons and prayers. Luther, who was a poet and a

musician, left larger scope for the esthetic and artistic element; and

his Church developed a rich liturgical and hymnological literature.

Congregational singing, however, flourishes in both denominations; and

the Anglican Church produced the best liturgy, which has kept its place

to this day, with increasing popularity.

The Reformed Church excels in self-discipline, liberality, energy, and

enterprise; it carries the gospel to all heathen lands and new

colonies; it builds up a God-fearing, manly, independent, heroic type

of character, such as we find among the French Huguenots, the English

Puritans, the Scotch Covenanters, the Waldenses in Piedmont; and sent

in times of persecution a noble army of martyrs to the prison and the

stake. The Lutheran Church cultivates a hearty, trustful, inward,

mystic style of piety, the science of theology, biblical and historical

research, and wrestles with the deepest problems of philosophy and

religion.

God has wisely distributed his gifts, with abundant opportunities for

their exercise in the building up of his kingdom.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[15] On the Continent and in works of church history the designation

Reformed includes Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and

other non-Lutheran Protestants. Calvinism and Puritanism are not church

terms, but denote schools and parties within the Reformed churches. The

Anglican Reformed Church stands by itself as a communion which was

reformed under Lutheran and Calvinistic influences, but occupies a

position between Catholicism and Protestantism. In modern English and

American usage, the term Reformed has assumed a restricted sectional

sense in connection with other terms, as Reformed Dutch, Reformed

German, Reformed Presbyterian, Reformed Episcopalian.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 4. Literature on the Swiss Reformation.

Compare the literature on the Reformation in general, vol. VI. 89-93,

and the German Reformation, pp. 94-97. The literature on the

Reformation in French Switzerland will be given in a later chapter (pp.

223 sqq.).

The largest collection of the Reformation literature of German

Switzerland is in the Stadtbibliothek (in the Wasserkirche) and in the

Cantonalbibliothek of Z�rich. The former includes the 200 vols. of the

valuable MSS. collection of Simler (d. 1788), and the Thesaurus

Hottingerianus. I examined these libraries in August, 1886, with the

kind aid of Profs. O. F. Fritsche, Alex. Schweizer, Georg von Wyss, and

Dr. Escher, and again in July, 1890.

For lists of books on Swiss history in general consult the following

works: Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller: Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte

und aller Theile, so dahin Bezug haben (Bern, 1785-'88, 7 vols.); with

the continuations of Gerold Meyer Von Knonau (from 1840-'45, Z�r.,

1850) and Ludwig Von Sinner (from 1786-1861, Bern and Z�rich, 1851).

The Catalog der Stadtbibliothek in Z�rich (Z�rich, 1864-'67, 4 Bde,

much enlarged in the written catalogues). E. Fr. von M�linen: Prodromus

einer Schweizer. Historiographie (Bern, 1874). The author promises a

complete Lexicon of Swiss chroniclers, etc., annalists and historians

in about 4 vols.

I. Sources: The works Of Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Leo Judae, Bullinger,

Watt (Vadianus), and other Reformers of the Swiss cantons.

Herminjard: Correspondance des Reformateurs. Gen�ve, 1866-'86. 7 vols.

Bullinger (Heinrich, Zwingli's successor, d. 1575):

Reformationsgeschichte, nach den Autographen herausgeg. von J. J.

Hottinger und H. H. V�geli. Frauenfeld, 1838-'40, 3 vols. 8�. From 1519

to 1532. In the Swiss-German dialect.

Kessler (Johannes, Reformer of St. Gallen): Sabbata. Chronik der Jahre

1523-'39. Ed. by E. G�tzinger. St. Gallen, 1866-'68. 2 parts. Kessler

was the student whom Luther met at Jena on his return to Wittenberg

(see vol. VI. 385).

Simler (Joh. Jac.): Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung

der Kirchengeschichte, vornehmlich des Schweizerlandes. Z�rich,

1757-'63. 2 Bde in 6 Theilen. 8�. Also the first 30 vols. of his

above-mentioned collection of MSS., which includes many printed

pamphlets and documents.

Die Eidgen�ssischen Abschiede. Bd. III. Abth. 2: Abschiede von

1500-'20, bearbeitet von Segesser (Luzern, 1869); Bd. IV. I a: a.d.

1521-'28, bearbeitet von Strickler (Brugg, 1873); Bd. IV. 1 b: a.d.

1529-'32 (Z�rich, 1876); Bd. IV. 1 c: a.d. 1533-'40, bearbeitet von

Deschwanden (Luzern, 1878); Bd. IV. 1 d: a.d. 1541-'48, bearbeitet von

Deschwanden (Luzern, 1882). The publication of these official acts of

the Swiss Diet was begun at the expense of the Confederacy, a.d. 1839,

and embraces the period from 1245 to 1848.

Strickler (Joh.): Actensammlung zur Schweizerischen

Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521-'32. Z�rich, 1878-'84. 5

vols. 8�. Mostly in Swiss-German, partly in Latin. The fifth vol.

contains Addenda, Registers, and a list of books on the history of the

Reformation to 1533.

Egli (Emil): Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Z�rcher Reformation von

1519-'33. Z�rich, 1879. (Pages vii. and 947.)

St�rler (M. v.): Urkunden der Bernischen Kirchenreform. Bern, 1862.

Goes only to 1528.

On the Roman Catholic side: Archiv f�r die Schweizer.

Reformations-Geschichte, herausgeg. auf Veranstaltung des Schweizer.

Piusvereins. Solothurn, 1868'-76. 3 large vols. This includes in vol.

I. the Chronik der Schweizerischen Reformation (till 1534), by Hans

Salat of Luzern (d. after 1543), a historian and poet, whose life and

writings were edited by Baechtold, Basel, 1876. Vol. II. contains the

papal addresses to the Swiss Diet, etc. Vol. III. 7-82 gives a very

full bibliography bearing upon the Reformation and the history of the

Swiss Cantons down to 1871. This work is overlooked by most Protestant

historians. Bullinger wrote against Salat a book entitled Salz zum

Salat.

II. Later Historical Works:

Hottinger (Joh. Heinrich, an eminent Orientalist, 1620-'67): Historia

Ecclesiasticae Novi Test. Tiguri [Turici], 1651-'67. 9 vols. 8�. The

last four volumes of this very learned but very tedious work treat of

the Reformation. The seventh volume has a chapter of nearly 600 pages

(24-618) de Indulgentiis in specie!

Hottinger (Joh. Jacob, 1652-1735, third son of the former): Helvetische

Kirchengeschichten, etc. Z�r., 1698-1729. 4 vols. 4�. Newly ed. by Wirz

and Kirchhofer. See below.

Miscellanea Tigurina edita, inedita, vetera, nova, theologica,

historica, etc., ed. by J. J. Ulrich. Z�r., 1722-'24. 3 vols. 8�. They

contain small biographies of Swiss Reformers and important documents of

Bullinger, Leo Judae, Breitinger, Simler, etc.

F�sslin (or F�ssli, Joh. Conr. F., 1704-1775): Beitr�ge zur Erl�uterung

der Kirchenreformationsgeschichten des Schweizerlands. Z�r., 1740-'53.

5 vols. 8�. Contains important original documents and letters.

Ruchat (Abrah., 1680-1750): Histoire de la R�formation de la Suisse,

1516-1556. Gen�ve, 1727, '28. 6 vols. 8�. New edition with Appendixes

by L. Vulliemin. Paris and Lausanne, 1835-'38. 7 vols. 8�. Chiefly

important for the French cantons. An English abridgment of the first

four vols. in one vol. by J. Collinson (Canon of Durham), London, 1845,

goes to the end of a.d. 1536.

Wirz (Ludw.) and Kirchhofer (Melch.): Helvet. Kirchengeschichte. Aus

Joh. Jac. Hottinger's �lterem Werke und anderen Quellen neu bearbeitet.

Z�rich, 1808-'19. 5 vols. The modern history is contained in vols. IV.

and V. The fifth vol. is by Kirchhofer.

Merle D'Aubign� (professor of Church history at Geneva, d. 1872):

Histoire de la R�formation du 16 si�cle. Paris, 1838 sqq. Histoire de

la R�formation au temps du Calvin. Paris, 1863-'78. Both works were

translated and published in England and America, in various editions.

Trechsel (Friedr., 1805-1885): Beitr�ge zur Geschichte der Schweiz.

Reformirten Kirche, zun�chst derjenigen des Cantons Bern. Bern, 1841,

'42, 4 Hefte.

Gieseler (d. 1854): Ch. History. Germ. ed. III. A. 128 sqq.; 277 sqq.

Am. ed. vol. IV. 75-99, 209-217. His account is very valuable for the

extracts from the sources.

Baur (d. at T�bingen, 1860): Kirchengeschichte. Bd. IV. 80-96.

Posthumous, T�bingen, 1863.

Hagenbach (Karl Rud., professor of Church history at Basel, d. 1874):

Geschichte der Reformation, 1517-1555. Leipzig, 1834, 4th ed. 1870

(vol. III. of his general Kirchengeschichte). Fifth ed., with a

literary and critical appendix, by Dr. F. Nippold, Leipzig, 1887.

English translation by Miss E. Moore, Edinburgh and New York, 1878,

'79, 2 vols.

Chastel (�tienne, professor of Church history in the University of

Geneva, d. 1885):Histoire du Christianisme, Tom. IV.: Age Moderne (p.

66 sqq.). Paris, 1882.

Berner Beitr�ge zur Geschichte der Schweizerischen Reformationskirchen.

Von Billeter, Fl�ckiger, Hubler, Kasser, Marthaler, Strasser. Mit

weiteren Beitr�gen vermehrt und herausgegeben von Fr. Nippold. Bern,

1884. (Pages 454.)

On the Confessions of the Swiss Reformation see Schaff: Creeds of

Christendom, New York, 4th ed. 1884, vol. I. 354 sqq.

Biographies of Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Leo Judae, Bullinger, Haller,

etc., will be noticed in the appropriate sections.

III. General Histories Of Switzerland.

M�ller (Joh. von, the classical historian of Switzerland, d. 1809):

Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, fortgesetzt von

Glutz-Blotzheim (d. 1818) und Joh. Jac. Hottinger. Vols. V. and VII. of

the whole work. A masterpiece of genius and learning, but superseded in

its earlier part, where he follows Tschudi, and accepts the legendary

tales of Tell and Gr�tli. The Reformation history is by Hottinger ( b.

1783, d. 1860), and was published also under the title Gesch. der

Eidgenossen w�hrend der Zeit der Kirchentrennung. Z�rich, 1825 and '29,

2 vols It was continued by Vulliemin in his Histoire de la

conf�d�ration suisse dans les XVIIe et XVIIe si�cles. Paris and

Lausanne, 1841 and '42. 3 vols. The first of these three volumes

relates to the Reformation in French Switzerland, which was omitted in

the German work of Hottinger, but was afterwards translated into German

by others, and incorporated into the German edition (Z�rich, 1786-1853,

15 vols.; the Reformation period in vols. VI.-X.). There is also a

complete French edition of the entire History of Switzerland by Joh.

von Muller, Glutz-Blotzheim, Hottinger, Vulliemin, and Monnard (Paris

et Gen�ve, 1837-'51, 18 vols. Three vols. from Vulliemin, five from

Monnard, and the rest translated).

Other general Histories of Switzerland by Zschokke (1822, 8th ed. 1849;

Engl. transl. by Shaw, 1848, new ed. 1875), Meyer von Knonau (2 vols.),

V�gelin (6 Vols.), Morin, Zellweger, Vulliemin (German ed. 1882),

D�ndliker (Z�rich, 1883 sqq., 3 vols., illustr.), Mrs. Hug and Rich.

Stead (London, 1890), and Diera�r (Gotha, 1887 sqq.; second vol.,

1892).

Bluntschli (J. C., a native of Z�rich, professor of jurisprudence and

international law at Heidelberg, d. 1881): Geschichte des

Schweizerischen Bundesrechts von den ersten ewigen B�nden his auf die

Gegenwart. Stuttgart, 2d ed. 1875. 2 vols. Important for the relation

of Church and State in the period of the Reformation (vol. I. 292

sqq.). L. R. von Salis: Schweizerisches Bundesrecht seit dem 29. Mai

1874. Bern, 1892. 3 vols. (also in French and Italian).

E. Egli: Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz bis auf Karl d. Gr. Z�rich,

1892.

Comp. Rud. St�helin on the literature of the Swiss Reformation, from

1875-1882, in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte," vols. III.

and VI.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER II.

ZWINGLI'S TRAINING.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 5. The Zwingli Literature.

The general literature in � 4, especially Bullinger's History and

Egli's Collection. The public libraries and archives in Z�rich contain

the various editions of Zwingli's works, and the remains of his own

library with marginal notes, which were exhibited in connection with

the Zwingli celebration in 1884. See Zwingli-Ausstellung veranstaltet

von der Stadtbibliothek in Z�rich in Verbindung mit dem Staatsarchiv

und der Cantonalbibliothek. Z�rich, 1884. A pamphlet of 24 pages, with

a descriptive catalogue of Zwingli's books and remains. The annotations

furnish fragmentary material for a knowledge of his theological growth.

See Usteri's Initia Zwingli, quoted below.

I. Sources:

Huldreich Zwingli: Opera omnia, ed. Melchior Schuler (d. 1859) and Joh.

Schulthess (d. 1836). Tiguri, 1828-'42. 8 vols. Vols. I. and II., the

German writings; III.-VI., Scripta Latina; VII. and VIII., Epistolae. A

supplement of 75 pages was ed. by G. Schulthess (d. 1866) and Marthaler

in 1861, and contains letters of Zwingli to Rhenanus and others. A new

critical edition is much needed and contemplated for the "Corpus

Reformatorum" by a commission of Swiss scholars. Zwingli's Correspond.

in Herminjard, Vols. I. and II.

The first edition of Zwingli's Works appeared at Z�rich, 1545, in 4

vols. Usteri and V�gelin: M. H. Zwingli's Schriften im Auszuge, Z�rich,

1819 and '20, 2 vols. (A systematic exhibition of Zwingli's teaching in

modern German.) Another translation of select works into modern German

by R. Christoffel, Z�r., 1843, 9 small vols.

Comp. also Paul Schweizer (Staatsarchivar in Z�rich, son of Dr.

Alexander Schweizer): Zwingli-Autographen im Staats-Archiv zu Z�rich.

1885. (23 pages; separately publ. from the "Theol. Zeitschrift aus der

Schweiz.")

Joannis Oecolampadii et Huldrichi Zwinglii Epistolarum libri IV. Basil.

1536.

Herminjard (A. L.): Correspondance des R�formateurs. Gen�ve, 1866 sqq.

Letters of Zwingli in vol. I. Nos. 82 and 146 (and eight letters to

him, Nos. 17, 19, 32, etc.), and in vol. II. No. 191 (and nine letters

to him).

Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus. Gesammelt u. herausgeg. von Dr.

Adelbert Horawitz und Dr. Karl Hartfelder. Leipzig, 1886. Contains also

the correspondence between Rhenanus and Zwingli. See Index, p. 700.

II. Biographies of Zwingli, including Short Sketches:

Oswald Myconius: De Vita et Obitu Zw., 1536. Republ. in Vitae quatuor

Reformatortum, with Preface by Neander, 1840. N�scheler, Z�rich, 1776.

J. Caspar Hess: Vie d'Ulrich Zwingle, Geneva, 1810; German ed. more

than doubled by a literary appendix of 372 pages, by Leonh. Usteri,

Z�rich, 1811, 2 vols. (Engl. transl. from the French by Aiken, Lond.,

1812). Rotermund, Bremen, 1818. J. M. Schuler: H. Zw. Gesch. seiner

Bildung zum Reformator seines Vaterlandes. Z�r., 1818, 2d ed. 1819.

Horner, Z�r., 1818. L. Usteri, in the Appendix to his ed. of Zwingli's

German works, Z�r., 1819. Several sketches of Zwingli appeared in

connection with the celebration of the Z�rich Reformation in 1819,

especially in the festal oration of J. J. Hess: Emendationis sacrorum

beneficium, Turici, 1819. J. J. Hottinger, Z�r., 1842 (translation by

Th. C. Porter: Life and Times of U. Z., Harrisburg, Penn., 1857, 421

pages). Robbins, in "Bibliotheca Sacra," Andover, Mass., 1851. L.

Mayer, in his "History of the German Ref. Church," vol. I.,

Philadelphia, 1851. Dan. Wise, Boston, 1850 and 1882. Roeder, St.

Gallen and Bern, 1855. R. Christoffel, Elberfeld, 1857 (Engl. transl.

by John Cochran, Edinb., 1858)., Salomon V�gelin: Erinnerungen an Zw.

Z�r., 1865. W. M. Blackburn, Philad., 1868. \*J. C. M�rikofer, Leipzig,

1867 and '69, 2 vols. The best biography from the sources. Dr. Volkmar:

Vortrag, Z�r., 1870 (30 pages). G. Finsler: U. Zw., 3 Vortr�ge, Z�r.,

1873. G. A. Hoff: Vie d'Ulr. Zw., Paris, 1882 (pp. 305). Jean Grob,

Milwaukee, Wis., 1883, 190 pages (Engl. transl., N. York, 1884). Ch.

Alphonse Witz: Ulrich Zwingli, Vortr�ge, Gotha, 1884 (pp. 144). G�der,

in "Herzog's Encycl.," XVIII. 701-706; revised by R. St�helin in second

ed., XVII., 584-635. E. Combe: U. Z.; le r�formateur suisse. Lausanne,

1884 (pp. 40). H. R�rich: U. Z. Notice biographique, Gen�ve, 1884 (pp.

40). J. G. Hardy: U. Zwingli, or Zurich and its Reformer. Edinb., 1888.

III. On Zwingli's Wife:

Salomon Hess: Anna Reinhard, Gattin und Wittwe von U. Zwingli. Z�rich,

2d ed. 1820. (Some truth and much fiction.) Gerold Meyer von Knonau:

Z�ge aus dem Leben der Anna Reinhard. Erlangen, 1835. (Reliable.)

IV. Commemorative Addresses of 1884 at the Fourth Centennial of

Zwingli's Birth:

Comp. the list in the Z�richer Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1885, pp.

265-268; and Flaigg, in Theol. Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz, 1885, pp.

219 sqq. Some of the biographies mentioned sub II. are commemorative

addresses.

\*Alex. Schweizer (d. 1888): Zwingli's Bedeutung neben Luther. Festrede

in der Universit�tsaula, Jan. 6, 1884, weiter ausgef�hrt. Zur., 1884

(pp. 89). Also a series of articles of Schweizer in the "Protestant.

Kirchenzeitung," Berlin, 1883, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 26, 27, in

defence of Zwingli against the charges of Janssen. Joh. Martin Usteri

(pastor at Affoltern, then Prof. at Erlangen, d. 1889 Ulrich Zwingli,

ein Martin Luther ebenb�rtiger [?] Zeuge des evang. Glaubens.

Festschrift mit Vorrede von H. v. der Goltz. Z�rich, 1883 (144 pp.);

Zwingli und Erasmus, Z�rich, 1885 (39 pp.); Initia Zwinglii, in the

"Studien und Kritiken" for 1885 (pp. 607-672), 1886 (pp. 673-737), and

1889 (pp. 140 and 141). Rud. St�helin: Huldreich Zwingli und sein

Reformations-werk. Zum vierhundertjahrigen Geburtstag Z.'s dargestellt.

Halle, 1883 (pages 81). Ernst St�helin: H. Z.'s Predigt an unser

Schweizervolk und unsere Zeit. Basel, 1884. Ernst M�ller: Ulrich Zw.

Ein Bernischer Beitrag zur Zwinglifeier. Bern, 1884. E. Dietz: Vie d'U.

Z. � l'occasion du 400� anniversaire de sa naissance. Paris and

Strasbourg, 1884 (pp. 48). Herm. Sp�rri: Durch Gottes Gnade allein. Zur

Feier des 400 j�hr. Geb. tages Zw.'s. Hamburg, 1884. Joh. (T.

Dreydorff: U. Zw. Festpredigt. Leipzig, 1884. Sal. V�gelin: U. Z. Z�r.,

1884. G. Finsler (Zwingli's twenty-second successor as Antistes in

Z�rich): Ulrich Zw. Festschrift zur Feier seines 400 j�hr. Geburtstags.

Z�r., 3d ed. 1884 (transl. into Romansch by Darms, Coire, 1884).

Finsler and Meyer von Knonau: Festvortr�ge bei der Feier des 400 j�hr.

Geburtstags U. Z. Z�r., 1884 (pp. 24). Finsler delivered also the chief

address at the unveiling of Zwingli's monument, Aug. 25, 1885. Oechsli:

Zur Zwingli-Feier. Z�r., 1884. Die Zwinglifeier in Bern, Jan. 6, 1884.

Several addresses, 80 pages. Alfred Krauss (professor in Strassburg):

Zwingli. Strassb., 1884 (pp. 19). Aug. Bouvier: Foi, Culture et

Patriotisme. Deux discours � l'occasion Du quatri�me centenaire de

Ulrich Zwingli. Gen�ve and Paris, 1884. (In "Nouvelles Paroles de Fol

et de Libert�," and separately.) W. Gamper (Reform. minister at

Dresden): U. Z. Festpredigt zur 400 j�hr. Gedenkfeier seines

Geburtstages. Dresden, 1884. G. K. von Toggenburg (pseudonymous R.

Cath.): Die wahre Union und die Zwinglifeier. St. Gallen and Leipzig,

1884 (pp. 190). Zwingliana, in the "Theol. Zeitschrift aus der

Schweiz." Z�r., 1884, No. II. Kappeler, Grob und Egg: Zur Erinnerung.

Drei Reden gehalten in Kappel, Jan. 6, 1884. Affoltern a. A. 1884 (pp.

27).--In America also several addresses were delivered and published in

connection with the Zwingli commemoration in 1883 and '84. Besides,

some books of Zwingli's were republished; e.g. the Hirt (Shepherd) by

Riggenbach (Basel, 1884); the Lehrb�chlein, Latin and German, by E.

Egli (Z�r., 1884).

V. On the Theology of Zwingli:

Edw. Zeller (professor of philosophy in Berlin): Das theologische

System Zwingli's. T�bingen, 1853.

Ch. Sigwart: Ulrich Zwingli. Der Charakter seiner Theologie mit

besonderer R�cksicht auf Picus von Mirandola dargestellt. Stuttg. und

Hamb., 1855.

Herm. Sp�rri (Ref. pastor in Hamburg): Zwingli-Studien. Leipzig, 1886

(pp. 131). Discussions on Zwingli's doctrine of the Church, the Bible,

his relation to humanism and Christian art.

August Baur (D. D., a W�rtemberg pastor in Weilimdorf near Stuttgart):

Zwingli's Theologie, ihr Werden und ihr System. Halle, vol. I. 1885

(pp. 543); Vol. II. P. I., 1888 (pp. 400), P. II., 1889. This work does

for Zwingli what Jul. K�stlin did for Luther and A. Herrlinger for

Melanchthon.

Alex. Schweizer, in his Festrede, treats more briefly, but very ably,

of Zwingli's theological opinions (pp. 60-88).

VI. Relation of Zwingli to Luther and Calvin:

Merle D'Aubign�: Le Lutheranisme et la Reforme. Paris, 1844. Engl.

translation: Luther and Calvin. N. York, 1845.

Hundeshagen: Charakteristik U. Zwingli's und seines Reformationswerks

unter Vergleichung mit Luther und Calvin, in the "Studien und

Kritiken," 1862. Compare also his Beitr�ge zur

Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte und Kirchenpolitik, Bd. I. Wiesbaden,

1864, pp. 136-297. (Important for Zwingli's church polity.)

G. Plitt (Lutheran): Gesch. der ev. Kirche bis zum Augsburger

Reichstage. Erlangen, 1867, pp. 417-488.

A. F. C. Vilmar (Luth.): Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli. Frankf. -a. -M.,

1869.

G. Uhlhorn (Luth.): Luther and the Swiss, translated by G. F. Krotel,

Philadelphia, 1876.

Zwingli Wirth (Reformed): Luther und Zwingli. St. Gallen, 1884 (pp.

37).

VII. Special Points in Zwingli's History and Theology:

Kradolfer: Zwingli in Marburg. Berlin, 1870.

Emil Egli: Die Schlacht von Cappel 1531. Mit 2 Pl�nen und einem Anhang

ungedruckter Quellen. Z�r., 1873 (pp. 88). By the same: Das

Religionsgespr�ch zu Marburg. Z�r., 1884. In the "Theol. Zeitschrift

aus der Schweiz."

Martin Lenz: Zwingli und Landgraf Philipp, in Brieger's "Zeitschrift

f�r Kirchengeschichte" for 1879 (Bd. III.).

H. Bavinck: De ethick van U. Zwingli. Kampen, 1880.

Jul. Werder: Zwingli als politischer Reformator, in the "Basler

Beitr�ge zur vaterl�nd. Geschichte," Basel, 1882, pp. 263-290.

Herm. Escher: Die Glaubensparteien in der Schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft

und ihre Beziehungen zum Auslande von 1527-'31. Frauenfeld, 1882. (pp.

326.) Important for Zwingli's Swiss and foreign policy, and his views

on the relation of Church and State.

W. Oechsli: Die Anf�nge des Glaubenskonfliktes zwischen Z�rich und den

Eidgenossen. Winterthur, 1883 (pp. 42).

Marthaler: Zw.'s Lehre vom Glauben. Z�r., 1884.

Aug. Baur: Die erste Z�richer Disputation. Halle, 1883 (pp. 32).

A. Erichson: Zwingli's Tod und dessen Beurtheilung durch Zeitgenossen,

Strassb., 1883 (pp. 43); U. Zw. und die els�ssischen Reformatoren,

Strassb., 1884 (pp. 40).

Fl�ckiger: Zwingli's Beziehungen zu Bern, in the "Berner Beitr�ge."

Bern, 1884.

J. Mart. Usteri: Initia Zwinglii, and Zw. and Erasmus. See above, p.

18.

H. Fenner: Zw. als Patriot und Politiker. Frauenfeld, 1884 (pp. 38).

G. Heer: U. Zw. als Pfarrer von Glarus. Z�rich, 1884 (pp. 42).

Gust. Weber (musical director and organist of the Grossm�nster in

Z�rich): H. Zwingli. Seine Stellung zur Musik und seine Lieder. Z�rich

and Leipzig, 1884 (pp. 68).

A. Zahn: Zwingli's Verdienste um die biblische Abendmahlslehre.

Stuttgart, 1884.

G. Wunderli; Z�rich in der Periode 1519-'31. Z�rich, 1888.

On Zwingli and the Anabaptists, see the literature in � 24.

VIII. In part also the biographies of Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Leo

Judae, Haller, etc.

The best books on Zwingli are M�rikofer's biography, Usteri on the

education of Zwingli, Baur on his theology, Escher and Oechsli on his

state and church polity, and Schweizer and R. St�helin on his general

character and position in history.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 6. Zwingli's Birth and Education.

Franz: Zwingli's Geburtsort. Beitrag zur reformator. Jubelfeier 1819.

(The author was pastor of Wildhaus.) St. Gallen, 1818. Schuler:

Huldreich Zwingli. Geschichte seiner Bildung zum Reformator des

Vaterlandes. Z�rich, 1819. (404 pp. Very full, but somewhat too

partial, and needing correction.)

Huldreich or Ulrich Zwingli [16] was born January 1, 1484, seven weeks

after Luther, in a lowly shepherd's cottage at Wildhaus in the county

of Toggenburg, now belonging to the Canton St. Gall.

He was descended from the leading family in this retired village. His

father, like his grandfather, was the chief magistrate (Ammann); his

mother, the sister of a priest (John Meili, afterwards abbot of

Fischingen, in Thurgau, 1510-1523); his uncle, on the father's side,

dean of the chapter at Wesen on the wild lake of Wallenstadt. He had

seven brothers (he being the third son) and two sisters.

The village of Wildhaus is the highest in the valley, surrounded by

Alpine meadows and the lofty mountain scenery of Northeastern

Switzerland, in full view of the seven Churfirsten and the snow-capped

Sentis. The principal industry of the inhabitants was raising flocks.

They are described as a cheerful, fresh and energetic people; and these

traits we find in Zwingli. [17] The Reformation was introduced there in

1523. Not very far distant are the places where Zwingli spent his

public life,--Glarus, Einsiedeln, and Zurich.

Zwingli was educated in the Catholic religion by his God-fearing

parents, and by his uncle, the dean of Wesen, who favored the new

humanistic learning. He grew up a healthy, vigorous boy. He had at a

very early age a tender sense of veracity as "the mother of all

virtues," and, like young Washington, he would never tell a lie.

When ten years of age he was sent from Wesen to a Latin school at

Basle, and soon excelled in the three chief branches taught

there,--Latin grammar, music and dialectics.

In 1498 he entered a college at Berne under the charge of Heinrich

W�lflin (Lupulus), who was reputed to be the best classical scholar and

Latin poet in Switzerland, and followed the reform movement in 1522.

[18]

From 1500 to 1502 he studied in the University of Vienna, which had

become a centre of classical learning by the labors of distinguished

humanists, Corvinus, Celtes, and Cuspinian, under the patronage of the

Emperor Maximilian I. [19] He studied scholastic philosophy, astronomy,

and physics, but chiefly the ancient classics. He became an enthusiast

for the humanities. He also cultivated his talent for music. He played

on several instruments--the lute, harp, violin, flute, dulcimer, and

hunting-horn--with considerable skill. His papal opponents sneeringly

called him afterwards "the evangelical lute-player, piper, and

whistler." He regarded this innocent amusement as a means to refresh

the mind and to soften the temper. In his poetical and musical taste he

resembles Luther, without reaching his eminence.

In 1502 he returned to Basle, taught Latin in the school of St. Martin,

pursued his classical studies, and acquired the degree of master of

arts in 1506; hence he was usually called Master Ulrich. He never

became a doctor of divinity, like Luther. In Basle he made the

acquaintance of Leo Jud (Judae, also called Master Leu), who was

graduated with him and became his chief co-laborer in Zurich. Both

attended with much benefit the lectures of Thomas Wyttenbach, professor

of theology since 1505. Zwingli calls him his beloved and faithful

teacher, who opened his eyes to several abuses of the Church,

especially the indulgences, and taught him "not to rely on the keys of

the Church, but to seek the remission of sins alone in the death of

Christ, and to open access to it by the key of faith." [20]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[16] The name is often misspelled Zwingel (by Luther), or Zwingle (by

English and American writers).

[17] M�rikofer (I. 4): "Zwingli erinnert in seinem Wesen immer wieder

an seine helle Heimath; wir haben stets den in frischer Bergluft

gest�rkten und gest�hlten Alpensohn vor uns."

[18] Lupulus was deposed from his canonry for marrying in 1524, but

reinstated after the introduction of the Reformation. "Dass Lupulus

eine uneheliche Tochter hatte (before his marriage), wurde ihm leicht

verziehen." M�rikofer, I. 7. He lamented Zwingli's early death in a

Latin epitaph in verse.

[19] There in no evidence that he became acquainted in Vienna with Eck

and Faber, the famous champions of popery, nor with his friends

Glareanus and Vadianus. See Horawitz, Der Humanismus in Wien, 1883.

[20] Werke, I. A. 254; Opera, III. 544. Leo Judae, in the preface to

Zwingli's Annotations to the N. T., reports that Zwingli and he derived

from Wyttenbach's lectures in 1505 "quidquid nobis fuit solidae

eruditionis."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 7. Zwingli in Glarus.

G. Heer: Ulrich Zwingli als Pfarrer in Glarus. Z�rich, 1884.

Zwingli was ordained to the priesthood by the bishop of Constance, and

appointed pastor of Glarus, the capital of the canton of the same name.

[21] He had to pay over one hundred guilders to buy off a rival

candidate (G�ldli of Zurich) who was favored by the Pope, and

compensated by a papal pension. He preached his first sermon in

Rapperschwyl, and read his first mass at Wildhaus. He labored at Glarus

ten years, from 1506 to 1516. His time was occupied by preaching,

teaching, pastoral duties, and systematic study. He began to learn the

Greek language "without a teacher," [22] that he might study the New

Testament in the original. [23] He acquired considerable facility in

Greek. The Hebrew language he studied at a later period in Zurich, but

with less zeal and success. He read with great enthusiasm the ancient

Greek and Roman philosophers, poets, orators, and historians. He speaks

in terms of admiration of Homer, Pindar, Demosthenes, Cicero, Livy,

Caesar, Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch. He committed Valerius Maximus

to memory for the historical examples. He wrote comments on Lucian. He

perceived, like Justin Martyr, the Alexandrian Fathers, and Erasmus, in

the lofty ideas of the heathen philosophers and poets, the working of

the Holy Spirit, which he thought extended beyond Palestine throughout

the world. He also studied the writings of Picus della Mirandola (d.

1494), which influenced his views on providence and predestination.

During his residence in Glarus he was brought into correspondence with

Erasmus through his friend Loreti of Glarus, called Glareanus, a

learned humanist and poet-laureate, who at that time resided in Basle,

and belonged to the court of admirers of the famous scholar. He paid

him also a visit in the spring of 1515, and found him a man in the

prime of life, small and delicate, but amiable and very polite. He

addressed him as "the greatest philosopher and theologian;" he praises

his "boundless learning," and says that he read his books every night

before going to sleep. Erasmus returned the compliments with more

moderation, and speaks of Zwingli's previous letter as being "full of

wit and learned acumen." In 1522 Zwingli invited him to settle in

Zurich; but Erasmus declined it, preferring to be a cosmopolite. We

have only one letter of Zwingli to Erasmus, but six of Erasmus to

Zwingli. [24] The influence of the great scholar on Zwingli was

emancipating and illuminating. Zwingli, although not exactly his pupil,

was no doubt confirmed by him in his high estimate of the heathen

classics, his opposition to ecclesiastical abuses, his devotion to the

study of the Scriptures, and may have derived from him his moderate

view of hereditary sin and guilt, and the first suggestion of the

figurative interpretation of the words of institution of the Lord's

Supper. [25] But he dissented from the semi-Pelagianism of Erasmus, and

was a firm believer in predestination. During the progress of the

Reformation they were gradually alienated, although they did not get

into a personal controversy. In a letter of Sept. 3, 1522, Erasmus

gently warns Zwingli to fight not only bravely, but also prudently, and

Christ would give him the victory. [26] He did not regret his early

death. Glareanus also turned from him, and remained in the old Church.

But Zwingli never lost respect for Erasmus, and treated even Hutten

with generous kindness after Erasmus had cast him off. [27]

On his visit to Basle he became acquainted with his biographer, Oswald

Myconius, the successor of Oecolampadius (not to be confounded with

Frederick Myconius, Luther's friend).

Zwingli took a lively interest in public affairs. Three times he

accompanied, according to Swiss custom, the recruits of his

congregation as chaplain to Italy, in the service of Popes Julius II.

and Leo X., against France. He witnessed the storming of Pavia (1512),

[28] probably also the victory at Novara (1513), and the defeat at

Marignano (1515). He was filled with admiration for the bravery of his

countrymen, but with indignation and grief at the demoralizing effect

of the foreign military service. He openly attacked this custom, and

made himself many enemies among the French party.

His first book, "The Labyrinth," is a German poem against the

corruptions of the times, written about 1510. [29] It represents the

fight of Theseus with the Minotaur and the wild beasts in the labyrinth

of the world,--the one-eyed lion (Spain), the crowned eagle (the

emperor), the winged lion (Venice), the cock (France), the ox

(Switzerland), the bear (Savoy). The Minotaur, half man, half bull,

represents, he says, "the sins, the vices, the irreligion, the foreign

service of the Swiss, which devour the sons of the nation." His Second

poetic work of that time, "The Fable of the Ox," [30] is likewise a

figurative attack upon the military service by which Switzerland became

a slave of foreign powers, especially of France.

He superintended the education of two of his brothers and several of

the noblest young men of Glarus, as Aegidius Tschudi (the famous

historian), Valentine Tschudi, Heer, Nesen, Elmer, Brunner, who were

devotedly, and gratefully attached to him, and sought his advice and

comfort, as their letters show.

Zwingli became one of the most prominent and influential public men in

Switzerland before he left Glarus; but he was then a humanist and a

patriot rather than a theologian and a religious teacher. He was

zealous for intellectual culture and political reform, but shows no

special interest in the spiritual welfare of the Church. He did not

pass through a severe struggle and violent crisis, like Luther, but by

diligent seeking and searching he attained to the knowledge of the

truth. His conversion was a gradual intellectual process, rather than a

sudden breach with the world; but, after he once had chosen the

Scriptures for his guide, he easily shook off the traditions of Rome,

which never had a very strong hold upon him. That process began at

Glarus, and was completed at Zurich.

His moral character at Glarus and at Einsiedeln was, unfortunately, not

free from blemish. He lacked the grace of continence and fell with

apparent ease into a sin which was so common among priests, and so

easily overlooked if only proper caution was observed, according to the

wretched maxim, "Si non caste, saltem caute." The fact rests on his own

honest confession, and was known to his friends, but did not injure his

standing and influence; for he was in high repute as a priest, and even

enjoyed a papal pension. He resolved to reform in Glarus, but relapsed

in Einsiedeln under the influence of bad examples, to his deep

humiliation. After his marriage in Zurich, his life was pure and

honorable and above the reproach of his enemies.

NOTES ON ZWINGLI'S MORAL CHARACTER.

Recent discussions have given undue prominence to the blot which rests

on Zwingli's earlier life, while yet a priest in the Roman Church.

Janssen, the ultramontane historian, has not one word of praise for

Zwingli, and violates truth and charity by charging him with habitual,

promiscuous, and continuous licentiousness, not reflecting that he

thereby casts upon the Roman Church the reproach of inexcusable laxity

in discipline. Zwingli was no doubt guilty of occasional

transgressions, but probably less guilty than the majority of Swiss

priests who lived in open or secret concubinage at that time (see � 2,

p. 6); yea, he stood so high in public estimation at Einsiedeln and

Zurich, that Pope Hadrian VI., through his Swiss agent, offered him

every honor except the papal chair. But we will not excuse him, nor

compare his case (as some have done) with that of St. Augustin; for

Augustin, when he lived in concubinage, was not a priest and not even

baptized, and he confessed his sin before the whole world with deeper

repentance than Zwingli, who rather made light of it. The facts are

these: --

1) Bullinger remarks (Reformationsgesch. I. 8) that Zwingli was

suspected in Glarus of improper connection with several women ("weil er

wegen einiger Weiber verargwohnt war"). Bullinger was his friend and

successor, and would not slander him; but he judged mildly of a vice

which was so general among priests on account of celibacy. He himself

was the son of a priest, as was also Leo Judae.

2) Zwingli, in a confidential letter to Canon Utinger at Zurich, dated

Einsiedeln, Dec. 3, 1518 (Opera, VII. 54-57), contradicts the rumor

that he had seduced the daughter of an influential citizen in

Einsiedeln, but admits his unchastity. This letter is a very strange

apology, and, as he says himself, a blateratio rather than a

satisfactio. He protests, on the one hand (what Janssen omits to

state), that he never dishonored a married woman or a virgin or a nun

("ea ratio nobis perpetuo fuit, nec alienum thorum conscendere, nec

virginem vitiare, nec Deo dicatam profanare"); but, on the other hand,

he speaks lightly, we may say frivolously, of his intercourse with the

impure daughter of a barber who was already, dishonored, and apologizes

for similar offences committed in Glarus. This is the worst feature in

the letter, and casts a dark shade on his character at that time. He

also refers (p. 57) to the saying of Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.):

"Non est qui vigesimum annum excessit, nec virginem tetigerit." His own

superiors set him a bad example. Nevertheless he expresses regret, and

applies to himself the word, 2 Pet. 2:22, and says, "Christus per nos

blasphematur."

3) Zwingli, with ten other priests, petitioned the bishop of Constance

in Latin (Einsiedeln, July 2, 1522), and the Swiss Diet in German

(Zurich, July 13, 1522), to permit the free preaching of the gospel and

the marriage of the clergy. He enforces the petition by an incidental

confession of the scandalous life of the clergy, including himself

(Werke, I. 39): "Euer ehrsam Wysheit hat bisher gesehen das unehrbar

schandlich Leben, welches wir leider bisher gef�hrt haben (wir wollen

allein von uns selbst geredet haben) mit Frauen, damit wir m�nniglich

�bel ver�rgert und verb�sert haben." But this document with eleven

signatures (Zwingli's is the last) is a general confession of clerical

immorality in the past, and does not justify Janssen's inference that

Zwingli continued such life at that time. Janssen (Ein zweites Wort an

meine Kritiker, p. 47), moreover, mistakes in this petition the Swiss

word r�w (Ruhe, rest) for r�wen (Reue, repentance), and makes the

petitioners say that they felt "no repentance," instead of "no rest."

The document, on the contrary, shows a decided advance of moral

sentiment as compared with the lame apology in the letter to Utinger,

and deeply deplores the state of clerical immorality. It is rather

creditable to the petitioners than otherwise; certainly very honest.

4) In a letter to his five brothers, Sept. 17, 1522, to whom he

dedicated a sermon on "the ever pure Virgin Mary, mother of God,"

Zwingli confesses that he was subject to Hoffahrt, Fressen,

Unlauterkeit, and other sins of the flesh (Werke, I. 86). This is his

latest confession; but if we read it in connection with the whole

letter, it makes the impression that he must have undergone a favorable

change about that time, and concluded a regular, though secret,

connection with his wife. As to temperance, Bullinger (I. 305) gives

him the testimony that he was "very temperate in eating and drinking."

5) Zwingli was openly married in April, 1524, to Anna Reinhart, a

respectable widow, and mother of several children, after having lived

with her about two years before in secret marriage. But this fact,

which Janssen construes into a charge of "unchaste intercourse," was

known to his intimate friends; for Myconius, in a letter of July 22,

1522, sends greetings to Zwingli and his wife ("Vale cum uxore quam

felicissime et tuis omnibus," Opera, VII. 210; and again: "Vale cum

uxore in Christo," p. 253). The same is implied in a letter of Bucer,

April 14, 1524 (p. 335; comp. the note of the editors). "The cases,"

says M�rikofer (I. 211), "were very frequent at that time, even with

persons of high position, that secret marriages were not ratified by a

religious ceremony till weeks and months afterwards." Before the

Council of Trent secret marriages were legitimate and valid. (Can. et

Decr. Conc. Trid., Sess. XXIV., Decr. de reform. matrimonii.)

Zwingli's character was unmercifully attacked by Janssen in his

Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, III. 83 sq.; An meine Kritiker (1883),

127-140; Ein zweites Wort an meine Kritiker (1888), 45-48; defended as

far as truth permits by Ebrard, Janssen und die Reformation (1882);

Usteri, Ulrich Zwingli (1883), 34-47; Alex. Schweizer, articles in the

"Protest. Kirchenzeitung," Berlin, 1883, Nos. 23-27. Janssen answered

Ebrard, but not Usteri and Schweizer. The main facts were correctly

stated before this controversy by M�rikofer, I. 49-53 and 128), and

briefly also by Hagenbach, and Merle (bk. VIII. ch. 6).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[21] The church in which he preached is jointly occupied by the Roman

Catholics and the Protestants, the community being divided. The old

church burnt down in 1861, but a new and better one was built on the

same spot.

[22] "Absque duce," says Myconius, in a letter to Zwingli, Oct. 28,

1518. Opera, VII. 51, 52.

[23] Zwingli wrote to Joachim Watt from Glarus, Feb. 23, 1513 (Opera,

VII. 9): "Ita enim Graecis studere destinavi ut qui me praeter Deum

amoveat, nesciam, on gloriae (quam nullis in rebus quaerere honeste

possem), sed sacratissimarum terarum ergo."

[24] Opera, vol. VII., pp. 10, 12, 221, 222, 251, 307, 310.

[25] Melanchthon wrote, Oct. 12, 1529: "Cinglius mihi confessus est, se

ex Erasmi scriptis primum hausisse opinionem suam de coena Domini."

Corp. Reform. IV. 970.

[26] "Tu pugna, mi Zwingli, non modo fortiter, verum etiam prudenter.

Dabit Christus, ut pugnes feliciter." Opera, VII. 221.

[27] See vol. VI. 202, 427. On Zwingli's relation to Erasmus, see

M�rikofer, I. 23 sqq., 176 sqq., and the monograph of Usteri quoted

above, p. 19.

[28] He gave a lively Latin narrative of the battle of the Swiss

against the French in Pavia to his friend Vadiantus.

[29] Opera (Deutsche Schriften), Tom. II. B. pp. 243-247.

[30] Fabelgedicht vom Ochsen und etlichen Thieren, Op., II. B. 257-269.

The ox is again the symbol of Switzerland. See the comments of the

editors, pp. 262 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 8. Zwingli in Einsiedeln.

In 1516 Zwingli left Glarus on account of the intrigues of the French

political party, which came into power after the victory of the French

at Marignano (1515), and accepted a call to Einsiedeln, but kept his

charge and expected to return; for the congregation was much attached

to him, and promised to build him a new parsonage. He supplied the

charge by a vicar, and drew his salary for two years, until he was

called to Zurich, when he resigned.

Einsiedeln [31] is a village with a Benedictine convent in the Catholic

canton Schwyz. It was then, and is to this day, a very famous resort of

pilgrims to the shrine of a wonder-working black image of the Virgin

Mary, which is supposed to have fallen from heaven. The number of

annual pilgrims from Switzerland, Germany, France, and Italy exceeds a

hundred thousand.

Here, then, was a large field of usefulness for a preacher. The convent

library afforded special facilities for study.

Zwingli made considerable progress in his knowledge of the Scriptures

and the Fathers. He read the annotations of Erasmus and the

commentaries of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, and Chrysostom. He made

extracts on the margin of his copies of their works which are preserved

in the libraries at Zurich. He seems to have esteemed Origen, Jerome,

and Chrysostom more, and Augustin less, than Luther did; but he also

refers frequently to Augustin in his writings. [32]

We have an interesting proof of his devotion to the Greek Testament in

a MS. preserved in the city library at Zurich. In 1517 he copied with

his own hand very neatly the Epistles of Paul and the Hebrews in a

little book for constant and convenient use. The text is taken from the

first edition of Erasmus, which appeared in March, 1516, and corrects

some typographical errors. It is very legible and uniform, and betrays

an experienced hand; the marginal notes, in Latin, from Erasmus and

patristic commentators, are very small and almost illegible. On the

last page he added the following note in Greek: --

"These Epistles were written at Einsiedeln of the blessed Mother of God

by Huldreich Zwingli, a Swiss of Toggenburg, in the year one thousand

five hundred and seventeen of the Incarnation, in the month of June.

[33] Happily ended." [34]

At the same time he began at Einsiedeln to attack from the pulpit

certain abuses and the sale of indulgences, when Samson crossed the

Alps in August, 1518. He says that he began to preach the gospel before

Luther's name was known in Switzerland, adding, however, that at that

time he depended too much on Jerome and other Fathers instead of the

Scriptures. He told Cardinal Schinner in 1517 that popery had poor

foundation in the Scriptures. Myconius, Bullinger, and Capito report,

in substantial agreement, that Zwingli preached in Einsiedeln against

abuses, and taught the people to worship Christ, and not the Virgin

Mary. The inscription on the entrance gate of the convent, promising

complete remission of sins, was taken down at his instance. [35] Beatus

Rhenanus, in a letter of Dec. 6, 1518, applauds his attack upon Samson,

the restorer of indulgences, and says that Zwingli preached to the

people the purest philosophy of Christ from the fountain. [36]

On the strength of these testimonies, many historians date the Swiss

Reformation from 1516, one year before that of Luther, which began Oct.

31, 1517. But Zwingli's preaching at Einsiedeln had no such

consequences as Luther's Theses. He was not yet ripe for his task, nor

placed on the proper field of action. He was at that time simply an

Erasmian or advanced liberal in the Roman Church, laboring for higher

education rather than religious renovation, and had no idea of a

separation. He enjoyed the full confidence of the abbot, the bishop of

Constance, Cardinal Schinner, and even the Pope. At Schinner's

recommendation, he was offered an annual pension of fifty guilders from

Rome as an encouragement in the pursuit of his studies, and he actually

received it for about five years (from 1515 to 1520). Pucci, the papal

nuncio at Zurich, in a letter dated Aug. 24, 1518, appointed him papal

chaplain (Accolitus Capellanus), with all the privileges and honors of

that position, assigning as the reason "his splendid virtues and

merits," and promising even higher dignities. [37] He also offered to

double his pension, and to give him in addition a canonry in Basle or

Coire, on condition that he should promote the papal cause. Zwingli

very properly declined the chaplaincy and the increase of salary, and

declared frankly that he would never sacrifice a syllable of the truth

for love of money; but he continued to receive the former pension of

fifty guilders, which was urged upon him without condition, for the

purchase of books. In 1520 he declined it altogether,--what he ought to

have done long before. [38] Francis Zink, the papal chaplain at

Einsiedeln, who paid the pension, was present at Zwingli's interview

with Pucci, and says, in a letter to the magistracy at Zurich (1521),

that Zwingli could not well have lived without the pension, but felt

very badly about it, and thought of returning to Einsiedeln. [39] Even

as late as Jan. 23, 1523, Pope Adrian VI., unacquainted with the true

state of things, wrote to Zwingli a kind and respectful letter, hoping

to secure through him the influence of Zurich for the holy see. [40]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[31] Maria-Einsiedeln, Deiparae Virginia Eremus, Eremitarum Coenobium

in Helvetiis, Notre-Dame-des-Eremites.

[32] Usteri has examined the marginal annotations in Zwingli's

patristic library, and gives the scanty results in his Initia Zwinglii,

in "Studien und Kritiken," 1886, p. 681 sq. The Zwingli library was on

exhibition at Zurich, Jan. 4-13, 1884, and a catalogue printed.

[33] Skirophorion,i.e. the 12th Attic month, answering to the latter

part of June and the first part of July. Skirophoria was the festival

of Athena Skiras, celebrated in that month. The year (1517) refutes the

error of several biographers, who date the MS. back to the period of

Glarus. Besides, there was no printed copy of the Greek Testament

before 1516.

[34] The subscription (as I copied it, with its slight errors, in the

Wasserkirche, Aug. 14, 1886) reads as follows:-- Tautai hai Epistolai

[ai] grapheisai Eremou tes makarias theo- tokou, para to Hulde- rucho

Zunglio Dog- gio helbetio, chilio- sto pentakosiosto hepta kai dekato

apo tes theogo- nias , menos skirrhophori- onos Eutichos [eutuchos]

[35] The inscription was, "Hic est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a

culpa et a poena." But the sermon against the worship of saints,

pilgrimages and vows, of which Bullinger speaks (I. 81), was preached

later, in 1522, at the Feast of Angels, during a visit of Zwingli to

Einsiedeln. See Pestalozzi, Leo Judae, ,p. 16, and Gieseler, III. i. p.

138.

[36] Opera, VII. A. 57: "Risimus abunde veniarum institorem [Bernh.

Samson], quem in litteris tuis graphice depinxisti... ." Then he

complains that most of the priests teach heathen and Jewish doctrines,

but that Zwingli and his like "purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis

fontibus populo proponere, non Scoticis et Gabrielicis

interpretationibus depravatam; sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano,

Hieronymo, germane et sincere expositam." Rhenanus contrasts the

Fathers with the Scholastics, Duns Scotus, and Gabriel Biel.

[37] See the letter of Anthonius Puccius to Zwingli in Opera, VII. A.

48 sq. The document of the appointment, with the signature and seal of

the papal legate, dated Sept. 1, 1518, is kept in the city library at

Zurich.

[38] Zwingli speaks of this pension very frankly and with deep regret

in a letter to his brothers (1522), and in his Exposition of the

Conclusions (1523). Werke, I. A. 86 and 354.

[39] Opera, VII. A. 179: "Ipse arbiter interfui, quum Domino Legato

Pucci ingenue fassus est, ipsum pecuniae causa rebus Papae agendis non

inserviturum," etc.

[40] Opera, VII. A. 266. The Pope addresses Zwingli "Dilecte fili,"

praises his "egregia virtus," assures him of his special confidence in

him and his best wishes for him. At the same time the Pope wrote to

Francis Zink to spare no effort to secure Zwingli for the papal

interest; and Zink replied to Myconius, when asked what the Pope

offered in return, "Omnia usque ad thronum papalem." Zwingli despised

it all. Ibid. p. 266, note.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 9. Zwingli and Luther.

Comp. Vol. VI. 620-651, and the portrait of Luther, p. 107.

The training of Zwingli for his life-work differs considerably from

that of Luther. This difference affected their future work, and

accounts in part for their collision when they met as antagonists in

writing, and on one occasion (at Marburg) face to face, in a debate on

the real presence. Comparisons are odious when partisan or sectarian

feeling is involved, but necessary and useful if impartial.

Both Reformers were of humble origin, but with this difference: Luther

descended from the peasantry, and had a hard and rough schooling, which

left its impress upon his style of polemics, and enhanced his power

over the common people; while Zwingli was the son of a magistrate, the

nephew of a dean and an abbot, and educated under the influence of the

humanists, who favored urbanity of manners. Both were brought up by

pious parents and teachers in the Catholic faith; but Luther was far

more deeply rooted in it than Zwingli, and adhered to some of its

doctrines, especially on the sacraments, with great tenacity to the

end. He also retained a goodly portion of Romish exclusivism and

intolerance. He refused to acknowledge Zwingli as a brother, and

abhorred his view of the salvation of unbaptized children and pious

heathen.

Zwingli was trained in the school of Erasmus, and passed from the

heathen classics directly to the New Testament. He represents more than

any other Reformer, except Melanchthon, the spirit of the Renaissance

in harmony with the Reformation. [41] He was a forerunner of modern

liberal theology. Luther struggled through the mystic school of Tauler

and Staupitz, and the severe moral discipline of monasticism, till he

found peace and comfort in the doctrine of justification by faith. Both

loved poetry and music next to theology, but Luther made better use of

them for public worship, and composed hymns and tunes which are sung to

this day.

Both were men of providence, and became, innocently, reformers of the

Church by the irresistible logic of events. Both drew their strength

and authority from the Word of God. Both labored independently for the

same cause of evangelical truth, the one on a smaller, the other on a

much larger field. Luther owed nothing to Zwingli, and Zwingli owed

little or nothing to Luther. Both were good scholars, great divines,

popular preachers, heroic characters.

Zwingli broke easily and rapidly with the papal system, but Luther only

step by step, and after a severe struggle of conscience. Zwingli was

more radical than Luther, but always within the limits of law and

order, and without a taint of fanaticism; Luther was more conservative,

and yet the chief champion of freedom in Christ. Zwingli leaned to

rationalism, Luther to mysticism; yet both bowed to the supreme

authority of the Scriptures. Zwingli had better manners and more

self-control in controversy; Luther surpassed him in richness and

congeniality of nature. Zwingli was a republican, and aimed at a

political and social, as well as an ecclesiastical reformation; Luther

was a monarchist, kept aloof from politics and war, and concentrated

his force upon the reformation of faith and doctrine. Zwingli was equal

to Luther in clearness and acuteness of intellect and courage of

conviction, superior in courtesy, moderation, and tolerance, but

inferior in originality, depth, and force. Zwingli's work and fame were

provincial; Luther's, worldwide. Luther is the creator of the modern

high-German book language, and gave to his people a vernacular Bible of

enduring vitality. Zwingli had to use the Latin, or to struggle with an

uncouth dialect; and the Swiss Version of the Bible by his faithful

friend Leo Judae remained confined to German Switzerland, but is more

accurate, and kept pace in subsequent revisions with the progress of

exegesis. Zwingli can never inspire, even among his own countrymen, the

same enthusiasm as Luther among the Germans. Luther is the chief hero

of the Reformation, standing in the front of the battle-field before

the Church and the world, defying the papal bull and imperial ban, and

leading the people of God out of the Babylonian captivity under the

gospel banner of freedom.

Each was the right man in the right place; neither could have done the

work of the other. Luther was foreordained for Germany, Zwingli for

Switzerland. Zwingli was cut down in the prime of life, fifteen years

before Luther; but, even if he had outlived him, he could not have

reached the eminence which belongs to Luther alone. The Lutheran Church

in Germany and the Reformed Church of Switzerland stand to this day the

best vindication of their distinct, yet equally evangelical Christian

work and character.

NOTES.

I add the comparative estimates of the two Reformers by two eminent and

equally unbiassed scholars, the one of German Lutheran, the other of

Swiss Reformed, descent.

Dr. Baur (the founder of the T�bingen school of critical historians)

says: [42] When the two men met, as at Marburg, Zwingli appears more

free, more unprejudiced, more fresh, and also more mild and

conciliatory; while Luther shows himself harsh and intolerant, and

repels Zwingli with the proud word: 'We have another spirit than you.'

[43] A comparison of their controversial writings can only result to

the advantage of Zwingli. But there can be no doubt that, judged by the

merits and effects of their reformatory labors, Luther stands much

higher than Zwingli. It is true, even in this respect, both stand quite

independent of each other. Zwingli has by no means received his impulse

from Luther; but Luther alone stands on the proper field of battle

where the cause of the Reformation had to be fought out. He is the

path-breaking Reformer, and without his labors Zwingli could never have

reached the historic significance which properly belongs to him

alongside of Luther." [44]

Dr. Alexander Schweizer (of Zurich), in his commemorative oration of

1884, does equal justice to both: "Luther and Zwingli founded, each

according to his individuality, the Reformation in the degenerated

Church, both strengthening and supplementing each other, but in many

respects also going different ways. How shall we estimate them,

elevating the one, lowering the other, as is the case with Goethe and

Schiller? Let us rather rejoice, according to Goethe's advice, in the

possession of two such men. May those Lutherans who wish to check the

growing union with the Reformed, continue to represent Luther as the

only Reformer, and, in ignorance of Zwingli's deep evangelical piety,

depreciate him as a mere humanistic illuminator: this shall not hinder

us from doing homage at the outset to Luther's full greatness,

contented with the independent position of our Zwingli alongside of

this first hero of the Reformation; yea, we deem it our noblest task in

this Zwingli festival at Zurich, which took cheerful part in the

preceding Luther festival, to acknowledge Luther as the chief hero of

the battle of the Reformation, and to put his world-historical and

personal greatness in the front rank; and this all the more since

Zwingli himself, and afterwards Calvin, have preceded us in this high

estimate of Luther." [45]

Phillips Brooks (Bishop of Massachusetts, the greatest preacher of the

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, d. 1893):, Of all the

Reformers, in this respect [tolerance], Zwingli, who so often in the

days of darkness is the man of light, is the noblest and clearest. At

the conference in Marburg he contrasts most favorably with Luther in

his willingness to be reconciled for the good of the common cause, and

he was one of the very few who in those days believed that the good and

earnest heathen could be saved." (Lectures on Tolerance, New York,

1887, p. 34.)

Of secular historians, J. Michelet (Histoire de France, X. 310 sq.)

shows a just appreciation of Zwingli, and his last noble confession

addressed to the King of France. He says of him: "Grand docteur,

meilleur patriote, nature forte et simple, il a montr� le type m�me, le

vrai g�nie de la Suisse, dans sa fi�re ind�pendance de l'Italie, de

l'Allemagne. ... Son langage � Fran�ois 1er, digne de la Renaissance,

�tablissait la question de l'�glise dans sa grandeur." He then quotes

the passage of the final salvation of all true and noble men, which no

man with a heart can ever forget.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[41] Martin, in his Histoire de France, VIII. 156, makes a similar

remark, "On peut consid�rer l'oeuvre de Zwingli comme le plus puissant

effort qui ait �t�fuit pour sanctifier la Renaissance et l'unir �la

R�forme en Jesus-Christ." He calls Zwingli (p. 168) the man of the

largest thought and greatest heart of the Reformation ("qui porte en

lui la plus large pens�e et le plus grand coeur de la R�formation").

[42] Kirchengeschichte, IV. ST sq.

[43] Martin, another impartial and dogmatically unbiased writer,

likewise gives, with reference to the Marburg conference, "the honors

of the debate, for logic and for moderation and brotherly charity," to

Zwingli. Hist. de France, VIII. 114, note. So does Dean Stanley

[44] "Neben Luther." This is the proper expression, which also

Schweizer has chosen. Usteri places Zwingli too high when he calls him

"ein Martin Luther ebenb�rtiger Zeuge des evangelischen Glaubens." He

is independent, but not equal.

[45] Zwingli's Bedeutung neben Luther. Festrede zu Zwingli's 400

j�hrigem Geburtstag 1 Jan., 1484, gehalten in der Universit�tsaula zu

Z�rich 7 Jan., 1884 (Z�rich, 1884), p. 3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION IN ZURICH. 1519-1526.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 10. Zwingli called to Zurich.

The fame of Zwingli as a preacher and patriot secured him a call to the

position of chief pastor of the Great Minster (Grossm�nster), the

principal church in Zurich, which was to become the Wittenberg of

Switzerland. Many of the Zurichers had heard him preach on their

pilgrimages to Einsiedeln. His enemies objected to his love of music

and pleasure, and charged him with impurity, adding slander to truth.

His friend Myconius, the teacher of the school connected with the

church, exerted all his influence in his favor. He was elected by

seventeen votes out of twenty-four, Dec. 10, 1518.

He arrived in Zurich on the 27th of the month, and received a hearty

welcome. He promised to fulfil his duties faithfully, and to begin with

the continuous exposition of the Gospel of Matthew, so as to bring the

whole life of Christ before the mind of the people. This was a

departure from the custom of following the prescribed Gospel and

Epistle lessons, but justified by the example of the ancient Fathers,

as Chrysostom and Augustin, who preached on whole books. The Reformed

Churches reasserted the freedom of selecting texts; while Luther

retained the Catholic system of pericopes.

Zurich, the most flourishing city in German Switzerland, beautifully

situated in an amphitheatre of fertile hills, on the lake of the same

name and the banks of the Limmat, dates its existence from the middle

of the ninth century when King Louis the German founded there the abbey

of Frauem�nster (853). The spot was known in old Roman times as a

custom station (Turicum). It became a free imperial city of

considerable commerce between Germany and Italy, and was often visited

by kings and emperors.

The Great Minster was built in the twelfth century, and passed into the

Reformed communion, like the minsters of Basle, Berne, and Lausanne,

which are the finest churches in Switzerland.

In the year 1315 Zurich joined the Swiss confederacy by an eternal

covenant with Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. This led to a

conflict with Austria, which ended favorably for the confederacy. [46]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Zurich numbered seven

thousand inhabitants. It was the centre of the international relations

of Switzerland, and the residence of the embassadors (sic) of foreign

powers which rivalled with each other in securing the support of Swiss

soldiers. This fact brought wealth and luxury, and fostered party

spirit and the lust of gain and power among the citizens. Bullinger

says, "Before the preaching of the gospel [the Reformation], Zurich was

in Switzerland what Corinth was in Greece." [47]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[46] On the early history of Zurich, see Bluntschli, Geschichte der

Republik Z�rich, 2d ed. 1856; G. v. Wyss, Z�rich am Ausgange des 13ten

Jahrh., 1876; Dierauer, Geschichte der Schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft, vol.

I. (1887), 171-217.

[47] M�rikofer (I. 430 sqq.) gives a disgusting example of the rudeness

and licentiousness of the Zurichers of that time.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 11. Zwingli's Public Labors and Private Studies.

Zwingli began his duties in Zurich on his thirty-sixth birthday (Jan.

1, 1519) by a sermon on the genealogy of Christ, and announced that on

the next day (which was a Sunday) he would begin a series of expository

discourses on the first Gospel. From Matthew he proceeded to the Acts,

the Pauline and Catholic Epistles; so that in four years he completed

the homiletical exposition of the whole New Testament except the

Apocalypse (which he did not regard as an apostolic book). In the

services during the week he preached on the Psalms. He prepared himself

carefully from the original text. He probably used for his first course

Chrysostom's famous Homilies on Matthew. With the Greek he was already

familiar since his sojourn in Glarus. The Hebrew he learned from a

pupil of Reuchlin who had come to Zurich. His copy of Reuchlin's

Rudimenta Hebraica is marked with many notes from his hand. [48]

His sermons, as far as published, are characterized, as Hagenbach says,

"by spiritual sobriety and manly solidity." They are plain, practical,

and impressive, and more ethical than doctrinal.

He made it his chief object "to preach Christ from the fountain," and

"to insert the pure Christ into the hearts." [49] He would preach

nothing but what he could prove from the Scriptures, as the only rule

of Christian faith and practice. This is a reformatory idea; for the

aim of the Reformation was to reopen the fountain of the New Testament

to the whole people, and to renew the life of the Church by the power

of the primitive gospel. By his method of preaching on entire books he

could give his congregation a more complete idea of the life of Christ

and the way of salvation than by confining himself to detached

sections. He did not at first attack the Roman Church, but only the

sins of the human heart; he refuted errors by the statement of truth.

[50] His sermons gained him great popularity in Zurich. The people

said, "Such preaching was never heard before." Two prominent citizens,

who were disgusted with the insipid legendary discourses of priests and

monks, declared after hearing his first sermon, "This is a genuine

preacher of the truth, a Moses who will deliver the people from

bondage." They became his constant hearers and devoted friends.

Zwingli was also a devoted pastor, cheerful, kind, hospitable and

benevolent. He took great interest in young men, and helped them to an

education. He was, as Bullinger says, a fine-looking man, of more than

middle size, with a florid complexion, and an agreeable, melodious

voice, which, though not strong, went to the heart. We have no portrait

from his lifetime; he had no Lucas Kranach near him, like Luther; all

his pictures are copies of the large oil painting of Hans Asper in the

city library at Zurich, which was made after his death, and is rather

hard and wooden. [51]

Zwingli continued his studies in Zurich and enlarged his library, with

the help of his friends Glareanus and Beatus Rhenanus, who sent him

books from Basle, the Swiss headquarters of literature. He did not

neglect his favorite classics, and read, as Bullinger says, Aristotle,

Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Horace, Sallust, and Seneca. But his chief

attention was now given to the Scriptures and the patristic

commentaries.

In the meantime Luther's reform was shaking the whole Church, and

strengthened and deepened his evangelical convictions in a general way,

although he had formed them independently. Some of Luther's books were

reprinted in Basle in 1519, and sent to Zwingli by Rhenanus. Lutheran

ideas were in the air, and found attentive ears in Switzerland. He

could not escape their influence. The eucharistic controversy produced

an alienation; but he never lost his great respect for Luther and his

extraordinary services to the Church. [52]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[48] He wrote to Myconius in 1522: "Statui proximis diebus in manus

resumere literas Hebraicas; nam futuro Decembri ... Psalmos praelegam."

Opera, VII. 145.

[49] Christum ex fontibus praedicare, purum Christum animis inserere.

Comp. his letter to Myconius (1520), Opera, VII. 142 sqq.

[50] He did not elaborate his discourses on Matthew for publication,

but we have fragmentary reports from the year 1525. See the extracts in

M�rikofer I. 57-63.

[51] See Asper's portrait on p. 16, and the description of the Zwingli

pictures in M�rikofer, I. 345, and in the pamphlet,

Zwingli-Ausstellung, Zurich, January, 1884.

[52] In Zwingli's library are few works of Luther, and they have no

annotations. (Usteri, l.c., p. 716.) His noble tribute to Luther is

quoted in this History, vol. VI. 668.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 12. Zwingli and the Sale of Indulgences.

Bernhardin Samson, a Franciscan monk of Milan, crossed the St. Gotthard

to Switzerland in August, 1518, as apostolic general commissioner for

the sale of indulgences. He is the Tetzel of Switzerland, and equalled

him in the audacious profanation of holy things by turning the

forgiveness of sins and the release from purgatorial punishment into

merchandise. He gave the preference to the rich who were willing to buy

letters of indulgence on parchment for a crown. To the poor he sold the

same article on common paper for a few coppers. In Berne he absolved

the souls of all the departed Bernese of the pains of purgatory. In

Bremgarten he excommunicated Dean Bullinger (the father of Henry) for

opposing his traffic. But in Zurich he was stopped in his career.

Zwingli had long before been convinced of the error of indulgences by

Wyttenbach when he studied in Basle. He had warned the people against

Samson at Einsiedeln. He exerted his influence against him in Zurich;

and the magistracy, and even the bishop of Constance (who preferred to

sell indulgences himself) supported the opposition. Samson was obliged

to return to Italy with his "heavy, three-horse wagon of gold." Rome

had learned a lesson of wisdom from Luther's Theses, and behaved in the

case of Samson with more prudence and deference to the sentiment of the

enlightened class of Catholics. Leo X., in a brief of April, 1519,

expressed his willingness to recall and to punish him if he had

transgressed his authority. [53]

The opposition to the sale of indulgences is the opening chapter in the

history of the German Reformation, but a mere episode in the Swiss

Reformation. That battle had been fought out victoriously by Luther.

Zwingli came in no conflict with Rome on this question, and was even

approved for his conduct by Dr. Faber, the general vicar of the diocese

of Constance, who was then his friend, but became afterwards his enemy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[53] M�rikofer, I. 65 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 13. Zwingli during the Pestilence.

In the summer of 1519 Zwingli went to the famous bath of Pf�ffers at

Ragatz to gather strength for his prospectively onerous duties at

Zurich, in view of the danger of the approach of the plague from Basle.

As soon as he learned, in August, that the plague had broken out in

Zurich, he hastened back without stopping to visit his relations on the

way. For several weeks he devoted himself, like a faithful shepherd,

day after day, to the care of the sick, until he fell sick himself at

the end of September. His life was in great danger, as he had worn

himself out. The papal legate sent his own physician to his aid. The

pestilence destroyed twenty-five hundred lives; that is, more than

one-third of the population of Zurich. Zwingli recovered, but felt the

effects on his brain and memory, and a lassitude in all limbs till the

end of the year. His friends at home and abroad, including Faber,

Pirkheimer, and D�rer at N�rnberg, congratulated him on his recovery.

The experience during this season of public distress and private

affliction must have exerted a good influence upon his spiritual life.

[54] We may gather this from the three poems, which he composed and set

to music soon afterwards, on his sickness and recovery. They consist

each of twenty-six rhymed iambic verses, and betray great skill in

versification. They breathe a spirit of pious resignation to the will

of God, and give us an insight into his religious life at that time.

[55] He wrote another poem in 1529, and versified the Sixty-ninth

Psalm. [56]

Zwingli's Poems during the Pestilence, with a Free Condensed

Translation.

I. Im Anfang der Krankheit.

Hilf, Herr Gott, hilf

In dieser Noth;

Ich mein', der Tod

Syg [57] an der Th�r.

Stand, Christe, f�r;

Denn du ihn �berwunden hast!

Zu dir ich gilf: [58]

Ist es din Will,

Zuch us den Pfyl, [59]

Din Haf [60] bin ich,

Mach ganz ald [61] brich.

Dann nimmst du hin

Den Geiste min

Der mich verwundt,

Nit lass ein Stund

Mich haben weder R�w [62] noch Rast!

Willt du dann glych [63]

Todt haben mich

Inmitts der Tagen min,

So soll es willig syn.

Thu, wie Du willt,

Mich n�t befilt. [64]

Von dieser Erd,

Thust du's, dass er nit b�ser werd,

Ald andern nit

Befleck ihr Leben fromm und Sitt.

II. Mitten in der Krankheit.

Tr�st, Herr Gott, tr�st!

Die Krankheit wachst, [65]

Weh und Angst fasst

Min Seel und Lyb. [66]

Darum dich schybr [67]

Gen mir, einiger Trost, mit Gnad!

Die gw�ss erl�st

Bin jeden, der Sin herzlich B'ger

Und Hoffnung setzt

In dich, versch�tzt.

Darzu diss Zyt all Nutz und Schad.

Nun ist es um;

Min Zung ist stumm,

Mag sprechen nit ein Wort;

Min Sinn' sind all verdorrt,

Darum ist Zyt, [68] Dass Du min Stryt [69]

F�hrist f�rhin;

So ich nit bin

So stark, dass ich

M�g tapferlich

Thun Widerstand

Des T�fels Facht [70] und frefner Hand.

Doch wird min Gm�th

St�t bliben dir, wie er auch w�th.

III. Zur Genesung.

G'sund, Herr Gott, g'sund!

Ich mein', ich kehr

Schon wiedrum her.

Ja, wenn dich dunkt,

Der S�nden Funk'

Werd nit mehr bherrschen mich uf Erd,

So muss min Mund

Din Lob und Lehr

Ussprechen mehr

Denn vormals je,

Wie es auch geh'

Einf�ltiglich ohn' alle G'f�hrd.

Wiewohl ich muss

Des Todes buss

Erliden zwar einmal

Villicht mit gr�ss'rer Qual,

Denn jezund w�r'

Geschehen, Herr!

So ich sunst bin

Nach [71] gfahren hin,

So will ich doch

Den Trutz und Poch [72]

In dieser Welt

Tragen fr�hlich um Widergelt, [73]

Mit H�lfe din,

Ohn' den n�t [74] mag vollkommen syn.

I. In the Beginning of his Sickness.

Help me, O Lord,

My strength and rock;

Lo, at the door

I hear death's knock.

Uplift thine arm,

Once pierced for me,

That conquered death,

And set me free.

Yet, if thy voice,

In life's mid-day

Recalls my soul,

Then I obey.

In faith and hope,

Earth I resign,

Secure of heaven,

For I am Thine.

II. In the Midst of his Sickness.

My pains increase;

Haste to console;

For fear and woe

Seize body and soul.

Lo! Satan strains

To snatch his prey;

I feel his grasp;

Must I give way?

Death is at hand,

My senses fail,

My tongue is dumb;

Now, Christ, prevail.

He harms me not,

I fear no loss,

For here lie

Beneath Thy cross.

III. On Recovering from his Sickness.

My God! my Lord!

Healed by Thy hand,

Upon the earth

Once more I stand.

Though now delayed,

My hour will come,

Involved, perchance,

In deeper gloom.

Let sin no more

Rule over me;

My mouth shall sing

Alone of Thee.

But, let it come;

With joy I'll rise,

And bear my yoke

Straight to the skies.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[54] Merle d'Aubign� overrates the influence of this sickness by dating

from it Zwingli's conversion and entire consecration to God. There was

no sudden change in his life, as in Paul or Luther: he developed

gradually.

[55] The original is given in Werke, II. 269-274, with a good modern

reproduction by Fulda; also by M�rikofer, I. 72-74; and Hagenbach, 218

(5th ed. by Nippold). Abridged translations in the English editions of

Merle d'Aubign�'s History of the Reformation, Bk. VIII. ch. 8 ("Lo! at

my door gaunt death I spy," etc.), and in Miss Moore's translation of

Hagenbach's History of the Reformation (Edinb., 1878, vol. I. 274). The

structure of the poems is very artificial and difficult to reproduce.

[56] These poems passed into the oldest Zurich hymn and tune books of

1560 and 1570, and are printed together by Wackernagel, Das Deutsche

Kirchenlied, vol. III. 500-503.

[57] Sei.

[58] flehe, schreie.

[59] Pfeil.

[60] Ruh.

[61] doch.

[62] fehlt.

[63] Gef�ss..

[64] oder.

[65] w�chst.

[66] Leib.

[67] wende.

[68] Zeit.

[69] Streit.

[70] Anfechtung..

[71] beinahe.

[72] Ungest�m.

[73] Vergeltung.

[74] nichts.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 14. The Open Breach. Controversy about Fasts. 1522.

Zwingli was permitted to labor in Zurich for two years without serious

opposition, although he had not a few enemies, both religious and

political. The magistracy of Zurich took at first a neutral position,

and ordered the priests of the city and country to preach the

Scriptures, and to be silent about human inventions (1520). This is the

first instance of an episcopal interference of the civil authority in

matters of religion. It afterwards became a settled custom in

Protestant Switzerland with the full consent of Zwingli. He was

appointed canon of the Grossm�nster, April 29, 1521, with an additional

salary of seventy guilders, after he had given up the papal pension.

With this moderate income he was contented for the rest of his life.

During Lent, 1522, Zwingli preached a sermon in which he showed that

the prohibition of meat in Lent had no foundation in Scripture. Several

of his friends, including his publisher, Froschauer, made practical use

of their liberty.

This brought on an open rupture. The bishop of Constance sent a strong

deputation to Zurich, and urged the observance of the customary fasts.

The magistracy prohibited the violation, and threatened to punish the

offenders (April 9, 1522). [75] Zwingli defended himself in a tract on

the free use of meats (April 16). [76] It is his first printed book. He

essentially takes the position of Paul, that, in things indifferent,

Christians have liberty to use or to abstain, and that the Church

authorities have no right to forbid this liberty. He appeals to such

passages as 1 Cor. 8:8; 10:25; Col. 2:16; 1 Tim. 4:1; Rom. 14:1-3;

15:1, 2.

The bishop of Constance issued a mandate to the civil authorities (May

24), exhorting them to protect the ordinances of the Holy Church. [77]

He admonished the canons, without naming Zwingli, to prevent the spread

of heretical doctrines. He also sought and obtained the aid of the

Swiss Diet, then sitting at Lucerne.

Zwingli was in a dangerous position. He was repeatedly threatened with

assassination. But he kept his courage, and felt sure of ultimate

victory. He replied in the Archeteles ("the Beginning and the End"),

hoping that this first answer would be the last. [78] He protested that

he had done no wrong, but endeavored to lead men to God and to his Son

Jesus Christ in plain language, such as the common people could

understand. He warned the hierarchy of the approaching collapse of the

Romish ceremonies, and advised them to follow the example of Julius

Caesar, who folded his garments around him that he might fall with

dignity. The significance of this book consists in the strong statement

of the authority of the Scriptures against the authority of the Church.

Erasmus was much displeased with it.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[75] Egli, Actensammlung, p. 77 (No. 237). M�rikofer (I. 97) gives a

wrong date (March 19, 1521); but Egli's printer made an error in

correcting him by quoting vol. II. instead of I.

[76] Von Erkiesen und Fryheit der Spysen (De delectu et libero ciborum

usu). Werke, I. B. 1-30 a Latin version by Gwalter in Opera Lat. I.

324-339.

[77] Egli, p. 85; Strickler, I. 428. I give it here as a fair specimen

of the semi-barbarous German of Swiss documents of that period."Dass

unser v�tterlicher getr�wer rat und fr�ntlich ernstlich pitt ist, ir

w�llen die �rgenuss und widerw�rtigkeit by �ch selbs, den �wern und

andern f�rkommen und �ch obgemeldten der hailigen kirchen ordnungen und

guoten gewonhaiten in cristenlicher geainter gehorsami verglychen, die

vollziechen und solichs by den �wern zuo gesche(h)en, sovil an �ch,

verschaffen. Das halten wir dem Evangelio, der leer Pauli und dem

hailigen unserm cristenlichen glouben glychm�ssig. Ir tuond ouch daran

�ch und den �wern wolfart, von uns gn�digklich und fr�ntlich zuo

erkennen und zuo verdienen."

[78] Opera, III. 26-76.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 15. Petition for the Abolition of Clerical Celibacy. Zwingli's

Marriage.

In July of the same year (1522), Zwingli, with ten other priests, sent

a Latin petition to the bishop, and a German petition to the Swiss

Diet, to permit the free preaching of the gospel and the marriage of

the clergy as the only remedy against the evils of enforced celibacy.

He quotes the Scriptures for the divine institution and right of

marriage, and begs the confederates to permit what God himself has

sanctioned. He sent both petitions to Myconius in Lucerne for

signatures. Some priests approved, but were afraid to sign; others said

the petition was useless, and could only be granted by the pope or a

council. [79]

The petition was not granted. Several priests openly disobeyed. One

married even a nun of the convent of Oetenbach (1523); Reubli of

Wyticon married, April 28, 1523; Leo Judae, Sept. 19, 1523.

Zwingli himself entered into the marriage relation in 1522, [80] but

from prudential reasons he did not make it public till April 5, 1524

(more than a year before Luther's marriage, which took place June 13,

1525). Such cases of secret marriage were not unfrequent; but it would

have been better for his fame if, as a minister and reformer, he had

exercised self-restraint till public opinion was ripe for the change.

His wife, Anna Reinhart, [81] was the widow of Hans Meyer von Knonau,

[82] the mother of three children, and lived near Zwingli. She was two

years older than he. His enemies spread the report that he married for

beauty and wealth; but she possessed only four hundred guilders besides

her wardrobe and jewelry. She ceased to wear her jewelry after marrying

the Reformer.

We have only one letter of Zwingli to his wife, written from Berne,

Jan. 11, 1528, in which he addresses her as his dearest house-wife.

[83] From occasional expressions of respect and affection for his wife,

and from salutations of friends to her, we must infer that his family

life was happy; but it lacked the poetic charm of Luther's home. She

was a useful helpmate in his work. [84] She contributed her share

towards the creation of pastoral family life, with its innumerable

happy homes. [85]

In Zwingli's beautiful copy of the Greek Bible (from the press of Aldus

in Venice, 1518), which is still preserved and called "Zwingli's

Bible," he entered with his own hand a domestic chronicle, which

records the names, birthdays, and sponsors of his four children, as

follows: "Regula Zwingli, born July 13, 1524; [86] Wilhelm Zwingli,

born January 29, 1526; [87] Huldreich Zwingli, born Jan. 6, 1528; [88]

Anna Zwingli, born May 4, 1530." [89] His last male descendant was his

grandson, Ulrich, professor of theology, born 1556, died 1601. The last

female descendant was his great-granddaughter, Anna Zwingli, who

presented his MS. copy of the Greek Epistles of Paul to the city

library of Zurich in 1634.

Zwingli lived in great simplicity, and left no property. His little

study (the "Zwingli-St�bli"), in the official dwelling of the deacon of

the Great Minster, is carefully preserved in its original condition.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[79] � Werke, I. A. 30-51; III. 16-25.

[80] See the letters of Myconius from 1522, where he sends salutations

to Zwingli's wife, quoted in � 7, p. 28.

[81] His letter to her bears the inscription, "Der Frauen Anna

Reinhartin in Z�rich, seiner lieben Hausfrau." Opera, VIII. 134. Others

spell the name Reinhard.

[82] A soldier of wild habits, who belonged to one of the oldest and

richest families of Zurich, and died 1517.

[83] It is as follows (VIII. 134): "Gnad und Fried von Gott. Liebste

Hausfrau, ich sage Gott Dank, dass er dir eine fr�hliche Geburt

verliehen hat; der wolle uns die nach seinem Willen zu erziehen

verleihen. Schicke meiner Base ein oder zwei T�chli [T�chlein], solcher

Mass und Weise, als du sie tr�gst. Sie kommt ziemlich [sittsam], doch

nicht beginlich [i. e., wie eine Nonne, eine Beghine], ist eine Frau

von 40 Jahren in alle Weis und Mass, wie sie Meister J�rgen Frau

beschrieben hat. Thut mir und uns Allen �ber die Mass g�tlich. Bis

[Sei] hiemit Gott befohlen. Gr�sse mir Gevatter Schaffnerin, Ulmann

Trinkler, Schulthess Effingerin und wer dir lieb sei. Bitt Gott f�r

mich und uns Alle. Gegeben zu Bern 11. Tag J�nners. Gr�sse mir alle

deine Kinder. Besonders Margreth tr�ste in meinem Namen. Huldreich

Zwingli, dein Hauswirth."

[84] One of his friends calls her "eine Mitarbeiterin am Wort, welche

dir, dem Apostel, beh�lflich ist." Finsler, U. Zwingli, p. 52 sq.

[85] Comp. vol. VI. � 79, p. 473 sqq.

[86] She married Rudolf Gwalter, Bullinger's adopted son and successor,

and first editor of Zwingli's collected works.

[87] He studied at Strassburg with Capito, and died with him of the

pestilence, 1541.

[88] He became pastor of the Prediger-Kirche, and married Bullinger's

oldest daughter, Anna.

[89] Anna died very young, and her death is recorded in the same book.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 16. Zwingli and Lambert of Avignon.

In July, 1522, there appeared in Zurich a Franciscan monk, Lambert of

Avignon, in his monastic dress, riding on a donkey. He had left his

convent in the south of France, and was in search of evangelical

religion. Haller of Berne recommended him to Zwingli. Lambert preached

some Latin sermons against the abuses of the Roman Church, but still

advocated the worship of saints and of the Virgin Mary. Zwingli

interrupted him with the remark, "You err," and convinced him of his

error in a disputation.

The Franciscan thanked God and proceeded to Wittenberg, where Luther

received him kindly. At the Synod of Homberg (1526) he advocated a

scheme of Presbyterian church government, and at the conference at

Marburg he professed to be converted to Zwingli's view of the Lord's

Supper. [90]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[90] See vol. VI. 582 sqq., 586 sq., 649. Comp. Bullinger, I. 76 sqq.;

Haller's letter to Zwingli, July 8, 1522 (Opera, VII. 206 sq.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 17. The Sixty-seven Conclusions.

On the Sixty-seven Conclusions and the Three Disputations see Zwingli:

Werke, I. A. 105 sqq.; Bullinger: I. 97 sqq.; Egli: 111, 114, 173 sqq.;

M�rikofer: I. 138 sqq., 191 sqq. The text of the Sixty-seven Articles

in Swiss-German, Werke, I. A. 153-157; in modern German and Latin, in

Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, III. 197-207.

Zwingli's views, in connection with the Lutheran Reformation in

Germany, created a great commotion, not only in the city and canton of

Zurich, but in all Switzerland. At his suggestion, the government--that

is, the burgomaster and the small and large Council (called The Two

Hundred)--ordered a public disputation which should settle the

controversy on the sole basis of the Scriptures.

For this purpose Zwingli published Sixty-seven Articles or Conclusions

(Schlussreden). They are the first public statement of the Reformed

faith, but they never attained symbolical authority, and were

superseded by maturer confessions. They resemble the Ninety-five Theses

of Luther against indulgences, which six years before had opened the

drama of the German Reformation; but they mark a great advance in

Protestant sentiment, and cover a larger number of topics. They are

full of Christ as the only Saviour and Mediator, and clearly teach the

supremacy of the Word of God as the only rule of faith; they reject and

attack the primacy of the Pope, the Mass, the invocation of saints, the

meritoriousness of human works, the fasts, pilgrimages, celibacy,

purgatory, etc., as unscriptural commandments of men.

The following are the most important of these theses: --

1. All who say that the gospel is nothing without the approbation of

the Church, err and cast reproach upon God.

2. The sum of the gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of

God, has made known to us the will of his heavenly Father, and redeemed

us by his innocence from eternal death, and reconciled us to God.

3. Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation to all who were, who

are, who shall be.

4. Whosoever seeks or shows another door, errs--yea, is a murderer of

souls and a robber.

7. Christ is the head of all believers who are his body; but without

him

the body is dead.

8. All who live in this Head are his members and children of God. And

this is the Church, the communion of saints, the bride of Christ, the

Ecclesia catholica.

15. Who believes the gospel shall be saved; who believes not, shall be

damned. For in the gospel the whole truth is clearly contained.

16. From the gospel we learn that the doctrines and traditions of men

are of no use to salvation.

17. Christ is the one eternal high-priest. Those who pretend to be

highpriests resist, yea, set aside, the honor and dignity of Christ.

18. Christ, who offered himself once on the cross, is the sufficient

and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the

mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the

cross, and a seal of the redemption through Christ.

19. Christ is the only Mediator between God and us.

22. Christ is our righteousness. From this it follows that our works

are good so far as they are Christ's, but not good so far as they are

our own.

24. Christians are not bound to any works which Christ has not

commanded. They may eat at all times all kinds of food.

26. Nothing is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy.

27. All Christians are brethren.

28. Whatsoever God permits and has not forbidden, is right. Therefore

marriage is becoming to all men.

34. The spiritual [hierarchical] power, so called, has no foundation in

the Holy Scriptures and the teaching of Christ. [91]

35. But the secular power [of the state] is confirmed by the teaching

and example of Christ. [92]

37, 38. All Christians owe obedience to the magistracy, provided it

does not command what is against God. [93]

49. I know of no greater scandal than the prohibition of lawful

marriage to priests, while they are permitted for money to have

concubines. Shame! [94]

50. God alone forgives sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord alone.

57. The Holy Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life.

58, 59. God alone knows the condition of the departed, and the less he

has made known to us, the less we should pretend to know.

66. All spiritual superiors should repent without delay, and set up the

cross of Christ alone, or they will perish. The axe is laid at the

root.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[91] Zwingli means the worldly power and splendor of the pope and the

bishops, and quotes against it the lessons of humility, Matt. 18:1; 1

Pet. 5:1-3: "Die H�he nach der die p�pst und bishof strytend, hat

keinen Grund." See his Uslegung or defence of the Articles, Werke, I.

346 sq.

[92] For this he quotes Luke 2:5 and Matt. 22:21.

[93] In the Uslegung (I. 352 sq.) he explains Rom. 13:1: "Let every

soul be subject unto the higher powers." "Every soul," he says, "means

every living man, and includes popes, bishops, priests, monks and nuns.

Every power is from God; consequently, also, a bad magistracy, with

which God punishes our sins (Isa. 3:4). Then we must also obey the

pope, even a bad one, because he is set over us by God for punishment.

This I believe firmly, but I believe also that God will lead us out of

this captivity, as he led Israel out of Egypt through his servant

Moses."

[94] "Pfui der Schande," is added in the German text. In the Swiss

dialect, "Pfuch der Schand!" (I. A. 156). In the defence of this

article (I. 378 sq.), Zwingli strongly illustrates the evil effects of

the lewd life of the unmarried clergy upon the morals of the laity. "It

is easy," he says, "to command chastity; but no one is able to keep it

without the grace of God." Concerning his own case, See � 7, p. 27.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 18. The Public Disputations. 1523.

The first disputation was held in the city hall on Thursday, Jan. 29,

1523, in the German language, before about six hundred persons,

including all the clergy and members of the small and large Councils of

Zurich. St. Gall was represented by Vadian; Berne, by Sebastian Meyer;

Schaffhausen, by Sebastian Hofmeister. Oecolampadius from Basle

expected no good from disputations, and declined to come. He agreed

with Melanchthon's opinion about the Leipzig disputation of Eck with

Carlstadt and Luther. Nevertheless, he attended, three years

afterwards, the Disputation at Baden. The bishop of Constance sent his

general vicar, Dr. Faber, hitherto a friend of Zwingli, and a man of

respect, able learning and an able debater, with three others as

counsellors and judges. Faber declined to enter into a detailed

discussion of theological questions which, he thought, belong to the

tribunal of Councils or of renowned universities, as Paris, Cologne and

Louvain. Zwingli answered his objections, and convinced the audience.

[95]

On the same day the magistracy passed judgment in favor of Zwingli, and

directed him "to continue to preach the holy gospel as heretofore, and

to proclaim the true, divine Scriptures until he was better informed."

All other preachers and pastors in the city and country were warned

"not to preach anything which they could not establish by the holy

Gospel and other divine Scriptures," and to avoid personal controversy

and bitter names. [96]

Zwingli prepared a lengthy and able defence of his Articles against the

charges of Faber, July, 1523. [97]

The disputation soon produced its natural effects. Ministers took

regular wives; the nunnery of Oetenbach was emptied; baptism was

administered in the vernacular, and without exorcism; the mass and

worship of images were neglected and despised. A band of citizens,

under the lead of a shoemaker, Klaus Hottinger, overthrew the great

wooden crucifix in Stadelhofen, near the city, and committed other

lawless acts. [98]

Zwingli was radical in his opposition to idolatrous and superstitious

ceremonies, but disapproved disorderly methods, and wished the

magistracy to authorize the necessary changes.

Consequently, a second disputation was arranged for October 26, 1523,

to settle the question of images and of the mass. All the ministers of

the city and canton were ordered to attend; the twelve other cantons,

the bishops of Constance, Coire and Basle, and the University of Basle

were urgently requested to send learned delegates. The bishop of

Constance replied (Oct. 16) that he must obey the Pope and the Emperor,

and advised the magistracy to wait for a general council. The bishop of

Basle excused himself on account of age and sickness, but likewise

referred to a council and warned against separation. The bishop of

Coire made no answer. Most of the cantons declined to send delegates,

except Schaffhausen and St. Gall. Unterwalden honestly replied that

they had no learned men among them, but pious priests who faithfully

adhered to the old faith of Christendom, which they preferred to, all

innovations.

The second disputation was held in the city hall, and lasted three

days. There were present about nine hundred persons, including three

hundred and fifty clergymen and ten doctors. Dr. Vadian of St. Gall,

Dr. Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, and Dr. Schappeler of St. Gall

presided. Zwingli and Leo Judae defended the Protestant cause, and had

the advantage of superior Scripture learning and argument. The Roman

party betrayed much ignorance; but Martin Steinli of Schaffhausen ably

advocated the mass. Konrad Schmid of K�ssnacht took a moderate

position, and produced great effect upon the audience by his eloquence.

His judgment was, first to take the idolatry out of the heart before

abolishing the outward images, and to leave the staff to the weak until

they are able to walk without it and to rely solely on Christ. [99]

The Council was not prepared to order the immediate abolition of the

mass and the images. It punished Hottinger and other "idol-stormers" by

banishment, and appointed a commission of ministers and laymen,

including Zwingli, Schmidt and Judae, who should enlighten the people

on the subject by preaching and writing. . Zwingli prepared his "Short

and Christian Introduction," which was sent by the Council of Two

Hundred to all the ministers of the canton, the bishops of Constance,

Basle, and Coire, the University of Basle, and to the twelve other

cantons (Nov. 17, 1523). [100] It may be compared to the instruction of

Melanchthon for the visitation of the churches of Saxony (1528).

A third disputation, of a more private character, was held Jan. 20,

1524. The advocates of the mass were refuted and ordered not to resist

any longer the decisions of the magistracy, though they might adhere to

their faith.

During the last disputation, Zwingli preached a sermon on the corrupt

state of the clergy, which he published by request in March, 1524,

under the title "The Shepherd." [101] He represents Christ as the good

Shepherd in contrast with the selfish hirelings, according to the

parable in the tenth chapter of the Gospel of John. Among the false

shepherds he counts the bishops who do not preach at all; those priests

who teach their own dreams instead of the Word of God; those who preach

the Word but for the glorification of popery; those who deny their

preaching by their conduct; those who preach for filthy lucre; and,

finally, all who mislead men away from the Creator to the creature.

Zwingli treats the papists as refined idolaters, and repeatedly

denounces idolatry as the root of the errors and abuses of the Church.

During the summer of 1524 the answers of the bishops and the Diet

appeared, both in opposition to any innovations. The bishop of

Constance, in a letter to Zurich, said that he had consulted several

universities; that the mass and the images were sufficiently warranted

by the Scriptures, and had always been in use. The canton appointed a

commission of clergymen and laymen to answer the episcopal document.

[102] The Swiss Diet, by a deputation, March 21, 1524, expressed regret

that Zurich sympathized with the new, unchristian Lutheran religion,

and prayed the canton to remain faithful to old treaties and customs,

in which case the confederates would cheerfully aid in rooting out real

abuses, such as the shameful trade in benefices, the selling of

indulgences, and the scandalous lives of the clergy.

Thus forsaken by the highest ecclesiastical and civil authorities, the

canton of Zurich acted on its own responsibility, and carried out the

contemplated reforms.

The three disputations mark an advance beyond the usual academic

disputations in the Latin language. They were held before laymen as

well as clergymen, and in the vernacular. They brought religious

questions before the tribunal of the people according to the genius of

republican institutions. They had, therefore, more practical effect

than the disputation at Leipzig. The German Reformation was decided by

the will of the princes; the Swiss Reformation, by the will of the

people: but in both cases there was a sympathy between the rulers and

the majority of the population.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[95] An unofficial report of the disputation was published by

Hegenwald, March 3, 1523 (Werke, I. A. 106-168). Faber issued, March

10, a counter-report. Seven Zurichers replied to him in, "Das

Gyrenrupfen" (Geyerrupfen), 1523, and charged him with lying and

claiming the speeches of others. Salat's Historische Nachricht of the

deputation is a "parteiische Verst�mmelung und Entstellung" of

Hegenwald's report, and hence of no historical value (Schuler and

Schulthess, in their ed. of Zw. I. 109). Comp. Aug. Baur, Die erste

Z�rcher Disputation, Halle, 1883.

[96] Egli, 114 sq.; Bullinger, I. 103.

[97] Werke, I. A. 169-425.

[98] F�ssli, II. 33-39; Egli, 176, 178.

[99] The only German report of the second disputation, in Werke, I. A.

459-540 (Comp. Bullinger, I. 131 sqq.), is from the pen of Ludwig

Hetzer, chaplain at W�denschweil, then priest at Zurich, an ardent

friend of the Reformation, who afterwards joined the Anabaptists, and

was beheaded at Constance. Gwalter made an abridged Latin translation

in Zw. Opera, II. 623-646. Zwingli took the ground that a truly

Christian congregation was a better church than all the bishops and

popes, and had as good a right to settle religious controversies as a

council, where the Word of God was not allowed to decide."Ja, H�ngg und

K�ssnacht ist ein gew�ssere Kilch denn all z�sammen gerottet bishof und

p�pst." Werke, I. 472.

[100] Ein kurz christenliche ynleitung, die ein eersamer rat der statt

Z�rich den soelsorgern und pr�dicanten ... zugesandt habend, etc.

Werke, I. A. 541-565. Gwalter gives a Latin version, Op. I. 264-268.

[101] Der Hirt, wie man die waren christenlichen hirten und widerum die

falschen erkennen ... s�lle. Werke, I. A. 631-668.

[102] The answer was written by Zwingli, and printed Aug. 18, 1524.

Werke, I. A. 584-630.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 19. The Abolition of the Roman Worship. 1524.

Bullinger, I. 173 sqq. F�ssli, I. 142 sqq. Egli, 234 sqq.

By these preparatory measures, public opinion was prepared for the

practical application of the new ideas. The old order of worship had to

be abolished before the new order could be introduced. The destruction

was radical, but orderly. It was effected by the co-operation of the

preachers and the civil magistracy, with the consent of the people. It

began at Pentecost, and was completed June 20, 1524.

In the presence of a deputation from the authorities of Church and

State, accompanied by architects, masons and carpenters, the churches

of the city were purged of pictures, relics, crucifixes, altars,

candles, and all ornaments, the frescoes effaced, and the walls

whitewashed, so that nothing remained but the bare building to be

filled by a worshiping congregation. The pictures were broken and

burnt, some given to those who had a claim, a few preserved as

antiquities. The bones of the saints were buried. Even the organs were

removed, and the Latin singing of the choir abolished, but fortunately

afterwards replaced by congregational singing of psalms and hymns in

the vernacular (in Basle as early as 1526, in St. Gall 1527, in Zurich

in 1598). "Within thirteen days," says Bullinger, "all the churches of

the city were cleared; costly works of painting and sculpture,

especially a beautiful table in the Waterchurch, were destroyed. The

superstitious lamented; but the true believers rejoiced in it as a

great and joyous worship of God." [103]

In the following year the magistracy melted, sold, or gave away the

rich treasures of the Great Minster and the Frauenminster,--chalices,

crucifixes, and crosses of gold and silver, precious relics, clerical

robes, tapestry, and other ornaments. [104] In 1533 not a copper's

worth was left in the sacristy of the Great Minster. [105] Zwingli

justified this vandalism by the practice of a conquering army to spike

the guns and to destroy the forts and provisions of the enemy, lest he

might be tempted to return.

The same work of destruction took place in the village churches in a

less orderly way. Nothing was left but the bare buildings, empty, cold

and forbidding.

The Swiss Reformers proceeded on a strict construction of the second

commandment as understood by Jews and Moslems. They regarded all kinds

of worship paid to images and relics as a species of idolatry. They

opposed chiefly the paganism of popery; while Luther attacked its

legalistic Judaism, and allowed the pictures to remain as works of art

and helps to devotion. For the classical literature of Greece and Rome,

however, Zwingli had more respect than Luther. It should be remarked

also that he was not opposed to images as such any more than to poetry

and music, but only to their idolatrous use in churches. In his reply

to Valentin Compar of Uri (1525), he says, "The controversy is not

about images which do not offend the faith and the honor of God, but

about idols to which divine honors are paid. Where there is no danger

of idolatry, the images may remain; but idols should not be tolerated.

All the papists tell us that images are the books for the unlearned.

But where has God commanded us to learn from such books? "He thought

that the absence of images in churches would tend to increase the

hunger for the Word of God. [106]

The Swiss iconoclasm passed into the Reformed Churches of France,

Holland, Scotland, and North America. In recent times a reaction has

taken place, not in favor of image worship, which is dead and gone, but

in favor of Christian art; and more respect is paid to the decency and

beauty of the house of God and the comfort of worshipers.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[103] I. 175. Bullinger justifies the abolition of church music (which

took place in the Grossm�nster, Dec. 9, 1527) with St. Paul's objection

to the unintelligible glossolalia without interpretation (1 Cor.

14:6-9). He must, of course, mean the chanting of a choir in Latin. The

Swiss Reformed churches excel in congregational singing.

[104] Egli, p. 269 (No. 614, Jan. 9, 1525); M�rikofer, I. 315 sq.

Janssen (III. 84 sq.) dwells with circumstantial minuteness on the

confiscation and robbery of these church treasures, some of which dated

from the time of Charlemagne.

[105] Egli, p. 893 (No. 2004, c. 1533). Uetinger declared that between

1524 and 1532 all the treasury of the sacristy was squandered, and

nobody knew what had become of it. "Prorsus nihil supererat."

[106] Werke, II. A. 17-59. Comp. M�rikofer, I. 269-274.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 20. The Reformed Celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Zwingli, Werke, II. B. 233. Bullinger, I. 263. F�ssli, IV. 64.

The mass was gone. The preaching of the gospel and the celebration of

the Lord's Supper by the whole congregation, in connection with a kind

of Agape, took its place.

The first celebration of the communion after the Reformed usage was

held in the Holy Week of April, 1525, in the Great Minster. There were

three services,--first for the youth on Maundy-Thursday, then for the

middle-aged on Good Friday, and last for the old people on Easter. The

celebration was plain, sober, solemn. The communicants were seated

around long tables, which took the place of the altar, the men on the

right, the women on the left. They listened reverently to the prayers,

the words of institution, the Scripture lessons, taken from the 1 Cor.

11 and the mysterious discourse in the sixth chapter of John on the

spiritual eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood, and to an

earnest exhortation of the minister. They then received in a kneeling

posture the sacred emblems in wooden plates and wooden cups. The whole

service was a commemoration of Christ's atoning death and a spiritual

communion with him, according to the theory of Zwingli.

In the liturgical part he retained more from the Catholic service than

we might expect; namely, the Introit, the Gloria in Excelsis, the

Creed, and several responses; but all were translated from Latin into

the Swiss dialect, and with curious modifications. Thus the Gloria in

Excelsis, the Creed, and the Ps. 103 were said alternately by the men

and the women, instead of the minister and the deacon, as in the

Catholic service, or the minister and the congregation, as in the

Lutheran and Episcopal services. [107] In most of the Reformed churches

(except the Anglican) the responses passed out of use, and the kneeling

posture in receiving the communion gave way to the standing or sitting

posture.

The communion service was to be held four times in the year,--at

Easter, Whitsunday, autumn, and Christmas. It was preceded by

preparatory devotions, and made a season of special solemnity. The mass

was prohibited at first only in the city, afterwards also in the

country.

Zwingli furnished also in 1525 an abridged baptismal service in the

vernacular language, omitting the formula of exorcism and all those

elements for which he found no Scripture warrant. [108]

The Zwinglian and Calvinistic worship depends for its effect too much

upon the intellectual and spiritual power of the minister, who can make

it either very solemn and impressive, or very cold and barren. The

Anglican Church has the advantage of an admirable liturgy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[107] Werke, II. B. 237 sqq. I give a specimen from the Gloria in

Excelsis:-- Der Pfarrer: Eer sye gott in den h�hinnen! Die Mann: Und

frid uf erden! Die Wyber: Den menschen ein recht gm�t! Die Mann: Wir

lobend dich, wir prysend dich. Die Wyber: Wir betend dich an, wir

verehrend dich, etc. Shorter responses, however, occur between the

minister or deacon and the congregation.

[108] The first German baptismal service by Zwingli and Leo Judae

appeared in the summer of 1523, the second in May, 1525. Werke, II. B.

224 sqq.; 230 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 21. Other Changes. A Theological School. The Carolinum. A System of

Theology.

Other changes completed the Reformation. The Corpus Christi festival

was abolished, and the Christian year reduced to the observance of

Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Pentecost. Processions and

pilgrimages ceased. The property of convents was confiscated and

devoted to schools and hospitals. The matrimonial legislation was

reconstructed, and the care of the poor organized. In 1528 a synod

assembled for the first time, to which each congregation sent its

minister and two lay delegates.

A theological college, called Carolinum, was established from the funds

of the Great Minster, and opened June 19, 1525. It consisted of the

collegium humanitatis, for the study of the ancient languages,

philosophy and mathematics, and the Carolinum proper, for the study of

the Holy Scriptures, which were explained in daily lectures, and

popularized by the pastors for the benefit of the congregation. This

was called prophesying (1 Cor. 14:1). [109] Zwingli wrote a tract on

Christian education (1526). [110] He organized this school of the

prophets, and explained in it several books of the Old Testament,

according to the Septuagint. He recommended eminent scholars to

professorships. Among the earliest teachers were Ceporin, Pellican,

Myconius, Collin, Megander, and Bibliander. To Zwingli Zurich owes its

theological and literary reputation. The Carolinum secured an educated

ministry, and occupied an influential position in the development of

theological science and literature till the nineteenth century, when it

was superseded by the organization of a full university. [111]

Zwingli wrote in the course of three months and a half an important

work on the true, evangelical, as opposed to the false, popish faith,

and dedicated it to Francis I., king of France, in the vain hope of

gaining him to the cause of the Reformation. [112] It completes his

theological opposition to the papacy. It is the first systematic

exposition of the Reformed faith, as Melanchthon's Loci was the first

system of Lutheran theology; but it was afterwards eclipsed by Calvin's

Institutes, which were addressed to the same king with no better

effect. Francis probably never read either; but the dedication remains

as a connecting link between the Swiss and the French Reformation. The

latter is a child of the former.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[109] Comp. Pestalozzi, Leo Judae, p. 76, and G�der on "Prophezei," in

Herzog2, XII. 288.

[110] Republished by Emil Egli, U. Zwingli's Lehrbuchlein, oder wie man

die Jugend in guten Sitten und christlicher Zucht auferziehen und

lehren solle. Zurich, 1884. With an appendix of documents relating to

the school at Zurich in Zwingli's time.

[111] Prof. Dr. Georg von Wyss, in his festive discourse on the

University of Zurich (Die Hochschule Z�rich in d. Jahren 1833-1883,

Z�rich, 1883), gives a brief sketch of the development of the

Carolinum. The first theological faculty of the university consisted of

three Zurichers, Hirzel, Schulthess and Salomon Hess, who had been

professors of the Carolinum, and two Germans, Rettig and Hitzig.

Besides there were five Privatdocenten, ministers of Z�rich. See also

Prof. Steiner's Festrede zur 50 j�hrigen Stiftungsfeier der Z�richer

Universit�t, 1883.

[112] Commentarius de vera et falsa religione, March, 1525. Opera, III.

145-325. Leo Judae published a German translation, 1526. When Erasmus

received the book, he said, "O bone Zwingli, quid scribis, quod ipse

prius non scripserim?" So Zwingli reports in a letter to Vadian, Opera,

VII. 399.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 22. The Translation of the Bible. Leo Judae.

Metzger (Antistes in Schaffhausen): Geschichte der deutschen

Bibel�bersetzung der schweizerischen reformirten Kirche. Basel, 1876.

Pestalozzi: Leo Judae. Elberfeld, 1860.

A most important part of the Reformation was a vernacular translation

of the Bible. Luther's New Testament (1522) was reprinted at Basel with

a glossary. In Zurich it was adapted to the Swiss dialect in 1524, and

revised and improved in subsequent editions. The whole Bible was

published in German by Froschauer at Zurich in 1530, four years before

Luther completed his version (1534). [113] The translation of the

Prophets and the Apocrypha was prepared by Conrad Pellican, Leo Judae,

Theodor Bibliander, and other Zurich divines. The beautiful edition of

1531 contained also a new version of the Poetical books, with an

introduction (probably by Zwingli), summaries, and parallel passages.

The Swiss translation cannot compare with Luther's in force, beauty,

and popularity; but it is more literal, and in subsequent revisions it

has kept pace with the progress of exegesis. It brought the Word of God

nearer to the heart and mind of the Swiss people, and is in use to this

day alongside of the Lutheran version. [114]

The chief merit in this important service belongs to Leo Jud or Judae.

[115] He was born in 1482, the son of a priest in Alsass, studied with

Zwingli at Basle, and became his successor as priest at Einsiedeln,

1519, and his colleague and faithful assistant as minister of St.

Peter's in Zurich since 1523. He married in the first year of his

pastorate at Zurich. His relation to Zwingli has been compared with the

relation of Melanchthon to Luther. He aided Zwingli in the second

disputation, in the controversy with the Anabaptists, and with Luther,

edited and translated several of his writings, and taught Hebrew in the

Carolinum. Zwingli called him his "dear brother and faithful co-worker

in the gospel of Jesus Christ." He was called to succeed the Reformer

after the catastrophe of Cappel; but he declined on account of his

unfitness for administrative work, and recommended Bullinger, who was

twenty years younger. He continued to preach and to teach till his

death, and declined several calls to Wurtemberg and Basle. He advocated

strict discipline and a separation of religion from politics. He had a

melodious voice, and was a singer, musician, and poet, but excelled

chiefly as a translator into German and Latin. [116] He wrote a Latin

and two German catechisms, and translated Thomas � Kempis' Imitatio

Christi, Augustin's De Spiritu et Litera, the first Helvetic

Confession, and other useful books into German, besides portions of the

Bible. He prepared also a much esteemed Latin version of the Old

Testament, which is considered his best work. He often consulted in it

his colleagues and Michael Adam, a converted Jew. He did not live to

see the completion, and left this to Bibliander and Pellican. It

appeared in a handsome folio edition, 1543, with a preface by Pellican,

and was several times reprinted. [117] He lived on a miserable salary

with a large family, and yet helped to support the poor and entertained

strangers, aided by his industrious and pious wife, known in Zurich as

"Mutter Leuin." Four days before his death, June 19, 1542, he summoned

his colleagues to his chamber, spoke of his career with great humility

and gratitude to God, and recommended to them the care of the church

and the completion of his Latin Bible. His death was lamented as a

great loss by Bullinger and Calvin and the people of Zurich. [118]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[113] Five complete editions of the Bible were printed in Zurich before

1534. Pestalozzi, Leo Judae, p. 77.

[114] On the different editions see Metzger, l.c. 109 sqq., and

Fritzsche, in Herzog2, XII. 556 sq. The versicular division was first

introduced in the edition of 1589. The first thorough revision was

prepared by Antistes Breitinger, 1629. Other revisions followed in

1665, 1724, 1755, 1772, 1817, 1860, and 1868. The last is pronounced by

Fritzsche one of the best translations, based upon a conscientious use

of the latest exegetical labors.

[115] He avoided his family name Jud (Jew); and the Zurichers called

him "Master Leu" (Leo). in all his Latin writings he uses the Latin

form.

[116] Pellican says of him, "Utilissima transtulit admodum feliciter."

[117] On his Latin Bible see Pestalozzi, 76 sqq., 165, and Fritzsche in

Herzog2 VIII. 463.

[118] On his works see Pestalozzi, pp. 96-106. His hymns and versified

Psalms are printed in Wackernagel, Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, vol. III.

p. 722 sqq. (Nos. 832-837).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 23. Church and State.

The Reformation of Zurich was substantially completed in 1525. It was

brought about by the co-operation of the secular and spiritual powers.

Zwingli aimed at a reformation of the whole religious, political, and

social life of the people, on the basis and by the power of the

Scriptures. [119]

The patriot, the good citizen, and the Christian were to him one and

the same. He occupied the theocratic standpoint of the Old Testament.

The preacher is a prophet: his duty is to instruct, to exhort, to

comfort, to rebuke sin in high and low places, and to build up the

kingdom of God; his weapon is the Word of God. The duty of the

magistracy is to obey the gospel, to protect religion, to punish

wickedness. Calvin took the same position in Geneva, and carried it out

much more fully than Zwingli.

The bishop of Constance, to whose diocese Zurich belonged, opposed the

Reformation; and so did the other bishops of Switzerland. Hence the

civil magistracy assumed the episcopal rights and jurisdiction, under

the spiritual guidance of the Reformers. It first was impartial, and

commanded the preachers of the canton to teach the Word of God, and to

be silent about the traditions of men (1520). Then it prohibited the

violation of the Church fasts (1522), and punished the image-breakers,

in the interest of law and order (1523). But soon afterwards it openly

espoused the cause of reform in the disputation of 1523, and authorized

the abolition of the old worship and the introduction of the new (1524

and 1525). It confiscated the property of the churches and convents,

and took under its control the regulation of marriage, the care of the

poor, and the education of the clergy. The Church was reduced legally

to a state of dependence, though she was really the moving and

inspiring power of the State, and was supported by public sentiment. In

a republic the majority of the people rule, and the minority must

submit. The only dissenters in Zurich were a small number of Romanists

and Anabaptists, who were treated with the same disregard of the rights

of conscience as the Protestants in Roman Catholic countries, only with

a lesser degree of severity. The Reformers refused to others the right

of protest which they claimed and exercised for themselves, and the

civil magistracy visited the poor Anabaptists with capital punishment.

The example of Zurich was followed by the other cantons in which the

Reformation triumphed. Each has its own ecclesiastical establishment,

which claims spiritual jurisdiction over all the citizens of its

territory. There is no national Reformed Church of Switzerland, with a

centre of unity.

This state of things is the same as that in Protestant Germany, but

differs from it as a republic differs from a monarchy. In both

countries the bishops, under the command of the Pope, condemned

Protestantism, and lost the control over their flock. The Reformers,

who were mere presbyters, looked to the civil rulers for the

maintenance of law and order. In Germany, after the Diet of Speier in

1526, the princes assumed the episcopal supervision, and regulated the

Church in their own territories for good or evil. The people were

passive, and could not even elect their own pastors. In Switzerland, we

have instead a sort of democratic episcopate or republican

Caesaropapacy, where the people hold the balance of power, and make and

unmake their government.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Church and State, professing

the same religion, had common interests, and worked in essential

harmony; but in modern times the mixed character, the religious

indifferentism, the hostility and the despotism of the State, have

loosened the connection, and provoked the organization of free churches

in several cantons (Geneva, Vaud, Neuchatel), on the basis of

self-support and self-government. The State must first and last be

just, and either support all the religions of its citizens alike, or

none. It owes the protection of law to all, within the limits of order

and peace. But the Church has the right of self-government, and ought

to be free of the control of politicians. [120]

Among the ministers of the Reformation period, Zwingli, and, after his

death, Bullinger, exercised a sort of episcopate in fact, though not in

form; and their successors in the Great Minster stood at the head of

the clergy of the canton. A similar position is occupied by the

Antistes of Basle and the Antistes of Schaffhausen. They correspond to

the Superintendents of the Lutheran churches in Germany.

Zwingli was the first among the Reformers who organized a regular

synodical Church government. He provided for a synod composed of all

ministers of the city and canton, two lay delegates of every parish,

four members of the small and four members of the great council. This

mixed body represented alike Church and State, the clergy and the

laity. It was to meet twice a year, in spring and fall, in the city

hall of Zurich, with power to superintend the doctrine and morals of

the clergy, and to legislate on the internal affairs of the Church. The

first meeting was held at Easter, 1528. Zwingli presided, and at his

side was Leo Judae. The second meeting took place May 19, 1528. The

proceedings show that the synod exercised strict discipline over the

morals of the clergy and people, and censured intemperance,

extravagance in dress, neglect of Church ordinances, etc. [121]

But German Switzerland never went to such rigors of discipline as

Geneva under the influence of Calvin.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[119] Bluntschli (Geschichte des schweizerischen Bundesrechtes,

Stuttgart, 1875, 2d ed. I. 293 sq.): "Zwingli wur von Anfang an und

durch sein ganzes Leben hindurch kaum viel weniger darauf bedacht,

politisch einzugreifen als die Kirche zu reformiren. W�hrend Luther mit

ganzer Seele die Wiederbelebung und Reinigung des christlichen Glaubens

anstrebte und sich ausschliesslich dieser Aufgabe widmete, wollte

Zwingli nicht bloss Kirchen-, sondern zugleich auch Staatsmann sein.

Indem sich Zwingli der kirchlichen Reformation in der Schweiz

bem�chtigte und diese von Z�rich aus �ber die ganze Schweiz zu

verbreiten trachtete, ging er zugleich mit Planen um, die Schweiz

politisch umzugestalten."

[120] The government of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland tolerates

and supports now, in the pulpit and the chair, all sorts of errors and

heresies far worse than those for which the Anabaptists were drowned in

the sixteenth century. In 1839 the magistracy of Zurich called the

infidel Dr. Strauss to the chair of dogmatic theology in the

university; but on that occasion the country people asserted their

sovereignty, upset the rule of the radical party, and defeated its aim.

[121] Opera, III. B. 19 sqq.; M�rikofer, II. 121 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 24. Zwingli's Conflict with Radicalism.

Comp. Literature in vol. VI., � 102, p. 606 sq.

I. Sources:

In the Staatsarchiv of Zurich there are preserved about two hundred and

fifty documents under the title, Wiedert�uferacten,--\*Egli:

Actensammlung zur Gesch. der Z�rcher Reformation, Z�rich, 1879 (see the

Alph. Index, p. 920, sub Wiedert�ufer). The official reports are from

their opponents. The books of the Anabaptists are scarce. A large

collection of them is in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Rochester,

N. Y. The principal ones are the tracts of Dr. H�bmaier (see vol. VI.

606); a few letters of Grebel, Hut, Reubli, etc., and other documents

mentioned and used by Cornelius (Gesch. des M�nsterschen Aufruhrs); the

Moravian, Austrian, and other Anabaptist chronicles (see Beck, below);

and the Anabaptist hymns reprinted in Wackernagel's Deutsche

Kirchenlied, vols. III. and V. (see below).

Zwingli: Wer Ursach gebe zu Aufruhr, wer die wahren Aufr�hrer seien,

etc., Dec. 7, 1524. A defence of Christian unity and peace against

sedition. (Werke, II. A. 376-425.) Vom Touff, vom Wiedertouff, und vom

Kindertouff, May 27, 1525 (in Werke, II. A. 280-303. Republished in

modern German by Christoffel, Z�rich, 1843. The book treats in three

parts of baptism, rebaptism, and infant baptism). Answer to Balthasar

H�bmaier, Nov. 5, 1525 (Werke, II. A. 337 sqq.). Elenchus contra

Catabaptistas, 1527 (Opera, III. 357 sqq.). His answer to Schwenkfeld's

64 Theses concerning baptism (in Op. III. 563-583; Comp. A. Baur, II.

245-267). Oecolampadius: Ein gesprech etlicher predicanten zu Basel

gehalten mit etlichen Bekennern des Wiedertouffs, Basel, 1525.

Bullinger (Heinrich): Der Wiedert�ufferen ursprung, f�rgang, Sekten,

etc. Z�rich, 1560. (A Latin translation by J. Simler.) See also his

Reformationsgeschichte, vol. I.

II. Later Discussions:

Ott (J. H.): Annales Anabaptistici. Basel, 1672.

Erbkam (H. W.): Geschichte der protestantischen Secten im Zeitalter der

Reformation. Hamburg und Gotha, 1848. pp. 519-583.

Heberle: Die Anf�nge des Anabaptismus in der Schweiz, in the

"Jahrb�cher fur deutsche Theologie," 1858.

Cornelius (C. A., a liberal Roman Catholic): Geschichte des

M�nsterschen Aufruhrs. Leipzig, 1855. Zweites Buch: Die Wiedertaufe.

1860. He treats of the Swiss Anabaptists (p. 15 sqq.), and adds

historical documents from many archives (p. 240 sqq.). A very important

work.

M�rikofer: U. Zwingli. Z�rich, 1867. I. 279-313; II. 69-76. Very

unfavorable to the Anabaptists.

R. von Lilienkron: Zur Liederdichtung der Wiedert�ufer. M�nchen, 1877.

\*Egli (Emil): Die Z�richer Wiedert�ufer zur Reformationszeit. Nach den

Quellen des Staatsarchivs. Z�rich, 1878 (104 pp.). By the same: Die St.

Galler T�ufer. Z�rich, 1887. Important for the documents and the

external history.

\*Burrage (Henry S., American Baptist): The Anabaptists in Switzerland.

Philadelphia, 1882, 231 pp. An account from the Baptist point of view.

Comp. his Baptist Hymn Writers, Portland, 1888, pp. l-25.

Usteri (J. M.): Darstellung der Tauflehre Zwingli's, in the "Studien

und Kritiken" for 1882, pp. 205-284.

\*Beck (JOSEPH): Die Geschichtsb�cher der Wiedert�ufer in

Oestreich-Ungarn ... von 1526 bis 1785. Wien, 1883. Publ. by the

Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

Strasser (G.): Der schweizerische Anabaptismus zur Zeit der

Reformation, in the "Berner Beitr�ge," 1884.

Nitsche (Richard, Roman Catholic): Geschichte der Wiedert�ufer in der

Schweiz zur Reformationszeit. Einsiedeln, New York, Cincinnati and St.

Louis (Benziger), 1885 (107 pp.). He gives a list of literature on pp.

vi.-viii.

Keller (Ludwig): Die Reformation und die �ltern Reformparteien.

Leipzig, 1885, pp. 364-435. He is favorable to the Anabaptists, and

connects them with the Waldensian Brethren and other mediaeval sects by

novel, but arbitrary combinations and conjectures. He mistakes

coincidences for historical connections.

Baur (Aug.): Zwingli's Theologie, vol. II. (1888), 1-267. An elaborate

discussion and defence of Zwingli's conduct towards the radicals, with

full extracts from his writings, but unjust to the Baptists.

The monographs of Schreiber on H�bmaier (1839 and 1840, unfinished),

Keim on Ludwig H�tzer (1856), and Keller on Hans Denck (Ein Apostel der

Wiedert�ufer, 1882), touch also on the Anabaptist movement in

Switzerland. Kurtz, in the tenth ed. of his Kirchengeschichte (1887),

II. 150-164, gives a good general survey of the Anabaptist movement in

Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, including the Mennonites.

Having considered Zwingli's controversy with Romanism, we must now

review his conflict with Radicalism, which ran parallel with the

former, and exhibits the conservative and churchly side of his

reformation. Radicalism was identical with the Anabaptist movement, but

the baptismal question was secondary. It involved an entire

reconstruction of the Church and of the social order. It meant

revolution. The Romanists pointed triumphantly to revolution as the

legitimate and inevitable result of the Reformation; but history has

proved the difference. Liberty is possible without license, and differs

as widely from it as from despotism.

The Swiss Reformation, like the German, was disturbed and checked by

the radical excesses. It was placed between the two fires of Romanism

and Ultraprotestantism. It was attacked in the front and rear, from

without and within, by the Romanists on the ground of tradition, by the

Radicals on the ground of the Bible. In some respects the danger from

the latter was greater. Liberty has more to fear from the abuses of its

friends than from the opposition of its foes. The Reformation would

have failed if it had identified itself with the revolution. Zwingli

applied to the Radicals the words of St. John to the antichristian

teachers: "They went out from us, but they were not of us" (1 John

2:19). He considered the controversy with the Papists as mere child's

play when compared to that with the Ultraprotestants. [122]

The Reformers aimed to reform the old Church by the Bible; the Radicals

attempted to build a new Church from the Bible. The former maintained

the historic continuity; the latter went directly to the apostolic age,

and ignored the intervening centuries as an apostasy. The Reformers

founded a popular state-church, including all citizens with their

families; the Anabaptists organized on the voluntary principle select

congregations of baptized believers, separated from the world and from

the State. Nothing is more characteristic of radicalism and

sectarianism than an utter want of historical sense and respect for the

past. In its extreme form it rejects even the Bible as an external

authority, and relies on inward inspiration. This was the case with the

Zwickau Prophets who threatened to break up Luther's work at

Wittenberg.

The Radicals made use of the right of protest against the Reformation,

which the Reformers so effectually exercised against popery. They

raised a protest against Protestantism. They charged the Reformers with

inconsistency and semipopery; yea, with the worst kind of popery. They

denounced the state-church as worldly and corrupt, and its ministers as

mercenaries. They were charged in turn with pharisaical pride, with

revolutionary and socialistic tendencies. They were cruelly persecuted

by imprisonment, exile, torture, fire and sword, and almost totally

suppressed in Protestant as well as in Roman Catholic countries. The

age was not ripe for unlimited religious liberty and congregational

self-government. The Anabaptists perished bravely as martyrs of

conscience. [123]

Zwingli took essentially, but quite independently, the same position

towards the Radicals as Luther did in his controversy with Carlstadt,

M�nzer, and H�bmaier. [124] Luther, on the contrary, radically

misunderstood Zwingli by confounding him with Carlstadt and the

Radicals. Zwingli was in his way just as conservative and churchly as

the Saxon Reformer. He defended and preserved the state-church, or the

people's church, against a small fraction of sectaries and separatists

who threatened its dissolution. But his position was more difficult. He

was much less influenced by tradition, and further removed from

Romanism. He himself aimed from the start at a thorough, practical

purification of church life, and so far agreed with the Radicals.

Moreover, he doubted for a while the expediency (not the right) of

infant baptism, and deemed it better to put off the sacrament to years

of discretion. [125] He rejected the Roman doctrine of the necessity of

baptism for salvation and the damnation of unbaptized infants dying in

infancy. He understood the passage, Mark 16:16, "He that believeth and

is baptized shall be saved," as applying only to adults who have heard

the gospel and can believe, but not to children. On maturer reflection

he modified his views. He learned from experience that it was

impossible to realize an ideal church of believers, and stopped with

what was attainable. As to infant baptism, he became convinced of its

expediency in Christian families. He defended it with the analogy of

circumcision in the Old Testament (Col. 2:11), with the

comprehensiveness of the New Covenant, which embraces whole families

and nations, and with the command of Christ, "Suffer little children to

come unto Me," from which he inferred that he who refuses children to

be baptized prevents them from coming to Christ. He also appealed to 1

Cor. 7:14, which implies the church-membership of the children of

Christian parents, and to the examples of family baptisms in Acts

16:33, 18:8, and 1 Cor. 1:16.

The Radical movement began in Zurich in 1523, and lasted till 1532. The

leaders were Conrad Grebel, from one of the first families of Zurich, a

layman, educated in the universities of Vienna and Paris, whom Zwingli

calls the corypheus of the Anabaptists; Felix Manz, the illegitimate

son of a canon of the Great Minster, a good Hebrew scholar; Georg

Blaurock, a monk of Coire, called on account of his eloquence "the

mighty J�rg," or "the second Paul;" and Ludwig H�tzer of Thurgau,

chaplain at W�denschwyl, who, with Hans Denck, prepared the first

Protestant translation of the Hebrew Prophets, [126] and acted as

secretary of the second Zurich disputation, and edited its proceedings.

With them were associated a number of ex-priests and ex-monks, as

William Reubli, minister at Wyticon, Johann Br�dli (Paniculus) at

Zollicon, and Simon Stumpf at H�ng. They took an active part in the

early stages of the Reformation, prematurely broke the fasts, and stood

in the front rank of the image-stormers. They went ahead of public

opinion and the orderly method of Zwingli. They opposed the tithe,

usury, military service, and the oath. They denied the right of the

civil magistracy to interfere in matters of religion. They met as

"brethren" for prayer and Scripture-reading in the house of "Mother

Manz," and in the neighborhood of Zurich, especially at Zollicon.

The German Radicals, Carlstadt and M�nzer, were for a short time in

Switzerland and on the Rhine, but did not re-baptize and had no

influence upon the Swiss Radicals, who opposed rebellion to the civil

authority. Carlstadt gradually sobered down; M�nzer stirred up the

Peasants' War, seized the sword and perished by the sword. Dr. H�bmaier

of Bavaria, the most learned among the Anabaptists, and their chief

advocate, took part in the October disputation at Zurich in 1523, but

afterwards wrote books against Zwingli (on the baptism of believers,

1525, and a dialogue with Zwingli, 1526), was expelled from

Switzerland, and organized flourishing congregations in Moravia.

The Radical opinions spread with great rapidity, or rose

simultaneously, in Berne, Basle, St. Gall, Appenzell, all along the

Upper Rhine, in South Germany, and Austria. The Anabaptists were driven

from place to place, and travelled as fugitive evangelists. They

preached repentance and faith, baptized converts, organized

congregations, and exercised rigid discipline. They called themselves

simply "brethren" or "Christians." They were earnest and zealous,

self-denying and heroic, but restless and impatient. They accepted the

New Testament as their only rule of faith and practice, and so far

agreed with the Reformers, but utterly broke with the Catholic

tradition, and rejected Luther's theory of forensic, solifidian

justification, and the real presence. They emphasized the necessity of

good works, and deemed it possible to keep the law and to reach

perfection. They were orthodox in most articles of the common Christian

faith, except H�tzer and Denck, who doubted the doctrine of the Trinity

and the divinity of Christ.

The first and chief aim of the Radicals was not (as is usually stated)

the opposition to infant baptism, still less to sprinkling or pouring,

but the establishment of a pure church of converts in opposition to the

mixed church of the world. The rejection of infant baptism followed as

a necessary consequence. They were not satisfied with separation from

popery; they wanted a separation from all the ungodly. They appealed to

the example of the disciples in Jerusalem, who left the synagogue and

the world, gathered in an upper room, sold their goods, and held all

things in common. They hoped at first to carry Zwingli with them, but

in vain; and then they charged him with treason to the truth, and hated

him worse than the pope.

Zwingli could not follow the Anabaptists without bringing the

Reformation into discredit with the lovers of order, and rousing the

opposition of the government and the great mass of the people. He

opposed them, as Augustin opposed the schismatical Donatists. He urged

moderation and patience. The Apostles, he said, separated only from the

open enemies of the gospel, and from the works of darkness, but bore

with the weak brethren. Separation would not cure the evils of the

Church. There are many honest people who, though weak and sick, belong

to the sheepfold of Christ, and would be offended at a separation. He

appealed to the word of Christ, "He that is not against me, is for me,"

and to the parable of the tares and the wheat. If all the tares were to

be rooted up now, there would be nothing left for the angels to do on

the day of final separation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[122] He wrote to Vadian, May 28, 1525 (Opera, VII. 398): "omnes pugnae

priores lusus fuerunt pro ista."

[123] Luther called them martyrs of the devil; but Leonhard K�ser, to

whom he wrote a letter of comfort, and whom he held up as a model

martyr to the heretical martyrs (see Letters, ed. De Wette, III. 179),

was not a Lutheran, as he thought, but the pastor of an Anabaptist

congregation at Scherding. He was burnt Aug. 18, 1527, by order of the

bishop of Passau. See Cornelius, II. 56.

[124] On Luther and the Radicals see vol. VI. 375 sqq. and 606 sqq.

[125] Hagenbach (p. 857), on the strength of Hottinger, states that the

Council of Zurich, at the advice of Zwingli, by a mandate of Jan. 17,

1525, allowed a delay of eight years for the baptism of children. But

this must be an error; for on the eighteenth of January, 1525, the

Council, after a disputation with the Anabaptists, commanded the

baptism of all unbaptized children within eight days, on pain of the

banishment of the parents. Egli, Actensammlung, p. 276.

[126] Their translation of the Prophets appeared at Worms in 1527 (and

often), and preceded that of the Zurich Bible (in 1529), and that of

Luther, which was not completed till 1532.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 25. The Baptismal Controversy.

The opposition to the mixed state-church or popular church, which

embraced all the baptized, legitimately led to the rejection of infant

baptism. A new church required a new baptism.

This became now the burning question. The Radicals could find no trace

of infant baptism in the Bible, and denounced it as an invention of the

pope [127] and the devil. Baptism, they reasoned, presupposes

instruction, faith, and conversion, which is impossible in the case of

infants. [128] Voluntary baptism of adult and responsible converts is,

therefore, the only valid baptism. They denied that baptism is

necessary for salvation, and maintained that infants are or may be

saved by the blood of Christ without water-baptism. [129] But baptism

is necessary for church membership as a sign and seal of conversion.

From this conception of baptism followed as a further consequence the

rebaptism of those converts who wished to unite with the new church.

Hence the name Anabaptists or Rebaptizers (Wiedert�ufer), which

originated with the Pedobaptists, but which they themselves rejected,

because they knew no other kind of baptism except that of converts.

The demand of rebaptism virtually unbaptized and unchristianized the

entire Christian world, and completed the rupture with the historic

Church. It cut the last cord of union of the present with the past.

The first case was the rebaptism of Blaurock by Grebel in February,

1525, soon after the disputation with Zwingli. At a private religious

meeting, Blaurock asked Grebel to give him the true Christian baptism

on confession of his faith, fell on his knees and was baptized. Then he

baptized all others who were present, and partook with them of the

Lord's Supper, or, as they called it, the breaking of bread. [130]

Reubli introduced rebaptism in Waldshut at Easter, 1525, convinced

H�bmaier of its necessity, and rebaptized him with about sixty persons.

H�bmaier himself rebaptized about three hundred. [131]

Baptism was not bound to any particular form or time or place or

person; any one could administer the ordinance upon penitent believers

who desired it. It was first done mostly in houses, by sprinkling or

pouring, occasionally by partial or total immersion in rivers. [132]

The mode of baptism was no point of dispute between Anabaptists and

Pedobaptists in the sixteenth century. The Roman Church provides for

immersion and pouring as equally valid. Luther preferred immersion, and

prescribed it in his baptismal service. [133] In England immersion was

the normal mode down to the middle of the seventeenth century. [134] It

was adopted by the English and American Baptists as the only mode;

while the early Anabaptists, on the other hand, baptized by sprinkling

and pouring as well. We learn this from the reports in the suits

against them at Zurich. Blaurock baptized by sprinkling, [135] Manz by

pouring. [136] The first clear case of immersion among the Swiss

Anabaptists is that of Wolfgang Uliman (an ex-monk of Coire, and for a

while assistant of Kessler in St. Gall). He was converted by Grebel on

a journey to Schaffhausen, and, not satisfied with being "sprinkled

merely out of a dish," was "drawn under and covered over in the Rhine."

[137] On Palm Sunday, April 9, 1525, Grebel baptized a large number in

the Sitter, a river a few miles from St. Gall, which descends from the

S�ntis and flows into the Thur, and is deep enough for immersion. [138]

The Lord's Supper was administered by the Baptists in the simplest

manner, after a plain supper (in imitation of the original institution

and the Agape), by the recital of the words of institution, and the

distribution of bread and wine. They reduced it to a mere

commemoration.

The two ideas of a pure church of believers and of the baptism of

believers were the fundamental articles of the Anabaptist creed. On

other points there was a great variety and confusion of opinions. Some

believed in the sleep of the soul between death and resurrection, a

millennial reign of Christ, and final restoration; some entertained

communistic and socialistic opinions which led to the catastrophe of

M�nster (1534). Wild excesses of immorality occurred here and there.

[139]

But it is unjust to charge the extravagant dreams and practices of

individuals upon the whole body. The Swiss Anabaptists had no

connection with the Peasants' War, which barely touched the border of

Switzerland, and were upon the whole, like the Moravian Anabaptists,

distinguished for simple piety and strict morality. Bullinger, who was

opposed to them, gives the Zurich Radicals the credit that they

denounced luxury, intemperance in eating and drinking, and all vices,

and led a serious, spiritual life. Kessler of St. Gall, likewise an

opponent, reports their cheerful martyrdom, and exclaims, "Alas! what

shall I say of the people? They move my sincere pity; for many of them

are zealous for God, but without knowledge." And Salat, a Roman

Catholic contemporary, writes that with "cheerful, smiling faces, they

desired and asked death, and went into it singing German psalms and

other prayers." [140]

The Anabaptists produced some of the earliest Protestant hymns in the

German language, which deserve the attention of the historian. Some of

them passed into orthodox collections in ignorance of the real authors.

Blaurock, Manz, Hut, H�tzer, Koch, Wagner, Langmantel, Sattler,

Schiemer, Glait, Steinmetz, B�chel, and many others contributed to this

interesting branch of the great body of Christian song. The Anabaptist

psalms and hymns resemble those of Schwenkfeld and his followers. They

dwell on the inner life of the Christian, the mysteries of

regeneration, sanctification, and personal union with Christ. They

breathe throughout a spirit of piety, devotion, and cheerful

resignation under suffering, and readiness for martyrdom. They are

hymns of the cross, to comfort and encourage the scattered sheep of

Christ ready for the slaughter, in imitation of their divine Shepherd.

NOTES.

The Anabaptist hymns appeared in a collection under the title "Aussbund

Etlicher sch�ner Christlicher Geseng wie die in der Gefengniss zu

Passau im Schloss von den Schweitzern und auch von anderen

rechtgl�ubigen Christen hin und her gedicht worden," 1583, and often.

Also in other collections of the sixteenth century. They are reprinted

in Wackernagel, Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, vol. III. (1870), pp.

440-491, and vol. V. (1877), pp. 677-887. He embodies them in this

monumental corpus hymnologicum, as he does the Schwenkfeldian and the

Roman Catholic hymns of the fifteenth century, but under express

reservation of his high-Lutheran orthodoxy. He refuses to acknowledge

the Anabaptists as martyrs any longer (as he had done in his former

work on German hymnology), because they stand, he says (III. 439),

"ausserhalb der Wahrheit, ausserhalb der heiligen lutherischen Kirche!"

Hymnology is the last place for sectarian exclusiveness. It furnishes

one of the strongest evidences of Christian union in the sanctuary of

worship, where theological quarrels are forgotten in the adoration of a

common Lord and Saviour. Luther himself, as Wackernagel informs us,

received unwittingly in his hymn book of 1545 a hymn of the Anabaptist

Gr�nwald, and another of the Schwenkfeldian Reusner. Wackernagel is

happily inconsistent when he admits (p. 440) that much may be learned

from the Anabaptist hymns, and that a noble heart will not easily

condemn those victims of Rome and of the house of Habsburg. He gives

first the hymns of Thomas M�nzer, who can hardly be called an

Anabaptist and was disowned by the better portion.

Burrage, in Baptist Hymn Writers, Portland, 1888, p. 1 sqq., gives some

extracts of Anabaptist hymns. The following stanza, from a hymn of

Schiemer or Sch�ner, characterizes the condition and spirit of this

persecuted people:--

We are, alas, like scattered sheep,

The shepherd not in sight,

Each far away from home and hearth,

And, like the birds of night

That hide away in rocky clefts,

We have our rocky hold,

Yet near at hand, as for the birds,

There waits the hunter bold."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[127] They derived it from Pope Nicolas II. (A.D. 1059-'61), whose

pontificate was entirely under the control of Hildebrand, afterwards

Gregory VII. The reference shows the prevailing ignorance of Church

history. Pedobaptism is much older than the papacy.

[128] H�bmaier, when in Waldshut, substituted first a simple

benediction of children, in place of baptism, but baptized when the

parents wished it. See Gieseler, III. A. p. 210, note.

[129] The Augsburg Confession (Art. IX.) condemns the Anabaptists for

teaching "pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri."

[130] F�ssli, II. 338. The report of a Moravian Baptist chronicle,

quoted by Cornelius (II. 26 sq.), is as follows: "Und es hat sich

begeben, dass sie bei einander gewesen sind, bis die Angst auf sie kam

und sie in ihren Herzen gedrungen wurden; da haben sie angefangen ihre

Kniee zu beugen vor dem h�chsten Gott im Himmel, und ihn angerufen,

dass er ihnen geben wolle, seinen g�ttlichen Willen zu vollbringen.

Darauf hat J�rg [Blaurock] sich erhoben und um Gottes willen gebeten,

dass Conrad [Grebel] ihn taufe mit der rechten wahren christlichen

Taufe auf seinen Glauben und seine Erkenntniss; ist wieder auf die

Kniee gefallen und von Conrad getauft worden; und alle �brigen

Anwesenden haben sich dann von J�rg taufen lassen. Hiern�chst hat

derselbe, seinem eigenen Bericht zufolge, damit die Br�der des Todes

Christi allweg eingedenk w�ren und sein vergossen Blut nicht verg�ssen,

ihnen den Brauch Christi angezeigt,den er in seinem Nachtmal gehalten

hat, und zugleich mit ihnen das Brot gebrochen und den Trank getrunken,

damit sie sich erinnerten, dass sie alle durch den einigen Leib Christi

erl�st und durch sein einiges Blut abqewaschen seien, auf dass sie alle

eins und je einer des anderen Bruder und Schwester in Christo ihrem

Herrn w�ren." Cornelius adds to this report: "Diese Dinge haben sich

wenige Tage nach der Disputation des 18. Januar zugetragen, und rasch,

noch ehe dieVerbannten ihren Abschied genommen hatten, ist, zum Theil

mit ihrer H�lfe, der Gebrauch der Taufe und des Herrn Brodes nach

Zollikon und �ber die ganze Genossenschaft verbreitet worden."

[131] So H�bmaier testified before the magistrate at Zurich (Egli,

Actensammlung, p. 431): "Da k�me Wilhelm (Reubli) und toufte ihn

(H�bmaier), und liessend sich uf dasselb mal mit ihm bi 60 personen

toufen. Darnach habe er die Osterfirtag f�r und f�r und ob 300 menschen

getouft." Nothing is said about the mode. Soon afterwards (July 5,

1525), H�bmaier published his book, Von dem Christlichen Touff der

Gl�ubigen against Zwingli, but without naming him. Zwingli replied

November, 1525. See A. Baur, Zwingli's Theol., II. 137 sq., 141 sqq.

[132] Nitsche, p. 30: "Wenn �ber jemand der Geist Gottes kam, beklagte

und beweinte er seine S�nden und bat den ersten besten, ihn zu taufen;

dieser bespritzte oder �bersch�ttete ihn unter Nennung der drei

g�ttlichen Personen mit Wasser. Einem f�rmlichen Untertauchen, wie es

sp�ter wohl vorkommt, begegnen wir zun�chst nicht ...Meistens wurde die

Taufe in irgend einem Hause vollzogen; aber auch im Freien wurde

getauft: so Rudolph Breitinger bei Gelegenheit eines Spazierganges am

Neppelbach, ein anderer beim Brunnen zu Hirslanden." Egli, p. 23 sq.:,

Wie es scheint, war Blaurock der eigentlich popul�re T�ufer und wandte

den Gebrauch allgemeiner an auf den ersten Besten, der weinend zu ihm

kam."

[133] See vol. VI. 608, note, and my book on the Didache, p. 41 sqq.

[134] Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth were immersed, according to the

rubric of the English Prayer Book. Erasmus says, "With us" (on the

Continent) infants have the water poured on them; in England they are

dipped."

[135] In the trial of fourteen Anabaptists, Feb. 7, 1525, Marx Bosshard

testified that Hans Bruggbach of Zumikon, after the reading of a

portion of the New Testament in a meeting, confessed and deplored big

sins, and requested, as a sign of his conversion, to be sprinkled in

the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; whereupon Blaurock

sprinkled him. "Darauf habe ihn Blaurock bespritzt." Egli,

Actensammlung, p. 282.

[136] In the same suit J�rg Schad said, "er habe sich lassen beg�ssen

mit Wasser, und syg [sei] Felix Manz t�ifer gesin [T�ufer gewesen]."

Ibid., p. 283.

[137] Kessler, Sabbata, I. 266 ("in dem Rhin von dem Grebel under

getr�ckt und bedeckt"). Comp. Barrage, 105.

[138] Burrage, p. 117. I was informed by Mr. Steiger of Herisau

(Appenzell) that the modern Baptists in St. Gall and Appenzell baptize

by immersion in the Sitter; but their number has greatly diminished

since the death of Schlatter.

[139] As in St. Gall and Appenzell; see Cornelius, II. 64 sq.

[140] A. Baur, who sides altogether with Zwingli, must nevertheless

admit (II. 187) that "the majority of the Swiss Anabaptists were quiet

and honorable people of earnest character and unblemished reputation as

citizens."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 26. Persecution of the Anabaptists.

We pass now to the measures taken against the separatists. At first

Zwingli tried to persuade them in private conferences, but in vain.

Then followed a public disputation, which took place by order of the

magistracy in the council hall, Jan. 17, 1525. Grebel was opposed to

it, but appeared, together with Manz and Reubli. They urged the usual

arguments against infant baptism, that infants cannot understand the

gospel, cannot repent and exercise faith. Zwingli answered them, and

appealed chiefly to circumcision and 1 Cor. 7:14, where Paul speaks of

the children of Christian parents as "holy." He afterwards published

his views in a book, "On Baptism, Rebaptism, and Infant Baptism" (May

27, 1525). Bullinger, who was present at the disputation, reports that

the Anabaptists were unable to refute Zwingli's arguments and to

maintain their ground. Another disputation was held in March, and a

third in November, but with no better result. The magistracy decided

against them, and issued an order that infants should be baptized as

heretofore, and that parents who refuse to have their children baptized

should leave the city and canton with their families and goods.

The Anabaptists refused to obey, and ventured on bold demonstrations.

They arranged processions, and passed as preachers of repentance, in

sackcloth and girdled, through the streets of Zurich, singing, praying,

exhorting, abusing the old dragon (Zwingli) and his horns, and

exclaiming, "Woe, woe unto Zurich!" [141]

The leaders were arrested and shut up in a room in the Augustinian

convent. A commission of ministers and magistrates were sent to them to

convert them. Twenty-four professed conversion, and were set free.

Fourteen men and seven women were retained and shut up in the Witch

Tower, but they made their escape April 5.

Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock were rearrested, and charged with

communistic and revolutionary teaching. After some other excesses, the

magistracy proceeded to threaten those who stubbornly persisted in

their error, with death by drowning. He who dips, shall be dipped,--a

cruel irony.

It is not known whether Zwingli really consented to the death sentence,

but he certainly did not openly oppose it. [142]

Six executions in all took place in Zurich between 1527 and 1532. Manz

was the first victim. He was bound, carried to a boat, and thrown into

the river Limmat near the lake, Jan. 5, 1527. He praised God that he

was about to die for the truth, and prayed with a loud voice, "Into thy

hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" Bullinger describes his heroic

death. Grebel had escaped the same fate by previous death in 1526. The

last executions took place March 23, 1532, when Heinrich Karpfis and

Hans Herzog were drowned. The foreigners were punished by exile, and

met death in Roman Catholic countries. Blaurock was scourged, expelled,

and burnt, 1529, at Clausen in the Tyrol. H�tzer, who fell into carnal

sins, was beheaded for adultery and bigamy at Constance, Feb. 24, 1529.

John Zwick, a Zwinglian, says that "a nobler and more manful death was

never seen in Constance." Thomas Blaurer bears a similar testimony.

[143] H�bmaier, who had fled from Waldshut to Zurich, December, 1525,

was tried before the magistracy, recanted, and was sent out of the

country to recant his recantation. [144] He labored successfully in

Moravia, and was burnt at the stake in Vienna, March 10, 1528. Three

days afterwards his faithful wife, whom he had married in Waldshut, was

drowned in the Danube.

Other Swiss cantons took the same measures against the Anabaptists as

Zurich. In Zug, Lorenz F�rst was drowned, Aug. 17, 1529. In Appenzell,

Uliman and others were beheaded, and some women drowned. At Basle,

Oecolampadius held several disputations with the Anabaptists, but

without effect; whereupon the Council banished them, with the threat

that they should be drowned if they returned (Nov. 13, 1530). The

Council of Berne adopted the same course.

In Germany and in Austria the Anabaptists fared still worse. The Diet

of Speier, in April, 1529, decreed that "every Anabaptist and

rebaptized person of either sex be put to death by sword, or fire, or

otherwise." The decree was severely carried out, except in Strassburg

and the domain of Philip of Hesse, where the heretics were treated more

leniently. The most blood was shed in Roman Catholic countries. In G�rz

the house in which the Anabaptists were assembled for worship was set

on fire. "In Tyrol and G�rz," says Cornelius, [145] "the number of

executions in the year 1531 reached already one thousand; in Ensisheim,

six hundred. At Linz seventy-three were killed in six weeks. Duke

William of Bavaria, surpassing all others, issued the fearful decree to

behead those who recanted, to burn those who refused to recant....

Throughout the greater part of Upper Germany the persecution raged like

a wild chase.... The blood of these poor people flowed like water so

that they cried to the Lord for help.... But hundreds of them of all

ages and both sexes suffered the pangs of torture without a murmur,

despised to buy their lives by recantation, and went to the place of

execution joyfully and singing psalms."

The blood of martyrs is never shed in vain. The Anabaptist movement was

defeated, but not destroyed; it revived among the Mennonites, the

Baptists in England and America, and more recently in isolated

congregations on the Continent. The questions of the subjects and mode

of baptism still divide Baptist and Pedobaptist churches, but the

doctrine of the salvation of unbaptized infants is no longer condemned

as a heresy; and the principle of religious liberty and separation of

Church and State, for which the Swiss and German Anabaptists suffered

and died, is making steady progress. Germany and Switzerland have

changed their policy, and allow to Baptists, Methodists, and other

Dissenters from the state-church that liberty of public worship which

was formerly denied them; and the state-churches reap the benefit of

being stirred up by them to greater vitality. In England the Baptists

are one of the leading bodies of Dissenters, and in the United States

the largest denomination next to the Methodists and Roman Catholics.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[141] Zwingli, Opera, III. 364.

[142] Egli (Die Z�rcher Wiedert�ufer, p. 93) thinks that if he

consented, he did it with reluctant heart, not, like Calvin in the case

of Servetus, with a strong sense of duty. Keller (Die Reformation, p.

407, note) asserts, on the strength of H�bmaier, that Zwingli preached

in 1525 that Anabaptists should be beheaded "according to the imperial

laws," but there is no proof of this, and Baur (II. 180) denies it.

Comp. the correspondence of Capito with Zwingli on the case of Manz,

Opera, VIII. 16, 30, 44. Capito of Strassburg was disturbed by the

execution of Manz, who had died so heroically, as reported (mortem

obiise magnifice, p. 16); but Zwingli assured him that the magistracy

condemned him to death reluctantly and from necessity (quam coacte

Senatus judicis partem tandem usurpavit). This is, of course,

unsatisfactory. Banishment in this case, as in that of Servetus, would

have been severe enough.

[143] Burrage defends H�tzer against the charges of immorality (p. 200

sqq.) but Keim and Cornelius (II. 59) sustain them.

[144] Baur, II. 173 sq. Zwingli's letter to Capito, Jan. 1, 1526,

published by Rud. St�helin, Briefe aus der Reformationszeit (Basel,

1887), p. 20.

[145] l.c. II. 67 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 27. The Eucharistic Controversy. Zwingli and Luther.

Zwingli's eucharistic writings: On the Canon of the Mass (1523); On the

same, against Emser (1524); Letter to Matthew Alber at Reutlingen

(1524); The 17th ch. of his Com. on the True and False Religion (in

Latin and German, March 23, 1525); Answer to Bugenhagen (1525); Letter

to Billicanus and Urbanus Rhegius (1526); Address to Osiander of

N�rnberg (1527); Friendly Exegesis, addressed to Luther (Feb. 20,

1527); Reply to Luther on the true sense of the words of institution of

the Lord's Supper (1527); The report on the Marburg Colloquy (1529). In

Opera, vol. II. B., III., IV. 173 sqq.

For an exposition of Zwingli's doctrine on the Lord's Supper and his

controversy with Luther, see vol. VI. 520-550 and 669-682; and A. Baur,

Zwingli's Theol. II. 268 sqq. (very full and fair).

The eucharistic controversy between Zwingli and Luther has been already

considered in connection with the German Reformation, and requires only

a brief notice here. It lasted from 1524 to 1529, and culminated in the

Colloquy at Marburg, where the two views came into closer contact and

collision than ever before or since, and where every argument for or

against the literal interpretation of the words of institution and the

corporal presence was set forth with the clearness and force of the two

champions.

Zwingli and Luther agreed in the principle of a state-church or

people's church (Volks-Kirche), as opposed to individualism,

separatism, and schism. Both defended the historic continuity of the

Church, and put down the revolutionary radicalism which constructed a

new church on the voluntary principle. Both retained infant baptism as

a part of Christian family religion, against the Anabaptists, who

introduced a new baptism with their new church of converts. Luther

never appreciated this agreement in the general standpoint, and made at

the outset the radical mistake of confounding Zwingli with Carlstadt

and the Radicals. [146]

But there was a characteristic difference between the two Reformers in

the general theory of the sacraments, and especially the Lord's Supper.

Zwingli stood midway between Luther and the Anabaptists. He regarded

the sacraments as signs and seals of a grace already received rather

than as means of a grace to be received. They set forth and confirm,

but do not create, the thing signified. He rejected the doctrine of

baptismal regeneration and of the corporal presence; while Luther

adhered to both with intense earnestness and treated a departure as

damnable heresy. Zwingli's theory reveals the spiritualizing and

rationalizing tendency of his mind; while Luther's theory reveals his

realistic and mystical tendency. Yet both were equally earnest in their

devotion to the Scriptures as the Word of God and the supreme rule of

faith and practice.

When they met face to face at Marburg,--once, and only once, in this

life,--they came to agree in fourteen out of fifteen articles, and even

in the fifteenth article they agreed in the principal part, namely, the

spiritual presence and fruition of Christ's body and blood, differing

only in regard to the corporal presence and oral manducation, which the

one denied, the other asserted. Zwingli showed on that occasion marked

ability as a debater, and superior courtesy and liberality as a

gentleman. Luther received the impression that Zwingli was a "very good

man," [147] yet of a "different spirit," and hence refused to accept

his hand of fellowship offered to him with tears. The two men were

differently constituted, differently educated, differently situated and

equipped, each for his own people and country; and yet the results of

their labors, as history has proved, are substantially the same.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[146] A. Baur (Zw. Theol., II. 811) says on this misunderstanding:

"Luther warf von Anfang an Zwingli mit M�nzer und Karlstadt zusammen.

Kein Vorwurf und Vorurtheil gegen Zwingli ist ungerechter, aber auch

kein Vorwurf gl�nzender widerlegt, als dieser, und zwar eben durch die

Klarheit und Bestimmtheit, mit welcher Zwingli seine Principien gegen

die Wiedert�ufer entfaltet. Im Gegentheil; die maasslose Subjectivit�t

die bei M�nzer, Karlstadt, bei den Wiedert�ufern zum Ausbruch kommt,

und die solche Willk�hr bleibt, auch wenn sie sich auf den Buchstaben

der Schrift beruft, ist das vollst�ndige Gegentheil der Principien

Zwingli's."

[147] He called Zwingli "optimus vir," in a letter to Bullinger,

written nine years later (1538).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 28. The Works of Zwingli.

A list of Zwingli's works in the edition of Schuler and Schulthess,

vol. VIII. 696-704; of his theological works, in Baur, Zwingli 's

Theol., II. 834-837.

During the twelve short years of his public labors as a reformer, from

1519 to 1531, Zwingli developed an extraordinary literary activity. He

attacked the Papists and the Radicals, and had to reply in

self-defence. His advice was sought from the friends of reform in all

parts of Switzerland, and involved him in a vast correspondence. He

wrote partly in Latin, partly in the Swiss-German dialect. Several of

his books were translated by Leo Judae. He handled the German with more

skill than his countrymen; but it falls far short of the exceptional

force and beauty of Luther's German, and could make no impression

outside of Switzerland. The editors of his complete works (Schuler and

Schulthess) give, in eight large octavo volumes, eighty German and

fifty-nine Latin books and tracts, besides two volumes of epistles by

Zwingli and to Zwingli.

His works may be divided into seven classes, as follows: --

1. Reformatory and Polemical Works: (a) against popery and the papists

(on Fasts; on Images; on the Mass; Against Faber; Against Eck; Against

Compar; Against Emser, etc.); (b) on the controversy with the

Anabaptists; (c) on the Lord's Supper, against Luther's doctrine of the

corporal real presence.

2. Reformatory and Doctrinal: The Exposition of his 67 Conclusions

(1524); A Commentary on the False and True Religion, addressed to King

Francis I. of France (1525); A Treatise on Divine Providence (1530); A

Confession of Faith addressed to the Emperor Charles V. and the

Augsburg Diet (1530); and his last confession, written shortly before

his death (1531), and published by Bullinger.

3. Practical and Liturgical: The Shepherd; Forms of Baptism and the

Celebration of the Lord's Supper; Sermons, etc.

4. Exegetical: Extracts from lectures on Genesis, Exodus, Psalms,

Isaiah, and Jeremiah, the four Gospels, and most of the Epistles,

edited by Leo Judae, Megander, and others.

5. Patriotic and Political: Against foreign pensions and military

service; addresses to the Confederates, and the Council of Zurich; on

Christian education; on peace and war, etc.

6. Poetical: The Labyrinth and The Fable (his earliest productions);

three German poems written during the pestilence; one written in 1529,

and a versified Psalm (69th).

7. Epistles. They show the extent of his influence, and include letters

to Zwingli from Erasmus, Pucci, Pope Adrian VI., Faber, Vadianus,

Glareanus, Myconius, Oecolampadius, Haller, Megander, Beatus Rhenanus,

Urbanus Rhegius, Bucer, Hedio, Capito, Blaurer, Farel, Comander,

Bullinger, Fagius, Pirkheimer, Zasius, Frobenius, Ulrich von Hutten,

Philip of Hesse, Duke Ulrich of W�rttemberg, and other distinguished

persons.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 29. The Theology of Zwingli.

I. Zwingli: Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione, 1525 (German

translation by Leo Judae); Fidei Ratio ad Carolum V., 1530; Christianae

Fidei brevis et clara Expositio, 1531; De Providentia, 1530 (expansion

of a sermon preached at Marburg and dedicated to Philip of Hesse).

II. The theology of Zwingli is discussed by Zeller, Sigwart, Sp�rri,

Schweizer, and most fully and exhaustively by A. Baur. See Lit. � 5, p.

18. Comp. Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 369 sqq, and Church

History, VI. 721 sqq.

The dogmatic works of Zwingli contain the germs of the evangelical

Reformed theology, in distinction from the Roman and the Lutheran, and

at the same time several original features which separate it from the

Calvinistic System. He accepted with all the Reformers the ecumenical

creeds and the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity, and the divine-human

personality of Christ. He rejected with Luther the scholastic additions

of the middle ages, but removed further from the traditional theology

in the doctrine of the sacraments and the real presence. He was less

logical and severe than Calvin, who surpassed him in constructive

genius, classical diction and rhetorical finish. He drew his theology

from the New Testament and the humanistic culture of the Erasmian type.

His love for the classics accounts for his liberal views on the extent

of salvation by which he differs from the other Reformers. It might

have brought him nearer to Melanchthon; but Melanchthon was under the

overawing influence of Luther, and was strongly prejudiced against

Zwingli. He was free from traditional bondage, and in several respects

in advance of his age.

Zwingli's theology is a system of rational supernaturalism, more clear

than profound, devoid of mysticism, but simple, sober, and practical.

It is prevailingly soteriological, that is, a doctrine of the way of

salvation, and rested on these fundamental principles: The Bible is the

only sure directory of salvation (which excludes or subordinates human

traditions); Christ is the only Saviour and Mediator between God and

men (which excludes human mediators and the worship of saints); Christ

is the only head of the Church visible and invisible (against the

claims of the pope); the operation of the Holy Spirit and saving grace

are not confined to the visible Church (which breaks with the principle

of exclusiveness).

1. Zwingli emphasizes the Word of God contained in the Bible,

especially in the New Testament, as the only rule of Christian faith

and practice. This is the objective principle of Protestantism which

controls his whole theology. Zwingli first clearly and strongly

proclaimed it in his Conclusions (1523), and assigned to it the first

place in his system; while Luther put his doctrine of justification by

faith or the subjective principle in the foreground, and made it the

article of the standing or falling church. But with both Reformers the

two principles so-called resolve themselves into the one principle of

Christ, as the only and sufficient source of saving truth and saving

grace, against the traditions of men and the works of men. Christ is

before the Bible, and is the beginning and end of the Bible.

Evangelical Christians believe in the Bible because they believe in

Christ, and not vice versa. Roman Catholics believe in the Bible

because they believe in the Church, as the custodian and infallible

interpreter of the Bible.

As to the extent of the Bible, or the number of inspired books, Zwingli

accepted the Catholic Canon, with the exception of the Apocalypse,

which he did not regard as an apostolic work, and hence never used for

doctrinal purposes. [148] Calvin doubted the genuineness of the Second

Epistle of Peter and the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Both accepted the canon on the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit,

rather than the external authority of the Church. Luther, on the one

hand, insisted in the eucharistic controversy on the most literal

interpretation of the words of institution against all arguments of

grammar and reason; and yet, on the other hand, he exercised the

boldest subjective criticism on several books of the Old and New

Testaments, especially the Epistle of James and the Epistle to the

Hebrews, because he could not harmonize them with his understanding of

Paul's doctrine of justification. He thus became the forerunner of the

higher or literary criticism which claims the Protestant right of the

fullest investigation of all that pertains to the origin, history, and

value of the Scriptures. The Reformed Churches, especially those of the

English tongue, while claiming the same right, are more cautious and

conservative in the exercise of it; they lay greater stress on the

objective revelation of God than the subjective experience of man, and

on historic evidence than on critical conjectures.

2. The doctrine of eternal election and providence. Zwingli gives

prominence to God's sovereign election as the primary source of

salvation. He developed his view in a Latin sermon, or theological

discourse, on Divine Providence, at the Conference of Marburg, in

October, 1529, and enlarged and published it afterwards at Zurich (Aug.

20, 1530), at the special request of Philip of Hesse. [149] Luther

heard the discourse, and had no objection to it, except that he

disliked the Greek and Hebrew quotations, as being out of place in the

pulpit. Calvin, in a familiar letter to Bullinger, justly called the

essay paradoxical and immoderate. It is certainly more paradoxical than

orthodox, and contains some unguarded expressions and questionable

illustrations; yet it does not go beyond Luther's book on the "Slavery

of the Human Will," and the first edition of Melanchthon's Loci, or

Calvin's more mature and careful statements. All the Reformers were

originally strong Augustinian predestinarians and denied the liberty of

the human will. Augustin and Luther proceeded from anthropological

premises, namely, the total depravity of man, and came to the doctrine

of predestination as a logical consequence, but laid greater stress on

sacramental grace. Zwingli, anticipating Calvin, started from the

theological principle of the absolute sovereignty of God and the

identity of foreknowledge and foreordination. His Scripture argument is

chiefly drawn from the ninth chapter of Romans, which, indeed, strongly

teaches the freedom of election, [150] but should never be divorced

from the tenth chapter, which teaches with equal clearness human

responsibility, and from the eleventh chapter, which prophesies the

future conversion of the Gentile nations and the people of Israel.

Zwingli does not shrink from the abyss of supralapsarian-ism. God, he

teaches, is the supreme and only good, and the omnipotent cause of all

things. He rules and administers the world by his perpetual and

immutable providence, which leaves no room for accidents. Even the fall

of Adam, with its consequences, is included in his eternal will as well

as his eternal knowledge. So far sin is necessary, but only as a means

to redemption. God's agency in respect to sin is free from sin, since

he is not bound by law, and has no bad motive or affection. [151]

Election is free and independent; it is not conditioned by faith, but

includes faith. [152] Salvation is possible without baptism, but not

without Christ. We are elected in order that we may believe in Christ

and bring forth the fruits of holiness. Only those who hear and reject

the gospel in unbelief are foreordained to eternal punishment. All

children of Christian parents who die in infancy are included among the

elect, whether baptized or not, and their early death before they have

committed any actual sin is a sure proof of their election. [153] Of

those outside the Church we cannot judge, but may entertain a

charitable hope, as God's grace is not bound. In this direction Zwingli

was more liberal than any Reformer and opened a new path. St. Augustin

moderated the rigor of the doctrine of predestination by the doctrine

of baptismal regeneration and the hypothesis of future purification.

Zwingli moderated it by extending the divine revelation and the working

of the Holy Spirit beyond the boundaries of the visible Church and the

ordinary means of grace.

It is very easy to caricature the doctrine of predestination, and to

dispose of it by the plausible objections that it teaches the necessity

of sin, that it leads to fatalism and pantheism, that it supersedes the

necessity of personal effort for growth in grace, and encourages carnal

security. But every one who knows history at all knows also that the

strongest predestinarians were among the most earnest and active

Christians. It will be difficult to find purer and holier men than St.

Augustin and Calvin, the chief champions of this very system which

bears their name. The personal assurance of election fortified the

Reformers, the Huguenots, the Puritans, and the Covenanters against

doubt and despondency in times of trial and temptation. In this

personal application the Reformed doctrine of predestination is in

advance of that of Augustin. Moreover, every one who has some

perception of the metaphysical difficulties of reconciling the fact of

sin with the wisdom and holiness of God, and harmonizing the demands of

logic and of conscience, will judge mildly of any earnest attempt at

the solution of the apparent conflict of divine sovereignty and human

responsibility.

And yet we must say that the Reformers, following the lead of the great

saint of Hippo, went to a one-sided extreme. Melanchthon felt this, and

proposed the system of synergism, which is akin to the semi-Pelagian

and Arminian theories. Oecolampadius kept within the limits of

Christian experience and expressed it in the sound sentence, "Salus

nostra ex Deo, perditio nostra ex nobis." We must always keep in mind

both the divine and the human, the speculative and the practical

aspects of this problem of ages; in other words, we must combine divine

sovereignty and human responsibility as complemental truths. There is a

moral as well as an intellectual logic,--a logic of the heart and

conscience as well as a logic of the head. The former must keep the

latter in check and save it from running into supralapsarianism and at

last into fatalism and pantheism, which is just as bad as Pelagianism.

3. Original sin and guilt. Here Zwingli departed from the Augustinian

and Catholic system, and prepared the way for Arminian and Socinian

opinions. He was far from denying the terrible curse of the fall and

the fact of original sin; but he regarded original sin as a calamity, a

disease, a natural defect, which involves no personal guilt, and is not

punishable until it reveals itself in actual transgression. It is,

however, the fruitful germ of actual sin, as the inborn rapacity of the

wolf will in due time prompt him to tear the sheep. [154]

4. The doctrine of the sacraments, and especially of the Lord's Supper,

is the most characteristic feature of the Zwinglian, as distinct from

the Lutheran, theology. Calvin's theory stands between the two, and

tries to combine the Lutheran realism with the Zwinglian spiritualism.

This subject has been sufficiently handled in previous chapters. [155]

5. Eschatology. Here again Zwingli departed further from Augustin and

the mediaeval theology than any other Reformer, and anticipated modern

opinions. He believed (with the Anabaptists) in the salvation of

infants dying in infancy, whether baptized or not. He believed also in

the salvation of those heathen who loved truth and righteousness in

this life, and were, so to say, unconscious Christians, or

pre-Christian Christians. This is closely connected with his humanistic

liberalism and enthusiasm for the ancient classics. He admired the

wisdom and the virtue of the Greeks and Romans, and expected to meet in

heaven, not only the saints of the Old Testament from Adam down to John

the Baptist, but also such men as Socrates, Plato, Pindar, Aristides,

Numa, Cato, Scipio, Seneca; yea, even such mythical characters as

Hercules and Theseus. There is, he says, no good and holy man, no

faithful soul, from the beginning to the end of the world, that shall

not see God in his glory. [156]

Zwingli traced salvation exclusively to the sovereign grace of God, who

can save whom, where, and how he pleases, and who is not bound to any

visible means. But he had no idea of teaching salvation without Christ

and his atonement, as he is often misunderstood and misrepresented.

"Christ," he says (in the third of his Conclusions) "is the only

wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and satisfaction for the sins of the

whole world. Hence it is a denial of Christ when we confess another

ground of salvation and satisfaction." He does not say (and did not

know) where, when, and how Christ is revealed to the unbaptized

subjects of his saving grace: this is hidden from mortal eyes; but we

have no right to set boundaries to the infinite wisdom and love of God.

The Roman Catholic Church teaches the necessity of baptism for

salvation, and assigns all heathen to hell and all unbaptized children

to the limbus infantum (a border region of hell, alike removed from

burning pain and heavenly bliss). Lutheran divines, who accept the same

baptismal theory, must consistently exclude the unbaptized from

beatitude, or leave them to the uncovenanted mercy of God. Zwingli and

Calvin made salvation depend on eternal election, which may be

indefinitely extended beyond the visible Church and sacraments. The

Scotch Presbyterian Confession condemns the "horrible dogma" of the

papacy concerning the damnation of unbaptized infants. The Westminster

Confession teaches that "elect infants dying in infancy," and "all

other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the

ministry of the word, are saved by Christ through the Spirit, who

worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth." [157]

The old Protestant eschatology is deficient. It rejects the papal dogma

of purgatory, and gives nothing better in its place. It confounds Hades

with Hell (in the authorized translations of the Bible [158] ), and

obliterates the distinction between the middle state before, and the

final state after, the resurrection. The Roman purgatory gives relief

in regard to the fate of imperfect Christians, but none in regard to

the infinitely greater number of unbaptized infants and adults who

never hear of Christ in this life. Zwingli boldly ventured on a

solution of the mysterious problem which is more charitable and hopeful

and more in accordance with the impartial justice and boundless mercy

of God.

His charitable hope of the salvation of infants dying in infancy and of

an indefinite number of heathen is a renewal and enlargement of the

view held by the ancient Greek Fathers (Justin Martyr, Clement of

Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa). It was adopted by the Baptists,

Armenians, Quakers, and Methodists, and is now held by the great

majority of Protestant divines of all denominations.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[148] He missed in it both the style and the genius of St. John."Non

sapit os et ingenium Joannis." Zwingli and Luther were both wrong in

their unfavorable judgment of the Revelation of "the Son of Thunder."

[149] Ad illustrissimum Cattorum Principem Philippum Sermonis de

Providentia Dei anamnema. In Opera, vol. IV. 79-144. Leo Judae

published a German translation in 1531.

[150] P. 114: "Nos cum Paulo in hac sententia sumus, ut praedestinatio

libera sit, citra omnem respectum bene aut male factorum." He refers

especially to what Paul says about God hardening Pharaoh's heart, and

hating Esau and loving Jacob before they were born. But this has

reference to their position in history, and not to their eternal

salvation or perdition.

[151] De Providentia Dei (p. 113): "Impulit Deus [latronem] ut

occideret; sed aeque impellit judicem, ut percussorem justitiae mactet.

Et qui impellit, agit sine omni criminis suspicione; non enim est sub

lege. Qui vero impellitur, tam abest ut sit alienus a crimine, ut

nullam fere rem gerat sine aliqua labis aspergine, quia sub lege est."

Zwingli defends this view by the illustration of the magistracy taking

a man's life. So a soldier may kill an enemy in battle, without

committing murder. Melanchthon traced (1521) the adultery and murder of

David and the treason of Judas to the Divine impulse; but he abandoned

afterwards (1535) this "Stoic figment of fatalism."

[152] P. 121: "Fides iis datur, qui ad vitam eternam electi et ordinati

sunt; sic tamen ut electio antecedat, et fides velut symbolum

electionem sequatur. Sic enim habet Paulus, Rom. 8:29."

[153] He reasons thus: Nothing separates us from God but sin; children

have not committed actual sin; Christ has expiated for original sin;

consequently children of Christian parents, about whom we have an

express promise, are certainly among the elect if they are taken away

in infancy. "Defungi in illis electionis signum est perinde ac fides in

adultis. Et qui reprobi sunt et a Deo repudiati, in hoc statu

innocentiae non moriuntur, sed divina providentia servantur ut

repudiatio illorum criminosa vita notetur." (P. 127.)

[154] He describes original sin in Latin as defectus naturalis and

conditio misera, in German as a Brest orGebrechen, i.e. disease. He

compares it to the misfortune of one born in slavery. He explains his

view more fully in his tract, De peccato originali ad Urbanum Rhegium,

1526 (Opera, III. 627-645), and in his Confession to Charles V.

[155] � 27, p. 85 sq.; vol. VI. 620 sqq., and Creeds of Christendom, I.

372-377.

[156] He often speaks on this subject in his epistles, commentaries,

the tract on Providence, and most confidently at the close of his

Exposition of the Christian Faith, addressed to the king of France. See

the passages in Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I, 382, and A. Baur,

l.c. II. 772. Comp. also Zeller, l.c. p. 163; Alex. Schweizer, Die

Prot. Centraldogmen, I. 94 sqq., and Reform. Glaubenslehre, II. 10 sq.;

Dorner, Gesch. der protestTheol., p. 284 (who with his usual fairness

vindicates Zwingli against misrepresentations).

[157] Chapter X. 3."Elect" infants, however, implies, in the strict

Calvinistic system, "reprobate" infants who are lost. This negative

feature has died out. See on this subject Schaff, Creeds of

Christendom, I. 378-384, and his Creed Revision in the Presbyterian

Churches, New York, 1890, p. 17 sqq.

[158] This serious error is corrected in the Revised English Version of

1881. It is an anachronism when a scholar of the nineteenth century

denies the distinction between Hades or Sheol (i.e. the spirit-world or

realm of the dead) and Gehenna (i.e. hell, or the place and state of

the lost).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER IV.

SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 30. The Swiss Diet and the Conference at Baden, 1526.

Thomas Murner: Die Disputacion vor den XII Orten einer l�blichen

Eidgenossenschaft ... zu Baden gehalten. Luzern, 1527. This is the

official Catholic report, which agrees with four other protocols

preserved in Zurich. (M�ller-Hottinger, VII. 84.) Murner published also

a Latin edition, Causa Helvetica orthodoxae fidei, etc. Lucernae, 1528.

Bullinger, I. 331 sqq. The writings of Zwingli, occasioned by the

Disputation in Baden, in his Opera, vol. II. B. 396-522.

Hottinger: Geschichte der Eidgenossen w�hrend der Zeit der

Kirchentrennung, pp. 77-96. M�rikofer: Zw., II. 34-43. Merle: Reform.,

bk. XI. ch. 13. Herzog: Oekolampad, vol. II. ch. 1. Hagenbach:

Oekolampad, pp. 90-98. A. Baur: Zw.'s Theol., I. 501-518.

The Diet of Switzerland took the same stand against the Zwinglian

Reformation as the Diet of the German Empire against the Lutheran

movement. Both Diets consisted only of one house, and this was composed

of the hereditary nobility and aristocracy. The people were not

directly represented by delegates of their own choice. The majority of

voters were conservative, and in favor of the old faith; but the

majority of the people in the larger and most prosperous cantons and in

the free imperial cities favored progress and reform, and succeeded in

the end.

The question of the Reformation was repeatedly brought before the Swiss

Diet, and not a few liberal voices were heard in favor of abolishing

certain crying abuses; but the majority of the cantons, especially the

old forest-cantons around the lake of Lucerne, resisted every

innovation. Berne was anxious to retain her political supremacy, and

vacillated. Zwingli had made many enemies by his opposition to the

foreign military service and pensions of his countrymen. Dr. Faber, the

general vicar of the diocese of Constance, after a visit to Rome,

openly turned against his former friend, and made every effort to unite

the interests of the aristocracy with those of the hierarchy. "Now," he

said, "the priests are attacked, the nobles will come next." [159] At

last the Diet resolved to settle the difficulty by a public

disputation. Dr. Eck, well known to us from the disputation at Leipzig

for his learning, ability, vanity and conceit, [160] offered his

services to the Diet in a flattering letter of Aug. 13, 1524. He had

then just returned from a third visit to Rome, and felt confident that

he could crush the Protestant heresy in Switzerland as easily as in

Germany. He spoke contemptuously of Zwingli, as one who "had no doubt

milked more cows than he had read books." About the same time the Roman

counter-reformation had begun to be organized at the convent of

Regensburg (June, 1524), under the lead of Bavaria and Austria.

The disputation was opened in the Catholic city of Baden, in Aargau,

May 21, 1526, and lasted eighteen days, till the 8th of June. The

cantons and four bishops sent deputies, and many foreign divines were

present. The Protestants were a mere handful, and despised as "a

beggarly, miserable rabble." Zwingli, who foresaw the political aim and

result of the disputation, was prevented by the Council of Zurich from

leaving home, because his life was threatened; but he influenced the

proceedings by daily correspondence and secret messengers. No one could

doubt his courage, which he showed more than once in the face of

greater danger, as when he went to Marburg through hostile territory,

and to the battlefield at Cappel. But several of his friends were sadly

disappointed at his absence. He would have equalled Eck in debate and

excelled him in biblical learning. Erasmus was invited, but politely

declined on account of sickness.

The arrangements for the disputation and the local sympathies were in

favor of the papal party. Mass was said every morning at five, and a

sermon preached; the pomp of ritualism was displayed in solemn

processions. The presiding officers and leading secretaries were

Romanists; nobody besides them was permitted to take notes. [161] The

disputation turned on the real presence, the sacrifice of the mass, the

invocation of the Virgin Mary and of saints, on images, purgatory, and

original sin. Dr. Eck was the champion of the Roman faith, and behaved

with the same polemical dexterity and overbearing and insolent manner

as at Leipzig: robed in damask and silk, decorated with a golden ring,

chain and cross; surrounded by patristic and scholastic folios,

abounding in quotations and arguments, treating his opponents with

proud contempt, and silencing them with his stentorian voice and final

appeals to the authority of Rome. Occasionally he uttered an oath,

"Potz Marter." A contemporary poet, Nicolas Manuel, thus described his

conduct: --

"Eck stamps with his feet, and claps his hands,

He raves, he swears, he scolds;

'I do,' cries he, 'what the Pope commands,

And teach whatever he holds.' " [162]

Oecolampadius of Basle and Haller of Berne, both plain and modest, but

able, learned and earnest men, defended the Reformed opinions.

Oecolampadius declared at the outset that he recognized no other rule

of judgment than the Word of God. He was a match for Eck in patristic

learning, and in solid arguments. His friends said, "Oecolampadius is

vanquished, not by argument, but by vociferation." [163] Even one of

the Romanists remarked, "If only this pale man were on our side!" His

host judged that he must be a very pious heretic, because he saw him

constantly engaged in study and prayer; while Eck was enjoying rich

dinners and good wines, which occasioned the remark, "Eck is bathing in

Baden, but in wine." [164]

The papal party boasted of a complete victory. All innovations were

forbidden; Zwingli was excommunicated; and Basle was called upon to

depose Oecolampadius from the pastoral office. Faber, not satisfied

with the burning of heretical books, advocated even the burning of the

Protestant versions of the Bible. Thomas Murner, a Franciscan monk and

satirical poet, who was present at Baden, heaped upon Zwingli and his

adherents such epithets as tyrants, liars, adulterers, church robbers,

fit only for the gallows! He had formerly (1512) chastised the vices of

priests and monks, but turned violently against the Saxon Reformer, and

earned the name of "Luther-Scourge "(Lutheromastix). He was now made

lecturer in the Franciscan convent at Lucerne, and authorized to edit

the acts of the Baden disputation. [165]

The result of the Baden disputation was a temporary triumph for Rome,

but turned out in the end, like the Leipzig disputation of 1519, to the

furtherance of the Reformation. Impartial judges decided that the

Protestants had been silenced by vociferation, intrigue and despotic

measures, rather than refuted by sound and solid arguments from the

Scriptures. After a temporary reaction, several cantons which had

hitherto been vacillating between the old and the new faith, came out

in favor of reform.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[159] "Jetzst geht's �ber die Geistlichen, dann kommt es an die

Junker."

[160] Comp. vol. VI. � 37, p. 178 sqq.

[161] Nevertheless, two young friends of the Reformation published

reports from memory.

[162] In Eck's und Faber's Badenfahrt: "Eck zappelt mit F�ssen und

H�nden, Fing an zu schelten und sch�nden. Er sprach: Ich blib by dem

Verstand, Den Papst, Cardinal, und Bishof hand."

[163] "Nicht �berdisputirt, aber �berschrieen ist er."

[164] In another witty poem, quoted by Bullinger (I. 357 sq.), the two

disputants are thus contrasted:-- "Also fing an die Disputaz: Hans Eck

empfing da manchen Kratz, Das that ihn �bel schmerzen, Denn alles, was

er f�rherbracht, That ihm Hans Hussc hyn [Oekolampadius] k�rzen. Herr

Doctor Husschyn hochgelehrt Hat sich gen Ecken tapfer gwehrt, Oft

gnommen Schwert und Stangen. Eck floh dann zu dem r�m'schen Stuhl Und

auch all sin Anhangen."

[165] He also issued, in 1527, an almanac with satirical caricatures of

heretics, where Zwingli is represented hanging on the gallows, and is

called "Kirchendieb," "Feigenfresser," "Geiger des heil. Evangeliums

und Lautenschl�ger des Alten und Neuen Testaments," etc. Kessler's

Sabbata, Schaffhausen, 1865, and Hagenbach, p. 372.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 31. The Reformation in Berne.

I. The acts of the disputation of Berne were published in 1528 at

Zurich and Strassburg, afterwards repeatedly at Berne, and are

contained, together with two sermons of Zwingli, in Zwingli's Werke,

II. A. 63-229. Valerius Anshelm: Berner Chronik, new ed. by Stierlin

and Wyss, Bern, 1884, '86, 2 vols. St�rler: Urkunden der Bernischen

Kirchenreform. Bern, 1862. Strickler: Aktensammlung, etc. Zurich, 1878

(I. 1).

II. Kuhn: Die Reformatoren Berns. Bern, 1828. Sam. Fischer: Geschichte

der Disputation zu Bern. Z�rich, 1828. Melch. Kirchhofer: Berthold

Haller oder die Reformation zu Bern. Z�rich, 1828. C. Pestalozzi: B.

Haller, nach handschriftl. und gleichzeitigen Quellen. Elberfeld, 1861.

The monographs on Niclaus Manuel by Gr�neisen, Stuttgart, 1837, and by

B�chthold, Frauenfeld, 1878. Hundeshagen: Die Conflicte des

Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen

Landeskirche von 1532-'58. Bern, 1842. F. Trechsel: articles Berner

Disputation and Berner Synodus, and Haller, in Herzog2, II. 313-324,

and V 556-561. Berner Beitr�ge, etc., 1884, quoted on p. 15. See also

the Lit. by Nippold in his Append. to Hagenbach's Reform. Gesch., p.

695 sq.

III. Karl Ludwig von Haller (a distinguished Bernese and convert to

Romanism, expelled from the Protestant Council of Berne, 1820; d.

1854): Geschichte der kirchlichen Revolution oder protestantischen

Reform des Kantons Bern und umliegender Gegenden. Luzern, 1836 (346

pages). French translation, Histoire de la revolution religieuse dans

la Swiss occidentale. Paris, 1839. This is a reactionary account

professedly drawn from Protestant sources and represents the Swiss

Reformation as the mother of the Revolution of 1789. To the French

version of this book Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore (he does not

mention the original) confesses to be "indebted for most of the facts"

in his chapter on the Swiss Reformation which he calls a work

established "by intrigue, chicanery, persecution, and open violence!"

Hist. of the Prot. Ref. in Germany and Switzerland, I. 181, 186 (8th

ed., Baltimore, 1875).

Berne, the largest, most conservative and aristocratic of the Swiss

cantons, which contains the political capital of the Confederacy, was

the first to follow Zurich, after considerable hesitation. This was an

event of decisive importance.

The Reformation was prepared in the city and throughout the canton by

three ministers, Sebastian Meyer, Berthold Haller, and Francis Kolb,

and by a gifted layman, Niclaus Manuel,--all friends of Zwingli. Meyer,

a Franciscan monk, explained in the convent the Epistles of Paul, and

in the pulpit, the Apostles' Creed. Haller, a native of W�rtemberg, a

friend and fellow-student of Melanchthon, an instructive preacher and

cautious reformer, of a mild and modest disposition, settled in Berne

as teacher in 1518, was elected chief pastor at the cathedral 1521, and

labored there faithfully till his death (1536). He was often in danger,

and wished to retire; but Zwingli encouraged him to remain at the post

of duty. Without brilliant talents or great learning, he proved

eminently useful by his gentle piety and faithful devotion to duty.

Manuel, a poet, painter, warrior and statesman, helped the cause of

reform by his satirical dramas, which were played in the streets, his

exposure of Eck and Faber after the Baden disputation, and his

influence in the council of the city (d. 1530). His services to Zwingli

resemble the services of Hutten to Luther. The Great Council of the Two

Hundred protected the ministers in preaching the pure gospel.

The Peasants' War in Germany and the excesses of the Radicals in

Switzerland produced a temporary reaction in favor of Romanism. The

government prohibited religious controversy, banished Meyer, and

ordered Haller, on his return from the Baden disputation, to read

Romish mass again; but he declined, and declared that he would rather

give up his position, as he preferred the Word of God to his daily

bread. The elections in 1527 turned out in favor of the party of

progress. The Romish measures were revoked, and a disputation ordered

to take place Jan. 6, 1528, in Berne.

The disputation at Berne lasted nineteen days (from Jan. 6 to 26). It

was the Protestant counterpart of the disputation at Baden in

composition, arrangements and result. It had the same effect for Berne

as the disputations of 1523 had for Zurich. The invitations were

general; but the Roman Catholic cantons and the four bishops who were

invited refused, with the exception of the bishop of Lausanne, to send

delegates, deeming the disputation of Baden final. Dr. Eck, afraid to

lose his fresh laurels, was unwilling, as he said, "to follow the

heretics into their nooks and corners"; but he severely attacked the

proceedings. The Reformed party was strongly represented by delegates

from Zurich, Basel, and St. Gall, and several cities of South Germany.

Zurich sent about one hundred ministers and laymen, with a strong

protection. The chief speakers on the Reformed side were Zwingli,

Haller, Kolb, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Bucer from Strassburg; on the

Roman side, Grab, Huter, Treger, Christen, and Burgauer. Joachim von

Watt of St. Gall presided. Popular sermons were preached during the

disputation by Blaurer of Constance, Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius,

Megander, and others.

The Reformers carried an easy and complete victory, and reversed the

decision of Baden. The ten Theses or Conclusions, drawn up by Haller

and revised by Zwingli, were fully discussed, and adopted as a sort of

confession of faith for the Reformed Church of Berne. They are as

follows: --

1. The holy Christian Church, whose only Head is Christ, is born of the

Word of God, and abides in the same, and listens not to the voice of a

stranger.

2. The Church of Christ makes no laws and commandments without the Word

of God. Hence human traditions are no more binding on us than as far as

they are founded in the Word of God.

3. Christ is the only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and

satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. Hence it is a denial of

Christ when we confess another ground of salvation and satisfaction.

4. The essential and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ

cannot be demonstrated from the Holy Scripture.

5. The mass as now in use, in which Christ is offered to God the Father

for the sins of the living and the dead, is contrary to the Scripture,

a blasphemy against the most holy sacrifice, passion, and death of

Christ, and on account of its abuses an abomination before God.

6. As Christ alone died for us, so he is also to be adored as the only

Mediator and Advocate between God the Father and the believers.

Therefore it is contrary to the Word of God to propose and invoke other

mediators.

7. Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life. Hence all

masses and other offices for the dead [166] are useless.

8. The worship of images is contrary to Scripture. Therefore images

should be abolished when they are set up as objects of adoration.

9. Matrimony is not forbidden in the Scripture to any class of men; but

fornication and unchastity are forbidden to all.

10. Since, according to the Scripture, an open fornicator must be

excommunicated, it follows that unchastity and impure celibacy are more

pernicious to the clergy than to any other class.

All to the glory of God and his holy Word.

Zwingli preached twice during the disputation. [167] He was in

excellent spirits, and at the height of his fame and public usefulness.

In the first sermon he explained the Apostles' Creed, mixing in some

Greek and Hebrew words for his theological hearers. In the second, he

exhorted the Bernese to persevere after the example of Moses and the

heroes of faith. Perseverance alone can complete the triumph. (Ferendo

vincitur fortuna.) Behold these idols conquered, mute, and scattered

before you. The gold you spent upon them must henceforth be devoted to

the good of the living images of God in their poverty. "Hold fast," he

said in conclusion, "to the liberty wherewith Christ has set us free

(Gal. 5:1). You know how much we have suffered in our conscience, how

we were directed from one false comfort to another, from one

commandment to another which only burdened our conscience and gave us

no rest. But now ye have found freedom and peace in the knowledge and

faith of Jesus Christ. From this freedom let nothing separate you. To

hold it fast requires great fortitude. You know how our ancestors,

thanks to God, have fought for our bodily liberty; let us still more

zealously guard our spiritual liberty; not doubting that God, who has

enlightened and drawn you, will in due time also draw our dear

neighbors and fellow-confederates to him, so that we may live together

in true friendship. May God, who created and redeemed us all, grant

this to us and to them. Amen."

By a reformation edict of the Council, dated Feb. 7, 1528, the ten

Theses were legalized, the jurisdiction of the bishops abolished, and

the necessary changes in worship and discipline provisionally ordered,

subject to fuller light from the Word of God. The parishes of the city

and canton were separately consulted by delegates sent to them Feb. 13

and afterwards, and the great majority adopted the reformation by

popular vote, except in the highlands where the movement was delayed.

After the catastrophe of Cappel the reformation was consolidated by the

so-called "Berner Synodus," which met Jan. 9-14, 1532. All the

ministers of the canton, two hundred and twenty in all, were invited to

attend. Capito, the reformer of Strassburg, exerted a strong influence

by his addresses. The Synod adopted a book of church polity and

discipline; the Great Council confirmed it, and ordered annual synods.

Hundeshagen pronounces this constitution a "true masterpiece even for

our times," and Trechsel characterizes it as excelling in apostolic

unction, warmth, simplicity and practical wisdom. [168]

Since that time Berne has remained faithful to the Reformed Church. In

1828 the Canton by order of the government celebrated the third

centenary of the Reformation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[166] "All todtendienst, als vigil, seelmess, seelgr�t, sibend,

dryssgest, jarzyt, kerzen, und derglychen."

[167] The sermons are printed in Werke, II. B. 203-229.

[168] The constitution was printed at Basle in the same year, and

repeatedly since. Trechsel gives an epitome of it in Herzog2, II. 320

sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 32. The Reformation in Basel. Oecolampadius.

I. The sources are chiefly in the Bibliotheca Antistitii and the

University Library of Basel, and in the City Library of Z�rich; letters

of Oecolampadius to Zwingli, in Bibliander's Epistola Joh. Oecolampadii

et Huldr. Zwinglii (Basel, 1536, fol.); in Zwingli's Opera, vols. VII.

and VIII.; and in Herminjard, Correspondance des R�formateurs, passim.

Several letters of Erasmus, and his Consilium Senatui Basiliensi in

negotio Lutherano anno 1525 exhibitum. Antiquitates Gernlerianae, Tom.

I. and II. An important collection of letters and documents prepared by

direction of Antistes Lukas Gernler of Basel (1625-1676), who took part

in the Helvetic Consensus Formula. The Athenae Rauricae sive Catalogus

Professorum Academics Basiliensis, by Herzog, Basel, 1778. The Basler

Chroniken, publ. by the Hist. Soc. of Basel, ed. with comments by W.

Vischer (son), Leipz. 1872.

II. Pet. Ochs: Geschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Basel. Berlin and

Leipzig, 1786-1822. 8 vols. The Reformation is treated in vols. V. and

VI., but without sympathy. Jak. Burckhardt: Kurze Geschichte der

Reformation in Basel. Basel, 1819. R. R. Hagenbach: Kirchliche

Denkw�rdigkeiten zur Geschichte Basels seit der Reformation. Basel,

1827 (pp. 268). The first part also under the special title: Kritische

Geschichte und Schicksale der ersten Basler Confession. By the same:

Die Theologische Schule Basels und ihrer Lehrer von Stiftung der

Hochschule 1460 bis zu De Wette's Tod 1849 (pp. 75). Jarke (R. Cath.):

Studien und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Reformation. Schaffhausen

(Hurter), 1846 (pp. 576). Fried. Fischer: Der Bildersturm in der

Schweiz und in Basel insbesondere. In the "Basler Jahrbuch "for 1850.

W. Vischer: Actenst�cke zur Geschichte der Reformation in Basel. In the

"Basler Beitr�ge zur vaterl�ndischen Geschichte," for 1854. By the

same: Geschichte der Universit�t Basel von der Gr�ndung 1460 bis zur

Reformation 1529. Basel, 1860. Boos: Geschichte der Stadt Basel. Basel,

1877 sqq. The first volume goes to 1501; the second has not yet

appeared.

III. Biographical. S. Hess: Lebensgeschichte Joh. Oekolampads. Z�rich,

1798 (chiefly from Z�rich sources, contained in the Simler collection).

J. J. Herzog (editor of the well-known "Encyclopaedia" d. 1882): Das

Leben Joh. Oekolampads und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel. Basel,

1843. 2 vols. Comp. his article in Herzog2, Vol. X. 708-724. K. R.

Hagenbach: Johann Oekolampad und Oswald Myconius, die Reformatoren

Basels. Leben und ausgew�hlte Schriften. Elberfeld, 1859. His

Reformationsgesch., 5th ed., by Nippold, Leipzig, 1887, p. 386 sqq. On

Oecolampadius' connection with the Eucharistic Controversy and part in

the Marburg Colloquy, see Schaff, vol. VI. 620, 637, and 642.

The example of Berne was followed by Basel, the wealthiest and most

literary city in Switzerland, an episcopal see since the middle of the

eighth century, the scene of the reformatory Council of 1430-1448, the

seat of a University since 1460, the centre of the Swiss book trade,

favorably situated for commerce on the banks of the Rhine and on the

borders of Germany and France. The soil was prepared for the

Reformation by scholars like Wyttenbach and Erasmus, and by evangelical

preachers like Capito and Hedio. Had Erasmus been as zealous for

religion as he was for letters, he would have taken the lead, but he

withdrew more and more from the Reformation, although he continued to

reside in Basel till 1529 and returned there to die (1536). [169]

The chief share in the work fell to the lot of Oecolampadius

(1482-1531). He is the second in rank and importance among the

Reformers in German Switzerland. His relation to Zwingli is similar to

that sustained by Melanchthon to Luther, and by Beza to Calvin,--a

relation in part subordinate, in part supplemental. He was inferior to

Zwingli in originality, force, and popular talent, but surpassed him in

scholastic erudition and had a more gentle disposition. He was, like

Melanchthon, a man of thought rather than of action, but circumstances

forced him out of his quiet study to the public arena.

Johann Oecolampadius [170] was born at Weinsberg in the present kingdom

of W�rtemberg in 1482, studied law in Bologna, philology, scholastic

philosophy, and theology in Heidelberg and T�bingen with unusual

success. He was a precocious genius, like Melanchthon. In his twelfth

year he composed (according to Capito) Latin poems. In 1501 he became

Baccalaureus, and soon afterwards Master of Arts. He devoted himself

chiefly to the study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. Erasmus gave

him the testimony of being the best Hebraist (after Reuchlin). At

T�bingen he formed a friendship with Melanchthon, his junior by fifteen

years, and continued on good terms with him notwithstanding their

difference of opinion on the Eucharist. He delivered at Weinsberg a

series of sermons on the Seven Words of Christ on the Cross, which were

published by Zasius in 1512, and gained for him the reputation of an

eminent preacher of the gospel.

In 1515 he received a call, at Capito's suggestion, from Christoph von

Utenheim, bishop of Basel (since 1502), to the pulpit of the cathedral

in that city. In the year following he acquired the degree of

licentiate, and later that of doctor of divinity. Christoph von

Utenheim belonged to the better class of prelates, who desired a

reformation within the Church, but drew back after the Diet of Worms,

and died at Delsberg in 1522. His motto was: "The cross of Christ is my

hope; I seek mercy, not works." [171]

Oecolampadius entered into intimate relations with Erasmus, who at that

time took up his permanent abode in Basel. He rendered him important

service in his Annotations to the New Testament, and in the second

edition of the Greek Testament (concerning the quotations from the

Septuagint and Hebrew). The friendship afterwards cooled down in

consequence of their different attitude to the question of reform.

In 1518 Oecolampadius showed his moral severity and zeal for a reform

of the pulpit by an attack on the prevailing custom of entertaining the

people in the Easter season with all kinds of jokes. "What has," he

asks, "a preacher of repentance to do with fun and laughter? Is it

necessary for us to yield to the impulse of nature ? If we can crush

our sins by laughter, what is the use of repenting in sackcloth and

ashes? What is the use of tears and cries of sorrow? ... No one knows

that Jesus laughed, but every one knows that he wept. The Apostles

sowed the seed weeping. Many as are the symbolic acts of the prophets,

no one of them lowers himself to become an actor. Laughter and song

were repugnant to them. They lived righteously before the Lord,

rejoicing and yet trembling, and saw as clear as the sun at noonday

that all is vanity under the sun. They saw the net being drawn

everywhere and the near approach of the judge of the world." [172]

After a short residence at Weinsberg and Augsburg, Oecolampadius

surprised his friends by entering a convent in 1520, but left it in

1522 and acted a short time as chaplain for Franz von Sickingen at

Ebernburg, near Creuznach, where he introduced the use of the German

language in the mass.

By the reading of Luther's writings, he became more and more fixed in

evangelical convictions. He cautiously attacked transubstantiation,

Mariolatry, and the abuses of the confessional, and thereby attracted

the favorable attention of Luther, who wrote to Spalatin (June 10,

1521): "I am surprised at his spirit, not because he fell upon the same

theme as I, but because he has shown himself so liberal, prudent, and

Christian. God grant him growth." In June, 1523, Luther expressed to

Oecolampadius much satisfaction at his lectures on Isaiah,

notwithstanding the displeasure of Erasmus, who would probably, like

Moses, die in the land of Moab. "He has done his part," he says, "by

exposing the bad; to show the good and to lead into the land of

promise, is beyond his power." Luther and Oecolampadius met personally

at Marburg in 1529, but as antagonists on the doctrine of the Lord's

Supper, in which the latter stood on the side of Zwingli.

In Nov. 17, 1522, Oecolampadius settled permanently in Basel and

labored there as preacher of the Church of St. Martin and professor of

theology in the University till his death. Now began his work as

reformer of the church of Basel, which followed the model of Z�rich. He

sought the friendship of Zwingli in a letter full of admiration, dated

Dec. 10, 1522. [173] They continued to co-operate in fraternal harmony

to the close of their lives.

Oecolampadius preached on Sundays and week days, explaining whole books

of the Bible after the example of Zwingli, and attracted crowds of

people. With the consent of the Council, he gradually abolished crying

abuses, distributed the Lord's Supper under both kinds, and published

in 1526 a German liturgy, which retained in the first editions several

distinctively Catholic features such as priestly absolution and the use

of lights on the altar.

In 1525 he began to take an active part in the unfortunate Eucharistic

controversy by defending the figurative interpretation of the words of

institution: "This is (the figure of) my body," chiefly from the

writings of the fathers, with which he was very familiar. [174] He

agreed in substance with Zwingli, but differed from him by placing the

metaphor in the predicate rather than the verb, which simply denotes a

connection of the subject with the predicate whether real or

figurative, and which was not even used by our Lord in Aramaic. He

found the key for the interpretation in John 6:63, and held fast to the

truth that Christ himself is and remains the true bread of the soul to

be partaken of by faith. At the conference in Marburg (1529) he was,

next to Zwingli, the chief debater on the Reformed side. By this course

he alienated his old friends, Brentius, Pirkheimer, Billican, and

Luther. Even Melanchthon, in a letter to him (1529), regretted that the

"horribilis dissensio de Coena Domini" interfered with the enjoyment of

their friendship, though it did not shake his good will towards him

("benevolentiam erga te meam"). He concluded to be hereafter, a

spectator rather than an actor in this tragedy."

Oecolampadius had also much trouble with the Anabaptists, and took the

same conservative and intolerant stand against them as Luther at

Wittenberg, and Zwingli at Z�rich. He made several fruitless attempts

in public disputations to convince them of their error. [175]

The civil government of Basel occupied for a while middle ground, but

the disputation of Baden, at which Oecolampadius was the champion of

the Reformed doctrines, [176] brought on the crisis. He now took

stronger ground against Rome and attacked what he regarded as the

idolatry of the mass. The triumph of the Reformation in Berne in 1528

gave the final impetus.

On the 9th of February, 1529, an unbloody revolution broke out. Aroused

by the intrigues of the Roman party, the Protestant citizens to the

number of two thousand came together, broke to pieces the images still

left, and compelled the reactionary Council to introduce everywhere the

form of religious service practised in Z�rich.

Erasmus, who had advised moderation and quiet waiting for a general

Council, was disgusted with these violent, measures, which he describes

in a letter to Pirkheimer of N�rnberg, May 9, 1529. "The smiths and

workmen," he says, "removed the pictures from the churches, and heaped

such insults on the images of the saints and the crucifix itself, that

it is quite surprising there was no miracle, seeing how many there

always used to occur whenever the saints were even slightly offended.

Not a statue was left either in the churches, or the vestibules, or the

porches, or the monasteries. The frescoes were obliterated by means of

a coating of lime; whatever would bum was thrown into the fire, and the

rest pounded into fragments. Nothing was spared for either love or

money. Before long the mass was totally abolished, so that it was

forbidden either to celebrate it in one's own house or to attend it in

the neighboring villages." [177]

The great scholar who had done so much preparatory work for the

Reformation, stopped half-way and refused to identify himself with

either party. He reluctantly left Basel (April 13, 1529) with the best

wishes for her prosperity, and resided six years at Freiburg in Baden,

a sickly, sensitive, and discontented old man. He was enrolled among

the professors of the University, but did not lecture. He returned to

Basel in August, 1535, and died in his seventieth year, July 12, 1536,

without priest or sacrament, but invoking the mercy of Christ,

repeating again and again, "O Lord Jesus, have mercy on me!" He was

buried in the Minster of Basel.

Glareanus and Beatus Rhenanus, humanists, and friends of Zwingli and

Erasmus, likewise withdrew from Basel at this critical moment. Nearly

all the professors of the University emigrated. They feared that

science and learning would suffer from theological quarrels and a

rupture with the hierarchy.

The abolition of the mass and the breaking of images, the destruction

of the papal authority and monastic institutions, would have been a

great calamity had they not been followed by the constructive work of

the evangelical faith which was the moving power, and which alone could

build up a new Church on the ruins of the old. The Word of God was

preached from the fountain. Christ and the Gospel were put in the place

of the Church and tradition. German service with congregational singing

and communion was substituted for the Latin mass. The theological

faculty was renewed by the appointment of Simon Gryn�us, Sebastian

M�nster, Oswald Myconius, and other able and pious scholars to

professorships.

Oecolampadius became the chief preacher of the Minster and Antistes, or

superintendent, of the clergy of Basel.

On the 1st of April, 1529, an order of liturgical service and church

discipline was published by the Council, which gave a solid foundation

to the Reformed Church of the city of Basel and the surrounding

villages. [178] This document breathes the spirit of enthusiasm for the

revival of apostolic Christianity, and aims at a reformation of faith

and morals. It contains the chief articles which were afterwards

formulated in the Confession of Basel (1534), and rules for a

corresponding discipline. It retains a number of Catholic customs such

as daily morning and evening worship, weekly communion in one of the

city churches, the observance of the great festivals, including those

of the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and the Saints.

To give force to these institutions, the ban was introduced in 1530,

and confided to a council of three pious, honest, and brave laymen for

each of the four parishes of the city; two to be selected by the

Council, and one by the congregation, who, in connection with the

clergy, were to watch over the morals, and to discipline the offenders,

if necessary, by excommunication.--In accordance with the theocratic

idea of the relation of Church and State, dangerous heresies which

denied any of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed, and blasphemy

of God and the sacrament, were made punishable with civil penalties

such as confiscation of property, banishment, and even death. Those, it

is said, "shall be punished according to the measure of their guilt in

body, life, and property, who despise, spurn, or contemn the eternal,

pure, elect queen, the blessed Virgin Mary, or other beloved saints of

God who now live with Christ in eternal blessedness, so as to say that

the mother of God is only a woman like other women, that she had more

children than Christ, the Son of God, that she was not a virgin before

or after his birth," etc. Such severe measures have long since passed

away. The mixing of civil and ecclesiastical punishments caused a good

deal of trouble. Oecolampadius opposed the supremacy of the State over

the Church. He presided over the first synods.

After the victory of the Reformation, Oecolampadius continued unto the

end of his life to be indefatigable in preaching, teaching, and editing

valuable commentaries (chiefly on the Prophets). He took a lively

interest in French Protestant refugees, and brought the Waldenses, who

sent a deputation to him, into closer affinity with the Reformed

churches. [179] He was a modest and humble man, of a delicate

constitution and ascetic habits, and looked like a church father. He

lived with his mother; but after her death, in 1528, he married, at the

age of forty-five, Wilibrandis Rosenblatt, the widow of Cellarius

(Keller), who afterwards married in succession two other Reformers

(Capito and Bucer), and survived four husbands. This tempted Erasmus to

make the frivolous joke (in a letter of March 21, 1528), that his

friend had lately married a good-looking girl to crucify his flesh, and

that the Lutheran Reformation was a comedy rather than a tragedy, since

the tumult always ended in a wedding. He afterwards apologized to him,

and disclaimed any motive of unkindness. Oecolam-padius had three

children, whom he named Eusebius, Alitheia, and Irene (Godliness,

Truth, Peace), to indicate what were the pillars of his theology and

his household. His last days were made sad by the news of Zwingli's

death, and the conclusion of a peace unfavorable to the Reformed

churches. The call from Z�rich to become Zwingli's successor he

declined. A few weeks later, on the 24th of November, 1531, he passed

away in peace and full of faith, after having partaken of the holy

communion with his family, and admonished his colleagues to continue

faithful to the cause of the Reformation. He was buried behind the

Minster. [180]

His works have never been collected, and have only historical interest.

They consist of commentaries, sermons, exegetical and polemical tracts,

letters, and translations from Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Cyril of

Alexandria. [181]

Basel became one of the strongholds of the Reformed Church of

Switzerland, together with Z�rich, Geneva, and Berne. The Church passed

through the changes of German Protestantism, and the revival of the

nineteenth century. She educates evangelical ministers, contributes

liberally from her great wealth to institutions of Christian

benevolence and the spread of the Gospel, and is (since 1816) the seat

of the largest Protestant missionary institute on the Continent, which

at the annual festivals forms a centre for the friends of missions in

Switzerland, W�rtemberg, and Baden. The neighboring Chrischona is a

training school of German ministers for emigrants to America.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[169] On Erasmus and his relation to the Reformation, see above, p. 24

sq., and especially vol. VI. 399-434.

[170] A Greek name given him for Hausschein or Husschyn (Houselamp);

but in:he university register of Heidelberg he is entered under the

family name of Hussgen or Heussgen, i.e. Little House. His mother was

descended of the old Basel family of Pfister. Hence he says in the

Preface to his Commentary on Isaiah: "Basilea mihi ab avo patria." See

Hagenbach, Oekol., p. 3 sq.

[171] "Spes mea crux Christi; gratiam, non opera quaero." The motto of

Gerson and many mystics.

[172] De Risu Paschali, printed by Frobenius at Basel, 1518

[173] Opera Zwinglii, VII. 251, and Zwingli's reply, p. 261. Hagenbach

gives a German translation of the letters, p. 26 sq. and 38.

[174] De genuina verborum Domini, "hoc est corpus meum" juxta

vetustissimos auctores expositione. (Strassburg), September, 1525.

Comp. vol. VI. 612 sqq.

[175] See above, p. 69 sqq., and the extracts of his disputations with

the Anabaptists in Hagenbach, p. 108 sqq.; Herzog, I. 299 sqq., and II.

75 sqq.

[176] See above, p. 100.

[177] The modern revival of archaeological and artistic taste in

Switzerland has brought about a restoration of the old frescoes and

sculptures of the beautiful Minster and Cloister of Basel, and of the

chamber where the great Council was held.

[178] In Ochs, l.c. V. 686 sq.; Bullinger, II. 82 sqq.

[179] See Herzog, II. 239 sqq.; Hagenbach, 150 sqq.

[180] Malignant enemies spread the rumor that he committed suicide or

was fetched by the devil. See Hagenbach, p. 181. A similar rumor was

started about Luther's death, and revived in our days by Majunke in

Luther's Lebensende, 4th ed. Mainz, 1890, but refuted by Kolde and

Kawerau.

[181] Hess (pp. 413-430) gives a chronological list of his works, which

is supplemented by Herzog (II. 255 sqq.). Hagenbach's biography, p. 191

sqq., gives extracts from his sermons and catechetical writings.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 33. The Reformation in Glarus. Tschudi. Glarean.

Valentin Tschudi: Chronik der Reformationsjahre 1521-1533. Mit Glossar

und Commentar von Dr. Joh. Strickler. Glarus, 1888 (pp. 258). Publ. in

the "Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins des Kantons Glarus," Heft XXIV.,

also separately issued. The first edition of Tschudi's Chronik

(Beschryb oder Erzellung, etc.) was published by Dr. J. J. Blumer, in

vol. IX. of the "Archiv f�r schweizerische Geschichte," 1853, pp.

332-447, but not in the original spelling and without comments.

Blumer and Heer: Der Kanton Glarus, historisch, geographisch und

topographisch beschrieben. St. Gallen, 1846. DR. J. J. Blumer: Die

Reformation im Lande Glarus. In the "Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins

des Kantons Glarus." Z�rich and Glarus, 1873 and 1875 (Heft IX. 9-48;

XI. 3-26). H. G. Sulzberger: Die Reformation des Kant. Glarus und des

St. Gallischen Bezirks Werdenberg. Heiden, 1875 (pp. 44).

Heinrich Schreiber: Heinrich Loriti Glareanus, gekr�nter Dichter,

Philolog und Mathematiker aus dem 16ten Jahrhundert. Freiburg, 1837.

Otto Fridolin Fritzsche (Prof. of Church Hist. in Z�rich): Glarean,

sein Leben und seine Schriften. Frauenfeld, 1890 (pp. 136). Comp. also

Geiger: Renaissance und Humanismus (1882), pp. 420-423, for a good

estimate of Glarean as a humanist.

The canton Glarus with the capital of the same name occupies the narrow

Linththal surrounded by high mountains, and borders on the territory of

Protestant Z�rich and of Catholic Schwyz. It wavered for a good while

between the two opposing parties and tried to act as peacemaker.

Landammann Hans Aebli of Glarus, a friend of Zwingli and an enemy of

the foreign military service, prevented a bloody collision of the

Confederates in the first war of Cappel. This is characteristic of the

position of that canton.

Glarus was the scene of the first public labors of Zwingli from 1506 to

1516. [182] He gained great influence as a classical scholar, popular

preacher, and zealous patriot, but made also enemies among the friends

of the foreign military service, the evils of which he had seen in the

Italian campaigns. He established a Latin school and educated the sons

of the best families, including the Tschudis, who traced their ancestry

back to the ninth century. Three of them are connected with the

Reformation,--Aegidius and Peter, and their cousin Valentin.

Aegidius (Gilg) Tschudi, the most famous of this family, the Herodotus

of Switzerland (1505-1572), studied first with Zwingli, then with

Glarean at Basel and Paris, and occupied important public positions, as

delegate to the Diet at Einsiedeln (1529), as governor of Sargans, as

Landammann of Glarus (1558), and as delegate of Switzerland to the Diet

of Augsburg (1559). He also served a short time as officer in the

French army. He remained true to the old faith, but enjoyed the

confidence of both parties by his moderation. He expressed the highest

esteem for Zwingli in a letter of February, 1517. [183] His History of

Switzerland extends from a.d. 1000 to 1470, and is the chief source of

the period before the Reformation. He did not invent, but he

embellished the romantic story of Tell and of Gr�tli, which has been

relegated by modern criticism to the realm of innocent poetic fiction.

[184] He wrote also an impartial account of the Cappeler War of 1531.

[185]

His elder brother, Peter, was a faithful follower of Zwingli, but died

early, at Coire, 1532. [186]

Valentin Tschudi also joined the Reformation, but showed the same

moderation to the Catholics as his cousin Egidius showed to the

Protestants. After studying several years under Zwingli, he went, in

1516, with his two cousins to the classical school of Glarean at Basel,

and followed him to Paris. From that city he wrote a Greek letter to

Zwingli, Nov. 15, 1520, which is still extant and shows his progress in

learning. [187] On Zwingli's recommendation, he was elected his

successor as pastor at Glarus, and was installed by him, Oct. 12, 1522.

Zwingli told the congregation that he had formerly taught them many

Roman traditions, but begged them now to adhere exclusively to the Word

of God.

Valentin Tschudi adopted a middle way, and was supported by his deacon,

Jacob Heer. He pleased both parties by reading mass early in the

morning for the old believers, and afterwards preaching an evangelical

sermon for the Protestants. He is the first example of a latitudinarian

or comprehensive broad-churchman. In 1530 he married, and ceased to

read mass, but continued to preach to both parties, and retained the

respect of Catholics by his culture and conciliatory manner till his

death, in 1555. He defended his moderation and reserve in a long Latin

letter to Zwingli, March 15, 1530. [188] He says that the controversy

arose from external ceremonies, and did not touch the rock of faith,

which Catholics and Protestants professed alike, and that he deemed it

his duty to enjoin on his flock the advice of Paul to the Romans 14, to

exercise mutual forbearance, since each stands or falls to the same

Lord. The unity of the Spirit is the best guide. He feared that by

extreme measures, more harm was done than good, and that the liberty

gained may degenerate into license, impiety, and contempt of authority.

He begs Zwingli to use his influence for the restoration of order and

peace, and signs himself, forever yours" (semper futurus tuus). The

same spirit of moderation characterizes his Chronicle of the

Reformation period, and it is difficult to find out from this colorless

and unimportant narrative, to which of the two parties he belonged.

It is a remarkable fact that the influence of Tschudi's example is felt

to this day in the peaceful joint occupation of the church at Glarus,

where the sacrifice of the mass is offered by a priest at the altar,

and a sermon preached from the pulpit by a Reformed pastor in the same

morning. [189]

Another distinguished man of Glarus and friend of Zwingli in the

earlier part of his career, is Heinrich Loriti, or Loreti, better known

as Glareanus, after the humanistic fashion of that age. [190] He was

born at Mollis, a small village of that canton, in 1488, studied at

Cologne and Basel, sided with Reuchlin in the quarrel with the

Dominican obscurantists, [191] travelled extensively, was crowned as

poet-laureate by the Emperor Maximilian (1512), taught school and

lectured successively at Basel (1514), Paris (1517), again at Basel

(1522), and Freiburg (since 1529). He acquired great fame as a

philologist, poet, geographer, mathematician, musician, and successful

teacher. Erasmus called him, in a letter to Zwingli (1514), [192] the

prince and champion of the Swiss humanists, and in other letters he

praised him as a man pure and chaste in morals, amiable in society,

well versed in history, mathematics, and music, less in Greek, averse

to the subtleties of the schoolmen, bent upon learning Christ from the

fountain, and of extraordinary working power. He was full of wit and

quaint humor, but conceited, sanguine, irritable, suspicious, and

sarcastic. Glarean became acquainted with Zwingli in 1510, and

continued to correspond with him till 1523. [193] He bought books for

him at Basel (e.g. the Aldine editions of Lactantius and Tertullian)

and sought a place as canon in Z�rich. In his last letter to him he

called him, the truly Christian theologian, the bishop of the Church of

Z�rich, his very great friend." [194] He read Luther's book on the

Babylonian Captivity three times with enthusiasm. But when Erasmus

broke both with Zwingli and Luther, he withdrew from the Reformation,

and even bitterly opposed Zwingli and Oecolampadius.

He left Basel, Feb. 20, 1529, for Catholic Freiburg, and was soon

followed by Erasmus and Amerbach. Here he labored as an esteemed

professor of poetry and fruitful author, until his death (1563). He was

surrounded by Swiss and German students. He corresponded, now, as

confidentially with Aegidius Tschudi as he had formerly corresponded

with Zwingli, and co-operated with him in saving a portion of his

countrymen for the Catholic faith. [195] He gave free vent to his

disgust with Protestantism, and yet lamented the evils of the Roman

Church, the veniality and immorality of priests who cared more for

Venus than for Christ. [196] A fearful charge. He received a Protestant

Student from Z�rich with the rude words: "You are one of those who

carry the gospel in the mouth and the devil in the heart;" but when

reminded that he did not show the graces of the muses, he excused

himself by his old age, and treated the young man with the greatest

civility. He became a pessimist, and expected the speedy collapse of

the world. His friendship with Erasmus was continued with

interruptions, and at last suffered shipwreck. He charged him once with

plagiarism, and Erasmus ignored him in his testament. [197] It was a

misfortune for both that they could not understand the times, which had

left them behind. The thirty works of Glarean (twenty-two of them

written in Freiburg) are chiefly philological and musical, and have no

bearing on theology. [198] They were nevertheless put on the Index by

Pope Paul IV., in 1559. He bitterly complained of this injustice,

caused by ignorance or intrigue, and did all he could, with the aid of

Tschudi, to have his name removed, which was done after the seven

Catholic cantons had testified that Glarean was a good Christian. [199]

The Reformation progressed in Glarus at first without much opposition.

Fridolin Brunner, pastor at Mollis, wrote to Zwingli, Jan. 15, 1527,

that the Gospel was gaining ground in all the churches of the canton.

Johann Schindler preached in Schwanden with great effect. The

congregations decided for the Reformed preachers, except in N�fels. The

reverses at Cappel in 1531 produced a reaction, and caused some losses,

but the Reformed Church retained the majority of the population to this

day, and with it the preponderance of intelligence, enterprise, wealth,

and prosperity, although the numerical relation has recently changed in

favor of the Catholics, in consequence of the emigration of Protestants

to America, and the immigration of Roman-Catholic laborers, who are

attracted by the busy industries (as is the case also in Z�rich, Basel,

and Geneva). [200]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[182] See above, p. 23 sqq.

[183] In Zwingli's Opera, VII. 20 sq. See above, p. 3.

[184] The full title of his history is: Aegidii Tschudiigewesenen

Landammanns zu Glarus Chronicon Helveticum oder gr�ndliche Beschreibung

der merkw�rdigsten Begegnussen l�blicher Eidgenossenschaft, first

printed in Basel, 1734, '36, in 2 large fol. vols. The continuation

from 1470-1564 is preserved in Ms. in the monastic library at

Engelberg. His graphic narrative of Tell, reproduced by John von M�ller

and dramatized by Schiller, though disproved by modern criticism, will

live in story and song. We may apply to it Schiller's lines:-- "Alles

wiederholt sich nur im Leben, Ewig jung ist nur die Phantasie: Was sich

nie und nirgends hat begeben, Das allein weraltet nie." See Jakob

Vogel: Egid. Tschudi als Staatsmann und Geschichtschreiber. Mit dessen

Bildniss. Z�rich, 1856. Blumer: Tschudi als Geschichtschreiber, 1874

("Jahrbuch des Hist. Vereins des Kant. Glarus," pp. 81-100). Georg von

Wyss: Die eigenh�ndige Handschrift der eidgen�ss. Chronik des Aeg.

Tschudi in der Stadt-Bibl. in Z�rich ("Neujahrblatt" of the City

Library of Z�rich for 1889). Blumer and Von Wyss give the best estimate

of Tschudi. Goethe says that Tschudi's Swiss History and Aventin's

Bavarian History are sufficient to educate a useful public man without

any other book.

[185] Published from MS. in the "Helvetica," ed. by Jos. Ant.

Balthasar, vol. II. Aarau and Berne, 1826 (pp. 165 sqq.).

[186] See his letters to Zwingli of Dec. 27, 1529, and Dec. 16, 1530,

from Coire. In Zwingli's Opera, VIII. 386 and 562.

[187] There are nine of his letters in Zwingli's Opera, VII. and VIII.

[188] In Strickler's edition of his Chronik, pp. 241-244, and in

Zwingli's Opera,VIII. 433-436.

[189] The old church of Glarus in which Zwingli and Tschudi preached,

burned down in 1861; but the same custom is continued in the new

Romanesque church, to the satisfaction of both parties. So I was

informed by the present pastor, Dr. Buss, in 1890.

[190] From his native canton, Glarus (Glareana, also Glarona or

Clarona; for the natives: Glareanus or Glaronensis). For another

derivation see Fritzsche, l.c. p. 8.

[191] He figures in the Epistolae Virorum Obscurorum as a terrible

heretic.

[192] Zwingli's Opera, VII. 10.

[193] We have from him twenty-eight letters to Zwingli from July 13,

1510, to Feb. 16, 1623, printed in Zwingli's Opera, VII. and VIII.,

from the originals in the State Archives of Z�rich. Zwingli's letters

to Glarean are lost, and were probably destroyed after his rupture with

the Reformer.

[194] "Theologo vere Christiano, Ecclesiae Tigurinae episcopo, amico

nostro summo." Zwingli's Opera, VII. 274.

[195] There are thirty-eight MS. letters of Glarean to Tschudi, from

1533 to 1561, in the City Library of Z�rich; another copy in the

cantonal library of Glarus.

[196] Nov. 21, 1556: "Omnes clerici ad Venerem magis quam ad Christum

inclinant."

[197] But Dr. Bonifacius Amerbach, the chief heir, sent Glarean a

silver cup of Erasmus. See the Inventarium �ber die Hinterlassenschaft

des Erasmus vom 22 Juli, 1536, p. 13. This curious document of nineteen

pages was published in 1889 by Dr. Ludwig Sieber, librarian of the

University of Basel. He also published Das Testament des Erasmus vom 22

Jan. 1527, Basel, 1890.

[198] The most important is his Dodekachordon (Basel, 1547), which

makes an epoch in the history of music. "His theory of the twelve

church modes as parallel to the ancient Greek modes, will assure for

Glareanus a lasting place among writers on the science of music,"

(Glover's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1889, vol. I. 598.) Music

was to him a sacred art. His editions of Greek and Latin classics with

critical notes, especially on Livy, are esteemed and used by modern

philologists. Fritzsche gives a full account of his works, pp. 83-127.

[199] His name was left out of the Indexes of the sixteenth century

after that of 1559, but strangely reappears again in the Index Matriti,

1667, p. 485. Fritzsche, p. 74.

[200] In 1850 the Protestant population of Glarus numbered 26,281; the

Catholic, 8,982. In 1888 the proportion was 25,935 to 7,790. See

Fritzsche, p. 53.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 34. The Reformation in St. Gall, Toggenburg, and Appenzell. Watt and

Kessler.

The sources and literature in the City Library of St. Gall which bears

the name of Vadian (Watt) and contains his MSS. and printed works.

I. The historical works of Vadianus, especially his Chronicle of the

Abbots of St. Gall from 1200-1540, and his Diary from 1629-'33, edited

by Dr. E. Goetzinger, St. Gallen, 1875-'79, 3 vols.--Joachimi Vadiani

Vita per Joannem Kesslerum conscripta. Edited from the MS. by Dr.

Goetzinger for the Historical Society of St. Gall, 1865.--Johannes

Kessler's Sabbata. Chronik der Jahre 1523-1539. Herausgegeben von Dr.

Ernst Goetzinger. St. Gallen, 1866. In "Mittheilungen zur

vaterl�ndischen Geschichte" of the Historical Society of St. Gall,

vols. V. and VI. The MS. of 532 pages, written in the Swiss dialect by

Kessler's own hand, is preserved in the Vadian library.

II. J. V. Arx (Rom. Cath., d. 1833): Geschichte des Kant. St. Gallen.

St. Gallen, 1810-'13, 3 vols.--J. M. Fels: Denkmal Schweizerischer

Reformatoren. St. Gallen, 1819.--Joh. Fr. Franz: Die schwarmerischen

Gr��lscenen der St. Galler Wiedert�utfer zu Anfang der Reformation.

Ebnat in Toggenberg, 1824.--Joh. Jakob Bernet: Johann Kessler, genannt

Ahenarius, B�rger und Reformator zu Sankt Gallen. St. Gallen, 1826.--K.

Wegelin: Geschichte der Grafschaft Toggenburg. St. Gallen, 1830-'33, 2

Parts.--Fr. Weidmann: Geschichte der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallens.

1841.--A. N�f: Chronik oder Denkw�rdigkeiten der Stadt und Landschaft

St. Gallen. Z�rich, 1851.--J. K. B�chler: Die Reformation im Lande

Appenzell. Trogen, 1860. In the "Appenzellische Jahrb�cher."--G. Jak.

Baumgartner: Geschichte des Schweizerischen Freistaates und Kantons St.

Gallen. Z�rich, 1868, 2 vols.--H. G. Sulzberger: Geschichte der

Reformation in Toggenburg; in St. Gallen; im Rheinthal; in den

eidgen�ssischen Herrschaften Sargans und Gaster, sowie in Rapperschwil;

in Hohensax-Forsteck; in Appenzell. Several pamphlets reprinted from

the "Appenzeller Sonntagablatt," 1872 sqq.

III. Theod. Pressel: Joachim Vadian. In the ninth volume of the "Leben

und ausgew�hlte Schriften der V�ter und Begr�nder der reformirten

Kirche." Elberfeld, 1861 (pp. 103).--Rud. St�helin: Die reformatorische

Wirksamkeit des St. Galler Humanisten Vadian, in "Beitr�ge zur

vaterl�ndischen Geschichte," Basel, 1882, pp. 193-262; and his art.

"Watt" in Herzog2, XVI. (1885), pp. 663-668. Comp. also Meyer von

Knonau, "St. Gallen," In Herzog2, IV. 725-735.

The Reformation in the northeastern parts of Switzerland--St. Gall,

Toggenburg, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, Thurgau, Aargau--followed the

course of Z�rich, Berne, and Basel. It is a variation of the same

theme, on the one hand, in its negative aspects: the destruction of the

papal and episcopal authority, the abolition of the mass and

superstitious rites and ceremonies, the breaking of images and relics

as symbols of idolatry, the dissolution of convents and confiscation of

Church property, the marriage of priests, monks, and nuns; on the other

hand, in its positive aspects: the introduction of a simpler and more

spiritual worship with abundant preaching and instruction from the open

Bible in the vernacular, the restoration of the holy communion under

both kinds, as celebrated by the congregation, the direct approach to

Christ without priestly mediation, the raising of the laity to the

privileges of the general priesthood of believers, care for lower and

higher education. These changes were made by the civil magistracy,

which assumed the episcopal authority and function, but acted on the

initiative of the clergy and with the consent of the majority of the

people, which in democratic Switzerland was after all the sovereign

power. An Antistes was placed at the head of the ministers as a sort of

bishop or general superintendent. Synods attended to legislation and

administration. The congregations called and supported their own

pastors.

St. Gall--so-called from St. Gallus (Gilian), an Irish missionary and

pupil of Columban, who with several hermits settled in the wild forest

on the Steinach about 613--was a centre of Christianization and

civilization in Alemannia and Eastern Switzerland. A monastery was

founded about 720 by St. Othmar and became a royal abbey exempt from

episcopal jurisdiction, and very rich in revenues from landed

possessions in Switzerland, Swabia, and Lombardy, as well as in

manuscripts of classical and ecclesiastical learning. Church poetry,

music, architecture, sculpture, and painting flourished there in the

ninth and tenth centuries. Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall (d. c.

912), is the author of the sequences or hymns in rhythmical prose

(prosae), and credited with the mournful meditation on death ("Media

vita in morte sumus"), which is still in use, but of later and

uncertain origin. With the increasing wealth of the abbey the

discipline declined and worldliness set in. The missionary and literary

zeal died out. The bishop of Constance was jealous of the independence

and powers of the abbot. The city of St. Gall grew in prosperity and

longed for emancipation from monastic control. The clergy needed as

much reformation as the monks. Many of them lived in open concubinage,

and few were able to make a sermon. The high festivals were profaned by

scurrilous popular amusements. The sale of indulgences was carried on

with impunity.

The Reformation was introduced in the city and district of St. Gall by

Joachim von Watt, a layman (1484-1551), and John Kessler, a minister

(1502-1574). The co-operation of the laity and clergy is congenial to

the spirit of Protestantism which emancipated the Church from

hierarchical control.

Joachim von Watt, better known by his Latin name Vadianus, excelled in

his day as a humanist, poet, historian, physician, statesman, and

reformer. He was descended from an old noble family, the son of a

wealthy merchant, and studied the humanities in the University of

Vienna (1502), [201] which was then at the height of its prosperity

under the teaching of Celtes and Cuspinian, two famous humanists and

Latin poets. He acquired also a good knowledge of philosophy, theology,

law, and medicine. After travelling through Poland, Hungary, and Italy,

he returned to Vienna and taught classical literature and rhetoric. He

was crowned poet and orator by Maximilian (March 12, 1514), and elected

rector of the University in 1516. He published several classical

authors and Latin poems, orations, and essays. He stood in friendly

correspondence with Reuchlin, Hutten, Hesse, Erasmus, and other leaders

of the new learning, and especially also with Zwingli. [202]

In 1518 Watt returned to St. Gall and practised as physician till his

death, but took at the same time an active part in all public affairs

of Church and State. He was repeatedly elected burgomaster. He was a

faithful co-worker of Zwingli in the cause of reform. Zwingli called

him "a physician of body and soul of the city of St. Gall and the whole

confederacy," and said, "I know no Swiss that equals him." Calvin and

Beza recognized in him "a man of rare piety and equally rare learning."

He called evangelical ministers and teachers to St. Gall. He took a

leading part in the religious disputations at Z�rich (1523-1525), and

presided over the disputation at Berne (1528).

St. Gall was the first city to follow the example of Z�rich under his

lead. The images were removed from the churches and publicly burnt in

1526 and 1528; only the organ and the bones of St. Othmar (the first

abbot) and Notker were saved. An evangelical church order was

introduced in 1527. At the same time the Anabaptists endangered the

Reformation by strange excesses of fanaticism. Watt had no serious

objection to their doctrines, and was a friend and brother-in-law of

Grebel, their leader, but he opposed them in the interest of peace and

order.

The death of the abbot, March 21, 1529, furnished the desired

opportunity, at the advice of Z�rich and Zwingli, to abolish the abbey

and to confiscate its rich domain, with the consent of the majority of

the citizens, but in utter disregard of legal rights. This was a great

mistake, and an act of injustice.

The disaster of Cappel produced a reaction, and a portion of the canton

returned to the old church. A new abbot was elected, Diethelm Blaurer;

he demanded the property of the convent and sixty thousand guilders

damages for what had been destroyed and sold. The city had to yield. He

held a solemn entry. He attended the last session of the Council of

Trent and took a leading part in the counter-Reformation.

Watt showed, during this critical period, courage and moderation. He

retained the confidence of his fellow-citizens, who elected him nine

times to the highest civil office. He did what he could, in

co-operation with Kessler and Bullinger, to save and consolidate the

Reformed Church during the remaining years of his life. He was a

portly, handsome, and dignified man, and wrote a number of

geographical, historical, and theological works. [203]

John Kessler (Chessellius or Ahenarius), the son of a day-laborer of

St. Gall, studied theology at Basel, and Wittenberg. He was one of the

two students who had an interesting interview with Dr. Luther in the

hotel of the Black Bear at Jena in March, 1522, on his return as Knight

George from the Wartburg. [204] It was the only friendly meeting of

Luther with the Swiss. Had he shown the same kindly feeling to Zwingli

at Marburg, the cause of the Reformation would have been the gainer.

Kessler supported himself by the trade of a saddler, and preached in

the city and surrounding villages. He was also chief teacher of the

Latin school. In 1571, a year before his death, he was elected Antistes

or head of the clergy of St. Gall. He had a wife and eleven children,

nine of whom survived him. He was a pure, amiable, unselfish, and

useful man and promoter of evangelical religion. His portrait in oil

adorns the City Library of St. Gall.

The county of Toggenburg, the home of Zwingli, was subject to the abbot

of St. Gall since 1468, but gladly received the Reformed preachers

under the influence of Zwingli, his relatives and friends. In 1524 the

council of the community enjoined upon the ministers to teach nothing

but what they could prove from the sacred Scriptures. The people

resisted the interference of the abbot, the bishop of Constance, and

the canton Schwyz. In 1528 the Reformation was generally introduced in

the towns of the district. With the help of Z�rich and Glarus, the

Toggenburgers bought their freedom from the abbot of St. Gall for

fifteen hundred guilders, in 1530; but were again subjected to his

authority in 1536. The county was incorporated in the canton St. Gall

in 1803. The majority of the people are Protestants.

The canton Appenzell received its first Protestant preachers--John

Schurtanner of Teufen, John Dorig of Herisau, and Walter Klarer of

Hundwil--from the neighboring St. Gall, through the influence of Watt.

The Reformation was legally ratified by a majority vote of the people,

Aug. 26, 1523. The congregations emancipated themselves from the

jurisdiction of the abbot of St. Gall, and elected their own pastors.

The Anabaptist disturbances promoted the Roman-Catholic reaction. The

population is nearly equally divided,--Innerrhoden, with the town of

Appenzell, remained Catholic; Ausserrhoden, with Herisau, Trogen, and

Gais, is Reformed, and more industrious and prosperous.

The Reformation in Thurgau and Aargau presents no features of special

interest. [205]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[201] He arrived at Vienna in the autumn of 1502, shortly after Zwingli

had left the University. See St�helin, l.c., who refers for

confirmation to Egli, Aschbach, and Horawitz. The usual opinion is that

Vadian and Zwingli (and Glareanus) studied together and formed their

friendship at Vienna. So also Pressel, l.c., p. 11.

[202] His published correspondence with Zwingli begins with a letter

from Vienna, April 9, 1511, and embraces four letters of Vadian, and

thirty-eight letters of Zwingli, in Zwingli's Opera, vols. VII. and

VIII.

[203] Pressel, pp. 100-103, gives the titles of twenty-seven of his

writings, mostly Latin, published between 1510 and 1548.

[204] Reported by him in the Swiss dialect with charming naivet� in

Sabbata, pp. 145-151: "Wie mir M. Luther uff der strass [Reise] gen

Wittenberg begegnet ist." Kessler's companion was John Spengler. See an

account of the interview, in vol. VI. p. 385.

[205] Comp. Oelhafen, Chronik der Stadt Aarau, 1840; Sulzberger,

Reformation im Kanton Aargau, 1881; Pupikofer, Geschichte des

Thurgau's, 1828-'30, 2 vols.; second ed. 1889-'90; Sulzberger, Die

Reformation im Kanton Thurgau, 1872.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 35. Reformation in Schaffhausen. Hofmeister.

Melchior Kirchofer: Schaffhauserische Jahrb�cher von 1519-1539, oder

Geschichte der Reformation der Stadt und Landschaft Schaffhausen.

Schaffhausen, 1819; 2d ed. Frauenfeld, 1838 (pp. 152). By, the same:

Sebastian Wagner, genannt Hofmeister. Z�rich, 1808.--Edw. Im-Thurm und

Hans W. Harder: Chronik der Stadt Schaffhausen (till 1790).

Schaffhausen, 1844.--H. G. Sulzberger: Geschichte der Reformation des

Kant. Schaffhausen. Schaffhausen, 1876 (pp. 47).

Schaffhausen on the Rhine and the borders of W�rttemberg and Baden

followed the example of the neighboring canton Z�rich, under the lead

of Sebastian Hofmeister (1476-1533), a Franciscan monk and doctor and

professor of theology at Constance, where the bishop resided. He

addressed Zwingli, in 1520, as "the firm preacher of the truth," and

wished to become his helper in healing the diseases of the Church of

Switzerland. [206] He preached in his native city of Schaffhausen

against the errors and abuses of Rome, and attended as delegate the

religious disputations at Z�rich (January and October, 1523), which

resulted in favor of the Reformation.

He was aided by Sebastian Meyer, a Franciscan brother who came from

Berne, and by Ritter, a priest who had formerly opposed him.

The Anabaptists appeared from Z�rich with their radical views. The

community was thrown into disorder. The magistracy held Hofmeister and

Myer responsible, and banished them from the canton. A reaction

followed, but the Reformation triumphed in 1529. The villages followed

the city. Some noble families remained true to the old faith, and

emigrated.

Schaffhausen was favored by a succession of able and devoted ministers,

and gave birth to some distinguished historians. [207]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[206] Hofmeister's letters in Zwingli's Opera, VII. 146, 289; II. 166,

348. He subscribes himself Sebastianus Oeconomus seu Hofmeister. His

last letter is dated from Zofingen (1529), and very severe against

Luther's writings on the sacramental controversy.

[207] Johannes von M�ller, called the German Tacitus (1752-1809);

Melchior Kirchhofer (1775-1853), who wrote valuable biographies of the

minor Reformers (Hofmeister, Haller, Myconius, and Farel), and the

fifth volume of Wirz's Helvetische Kirchengeschichte; and Friedrich von

Hurter (1787-1865), the author of the best history of Pope Innocent

III. (1834-'42, 4 vols.). Hurter was formerly Antistes of the Reformed

Church of Schaffhausen, but became (partly by the study of the palmy

period of the mediaeval hierarchy) a Roman Catholic in 1844, and was

appointed imperial counsellor and historiographer of Austria, 1845.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 36. The Grisons (Graub�nden).

Colonel Landammann Theofil Sprecher a Bernegg at Maienfeld, Graub�nden,

has a complete library of the history of the Grisons, including some of

the manuscripts of Campell and De Porta. I was permitted to use it for

this and the following two sections under his hospitable roof in June,

1890. I have also examined the Kantons-Bibliothek of Graub�nden in the

"Raetische Museum" at Coire, which is rich in the (Romanic) literature

of the Grisons.

I. Ulrici Campelli Raetiae Alpestris Topographica Descriptio, edited by

Chr. J. Kind, Basel (Schneider), 1884, pp. 448, and Historia Raetica,

edited by Plac. Plattner, Basel, tom. I., 1877, pp. 724, and tom. II.,

1890, pp. 781. These two works form vols. VII., VIII., and IX. of

Quellen zur Schweizer-Geschichte, published by the General Historical

Society of Switzerland. They are the foundation for the topography and

history of the Grisons in the sixteenth century. Campell was Reformed

pastor at S�s in the Lower Engadin, and is called "the father of the

historians of R�tia." De Porta says that all historians of R�tia have

ploughed with his team. An abridged German translation from the Latin

manuscripts was published by Conradin von Mohr: Ulr. Campell's Zwei

B�cher r�tischer Geschichte, Chur (Hitz), 1849 and 1851, 2 vols., pp.

236 and 566.

R. Ambrosius Eichhorn (Presbyter Congregationis S. Blasii, in the Black

Forest): Episcopatus Curiensis in Rhaetia sub metropoli Moguntina

chronologice et diplomatice illustratus. Typis San-Blasianis, 1797 (pp.

368, 40). To which is added Codex Probationum ad Episcopatum Curiensem

ex proecipuis documentis omnibus ferme ineditis collectus, 204 pp. The

Reformation period is described pp. 139 sqq. Eichhorn was a Roman

Catholic priest, and gives the documents relating to the episcopal see

of Coire from a.d. 766-1787. On "Zwinglianisms in Raetia," see pp. 142,

146, 248. (I examined a copy in the Episcopal Library at Coire.)

II General works on the history of the Grisons by Joh. Guler (d. 1637),

Fortunatus Sprecher a Bernegg (d. 1647), Fortunatus Juvalta (d. 1654).

Th. Von Mohr and Conradin Von Mohr (or Moor): Archiv f�r die Geschichte

der Republik Graub�nden. Chur, 1848-'86. 9 vols. A collection of

historical works on Graub�nden, including the Codex diplomaticus,

Sammlung der Urkunden zur Geschichte Chur-Rh�tiens und der Republik

Gra�bunden. The Codex was continued by Jecklin, 1883-'86. Conradin Von

Moor: B�ndnerische Geschichtschreiber und Chronisten. Chur, 1862-277.

10 parts. By the same: Geschichte von Curr�tien und der Republ.

Graub�nden. Chur, 1869.--Joh. Andr. von Sprecher: Geschichte der

Republik der drei B�nde im 18ten Jahrh. Chur, 1873-'75.2 vols.--A good

popular summary: Graub�ndnerische Geschichten erz�hlt f�r die

reformirten Volksschulen (by P. Kaiser). Chur, 1852 (pp. 281). Also J.

K. von Tscharner: Der Kanton Graub�nden, historisch, statistisch,

geographisch dargestellt. Chur, 1842.

The Reformation literature see in � 37.

III. On the history of Valtellina, Chiavenna, and Bormio, which until

1797 were under the jurisdiction of the Grisons, the chief writers are:

--

Fr. Sav. Quadrio: Dissertazioni critico-storiche intorno alla Rezia di

qua dalle Alpi, oggi detta Valtellina. Milano, 1755. 2 vols.,

especially the second vol., which treats la storia

ecclesiastica.--Ulysses Von Salis: StaatsGesch. des Thals Veltlin und

der Graftschaften Clefen und Worms. 1792. 4 vols.--Lavizari: Storia

della Valtellina. Capolago, 1838. 2 vols. Romegialli: Storia della

Valtellina e delle gi� contee di Bormio e Chiavenna. Sondrio, 1834-'39.

4 vols.--Wiezel: Veltliner Krieg, edited by Hartmann. Strassburg, 1887.

The canton of the Grisons or Graub�nden [208] was at the time of the

Reformation an independent democratic republic in friendly alliance

with the Swiss Confederacy, and continued independent till 1803, when

it was incorporated as a canton. Its history had little influence upon

other countries, but reflects the larger conflicts of Switzerland with

some original features. Among these are the Romanic and Italian

conquests of Protestantism, and the early recognition of the principle

of religious liberty. Each congregation was allowed to choose between

the two contending churches according to the will of the majority, and

thus civil and religious war was prevented, at least during the

sixteenth century. [209]

Graub�nden is, in nature as well as in history, a Switzerland in

miniature. It is situated in the extreme south-east of the republic,

between Austria and Italy, and covers the principal part of the old

Roman province of R�tia. [210] It forms a wall between the north and

the south, and yet combines both with a network of mountains and

valleys from the regions of the eternal snow to the sunny plains of the

vine, the fig, and the lemon. In territorial extent it is the largest

canton, and equal to any in variety and beauty of scenery and healthy

climate. It is the fatherland of the Rhine and the Inn. The Engadin is

the highest inhabited valley of Switzerland, and unsurpassed for a

combination of attractions for admirers of nature and seekers of

health. It boasts of the healthiest climate with nine months of dry,

bracing cold and three months of delightfully cool weather.

The inhabitants are descended from three nationalities, speak three

languages,--German, Italian, and Romansh (Romanic),--and preserve many

peculiarities of earlier ages. The German language prevails in Coire,

along the Rhine, and in the Pr�ttigau, and is purer than in the other

cantons. The Italian is spoken to the south of the Alps in the valleys

of Poschiavo and Bregaglia (as also in the neighboring canton Ticino).

The Romansh language is a remarkable relic of prehistoric times, an

independent sister of the Italian, and is spoken in the Upper and Lower

Engadin, the M�nster valley, and the Oberland. It has a considerable

literature, mostly religious, which attracts the attention of

comparative philologists. [211]

The Grisonians (Graub�ndtner) are a sober, industrious, and heroic

race, and have maintained their independence against the armies of

Spain, Austria, and France. They have a natural need and inclination to

emigrate to richer countries in pursuit of fortune, and to return again

to their mountain homes. They are found in all the capitals of Europe

and America as merchants, hotel keepers, confectioners, teachers, and

soldiers.

The institutions of the canton are thoroughly democratic and exemplify

the good and evil effects of popular sovereignty. [212] "Next to God

and the sun," says an old Engadin proverb, "the poorest inhabitant is

the chief magistrate." There are indeed to this day in the Grisons many

noble families, descended in part from mediaeval robber-chiefs and

despots whose ruined castles still look down from rocks and cliffs, and

in greater part from distinguished officers and diplomatists in foreign

service; but they have no more influence than their personal merits and

prestige warrant. In official relations and transactions the titles of

nobility are forbidden. [213]

Let us briefly survey the secular history before we proceed to the

Reformation.

The Grisons were formed of three loosely connected confederacies or

leagues, that is, voluntary associations of freemen, who, during the

fifteenth century, after the example of their Swiss neighbors,

associated for mutual protection and defence against domestic and

foreign tyrants. [214] These three leagues united in 1471 at Vatzerol

in an eternal covenant, which was renewed in 1524, promising to each

other by an oath mutual assistance in peace and war. The three

confederacies sent delegates to the Diet which met alternately at

Coire, Ilanz, and Davos.

At the close of the fifteenth century two leagues of the Grisons

entered into a defensive alliance with the seven old cantons of

Switzerland. The third league followed the example. [215]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Grisonians acquired by

conquest from the duchy of Milan several beautiful and fertile

districts south of the Alps adjoining the Milanese and Venetian

territories, namely, the Valtellina and the counties of Bormio (Worms)

and Chiavenna (Cleven), and annexed them as dependencies ruled by

bailiffs. It would have been wiser to have received them as a fourth

league with equal rights and privileges. These Italian possessions

involved the Grisons in the conflict between Austria and Spain on the

one hand, which desired to keep them an open pass, and between France

and Venice on the other, which wanted them closed against their

political rivals. Hence the Valtellina has been called the Helena of a

new Trojan War. Graub�nden was invaded during the Thirty Years' War by

Austro-Spanish and French armies. After varied fortunes, the Italian

provinces were lost to Graub�nden through Napoleon, who, by a stroke of

the pen, Oct. 10, 1797, annexed the Valtellina, Bormio, and Chiavenna

to the new Cisalpine Republic. The Congress of Vienna transferred them

to Austria in 1814, and since 1859 they belong to the united Kingdom of

Italy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[208] Respublica Grisonum; I Grigioni; Les Grisons.

[209] The Grisons are ignored or neglected in general Church histories.

Even Hagenbach, who was a Swiss, devotes less than two pages to them

(Geschichte der Reformation, p. 366, 5th ed. by Nippold, 1887). A

fuller account (the only good one in English) is given by Dr. McCrie, a

Scotch Presbyterian, in his History of the Reformation in Italy, ch.

VI. The increasing travel of English and American tourists to that

country, especially to the Engadin, gives wider interest to its

history, and may justify the space here given to it.

[210] Raetia or Rhaetia, a net, is derived from Rhaetus, the mythical

chief of the oldest immigrants from Etruria, or from the Celtic rhin,

Rhine, river, and survives in the names Realta, Rh�z�ns, and Reambs,

i.e. Raetia alta, una, and ampla. It was conquered under Augustus by

Drusus, 14 B.C., and ruled by a governor at Coire or Curia Rhaetorum

till c. 400. The ivy-clad tower of the episcopal palace of Coire is of

Roman origin, and is called Marsoel, i.e. Mars in oculis.

[211] The Romansh language (to distinguish it from other Romanic

languages) has two dialects, the Ladin of the Engadin, the Albula, and

M�nster valleys, and the Romansh of the Oberland, Ilanz, Disentis,

Oberhalbstein, etc. It is spoken by about 37,000 inhabitants. The whole

population of the canton in 1890 was 94,879,--53,168 Protestants and

41,711 Roman Catholics. The largest number of Romansh books is in the

Cantonal Library at Coire, and the B�hmer collection in the University

Library of Strassburg. Colonel von Sprecher at Maienfeld also has about

four hundred volumes.

[212] "In no nation, ancient or modern," says Dr. McCrie (p. 293),

"have the principles of democracy been carried to such extent as in the

Grison Republic."

[213] The best known and most respectable noble families are the Salis

(one of them a distinguished lyric poet), Planta, Bavier, Sprecher,

Albertini, Tscharner, Juvalta, Mohr, Buol. See Sammlung rh�tischer

Geschlechter. Chur, 1847.

[214] The three confederacies or B�nde (whence the canton has its name

Graub�nden) are:-- 1) The Gotteshausbund (Lia de Ca D�), the League of

the House of God. It dates from 1396, and had its centre since 1419 at

Coire, the capital of the canton. 2) The Obere Bund or Graue Bund (Lia

Grischa), the Gray League (hence the term Graue, Grisons, Grays). It

was founded under an elm tree at Truns in 1424, and gathered around the

abbey of Disentis. 3) The Zehngerichtenbund (Lia dellas desch

dretturas), the League of the Ten Jurisdictions. It originated in 1436

at Davos and in the valley of Pr�ttigau. After the middle of the

fifteenth century these leagues appear in the documents under the name

of the Gemeine drei B�nde or Freistaat der drei B�nde in Hohenrh�tien.

A modern historian says: "Frei und selbstherrlich sind viele V�lker

geworden, aber wenige auf so rechtliche und ruhige Weise als das

B�ndner Volk." See the documents in Tschudi, I. 593; II. 153; and

compare M�ller, Schweizergeschichte, III. 283, 394, and Bluntschli,

Geschichte des schweizerischen Bundesrechts, I. 196 sqq. (2d ed.

Stuttgart, 1875).

[215] The alliance was formed with the two older leagues separately in

1497 and 1498. The league of the Ten Jurisdictions was not admitted by

the seven cantons because the house of Austria had possessions there;

but in 1590 it concluded an eternal agreement with Z�rich and Glarus,

in 1600 with Wallis, and in 1602 with Bern. See Bluntschli, l.c. I. 198

sq. and the documents from the Archives of Z�rich in vol. II. 99-107.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 37. The Reformation in the Grisons. Comander. Gallicius. Campell.

The work of CAMPELL quoted in � 36.

Bartholom�us Anhorn: Heilige Wiedergeburt der evang. Kirche in den

gemeinen drei B�ndten der freien hohen Rh�tien, oder Beschreibung ihrer

Reformation und Religionsverbesserung, etc. Brugg, 1680 (pp. 246). A

new ed. St. Gallen, 1860 (pp. 144, 8�). By the same: P�ntner Aufruhr im

Jahr 1607, ed. from MSS. by Conradin von Mohr, Chur, 1862; and his

Graw-P�ntner [Graub�ndner]-Krieg, 1603-1629, ed. by Conr. von Mohr,

Chur, 1873.

\*Petrus Dominicus Rosius De Porta (Reformed minister at Scamff, or

Scanfs, in the Upper Engadin): Historia Reformationis Ecclesiarum

Raeticarum, ex genuinis fontibus et adhuc maximam partem numquam

impressis sine partium studio deducta, etc. Curiae Raetorum. Tom. I.,

1771 (pp. 658, 4�); Tom. II., 1777 (pp. 668); Tom. III., Como, 1786.

Comes down to 1642. Next to Campell, the standard authority and chief

source of later works.

Leonhard Truog (Reformed pastor at Thuais): Reformations-Geschichte von

Graub�nden aus zuverl�ssigen Quellen sorgf�ltig gesch�pft. Denkmal der

dritten Sekular-Jubelfeier der B�ndnerischen Reformation. Chur (Otto),

1819 (pp. 132).--Reformationsb�chlein. Ein Denkmal des im Jahr 1819 in

der Stadt Chur gefeierten Jubelfestes. Chur (Otto), 1819. (pp. 304).

\*Christian Immanuel Kind (Pfarrer und Cancellarius der evang.

rh�tischen Synode, afterward Staats-Archivarius of the Grisons, d. May

23, 1884): Die Reformation in den Bisth�mern Chur und Como. Dargestellt

nach den besten �lteren und neueren H�lfsmitteln. Chur, 1858

(Grubenmann), pp. 310, 8�. A popular account based on a careful study

of the sources. By the same: Die Stadt Chur in ihrer �ltesten

Geschichte, Chur, 1859; Philipp Gallicius, 1868; Georg Jenatsch, in

"Allg. Deutsche Biogr.," Bd. XIII. Georg Leonhardi (pastor in Brusio,

Poschiavo): Philipp Gallicius, Reformator Graub�ndens. Bern, 1865 (pp.

103). The same also in Romansch.--H. G. Sulzberger (in Sevelen, St.

Gallen, d. 1888): Geschichte der Reformation im Kanton Graub�nden.

Chur, 1880. pp. 90 (revised by Kind).--Florian Peer: L'�glise de Rh�tie

au XVIme XVIIme si�cles. Gen�ve, 1888.--Herold: J. Komander, in Meili's

Zeitschrift, Zurich, 1891.

The Christianization of the Grisons is traced back by tradition to St.

Lucius, a royal prince of Britain, and Emerita, his sister, in the

latter part of the second century. [216] A chapel on the mountain above

Coire perpetuates his memory. A bishop of Coire (Asimo) appears first

in the year 452, as signing by proxy the creed of Chalcedon. [217] The

bishops of Coire acquired great possessions and became temporal

princes. [218] The whole country of the Grisons stood under the

jurisdiction of the bishops of Coire and Como.

The state of religion and the need of a reformation were the same as in

the other cantons of Switzerland. The first impulse to the Reformation

came from Z�rich with which Coire had close connections. Zwingli sent

an address to the "three confederacies in Rh�tia," expressing a special

interest in them as a former subject of the bishop of Coire, exhorting

them to reform the Church in alliance with Z�rich, and recommending to

them his friend Comander (Jan. 16, 1525). [219] Several of his pupils

preached in Fl�sch, Malans, Maienfeld, Coire, and other places as early

as 1524. After his death Bullinger showed the same interest in the

Grisons. The Reformation passed through the usual difficulties first

with the Church of Rome, then with Anabaptists, Unitarians, and the

followers of the mystical Schwenkfeld, all of whom found their way into

that remote corner of the world. One of the leading Anabaptists of

Z�rich, Georg Blaurock, was an ex-monk of Coire, and on account of his

eloquence called "the mighty J�rg," or "the second Paul." He was

expelled from Z�rich, and burnt by the Catholics in the Tyrol (1529).

The Reformers abolished the indulgences, the sacrifice of the mass, the

worship of images, sacerdotal celibacy and concubinage, and a number of

unscriptural and superstitious ceremonies, and introduced instead the

Bible and Bible preaching in church and school, the holy communion in

both kinds, clerical family life, and a simple evangelical piety,

animated by an active faith in Christ as the only Saviour and Mediator.

Where that faith is wanting the service in the barren churches is

jejune and chilly.

The chief Reformers of the Grisons were Comander, Gallicius, Campell,

and Vergerius, and next to them Alexander Salandronius (Salzmann),

Blasius, and John Travers. The last was a learned and influential

layman of the Engadin. Comander labored in the German, Gallicius and

Campell in the Romansh, Vergerius in the Italian sections of the

Grisons. They were Zwinglians in theology, [220] and introduced the

changes of Z�rich and Basel. Though occupying only a second or third

rank among the Reformers, they were the right men in the right places,

faithful, self-denying workers in a poor country, among an honest,

industrious, liberty-loving but parsimonious people. With small means

they accomplished great and permanent results.

John Comander (Dorfmann), formerly a Roman priest, of unknown

antecedents, preached the Reformed doctrines in the church of St.

Martin at Coire from 1524. He learned Hebrew in later years, to the

injury of his eyes, that he might read the Old Testament in the

original. Zwingli sent him Bibles and commentaries. The citizens

protected him against violence and accompanied him to and from church.

The bishop of Coire arraigned him for heresy before the Diet of the

three confederacies in 1525.

The Diet, in spite of the remonstrance of the bishop, ordered a public

disputation at Ilanz, the first town on the Rhine. The disputation was

begun on Sunday after Epiphany, Jan. 7, 1526, under the presidency of

the civil authorities, and lasted several days. It resembled the

disputations of Z�rich, and ended in a substantial victory of the

Reformation. The conservative party was represented by the Episcopal

Vicar, the abbot of St. Lucius, the deans, and a few priests and monks;

the progressive party, by several young preachers, Comander, Gallicius,

Blasius, Pontisella, Fabricius, and Hartmann. Sebastian Hofmeister of

Schaffhausen was present as a listener, and wrote an account of the

speeches. [221]

Comander composed for the occasion eighteen theses,--an abridgment of

the sixty-seven conclusions of Zwingli. The first thesis was: "The

Christian Church is born of the Word of God and should abide in it, and

not listen to the voice of a stranger" (John 10:4, 5). He defended this

proposition with a wealth of biblical arguments which the champions of

Rome were not able to refute. There was also some debate about the

rock-passage in Matt. 16:18, the mass, purgatory, and sacerdotal

celibacy. The Catholics brought the disputation to an abrupt close.

In the summer of the same year (June 26, 1526), the Diet of Ilanz

proclaimed religious freedom, or the right of all persons in the

Grisons, of both sexes, and of whatever condition or rank, to choose

between the Catholic and the Reformed religion. Heretics, who after due

admonition adhered to their error, were excluded and subjected to

banishment (but not to death). This remarkable statute was in advance

of the intolerance of the times, and forms the charter of religious

freedom in the Grisons. [222]

The Diet of Ilanz ordered the ministers to preach nothing but what they

could prove from the Scriptures, and to give themselves diligently to

the study of the same. The political authority of the bishop of Coire

was curtailed, appeals to him from the civil jurisdiction were

forbidden, and the parishes were empowered to elect and to dismiss

their own priests or pastors. [223]

Thus the episcopal monarchy was abolished and congregational

independency introduced, but without the distinction made by the

English and American Congregationalists between the church proper, or

the body of converted believers, and the congregation of hearers or

mere nominal Christians.

This legislation was brought about by the aid of liberal Catholic

laymen, such as John Travers and John Guler, who at that time had not

yet joined the Reformed party. The strict Catholics were dissatisfied,

but had to submit. In 1553 the Pope sent a delegate to Coire and

demanded the introduction of the Inquisition; but Comander, Bullinger,

and the French ambassador defeated the attempt.

Comander, aided by his younger colleague, Blasius, and afterwards by

Gallicius, continued to maintain the Reformed faith against Papists,

Anabaptists, and also against foreign pensioners who had their

headquarters at Coire, and who punished him for his opposition by a

reduction of his scanty salary of one hundred and twenty guilders. He

was at times tempted to resign, but Bullinger urged him to hold on.

[224] He stood at the head of the Reformed synod till his death in

1557.

He was succeeded by Fabricius, who died of the pestilence in 1566.

Philip Gallicius (Saluz) developed a more extensive activity. He is the

Reformer of the Engadin, but labored also as pastor and evangelist in

Domleschg, Langwies, and Coire. He was born on the eastern frontier of

Graub�nden in 1504, and began to preach already in 1520. He had an

irresistible eloquence and power of persuasion. When he spoke in

Romansh, the people flocked from every direction to hear him. He was

the chief speaker at two disputations in S�s, a town of the Lower

Engadin, against the Papists (1537), and against the Anabaptists

(1544). [225] He also introduced the Reformation in Zuz in the Lower

Engadin, 1554, with the aid of John Travers, a distinguished patriot,

statesman, soldier, and lay-preacher, who was called "the steelclad

Knight in the service of the Lord."

Gallicius suffered much persecution and poverty, but remained gentle,

patient, and faithful to the end. When preaching in the Domleschg he

had not even bread to feed his large family, and lived for weeks on

vegetables and salt. And yet he educated a son for the ministry at

Basel, and dissuaded him from accepting a lucrative offer in another

calling. He also did as much as he could for the Italian refugees. He

died of the pestilence with his wife and three sons at Coire, 1566.

He translated the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten

Commandments, and several chapters of the Bible, into the Romansh

language, and thus laid the foundation of the Romansh literature. He

also wrote a catechism and a Latin grammar, which were printed at

Coire. He prepared the Confession of Raetia, in 1552, which was

afterwards superseded by the Confession of Bullinger in 1566.

Ulrich Campell (b. c. 1510, d. 1582) was pastor at Coire and at S�s,

and, next to Gallicius, the chief reformer of the Engadin. He is also

the first historian of Raetia and one of the founders of the religious

literature in Romanic Raetia. His history is written in good Latin, and

based upon personal observation, the accounts of the ancient Romans,

the researches of Tschudi, and communications of Bullinger and Vadian.

It begins a.d. 100 and ends about 1582.

The Romansh literature was first cultivated during the Reformation.

[226] Gallicius, Campell, and Biveroni (Bifrun) are the founders of it.

Campell prepared a metrical translation of the Psalter, with original

hymns and a catechism (1562). Jacob Biveroni, a lawyer of Samaden,

published a translation of Comander's Catechism, which was printed at

Poschiavo, 1552, and (with the aid of Gallicius and Campell) the entire

New Testament, which appeared first in 1560 at Basel, and became the

chief agency in promoting the evangelical faith in those regions. The

people, who knew only the Romansh language, says a contemporary, "were

amazed like the lsraelites of old at the sight of the manna."

The result of the labors of the Reformers and their successors in

Graub�nden was the firm establishment of an evangelical church which

numbered nearly two-thirds of the population; while one-third remained

Roman Catholic. This numerical relation has substantially remained to

this day with some change in favor of Rome, though not by conversion,

but by emigration and immigration. The two churches live peacefully

together. The question of religion was decided in each community by a

majority vote, like any political or local question. The principle of

economy often gave the decision either for the retention of the Roman

priest, or the choice of a Reformed preacher. [227] Some stingy

congregations remained vacant to get rid of all obligations, or hired

now a priest, now a preacher for a short season. Gallicius complained

to Bullinger about this independence which favored license under the

name of liberty. Not unfrequently congregations are deceived by foreign

adventurers who impose themselves upon them as pastors.

The democratic autonomy explains the curious phenomenon of the mixture

of religion in the Grisons. The traveller may pass in a few hours

through a succession of villages and churches of different creeds. At

Coire the city itself is Reformed, and the Catholics with their bishop

form a separate town on a hill, called the Court (of the bishop).

There is in Graub�nden neither a State church nor a free church, but a

people's church. [228] Every citizen is baptized, confirmed, and a

church member. Every congregation is sovereign, and elects and supports

its own pastor. In 1537 a synod was constituted, which meets annually

in the month of June. It consists of all the ministers and three

representatives of the government, and attends to the examination and

ordination of candidates, and the usual business of administration. The

civil government watches over the preservation of the church property,

and prevents a collision of ecclesiastical and civil legislation, but

the administration of church property is in the hands of the local

congregations or parishes. The Second Helvetic Confession of Bullinger

was formally accepted as the creed of the Church in 1566, but has

latterly gone out of use. Ministers are only required to teach the

doctrines of the Bible in general conformity to the teaching of the

Reformed Church. Pastors are at liberty to use any catechism they

please. The cultus is very simple, and the churches are devoid of all

ornament. Many pious customs prevail among the people. A Protestant

college was opened at Coire in the year 1542 with Pontisella, a native

of Bregaglia, as first rector, who had been gratuitously educated at

Z�rich by the aid of Bullinger. With the college was connected a

theological seminary for the training of ministers. This was abolished

in 1843, [229] and its funds were converted into scholarships for

candidates, who now pursue their studies at Basel and Z�rich or in

German universities. In 1850 the Reformed college at Coire and the

Catholic college of St. Lucius have been consolidated into one

institution (Cantonsschule) located on a hill above Coire, near the

episcopal palace.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Reformed clergy were

orthodox in the sense of moderate Calvinism; in the eighteenth century

Pietism and the Moravian community exerted a wholesome influence on the

revival of spiritual life. [230] In the present century about one-half

of the clergy have been brought up under the influence of German

Rationalism, and preach Christian morality without supernatural dogmas

and miracles.

The Protestant movement in the Italian valleys of the Grisons began in

the middle of the sixteenth century, but may as well be anticipated

here.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[216] He is identified, in the tradition of Wales, with King Lucius who

introduced Christianity into Britain and built the first church at

Llandaff in 180. See Alois L�tolf, Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz vor

St. Gallus, Luzern, 1871, pp. 95-125. He gives from MSS. the oldest

Vita S. Lucii Confessoris (pp. 115-121).

[217] S. Asimo was not himself at Chalcedon, 450, but authorized

Abundantius, bishop of Como, to give his assent to the Chalcedon

Christology at a council held at Milan in 452, as appears from the

following document: "Ego Abundantius episcopus ecclesiae Comensis in

omnia supra scripta pro me ac pro absente sancto fratre meo, asimone,

episcopo ecclesiae curiensis primae rhaetiae, subscripsi, anathema

dicens his qui de incarnationis Dominicae sacramento impie senserunt."

Quoted by Eichhorn, l.c. pp. 1 and 2.

[218] Frederick Barbarossa gave to the bishop the title princeps, about

1170.

[219] The MS. of this exhortation is in the Archives of Z�rich and was

first printed in Joh. Jak. Simler's Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden

zur Beleuchtung der Kirchengeschichte (1759), vol. I. 108-114.

[220] With the exception of Vergerius, who vacillated between Calvinism

and Lutheranism. See below, p. 154 (� 38).

[221] His report and Comander's conclusions are printed in F�sslin's

Beitr�ge zur Kirchen- und Reformationsgesch. des Schweitzerlandes,

1741, vol. I. 337-382. A fuller account is given by Campell in his

R�tische Geschichte, II. 287-308 (Mohr's German ed.).

[222] Campell, II. 309: "Die Disputation [of Ilanz] blieb nicht ohne

alle Frucht. Sie hatte wenigstens dieFolge, dass ein Gesetz erlassen

wurde, wonach es in den drei B�nden Jedermann, wess Standes oder

Geschlechts er auch war, freigestellt wurde, nach Gutd�nken zu einer

der beiden Confessionem, der katholischen oder evangelischen, sich zu

bekennen und an ihr festzuhalten. Hiebei wurde, unter Androhung einer

angemessenen Strafe, Jedem streng untersagt, irgend Jemanden um seines

Glaubens willen zu schm�hen oder, sei es �ffentlich oder heimlich, zu

verfolgen, wie diess von der andern Partei schon oft genug geschehen

war. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurde ein altes Landesgesetz den

Geistlichen aufs Neue eingesch�rft, wonach selbe durchaus keine andere,

als die in der h. Schrift enthaltene Lehre dem Volke vortragen

sollten." [Then follows a list of the leading statesmen, John Travers,

John Guler, etc., who contributed to this result.] "Mit dem n�mlichen

Gesetz �ber freie Aus�bung des evangelischen Glaubens wurde die ganze

Kezerei der Wiedertaufe streng untersagt und alle ihre Anh�nger mit

Verbannung bedroht. Die strenge Ueberwachung der erstern dieser zwei

Verordnungen hatte in Bezug auf �ffentliche Ruhe und Frieden zwischen

beiden Confessionen �usserst wohlth�tige Folgen, indem beide Theile

sich lange Zeit hindurch der gr�ssten M�ssigung beflissen, hiserst in

den letzten Jahren bei den katholischen Geistlichen sich abermals eine

feindselige Stimmung gegen die evangelischen Prediger in Schm�hungen

aller Art kund gab, wor�ber mannigfache Klagen vor dem Beitag laut

wurden."--Comp. Bullinger, I. 315; De Porta, I. 146.

[223] Campell, II. 310 sqq., gives the principal of the Twenty Articles

of the Diet of Ilanz.

[224] See his letters to Bullinger and Vadian in De Porta, I. 67, 179

sqq.; II. 278.

[225] A full account of the first disputation in Campell, II. 842-366.

[226] "Erst die Reformation," says Leonhardi (Philipp Gallicius, p.

87), "hat eine rh�to-romanische Literatur geschaffen. Die M�nche und

Priester behaupteten, der Engadiner Dialect sei so verdorben, dass er

keines schriftlichen Ausdruckes f�hig sei."

[227] The same regard for economy inclines at this day some Roman

Catholic congregations to prefer a Capuchin monk to a secular priest.

So I was informed by the Archivarius of the bishop of Coire in June,

1890.

[228] A Volkskirche or Gemeindekirche, which embraces the whole civil

community.

[229] The last professors of theology were Antistes Kind (my pastor),

and Dr. Schirks, both able and pious men.

[230] On this movement see Munz, Die Br�dergemeinde in B�nden, in "Der

Kirclhenfreund," Basel, Nos. 19-21, 1886. Johann Baptist von Albertini

(d. 1831), one of the bishops and hymnists of the Moravians, and a

friend of Schleiermacher, descended from a B�nden family.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 38. The Reformation in the Italian Valleys of the Grisons. Vergerio.

I. P. Dom. Rosius De Porta: Dissertatio historico-ecclesiastica qua

ecclesiarum colloquio Vallis Praegalliae et Comitatiis Clavennae olim

comprehensarum Reformatio et status ... exponitur. Curiae, 1787 (pp.

56, 4�). His Historia Reformations Eccles. Rhaeticarum, bk. II. ch. v.

pp. 139-179 (on Vergerio).--Dan. Gerdes (a learned Reformed historian,

1698-1765): Specimen Italiae Reformatae. L. Batav. 1765.--\*Thomas

McCrie (1772-1835, author of the Life of John Knox, etc.): History of

the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy. Edinburgh,

1827. 2d ed. 1833. Republished by the Presbyterian Board of

Publication, Philadelphia, 1842. Ch. VI., pp. 291 sqq., treats of the

foreign Italian churches and the Reformation in the Grisons.--F.

Trechsel: Die protest. Antitrinitarier, Heidelberg, 1844, vol. II. 64

sqq.)--G. Leonhardi: Ritter Johannes Guler von Weineck, Lebensbild

eines Rh�tiers aus dem 17ten Jahrh. Bern, 1863. By the same: Puschlaver

Mord. Veltiner Mord. Die Ausrottung des Protestantismus im Misoxerthal.

In the Zeitschrift "der Wahre Protestant," Basel, 1852-'54.--B. Reber:

Georg Jenatsch, Graub�ndens Pfarrer und Held w�hrend des

dreissigj�hrigen Kriegs. In the "Beit�ge zur vaterl�ndischen

Geschichte," Basel, 1860.--E. Lechner: Das Thal Bergell (Bregaglia) in

Graub�nden, Natur, Sagen, Geschichte, Volk, Sprache, etc. Leipzig, 1865

(pp. 140).--Y. F. Fetz (Rom. Cath.): Geschichte der kirchenpolitischen

Wirren im Freistaat der drei B�nde vom Anfang des 17ten Jahrh. bis auf

die Gegenwart. Chur, 1875 (pp. 367).--\*Karl Benrath: Bernardino Ochino

von Siena. Leipzig, 1875 (English translation with preface by William

Arthur, London, 1876). Comp. his Ueber die Quellen der italienischen

Reformationsgeschichte. Bonn, 1876.--\*Joh. Kaspar M�rikofer: Geschichte

der evangelischen Fl�chtlinge in der Schweiz. Z�rich, 1876.--John

Stoughton: Footprints of Italian Reformers. London, 1881 (pp. 235, 267

sqq.).--Em. Comba (professor of church history in the Waldensian

Theological College at Florence): Storia della Riforma in Italia.

Firenze, 1881 (only l vol. so far). Biblioteca della Riforma Italiana

Sec. XVI. Firenze, 1883-'86. 6 vols. Visita ai Grigioni Riformati

Italiani. Firenze, 1885. Vera Narrazione del Massacro di Valtellina.

Z�rich, 1621. Republished in Florence, 1886. Comp. literature on p.

131.

II. The Vergerius literature. The works of Vergerius, Latin and

Italian, are very rare. Niceron gives a list of fifty-five, Sixt (pp.

595-601) of eighty-nine. He began a collection of his Opera adversus

Papatum, of which only the first volume has appeared, at T�bingen,

1563. Recently Emil Comba has edited his Trattacelli e sua storia di

Francesco Spiera in the first two volumes of his "Biblioteca della

Riforma Italiana," Firenze, 1883, and the Parafrasi sopra l' Epistola

ai Romani, 1886. Sixt has published, from the Archives of K�nigsberg,

forty-four letters of Vergerius to Albert, Duke of Prussia (pp. 533

sqq.), and Kausler and Schott (librarian at Stuttgart), his

correspondence with Christopher, Duke of W�rtemberg (Briefwechsel

zwischen Christoph Herzog von W�rt. und P. P. Vergerius, T�bingen,

1875).--Walter Friedensburg: Die Nunciaturen des Vergerio, 1533-'36.

Gotha, 1892 (615 pp.). From the papal archives.

Chr. H. Sixt: Petrus Paulus Vergerius, p�pstlicher Nuntius,

katholischer Bischof und Vork�mpfer des Evangeliums. Braunschweig, 1855

(pp. 601). With a picture of Vergerius. 2d (title) ed. 1871. The labors

in the Grisons are described in ch. III. 181 sqq.--Scattered notices of

Vergerius are found in Sleidan, Seckendorf, De Porta, Sarpi,

Pallavicini, Raynaldus, Maimburg, Bayle, Niceron, Schelhorn, Salig, and

Meyer (in his monograph on Locarno. I. 36, 51; II. 236-255). A good

article by Schott in Herzog2, XVI. 351-357. (Less eulogistic than

Sixt.)

The evangelical Reformation spread in the Italian portions of the

Grisons; namely, the valleys of Pregell or Bregaglia, [231] and

Poschiavo (Puschlav), which still belong to the Canton, and in the

dependencies of the Valtellina (Veltlin), Bormio (Worms), and Chiavenna

(Cleven), which were ruled by governors (like the Territories of the

United States), but were lost to the Grisons in 1797. The Valtellina is

famous for its luxuriant vegetation, fiery wine, and culture of silk. A

Protestant congregation was also organized at Locarno in the Canton

Ticino (Tessin), which then was a dependency of the Swiss Confederacy.

This Italian chapter of the history of Swiss Protestantism is closely

connected with the rise and suppression of the Reformation in Italy and

the emigration of many Protestant confessors, who, like the French

Huguenots of a later period, were driven from their native land, to

enrich with their industry and virtue foreign countries where they

found a hospitable home.

The first impulse to the Reformation in the Italian Grisons came from

Gallicius and Campell, who labored in the neighboring Engadin, and knew

Italian as well as Romansh. The chief agents were Protestant refugees

who fled from the Inquisition to Northern Italy and found protection

under the government of the Grisons. Many of them settled there

permanently; others went to Z�rich, Basel, and Geneva. In the year 1550

the number of Italian refugees was about two hundred. Before 1559 the

number had increased to eight hundred. One fourth or fifth of them were

educated men. Some inclined to Unitarian and Anabaptist opinions, and

prepared the way for Socinianism. Among the latter may be mentioned

Francesco Calabrese (in the Engadin); Tiriano (at Coire); Camillo

Renato, a forerunner of Socinianism (at Tirano in the Valtellina);

Ochino, the famous Capuchin pulpit orator (who afterwards went to

Geneva, England, and Z�rich); Lelio Sozini (who died at Z�rich, 1562);

and his more famous nephew, Fausto Sozini (1539-1604), the proper

founder of Socinianism, who ended his life in Poland.

The most distinguished of the Italian evangelists in the Grisons, is

Petrus Paulus Vergerius (1498-1565). [232] He labored there four years

(1549-1553), and left some permanent traces of his influence. He ranks

among the secondary Reformers, and is an interesting but somewhat

ambiguous and unsatisfactory character, with a changeful career. He

held one of the highest positions at the papal court, and became one of

its most decided opponents.

Vergerio was at first a prominent lawyer at Venice. After the death of

his wife (Diana Contarini), he entered the service of the Church, and

soon rose by his talents and attainments to influential positions. He

was sent by Clement VII., together with Campeggi and Pimpinelli, to the

Diet of Augsburg, 1530, where he associated with Faber, Eck, and

Cochlaeus, and displayed great zeal and skill in attempting to suppress

the Protestant heresy. He was made papal secretary and domestic

chaplain, 1532. He was again sent by Paul III. to Germany, in 1535, to

negotiate with the German princes about the proposed General Council at

Mantua. He had a personal interview with Luther in Wittenberg (Nov. 7),

and took offence at his bad Latin, blunt speech, and plebeian manner.

He could not decide, he said in his official report to the papal

secretary (Nov. 12), whether this German "beast" was possessed by an

evil demon or not, but he certainly was the embodiment of arrogance,

malice, and unwisdom. [233] He afterwards spoke of Luther as "a man of

sacred memory," and "a great instrument of God," and lauded him in

verses which he composed on a visit to Eisleben in 1559. On his return

to Italy, he received as reward for his mission the archbishopric of

Capo d' Istria, his native place (not far from Trieste). He aspired

even to the cardinal's hat. He attended--we do not know precisely in

what capacity, whether in the name of the Pope, or of Francis I. of

France--the Colloquies at Worms and Regensburg, in 1540 and 1541, where

he met Melanchthon and Calvin. Melanchthon presented him on that

occasion with a copy of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. [234]

At that time he was, according to his confession, still as blind and

impious as Saul. In the address De Unitate et Pace Ecclesicae, which he

delivered at Worms, Jan. 1, 1541, and which is diplomatic rather than

theological, [235] he urged a General Council as a means to restore the

unity and peace of the Church on the traditional basis.

His conversion was gradually brought about by a combination of several

causes,--the reading of Protestant books which he undertook with the

purpose to refute them, his personal intercourse with Lutheran divines

and princes in Germany, the intolerance of his Roman opponents, and the

fearful death of Spiera. He acquired an experimental knowledge of the

evangelical doctrine of justification by faith, which at that time

commended itself even to some Roman divines of high standing, as

Cardinal Contarini and Reginald Pole, and which was advocated by

Paleario of Siena, and by a pupil of Vald�s in an anonymous Italian

tract on "The Benefit of Christ's Death." [236] He began to preach

evangelical doctrines and to reform abuses. His brother, bishop of

Pola, fully sympathized with him. He roused the suspicion of the Curia

and the Inquisition. He went to Trent in February, 1546, to justify

himself before the Council, but was refused admittance, and forbidden

to return to his diocese. He retired to Riva on the Lago di Garda, not

far from Trent.

In 1548 he paid a visit to Padua to take some of his nephews to

college. He found the city excited by the fearful tragedy of Francesco

Spiera, a lawyer and convert from Romanism, who had abjured the

evangelical faith from fear of the Inquisition, and fell into a hell of

tortures of conscience under the conviction that he had committed the

unpardonable sin by rejecting the truth. He was for several weeks a

daily witness, with many others, of the agonies of this most

unfortunate of apostates, and tried in vain to comfort him. He thought

that we must not despair of any sinner, though he had committed the

crimes of Cain and Judas. He prepared himself for his visits by prayer

and the study of the comforting promises of the Scriptures. But Spiera

had lost all faith, all hope, all comfort; he insisted that he had

committed the sin against the Holy Spirit which cannot be forgiven in

this world nor in the world to come; he was tormented by the

remembrance of the sins of his youth, the guilt of apostasy, the

prospect of eternal punishment which he felt already, and died in utter

despair with a heart full of hatred and blasphemy. His death was

regarded as a signal judgment of God, a warning example, and an

argument for the truth of the evangelical doctrines. [237]

Vergerio was overwhelmed by this experience, and brought to a final

decision. He wrote an apology in which he gives an account of the sad

story, and renounces his connection with Rome at the risk of

persecution, torture, and death. He sent it to the suffragan bishop of

Padua, Dec. 13, 1548.

He was deposed and excommunicated by the pope, July 3, 1549, and fled

over Bergamo to the Grisons. He remained there till 1553, with

occasional journeys to the Valtellina, Chiavenna, Z�rich, Bern, and

Basel. He was hospitably received, and developed great activity in

preaching and writing. People of all classes gathered around him, and

were impressed by his commanding presence and eloquence. He founded a

printing-press in Poschiavo in 1549, and issued from it his

thunderbolts against popery. He preached at Pontresina and Samaden in

the Upper Engadin, and effected the abolition of the mass and the

images. He labored as pastor three years (1550-53) at Vicosoprano in

Bregaglia. He travelled through the greater part of Switzerland, and

made the acquaintance of Bullinger, Calvin, and Beza.

But the humble condition of the Grisons did not satisfy his ambition.

He felt isolated, and complained of the inhospitable valleys. He

disliked the democratic institutions. He quarrelled with the older

Reformers, Comander and Gallicius. He tried to get the whole Synod of

the Grisons under his control, and, failing in this, to organize a

separate synod of the Italian congregations. Then he aspired to a more

prominent position at Z�rich or Geneva or Bern, but Bullinger and

Calvin did not trust him.

In November, 1553, he gladly accepted a call to W�rtemberg as

counsellor of Duke Christopher, one of the best princes of the

sixteenth century, and spent his remaining twelve years in the Duke's

service. He resided in T�bingen, but had no official connection with

the University. He continued to write with his rapid pen inflammatory

tracts against popery, promoted the translation and distribution of the

Bible in the South Slavonic dialect, maintained an extensive

correspondence, and was used in various diplomatic and evangelical

missions to the Emperor Maximilian at Vienna, to the kings of Bohemia,

and Poland. On his first journey to Poland he made the personal

acquaintance of Albert, Duke of Prussia, who esteemed him highly and

supplied him with funds. He entered into correspondence with Queen

Elizabeth, in the vain hope of an invitation to England. He desired to

be sent as delegate to the religious conference at Poissy in France,

1561, but was again disappointed. He paid four visits to the Grisons

(November, 1561; March, 1562; May, 1563; and April, 1564), to

counteract the intrigues of the Spanish and papal party, and to promote

the harmony of the Swiss Church with that of W�rtemberg. On his second

visit he went as far as the Valtellina. He received an informal

invitation to attend the Council of Trent in 1561 from Delfino, the

papal nuncio, in the hope that he might be induced to recant; he was

willing to go at the risk of meeting the fate of Hus at Constance, but

on condition of a safe conduct, which was declined. [238] At last he

wished to unite with the Bohemian Brethren, whom he admired for their

strict discipline combined with pure doctrine; he translated and

published their Confession of Faith. He was in constant need of money,

and his many begging letters to the Dukes of W�rtemberg and of Prussia

make a painful impression; but we must take into account the printing

expenses of his many books, his frequent journeys, and the support of

three nephews and a niece. In his fifty-ninth year he conceived the

plan of contracting a marriage, and asked the Duke to double his

allowance of two hundred guilders, but the request was declined and the

marriage given up. [239]

He died Oct. 4, 1565, at T�bingen, and was buried there. Dr. Andreae,

the chief author of the Lutheran Formula of Concord, preached the

funeral sermon, which the learned Crusius took down in Greek. Duke

Christopher erected a monument to his memory with a eulogistic

inscription. [240]

The very numerous Latin and Italian books and fugitive tracts of

Vergerio are chiefly polemical against the Roman hierarchy of which he

had so long been a conspicuous member. [241] He exposed, with the

intemperate zeal of a proselyte, the chronique scandaleuse of the

papacy, including the mythical woman-pope, Johanna (John VIII.), who

was then generally believed to have really existed. [242] He agreed

with Luther that the papacy was an invention of the Devil; that the

pope was the very Antichrist seated in the temple of God as predicted

by Daniel (11:36) and Paul (2 Thess. 2:3 sq.), and the beast of the

Apocalypse; and that he would soon be destroyed by a divine judgment.

He attacked all the contemporary popes, except Adrian VI., to whom he

gives credit for honesty and earnestness. He is especially severe on

"Saul IV." (Paul IV.), who as Cardinal Caraffa had made some wise and

bold utterances on the corruption of the clergy, but since his

elevation to the "apostate chair, which corrupts every one who ascends

it," had become the leader of the Counter-Reformation with its measures

of violence and blood. Such monsters, he says, are the popes. One

contradicts the other, and yet they are all infallible, and demand

absolute submission. Rather die a thousand times than have any

communion with popery and fall away from Christ, the Son of God, who

was crucified for us and rose from the dead. Popery and the gospel are

as incompatible as darkness and light, as Belial and Christ. No

compromise is possible between them. Vergerio was hardly less severe on

the cardinals and bishops, although he allowed some honorable

exceptions. He attacked and ridiculed the Council of Trent, then in

session, and tried to show that it was neither general, nor free, nor

Christian. He used the same arguments against it as the Old Catholics

used against the Vatican Council of 1870. He repelled the charge of

heresy and turned it against his former co-religionists. The

Protestants who follow the Word of God are orthodox, the Romanists who

follow the traditions of men are the heretics.

His anti-popery writings were read with great avidity by his

contemporaries, but are now forgotten. Bullinger was unfavorably

impressed, and found in them no solid substance, but only frivolous

mockery and abuse.

As regards the differences among Protestants, Vergerio was

inconsistent. He first held the Calvinistic theory of the Lord's

Supper, and expressed it in his own Catechism, [243] in a letter to

Bullinger of Jan. 16, 1554, and even later, in June, 1556, at

Wittenberg, where he met Melanchthon and Eber. But in W�rtemberg he had

to subscribe the Augsburg Confession, and in a letter to the Duke of

W�rtemberg, Oct. 23, 1557, he confessed the ubiquitarian theory of

Luther. He also translated the Catechism of Brenz and the W�rtemberg

Confession into Italian, and thereby offended the Swiss Zwinglians, but

told them that he was merely the translator. He never attributed much

importance to the difference, and kept aloof from the eucharistic

controversy. [244] He was not a profound theologian, but an

ecclesiastical politician and diplomatist, after as well as before his

conversion.

Vergerio left the Roman Church rather too late, when the

Counter-Reformation had already begun to crush Protestantism in Italy.

He was a man of imposing personality, considerable learning and

eloquence, wit and irony, polemic dexterity, and diplomatic experience,

but restless, vain, and ambitious. He had an extravagant idea of his

own importance. He could not forget his former episcopal authority and

pretensions, nor his commanding position as the representative of the

pope. He aspired to the dignity and influence of a sort of Protestant

internuncio at all the courts of Europe, and of a mediator between the

Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Pallavicino, the Jesuit historian of

the Council of Trent, characterizes him as a lively and bold man who

could not live without business, and imagined that business could not

get along without him. Calvin found in him much that is laudable, but

feared that he was a restless busybody. Gallicius wrote to Bullinger:

"I wish that Vergerio would be more quiet, and persuade himself that

the heavens will not fall even if he, as another Atlas, should withdraw

his support." Nevertheless, Vergerio filled an important place in the

history of his times. He retained the esteem of the Lutheran princes

and theologians, and he is gratefully remembered for his missionary

services in the two Italian valleys of the Grisons, which have remained

faithful to the evangelical faith to this day.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[231] This is the Italian name; in Latin, Praegallia; in German,

Bergell.

[232] Pierpaolo Vergerio, also called the younger, to distinguish him

from an older member of his illustrious family. De Porta thus

introduces his account, l.c.: "Inter exsules, qui ob Evangelii

confessionem Italiae profugi in Rhaetia consederunt, haud ullus sive

generis nobilitatem, sive dignitatem, sive vitae acta rationem spectes,

majorem meretur attentionem quam P. P. Vergerius."

[233] Sixt gives (pp. 35-45), from Seckendorf, Sarpi, and Pallavicini,

a full account of this characteristic interview, which belongs to the

history of the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches. The official

report is published by Friedensburg.

[234] With a letter printed in his Opera, Corp. Reform. IV. 22, and in

Sixt, 94.

[235] Translated from the Latin in Sixt, 75-94. The address was printed

and distributed immediately after the delivery, but has become very

rare.

[236] Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Gies�Christo crucifisso,

verso i Christiani. Venet. 1540. It was circulated in more than forty

thousand copies within six years, translated into several languages,

and republished from an English version (made from the French), 4th

ed., London, 1638, by the Religious Tract Society of London, with an

introduction by John Ayer, and again in Boston, 1860 (Gould & Lincoln,

pp. 160, with facsimile of the title-page). The Italian original was

recovered at Cambridge, 1855. Vergerius wrote in 1558 that there

appeared no book in his age, at least in Italian, "so sweet, so pious,

so simple, and so well adapted to instruct the weak on the article of

justification" (Sixt, p. 103). The tract was formerly (by Tiraboschi,

Gerdes, McCrie, Jules Bonnet, Mrs. Young, and others) ascribed to Aonio

Paleario, professor of classical literature at Siena; but it was

written by a pupil of the Spanish nobleman, Juan de Vald�s, at Naples,

and revised by Flaminio. Ranke found in the Acts of the Inquisition the

notice, "Quel libro del beneficio di Christo fu il suo autore un monaco

di Sanseverino in Napoli discepolo del Vald�s, fu revisore di detto

libro il Flaminio, fu stampato molte volte," etc. Die R�mischen P�pste,

vol. I. pp. 90-92 (8th ed. 1883). Benrath found the name of the author,

Don Benedetto de Mantova, "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch.," I. 575-596

(1877). Comp. his article Paleario, in Herzog2, XI. 165, note, and E.

B�hmer on Vald�s, ibid. XVI. 276 sqq. B�hmer says that there are two

Italian copies of the tract in the imperial library at Vienna.

[237] I have given a full account of this tragedy in an appendix to my

(German) book on the Sin against the Holy Ghost (Halle, 1841), pp.

173-210, from a rare publication of 191 pages (then in possession of

Dr. Hengstenberg in Berlin): Francisci Spiercae, qui, quod susceptam

semel evangelicae veritatis professionem abnegasset damnassetque, in

horrendam incidit desperationem, Historia, a quatuor summis viris summa

fide conscripta, cum clariss. virorum praefationibus, C�lii S. C. et

Io. Calvini et Petri Pauli Vergerii Apologia: in quibus multa hoc

tempore scitu digna gravissime tradantur .... Basil. 1550. It was

reprinted at T�bingen, 1568. Vergerio first published an account in his

Apologia, 1548 (not 1549), which is contained in that book, and

informed Calvin of it in a letter. Sixt gives large extracts, pp.

125-160. See Comba,Francesco Spiera, Firenze, 1883.

[238] See his letters to Duke Albert of Prussia, and the report of

Pallavicini, XV.10; and Sixt, 485 sqq., 490 sqq.

[239] Sixt, 510 sqq.

[240] The epitaphium, in eighteen hexameters, plays ingeniously on his

name,--Peter, who denied the Lord, and, after his conversion, fed his

sheep; Paul, who first persecuted and then built up the Church; and

Vergerius, "vergens ad orcum andvergens ad astra poli." The monument in

the Georgenkirche was destroyed by the Jesuits in 1636 and restored

1672, but has disappeared since, according to Schott (Herzog2, XVI.

357), whose statement (against Sixt, 527) is confirmed by Dr.

Weizs�cker (in a private letter of Jan. 5, 1891).

[241] Many of them appeared anonymously or under such false names as

Athanasius, Fra Giovanni, Lambertus de Nigromonte, Valerius Philarchus,

etc.

[242] This mediaeval fiction was probably a Roman satire on the

monstrous regiment of bad women who controlled the papacy in the tenth

century. It was first disproved by David Blondel. See vol. IV. 265 sq.

[243] Fondamento della religione christiana per uso della Valtellina.

1553.

[244] His views on the Eucharist are discussed by Sixt, 208, 214, and

497 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 39. Protestantism in Chiavenna and the Valtellina, and its

Suppression.

The Valtellina Massacre. George Jenatsch.

See literature in �� 36 and 38, pp. 131 and 144 sq.

We pass now to the Italian dependencies of the Grisons, where

Protestantism has had only a transient existence.

At Chiavenna the Reformed worship was introduced in 1544 by Agostino

Mainardi, a former monk of Piedmont, under the protection of Hercules

von Salis, governor of the province. He was succeeded by Jerome Zanchi

(1516-1590), an Augustinian monk who had been converted by reading the

works of the Reformers under the direction of Vermigli at Lucca, and

became one of the most learned and acute champions of the Calvinistic

system. He fled to the Grisons in 1551, and preached at Chiavenna. Two

years later he accepted a call to a Hebrew professorship at Strassburg.

There he got into a controversy with Marbach on the doctrine of

predestination, which he defended with logical rigor. In 1563 he

returned to Chiavenna as [245] pastor. He had much trouble with

restless Italian refugees and with the incipient heresy of Socinianism.

In 1568 he left for Heidelberg, as professor of theology on the basis

of the Palatinate Catechism, which in 1563 had been introduced under

the pious Elector Frederick III. He prepared the way for Calvinistic

scholasticism. A complete edition of his works appeared at Geneva,

1619, in three folio volumes.

Chiavenna had several other able pastors,--Simone Florillo, Scipione

Lentulo of Naples, Ottaviano Meio of Lucca,

Small Protestant congregations were founded in the Valtellina, at

Caspan (1546), Sondrio (the seat of government), Teglio, Tirano, and

other towns. Dr. McCrie says: "Upon the whole, the number of Protestant

churches to the south of the Alps appears to have exceeded twenty,

which were all served, and continued till the end of the sixteenth

century to be for the most part served, by exiles from Italy."

But Protestantism in Chiavenna, Bormio, and the Valtellina was at last

swept out of existence. We must here anticipate a bloody page of the

history of the seventeenth century.

Several causes combined for the destruction of Protestantism in Upper

Italy. The Catholic natives were never friendly to the heretical

refugees who settled among them, and called them banditi, which has the

double meaning of exile and outlaw. They reproached the Grisons for

receiving them after they had been expelled from other Christian

countries. They were kept in a state of political vassalage, instead of

being admitted to equal rights with the three leagues. The provincial

governors were often oppressive, sold the subordinate offices to

partisans, and enriched themselves at the expense of the inhabitants.

The Protestants were distracted by internal feuds. The Roman

Counter-Reformation was begun with great zeal and energy in Upper Italy

and Switzerland by the saintly Cardinal Charles Borromeo, archbishop of

Milan. Jesuits and Capuchins stirred up the hatred of the ignorant and

superstitious people against the Protestant heretics. In the Grisons

themselves the Roman Catholic party under the lead of the family of

Planta, and the Protestants, headed by the family of Salis, strove for

the mastery. The former aimed at the suppression of the Reformation in

the leagues as well as the dependencies, and were suspected of

treasonable conspiracy with Spain and Austria. The Protestant party

held a court (Strafgericht, a sort of tribunal of inquisition) at

Thusis in 1618, which included nine preachers, and condemned the

conspirators. The aged Zambra, who in the torture confessed complicity

with Spain, was beheaded; Nicolaus Rusca, an esteemed priest, leader of

the Spanish Catholic interests in the Valtellina, called the hammer of

the heretics, was cruelly tortured to death; Bishop John Flugi was

deposed and outlawed; the brothers Rudolf and Pompeius Planta, the

Knight Jacob Robustelli, and other influential Catholics were banished,

and the property of the Plantas was confiscated.

These unrighteous measures created general indignation. The exiles

fostered revenge, and were assured of Spanish aid. Robustelli returned,

after his banishment, to the Valtellina, and organized a band of about

three hundred desperate bandits from the Venetian and Milanese

territories for the overthrow of the government of the Grisons and the

extermination of Protestantism.

This is the infamous "Valtellina Massacre (Veltliner Mord) of July,

1620. It may be called an imitation of the Sicilian Vespers, and of the

Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was the fiendish work of religious

fanaticism combined with political discontent. The tragedy began in the

silence of the night, from July 18th to 19th, by the murder of sixty

defenceless adult Protestants of Tirano; the Podesta Enderlin was shot

down in the street, mutilated, and thrown into the Adda; Anton von

Salis took refuge in the house of a Catholic friend, but was sought out

and killed; the head of the Protestant minister, Anton Bassa of

Poschiavo, was posted on the pulpit of the church. The murderers

proceeded to Teglio, and shot down about the same number of persons in

the church, together with the minister, who was wounded in the pulpit,

and exhorted the hearers to persevere; a number of women and children,

who had taken refuge in the tower of the church, were burnt. The priest

of Teglio took part in the bloody business, carrying the cross in the

left, and the sword in the right hand. At Sondrio, the massacre raged

for three days. Seventy-one Protestants, by their determined stand,

were permitted to escape to the Engadin, but one hundred and forty fell

victims to the bandits; a butcher boasted of having murdered eighteen

persons. Not even the dead were spared; their bodies were exhumed,

burnt, thrown into the water, or exposed to wild beasts. Paula Baretta,

a noble Venetian lady of eighty years, who had left a nunnery for her

religious conviction, was shamefully maltreated and delivered to the

Inquisition at Milan, where a year afterward she suffered death at the

stake. Anna of Libo fled with a child of two years in her arms; she was

overtaken and promised release on condition of abjuring her faith. She

refused, saying, "You may kill the body, but not the soul;" she pressed

her child to her bosom, and received the death-blow. When the people

saw the stream of blood on the market-place before the chief church,

they exclaimed: "This is the revenge for our murdered arch-priest

Rusca!" He was henceforth revered as a holy martyr. At Morbegno the

Catholics behaved well, and aided the Protestants in making their

escape. The fugitives were kindly received in the Grisons and other

parts of Switzerland. From the Valtellina Robustelli proceeded to

Poschiavo, burnt the town of Brusio, and continued there the butchery

of Protestants till he was checked. [246]

The Valtellina declared itself independent and elected the Knight

Robustelli military chief. The canons of the Council of Trent were

proclaimed, papal indulgences introduced, the evangelical churches and

cemeteries reconsecrated for Catholic use, the corpses of Protestants

dug up, burnt, and cast into the river. Addresses were sent to the Pope

and the kings of Spain and France, explaining and excusing the foul

deeds by which the rebels claimed to have saved the Roman religion and

achieved political freedom from intolerable tyranny.

Now began the long and bloody conflicts for the recovery of the lost

province, in which several foreign powers took part. The question of

the Valtellina (like the Eastern question in modern times) became a

European question, and was involved in the Thirty Years' War. Spain, in

possession of Milan, wished to join hands with Austria across the

Alpine passes of the Grisons; while France and Venice had a political

motive to keep them closed. Austrian and Spanish troops conquered and

occupied the Valtellina and the three leagues, expelled the Protestant

preachers, and inflicted unspeakable misery upon the people. France, no

less Catholic under the lead of Cardinal Richelieu, but jealous of the

house of Habsburg, came to the support of the Protestants in the

Grisons, as well as the Swedes in the north, and sent an army under the

command of the noble Huguenot Duke Henri de Rohan, who defeated the

Austrians and Spaniards, and conquered the Valtellina (1635).

The Grisons with French aid recovered the Valtellina by the stipulation

of Chiavenna, 1636, which guaranteed to the three leagues all the

rights of sovereignty, but on condition of tolerating no other religion

in that province but the Roman Catholic. Rohan, who had the best

intentions for the Grisons, desired to save Protestant interests, but

Catholic France would not agree. He died in 1638, and was buried at

Geneva.

The Valtellina continued to be governed by bailiffs till 1797. It is

now a part of the kingdom of Italy, and enjoys the religious freedom

guaranteed by the constitution of 1848. [247]

In this wild episode of the Thirty Years' War, a Protestant preacher,

Colonel Georg Jenatsch, plays a prominent figure as a romantic hero. He

was born at Samaden in the Upper Engadin, 1590, studied for the

Protestant ministry at Z�rich, successively served the congregations at

Scharans and at Berbenno in the Valtellina, and narrowly escaped the

massacre at Sondrio by making his flight through dangerous mountain

passes. He was an eloquent speaker, an ardent patriot, a shrewd

politician, and a brave soldier, but ambitious, violent, unscrupulous,

extravagant, and unprincipled. He took part in the cruel decision of

the court of Thusis (1618), and killed Pompeius Planta with an axe

(1621). He served as guide and counsellor of the Duke de Rohan, and by

his knowledge, pluck, and energy, materially aided him in the defeat of

Austria. Being disappointed in his ambition, he turned traitor to

France, joined the Austrian party and the Roman Church (1635), but

educated his children in the Protestant religion. He was murdered at a

banquet in Coire (1639) by an unknown person in revenge for the murder

of Pompeius Planta. He is buried in the Catholic church, near the

bishop's palace. A Capuchin monk delivered the funeral oration. [248]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[245] Schweizer, Centraldogmen der Ref. Kirche, I. 422 sqq.

[246] Moderate Catholic historians dare not defend this massacre, any

more than that of St. Bartholomew, but explain it as a terrible Nemesis

and desperate self-vindication against the oppressions of the

commissioners of the Grisons. So Fetz, who says (l.c. p. 113): "Die

besonnenen Katholiken haben diese schauerliche Selbsth�lfe, wodurch

viele Unschuldige als Opfer der Rache gefallen, niemals gebilligt,

andererseits konnten und k�nnen billig denkende Protestanten das arge

Treiben der Pr�dicanten und reformirten Machthaber im Veltlin und

Umgebung ebensowenig gutheissen, denn dieses arge Treiben war die erste

und letzte Ursache der verzweifelten Selbsth�lfe." But Italian Catholic

writers (as Cant�) call it sacro macelio, a sacred slaughter!

[247] The statuto fondamentale of Sardinia, which in 1870 was extended

over all Italy, declares the Roman Catholic Church to be the state

religion, but grants toleration to all other forms of worship. The

Waldenses have recently established preaching stations at Chiavenna and

other places of Upper Italy.

[248] He is the hero of a drama by Arnold von Salis, and of a classical

novel by the Swiss poet, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (J�rg Jenatsch.

Leipzig. 3d ed. 1882). A full biography of Jenatsch by Dr. E. Haffter

is announced.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 40. The Congregation of Locarno.

Ferdinand Meyer: Die evangelische Gemeinde von Locarno, ihre

Auswanderung nach Z�rich und ihre weiteren Schicksale. Z�rich, 1836. 2

vols. An exhaustive monograph carefully drawn from MS. sources, and

bearing more particularly on the Italian congregation at Z�rich, to

which the leading Protestant families of Locarno emigrated.

Locarno, a beautiful town on the northern end of the Lago Maggiore, was

subject to the Swiss Confederacy and ruled by bailiffs. [249] It had in

the middle of the sixteenth century a Protestant congregation of nearly

two hundred members. [250] Chief among them were Beccaria, Taddeo Duno,

Lodovico Ronco, and Martino Muralto. A religious disputation was held

there in 1549, about the authority of the pope, the merit of good

works, justification, auricular confession, and purgatory. [251] It

ended in a tumult. Wirz, the presiding bailiff, who knew neither Latin

nor Italian, gave a decision in favor of the Roman party. Beccaria

refused to submit, escaped, and went to Z�rich, where he was kindly

received by Bullinger. He became afterwards a member of the Synod of

Graub�nden, and was sent as an evangelist to Misocco, but returned to

Z�rich.

The faithful Protestants of Locarno, who preferred emigration to

submission, wandered with wives and children on foot and on horseback

over snow and ice to Graub�nden and Z�rich, in 1556. Half of them

remained in the Grisons, and mingled with the evangelical

congregations. The rest organized an Italian congregation in Z�rich

under the fostering care of Bullinger. It was served for a short time

by Vergerio, who came from T�bingen for the purpose, and then by

Bernardino Ochino, who had fled from England to Basel after the

accession of Queen Mary. Ochino was a brilliant genius and an eloquent

preacher, then already sixty-eight years old, but gave offence by his

Arian and other heretical opinions, and was required to leave in 1563.

He went to Basel, Strassburg, N�rnberg, Krakau; was expelled from

Poland, Aug. 6, 1564; and died in poverty in Moravia, 1565, a victim of

his subtle speculations and the intolerance of his times. He wrote an

Italian catechism for the Locarno congregation in the form of a

dialogue (1561).

The most important accession to the exiles was Pietro Martire Vermigli,

who had likewise fled from England, first to Strassburg (1553), then to

Z�rich (1555). He was received as a member into the council of the

Locarno congregation, presented with the citizenship of Z�rich, and

elected professor of Hebrew in place of Conrad Pellican (who died in

1556). He labored there till his death, in 1562, in intimate friendship

and harmony with Bullinger, generally esteemed and beloved. He was one

of the most distinguished and useful Italian converts, and, like

Zanchi, an orthodox Calvinist.

The Italian congregation was enlarged by new fugitives from Locarno and

continued to the end of the sixteenth century. The principal families

of Duno, Muralto, Orelli, Pestalozzi, and others were received into

citizenship, took a prominent position in the history of Z�rich, and

promoted its industry and prosperity, like the exiled Huguenots in

Brandenburg, Holland, England, and North America. [252]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[249] It originally belonged to the Duchy of Milan, and was ceded to

Switzerland in 1512, together with Lugano and Domo d'Ossola. In 1803 it

became, with Lugano and Bellinzona, one of the three capitals of the

Italian canton Ticino. In 1878 Bellinzona was declared the only

capital.

[250] Meyer gives a complete list of members from the Archives of

Z�rich, and two lists of those who emigrated to Z�rich, vol. I. 511-515

and 521-525.

[251] An account of it by Duno in a letter to Bullinger, and in the

book De persecutione. See Meyer, I. 190 sqq.

[252] On the industry of the Italians in Z�rich, see Meyer, II.

375-391.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 41. Zwinglianism in Germany

The principles of the Helvetic Reformation spread also to some extent

in Germany, but in a modified form, and prepared the way for the

mediating (Melanchthonian) character of the German Reformed Church.

Although Luther overshadowed every other personality in Germany,

Zwingli had also his friends and admirers, especially the Landgrave,

Philip of Hesse, who labored very zealously, though unsuccessfully, for

a union of the Lutherans and the Reformed. Bucer and Capito at

Strassburg, Cellarius at Augsburg, Blaurer at Constance, Hermann at

Reutlingen, and Somius at Ulm, strongly sympathized with the genius and

tendency of the Z�rich Reformer. [253] His influence was especially

felt in those free cities of Southern Germany where the democratic

element prevailed.

Four of these cities, Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau,

handed to the Diet of Augsburg, 11th July, 1530, a special confession

(Confessio Tetrapolitana) drawn up by Bucer, with the assistance of

Hedio, and answered by the Roman divines, Faber, Eck, and Cochlaeus. It

is the first symbolical book of the German Reformed Church (Zwingli's

writings having never acquired symbolical authority), but was

superseded by the Heidelberg Catechism (1563) and the Second Helvetic

Confession (1566). It strikes a middle course between the Augsburg

Confession of Melanchthon and the private Confession sent in by Zwingli

during the same Diet, and anticipates Calvin's view on the Lord's

Supper by teaching a real fruition of the true body and blood of

Christ, not through the mouth, but through faith, for the nourishment

of the soul into eternal life. [254]

The Zwinglian Reformation was checked and almost destroyed in Germany

by the combined opposition of Romanism and Lutheranism. The four cities

could not maintain their isolated position, and signed the Augsburg

Confession for political reasons, to join the Smalcaldian League. The

Reformed Church took a new start in the Palatinate under the combined

influence of Zwingli, Melanchthon, and Calvin (1563), gained strength

by the accession of the reigning dynasty of Prussia (since 1614), and

was ultimately admitted to equal rights with the Roman Catholic and

Lutheran Churches in the German Empire by the Treaty of Westphalia.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[253] See the correspondence of Zwingli, in his Opera, vols. VII. and

VIII.

[254] See VI. 718-721.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER V.

THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC

AND REFORMED CANTONS.

See the works of Escher, Oechsli, and Fenner, quoted on p. 19;

M�rikofer, Zwingli, II. 346-452; and Bluntschli, Geschichte des

schweizerischen Bundesrechtes von den ewigen B�nden bis auf die

Gegenwart. Stuttgart. 2d ed. 1875, 2 vols.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 42. The First War of Cappel. 1529.

The year 1530 marks the height of the Zwinglian Reformation. It was

firmly established in the leading cities and cantons of Z�rich, Bern,

and Basel. It had gained a strong majority of the people in Northern

and Eastern Switzerland, and in the Grisons. It had fair prospects of

ultimate success in the whole confederacy, when its further progress

was suddenly arrested by the catastrophe of Cappel and the death of

Zwingli.

The two parties had no conception of toleration (except in Glarus and

the Grisons), but aimed at supremacy and excluded each other wherever

they had the power. They came into open conflict in the common

territories or free bailiwicks, by the forcible attempts made there to

introduce the new religion, or to prevent its introduction. The

Protestants, under the lead of Zwingli, were the aggressors, especially

in the confiscation of the rich abbey of St. Gall. They had in their

favor the right of progress and the majority of the population. But the

Roman Catholics had on their side the tradition of the past, the letter

of the law, and a majority of Cantons and of votes in the Diet, in

which the people were not directly represented. They strictly

prohibited Protestant preaching within their own jurisdiction, and even

began bloody persecution. Jacob Kaiser (or Schlosser), a Z�rich

minister, was seized on a preaching expedition, and publicly burnt at

the stake in the town of Schwyz (May, 1529). [255] His martyrdom was

the signal of war. The Protestants feared, not without good reason,

that this case was the beginning of a general persecution.

With the religious question was closely connected the political and

social question of the foreign military service, [256] which Zwingli

consistently opposed in the interest of patriotism, and which the Roman

Catholics defended in the interest of wealth and fame. This was a very

serious matter, as may be estimated from the fact that, according to a

statement of the French ambassador, his king had sent, from 1512 to

1531, no less than 1,133,547 gold crowns to Switzerland, a sum equal to

four times the amount at present valuation. The pensions were the Judas

price paid by foreign sovereigns to influential Swiss for treason to

their country. In his opposition to this abuse, Zwingli was undoubtedly

right, and his view ultimately succeeded, though long after his death.

[257]

Both parties organized for war, which broke out in 1529, and ended in a

disastrous defeat of the Protestants in 1531. Sixteen years later, the

Lutheran princes suffered a similar defeat in the Smalcaldian War

against the Emperor (1547). The five Forest Cantons--Uri, Schwyz,

Unterwalden, Luzern, and Zug--formed a defensive and offensive league

(November, 1528; the preparations began in 1527), and even entered,

first secretly, then openly, into an alliance with Ferdinand Duke of

Austria and King of Bohemia and Hungary (April, 1529). This alliance

with the old hereditary enemy of Switzerland, whom their ancestors had

defeated in glorious battles, was treasonable and a step towards the

split of the confederacy in two hostile camps (which was repeated in

1846). King Ferdinand had a political and religious interest in the

division of Switzerland and fostered it. Freiburg, Wallis, and

Solothurn sided with the Catholic Cantons, and promised aid in case of

war. The Protestant Cantons, led by Z�rich (which made the first step

in this direction) formed a Protestant league under the name of the

Christian co-burghery (Burgrecht) with the cities of Constance (Dec.

25, 1527), Biel and M�hlhausen (1529), and Strassburg (Jan. 9, 1530).

[258]

Zwingli, provoked by the burning of Kaiser, and seeing the war clouds

gathering all around, favored prompt action, which usually secures a

great advantage in critical moments. He believed in the necessity of

war; while Luther put his sole trust in the Word of God, although he

stirred up the passions of war by his writings, and had himself the

martyr's courage to go to the stake. Zwingli was a free republican;

while Luther was a loyal monarchist. He belonged to the Cromwellian

type of men who "trust in God and keep their powder dry." In him the

reformer, the statesman, and the patriot were one. He appealed to the

examples of Joshua and Gideon, forgetting the difference between the

Old and the New dispensation. "Let us be firm," he wrote to his

peace-loving friends in Bern (May 30, 1529), "and fear not to take up

arms. This peace, which some desire so much, is not peace, but war;

while the war that we call for, is not war, but peace. We thirst for no

man's blood, but we will cut the nerves of the oligarchy. If we shun

it, the truth of the gospel and the ministers' lives will never be

secure among us." [259]

Z�rich was first ready for the conflict and sent four thousand

well-equipped soldiers to Cappel, a village with a Cistercian convent,

in the territory of Z�rich on the frontier of the Canton Zug. [260]

Smaller detachments were located at Bremgarten, and on the frontier of

Schwyz, Basel, St. Gall. M�hlhausen furnished auxiliary troops. Bern

sent five thousand men, but with orders to act only in self-defence.

Zwingli accompanied the main force to Cappel. "When my brethren expose

their lives," he said to the burgomaster, who wished to keep him back,

"I will not remain quiet at home. The army requires a watchful eye." He

put the halberd which he had worn as chaplain at Marignano, over his

shoulder, and mounted his horse, ready to conquer or to die for God and

the fatherland. [261]

He prepared excellent instructions for the soldiers, and a plan of a

campaign that should be short, sharp, decisive, and, if possible,

unbloody.

Z�rich declared war June 9, 1529. But before the forces crossed the

frontier of the Forest Cantons, Landammann Aebli of Glarus, where the

Catholics and Protestants worship in one church, appeared from a visit

to the hostile army as peacemaker, and prevented a bloody collision. He

was a friend of Zwingli, an enemy of the mercenary service, and

generally esteemed as a true patriot. With tears in his eyes, says

Bullinger, he entreated the Z�richers to put off the attack even for a

few hours, in the hope of bringing about an honorable peace. "Dear

lords of Zuerich, for God's sake, prevent the division and destruction

of the confederacy." Zwingli opposed him, and said: "My dear friend,

[262] you will answer to God for this counsel. As long as the enemies

are in our power, they use good words; but as soon as they are well

prepared, they will not spare us." He foresaw what actually happened

after his death. Aebli replied: "I trust in God that all will go well.

Let each of us do his best." And he departed.

Zwingli himself was not unwilling to make peace, but only on four

conditions which he sent a day after Aebli's appeal, in a memorandum to

the Council of Z�rich (June 11): 1) That the Word of God be preached

freely in the entire confederacy, but that no one be forced to abolish

the mass, the images, and other ceremonies which will fall of

themselves under the influence of scriptural preaching; 2) that all

foreign military pensions be abolished; 3) that the originators and the

dispensers of foreign pensions be punished while the armies are still

in the field; 4) that the Forest Cantons pay the cost of war

preparations, and that Schwyz pay one thousand guilders for the support

of the orphans of Kaiser (Schlosser) who had recently been burnt there

as a heretic.

An admirable discipline prevailed in the camp of Z�rich, that reminds

one of the Puritan army of Cromwell. Zwingli or one of his colleagues

preached daily; prayers were offered before each meal; psalms, hymns,

and national songs resounded in the tents; no oath was heard; gambling

and swearing were prohibited, and disreputable women excluded; the only

exercises were wrestling, casting stones, and military drill. There can

be little doubt that if the Z�richers had made a timely attack upon the

Catholics and carried out the plan of Zwingli, they would have gained a

complete victory and dictated the terms of peace. How long the peace

would have lasted is a different question; for behind the Forest

Cantons stood Austria, which might at any time have changed the

situation.

But counsels of peace prevailed. Bern was opposed to the offensive, and

declared that if the Z�richers began the attack, they should be left to

finish it alone. The Z�richers themselves were divided, and their

military leaders (Berger and Escher) inclined to peace.

The Catholics, being assured that they need not fear an attack from

Bern, mustered courage and were enforced by troops from Wallis and the

Italian bailiwicks. They now numbered nearly twelve thousand armed men.

The hostile armies faced each other from Cappel and Baar, but hesitated

to advance. Catholic guards would cross over the border to be taken

prisoners by the Z�richers, who had an abundance of provision, and sent

them back well fed and clothed. Or they would place a large bucket of

milk on the border line and asked the Z�richers for bread, who supplied

them richly; whereupon both parties peacefully enjoyed a common meal,

and when one took a morsel on the enemy's side, he was reminded not to

cross the frontier. The soldiers remembered that they were Swiss

confederates, and that many of them had fought side by side on foreign

battlefields. [263] "We shall not fight," they said;, and pray God that

the storm may pass away without doing us any harm." Jacob Sturm, the

burgomaster of Strassburg, who was present as a mediator, was struck

with the manifestation of personal harmony and friendship in the midst

of organized hostility. "You are a singular people," he said; "though

disunited, you are united."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[255] For the particulars of this case see M�rikofer, II. 146 sqq., and

Christoffel, I. 376 sq.

[256] The Reislaufen, or running to war; reisig, in old German, means

ready for war (kriegsr�stig).

[257] Christoffel, I. 382. Comp. � 7, p. 24.

[258] The documents of these leagues are given by Bullinger, Hottinger,

and by Bluntschli, l.c. I. 303-305, 318 sq.; II. 238-255.

[259] "Quod hactenus ad vos scripsi, iterum atque iterum facio, ut

constantes sitis, neque bellum metuatis. Nam ista pax, quam quidam

tantopere urgent, bellum est, non pax; et bellum, cui nos instamus, pax

est, non bellum. Non enim sitimus cujusquam sanguinem,neque etiam per

tumultum hauriemus, sed in hoc sumus, ut oligarchiae nervi succidantur.

Id nisi fiat, neque Evangelii veritas, neque illius ministri apud nos

in tuto erunt. Nihil crudele cogitamus: sed quicquid agimus, amicum et

paternum est." Opera, VIII. 294.

[260] Cappel has become famous by the battle of 1531 and the death of

Zwingli. It lies six miles from the town of Zug. The battlefield and

the monument of Zwingli are about ten minutes' walk from Cappel. The

old church is well preserved, and has recently been repaired. See

Annales Coenobii Capelloni per H. Bullingerum et P. Simlerum, in

Simler's (printed) Sammilung alter und neuer Urkunden (Z�rich, 1760),

II. 397; and Pestalozzi's Bullinger, p. 20.

[261] It is stated by Bullinger, and usually supposed, that he only

went in the capacity of chaplain, like Konrad Schmid and Franz Zingg,

who likewise preached in the army. The armor seems to indicate the

warrior, as Hagenbach thinks (p. 405), but not necessarily. There is no

evidence that Zwingli actually fought in any battle. A. Baur (Zwingli's

Theologie, II. 759) says that he went to war simply as patriot and

chaplain, not as politician and captain. It is difficult, however, to

separate these characters in him. The weapons of Zwingli--a harness, a

helmet, and a sword--were kept in the arsenal at Luzern till 1848 in

the Sonderbundskrieg, when they were carried to Z�rich.

[262] They addressed each other "Gevatter," "gossip, " which denotes a

baptismal relationship. When Zwingli was pastor at Glarus, he stood

sponsor to Aebli's children in baptism.

[263] Similar episodes of kindly intercourse occurred between the

Confederate and Union soldiers during the civil war in the United

States.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 43. The First Peace of Cappel. June, 1529.

After several negotiations, a treaty of Peace was concluded June 25,

1529, between Z�rich, Bern, Basel, St. Gall, and the cities of

M�hlhausen and Biel on the one hand, and the five Catholic Cantons on

the other. The deputies of Glarus, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, Appenzell,

Graub�nden, Sargans, Strassburg, and Constanz acted as mediators.

The treaty was not all that Zwingli desired, especially as regards the

abolition of the pensions and the punishment of the dispensers of

pensions (wherein he was not supported by Bern), but upon the whole it

was favorable to the cause of the Reformation.

The first and most important of the Eighteen Articles of the treaty

recognizes, for the first time in Europe, the principle of parity or

legal equality of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches,--a

principle which twenty-six years afterwards was recognized also in

Germany (by the Augsburger Religionsfriede of 1555), but which was not

finally settled there till after the bloody baptism of the Thirty

Years' War, in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), against which the Pope

of Rome still protests in vain. That article guarantees to the Reformed

and Roman Catholic Cantons religious freedom in the form of mutual

toleration, and to the common bailiwicks the right to decide by

majority the question whether they would remain Catholics or become

Protestants. [264] The treaty also provided for the payment of the

expenses of the war by the five cantons, and for an indemnity to the

family of the martyred Kaiser. The abolition of the foreign pensions

was not demanded, but recommended to the Roman Catholic Cantons. The

alliance with Austria was broken. The document which contained the

treasonable treaty was cut to pieces by Aebli in the presence of

Zwingli and the army of Z�rich. [265]

The Catholics returned to their homes discontented. The Z�richers had

reason to be thankful; still more the Berners, who had triumphed with

their policy of moderation.

Zwingli wavered between hopes and fears for the future, but his trust

was in God. He wrote (June 30) to Conrad Som, minister at Ulm: "We have

brought peace with us, which for us, I hope, is quite honorable; for we

did not go forth to shed blood. [266] We have sent back our foes with a

wet blanket. Their compact with Austria was cut to pieces before mine

eyes in the camp by the Landammann of Glarus, June 26, at 11 A. M. ...

God has shown again to the mighty ones that they cannot prevail against

him, and that we may gain victory without a stroke if we hold to him."

[267]

He gave vent to his conflicting feelings in a poem which he composed in

the camp (during the peace negotiations), together with the music, and

which became almost as popular in Switzerland as Luther's

contemporaneous, but more powerful and more famous "Ein feste Burg," is

to this day in Germany. It breathes the same spirit of trust in God.

[268]

"Do thou direct thy chariot,Lord,

And guide it at thy will;

Without thy aid our strength is vain,

And useless all our skill.

Look down upon thy saints brought low,

And grant them victory o'er the foe.

"Beloved Pastor, who hast saved

Our souls from death and sin,

Uplift thy voice, awake thy sheep

That slumbering lie within

Thy fold, and curb with thy right hand

The rage of Satan's furious band.

"Send down thy peace, and banish strife,

Let bitterness depart;

Revive the spirit of the past

In every Switzer's heart:

Then shalt thy church forever sing

The praises of her heavenly King." [269]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[264] The Swiss German text of the first Article of the first

Landsfriede of Cappel is as follows (Bluntschli, II. 257): "Des ersten

von w�gen des G�ttlichen worts, diewyl und nieman zum glouben bezwungen

sol werden, das dann die f�nff ort und die iren, des selben ouch nitt

gen�tiget. Aber die z�gewandten und vogthien, wo man mitt einandern z�

beherschen hat, belangend, wo die selben die mess abgestellt und die

bilder verbr�nt oder abgethan, das die selben an lib eer und g�t, nitt

gestraaft s�llind werden. Wo aber die mess and ander ceremonien noch

vorhanden, die s�llend nitt gezwungen, ouch inen keine predicanten, so

es nitt durch den meertheyl erkendt wirt, geschickt, uffgestellt oder

geg�ben werden, sunder was under inen den kylchgenossen die uff oder

abz�th�nd, dessglychen mitt der Spys, die Gott nitt verbotten z� essen,

gemeret wird, daby sol es biss uff der kylchgenossen gefallen blyben;

und dhein teyl dem andern sinen glouben, weder smehen noch straafen."

Bluntschli (a great authority in Swiss as well as international law)

thus explains this article (I. 324): "In ihm ist bereits das Princip

der Parit�t, d.h. der staatlichen Gleichberechtigung, beider

christlichen Confessionenenthalten. Es ist anerkannt, dass kein Ort

[Canton] den andern, dass auch die Eidgenossenscha ft nicht einzelne

Orte zur Beibehaltung oder zur Ab�nderung ihres christlichen Glaubens

zwingen d�rfe. Die katholischen St�nde verzichteten somit hierin den

reformirten gegen�ber ausdr�cklich auf die Festhaltung des alten

Rechtes des Mittelalters, wornach jede energische Abweichung von dem

katholischen Glauben als ein Verbrechen behandelt und der Krieg gegen

die Ketzer als Pflicht angesehen ward. Sie erkannten das Princip der

Glaubensfreiheit, welches von den Reformirten zuerst verk�ndigt worden

war, nun den Reformirten Orten gegen�ber an, nahmen es aber

gleichzeitig auch f�r sich selber in Anspruch. Und hin wieder gestanden

die Reformirten St�nde dieFolgerichtigkeit dieses Schlusses zu, und

verzichteten darauf, die Orte zur Annahme der Reformation zu n�thigen."

Comp. the treaty of Ilanz, p. 139.

[265] The treaty of peace is given by Bullinger, II. 185 sqq. and 212;

by Escher and Hottinger, in the "Archiv f�r schweizerische Geschichte

und Landeskunde," Z�rich, 1827, vol. I.; and by Bluntschli, l.c. II.

255-269 (Comp. I. 323-331).

[266] "Denn wir uff blutvergiessen nit uszogen."

[267] Opera, VIII. 310 sq.

[268] Bullinger reports: "Dieses Lied wurde hernach weit und breit,

auch an der F�rsten H�fen und in den St�dten von Musicis gesungen und

geblasen." On the other poems of Zwingli, see above, p. 44 sq.

[269] This is a free version of H. White (from Merle D'Aubign�), with

some necessary changes. The original, in the Swiss German, was sung at

the Zwingli festivals in 1884, and, with great effect, at the unveiling

of the Zwingli statue in Z�rich, August, 1885. It is as follows:-

"Herr, nun heb den Wagen selb'!' Schelb [schief] wird sust [sonst] All

unser Fahrt. Das br�cht Lust Der Widerpart, Die dick Veracht so

freventlich.

Gott, erhoch den Namen dyn In der Straf Der b�sen B�ck! Dyne Schaaf

Wiedrum erweck, Die dich Lieb haben inniglich!

Hilf, dass alle Bitterkeit Scheide feer [fern], Und alte TreuWiederkeer

Unde werde neu: Dass wir Ewig tobsingen Dir."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 44. Between the Wars. Political Plains of Zwingli.

The effect of the first Peace of Cappel was favorable to the cause of

the Reformation. It had now full legal recognition, and made progress

in the Cantons and in the common territories. But the peace did not

last long. The progress emboldened the Protestants, and embittered the

Catholics.

The last two years of Zwingli were full of anxiety, but also full of

important labors. He contemplated a political reconstruction of

Switzerland, and a vast European league for the protection and

promotion of Protestant interests.

He attended the theological Colloquy at Marburg (Sept. 29 to Oct. 3,

1529) in the hope of bringing about a union with the German Lutherans

against the common foe at Rome. But Luther refused his hand of

fellowship, and would not tolerate a theory of the Lord's Supper which

he regarded as a dangerous heresy. [270]

While at Marburg, Zwingli made the personal acquaintance of the

Landgraf, Philip of Hesse, and the fugitive Duke Ulrich of W�rtemberg,

who admired him, and sympathized with his theology as far as they

understood it, but cared still more for their personal and political

interests. He conceived with them the bold idea of a

politico-ecclesiastical alliance of Protestant states and cities for

the protection of religious liberty against the combined forces of the

papacy and the empire which threatened that liberty. Charles V. had

made peace with Clement VII., June 29, 1529, and crossed the Alps in

May, 1530, on his way to the Diet of Augsburg, offering to the

Protestants bread with one hand, but concealing a stone in the other.

Zwingli carried on a secret correspondence with Philip of Hesse from

April 22, 1529, till Sept. 10, 1531. [271] He saw in the Roman empire

the natural ally of the Roman papacy, and would not have lamented its

overthrow. [272] Being a republican Swiss, he did not share in the

loyal reverence of the monarchical Germans for their emperor. But all

he could reasonably aim at was to curb the dangerous power of the

emperor by strengthening the Protestant alliance. Further he did not

go. [273]

He tried to draw into this alliance the republic of Venice and the

kingdom of France, but failed. These powers were jealous of the

grasping ambition of the house of Habsburg, but had no sympathy with

evangelical reform. Francis I. was persecuting the Protestants at that

very time in his own country.

It is dangerous to involve religion in entangling political alliances.

Christ and the Apostles kept aloof from secular complications, and

confined themselves to preaching the ethics of politics. Zwingli, with

the best intentions, overstepped the line of his proper calling, and

was doomed to bitter disappointment. Even Philip of Hesse, who pushed

him into this net, grew cool, and joined the Lutheran League of

Smalcald (1530), which would have nothing to do with the Protestants of

Switzerland.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[270] See vol. VI. 629-653.

[271] See vol. VI. 633 sq., and Max Lenz, Zwingli und Landgraf Philipp,

three articles in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte," 1879.

[272] "Quid Germaniae cum Roma?" he wrote to Conrad Som of Ulm in 1529

(Opera, VIII. 388). He reminded him of the German verse:-- "Papstthum

und Kaiserthum Die sind beide von Rom."

[273] "Von irgend einem Anschlag gegen den Kaiser," says M�rikofer, II.

299, "war auch gar nie und von keiner Seite die Rede." Janssen,

Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, III. 218 sq., unjustly charges Zwingli

and Z�rich with preaching open rebellion against the emperor, and

attempting to replace him by the ambitious Landgraf of Hesse.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 45. Zwingli's Last Theological Labors. His Confessions of Faith.

During these fruitless political negotiations Zwingli never lost sight

of his spiritual vocation. He preached and wrote incessantly; he helped

the reform movement in every direction; he attended synods at

Frauenfeld (May, 1530), at St. Gall (December, 1530), and Toggenburg

(April, 1531); he promoted the organization and discipline of the

Reformed churches, and developed great activity as an author. Some of

his most important theological works--a commentary on the prophecies of

Isaiah and Jeremiah, his treatise on Divine Providence, and two

Confessions of Faith--belong to the last two years of his life.

He embraced the opportunity offered by the Diet of Augsburg to send a

printed Confession of Faith to Charles V., July 8, 1530. [274] But it

was treated with contempt, and not even laid before the Diet. Dr. Eck

wrote a hasty reply, and denounced Zwingli as a man who did his best to

destroy religion in Switzerland, and to incite the people to rebellion.

[275] The Lutherans were anxious to conciliate the emperor, and

repudiated all contact with Zwinglians and Anabaptists. [276]

A few months before his death (July, 1531) he wrote, at the request of

his friend Maigret, the French ambassador at Z�rich, a similar

Confession addressed to King Francis I., to whom he had previously

dedicated his "Commentary on the True and False Religion" (1524). [277]

In this Confession he discusses some of the chief points of

controversy,--God and his Worship, the Person of Christ, Purgatory, the

Real Presence, the Virtue of the Sacraments, the Civil Power, Remission

of Sin, Faith and Good Works, Eternal Life,--and added an Appendix on

the Eucharist and the Mass. He explains apologetically and polemically

his doctrinal position in distinction from the Romanists, Lutherans,

and Anabaptists. He begins with God as the ultimate ground of faith and

only object of worship, and closes with an exhortation to the king to

give the gospel free course in his kingdom. In the section on Eternal

Life he expresses more strongly than ever his confident hope of meeting

in heaven not only the saints of the Old and the New Dispensation from

Adam down to the Apostles, but also the good and true and noble men of

all nations and generations. [278]

This liberal extension of Christ's kingdom and Christ's salvation

beyond the limits of the visible Church, although directly opposed to

the traditional belief of the necessity of water baptism for salvation,

was not altogether new. Justin Martyr, Origen, and other Greek fathers

saw in the scattered truths of the heathen poets and philosophers the

traces of the pre-Christian revelation of the Logos, and in the

philosophy of the Greeks a schoolmaster to lead them to Christ. The

humanists of the school of Erasmus recognized a secondary inspiration

in the classical writings, and felt tempted to pray: "Sancte Socrates,

ora pro nobis." Zwingli was a humanist, but he had no sympathy with

Pelagianism. On the contrary, as we have shown previously, he traced

salvation to God's sovereign grace, which is independent of ordinary

means, and he first made a clear distinction between the visible and

the invisible Church. He did not intend, as he has been often

misunderstood, to assert the possibility of salvation without Christ.

"Let no one think," he wrote to Urbanus Rhegius (a preacher at

Augsburg), "that I lower Christ; for whoever comes to God comes to him

through Christ .... The word, 'He who believeth not will be condemned,'

applies only to those who can hear the gospel, but not to children and

heathen .... I openly confess that all infants are saved by Christ,

since grace extends as far as sin. Whoever is born is saved by Christ

from the curse of original sin. If he comes to the knowledge of the law

and does the works of the law (Rom. 2:14, 26), he gives evidence of his

election. As Christians we have great advantages by the knowledge of

the gospel." He refers to the case of Cornelius, who was pious before

his baptism; and to the teaching of Paul, who made the circumcision of

the heart, and not the circumcision of the flesh, the criterion of the

true Israelite (Rom. 2:28, 29). [279]

The Confession to Francis I. was the last work of Zwingli. It was

written three months before his death, and published five years later

(1536) by Bullinger, who calls it his "swan song." The manuscript is

preserved in the National Library of Paris, but it is doubtful whether

the king of France ever saw it. Calvin dedicated to him his Institutes,

with a most eloquent preface, but with no better success. Charles V.

and Francis I. were as deaf to such appeals as the emperors of heathen

Rome were to the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. Had Francis

listened to the Swiss Reformers, the history of France might have taken

a different course.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[274] Ratio Fidei, etc., printed in Opera, vol. IV. 3-18, and in

Niemeyer's Collectio Confessionum (1840), pp. 16-35. For an analysis

see Schaff, Ch. Hist., vol. VI. 721-723, and A. Baur, Zwingli's

Theologie, II. 643 sqq.

[275] Zwingli sent an answer to the German princes assembled at

Augsburg, dated Aug. 27, 1530. Opera, IV. 19-41.

[276] The Anabaptists are condemned (damnant) in Art. IX., the

Zwinglians are disapproved (improbant) in Art. X., of the Augsburg

Confession. See Melanchthon's Judicium de Zwinglii doctrina, written at

Augsburg, July 25, 1530, in "Corpus Reform," II. 222 sq.

[277] Christianae Fidei brevis et clara Expositio, in Zwingli's Opera,

vol. IV. 42-78, and in Niemeyer's Collectio, pp. 36-77. For a summary,

see Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 368 sq., and Baur, l.c. II.

754-776.

[278] "Deinde sperandum est fore ut videos sanctorum, prudentium,

fidelium, constantium, fortium virtuosorum omnium, quicunque a condito

mundo fuerunt, sodalitatem, coetum et contubernium. Hic duos Adamos,

redemptum ac redemptorem: hic Abelum, Enochum, Noachum,

Abrahamum,Isaacum, Judam, Mosen, Iosuam, Gedeonem, Samuelem, Pineam,

Eliam, Elisaeum, Iesaiam ac deiparam Virginem de qua ille praecinuit,

Davidem, Ezekiam, Josiam, Baptistam, Petrum, Paulum: hic Herculem,

Theseum, Socratem, Aristidem, Antigonum, Numam, Camillum, Catones,

Scipiones: hic Ludovicum pium antecessoresque tuos, Ludovicos,

Philippos, Pipinos, et quotquot in fide hinc migrarunt maiores tuos

videbis. Denique non fuit vir bonus, non erit mens sancta, non est

fidelis anima, ab ipso mundi exordio usque ad eius consummationem, quem

non sis isthic cum deo visurus. Quo spectaculo quid laetius, quid

amoenius, quid denique honorificentius vel cogitari poterit? Aut quo

iustius omnes animi vires intendimus quam ad huiuscemodi vitae lucrum?"

(Opera, IV. 65.) The selection of examples might have been more

judicious, or better be omitted altogether. It was this passage that so

shocked Luther's churchly feelings that he called Zwingli a heathen.

Werke, XXXII. 399 sq. "Bossuet," says Michelet (X. 311), "cite ce

passage pour en rire. Mais qui a un coeur le retiendra it jamais."

There are few Protestant divines who would not agree with Zwingli as

regards the salvation of unbaptized infants and pious heathen.

[279] Comp. the remarks on pp. 95 sqq., and Schweizer's Centraldogmen,

I. 94 sqq. and p. 131 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 46. The Second War of Cappel. 1531.

Egli: Die Schlacht von Cappel, 1531. Z�rich, 1873. Comp. the Lit.

quoted � 42.

The political situation of Switzerland grew more and more critical. The

treaty of peace was differently understood. The Forest Cantons did not

mean to tolerate Protestantism in their own territory, and insulted the

Reformed preachers; nor would they concede to the local communities in

the bailiwicks (St. Gall, Toggenburg, Thurgau, the Rheinthal) the right

to introduce the Reformation by a majority vote; while the Z�richers

insisted upon both, and yet they probibited the celebration of the mass

in their own city and district. The Roman Catholic Cantons made new

disloyal approaches to Austria, and sent a deputation to Charles V. at

Augsburg which was very honorably received. The fugitive abbot of St.

Gall also appeared with an appeal for aid to his restoration. The

Z�richers were no less to blame for seeking the foreign aid of Hesse,

Venice, and France. Bitter charges and counter-charges were made at the

meetings of the Swiss Diet. [280]

The crisis was aggravated by an international difficulty. Graub�nden

sent deputies to the Diet with an appeal for aid against the Chatelan

of Musso and the invasion of the Valtellina by Spanish troops. The

Reformed Cantons favored co-operation, the Roman Catholic Cantons

refused it. The expedition succeeded, the castle of Musso was

demolished, and the Grisons took possession of the Valtellina

(1530-32).

Zwingli saw no solution of the problem except in an honest, open war,

or a division of the bailiwicks among the Cantons according to

population, claiming two-thirds for Z�rich and Bern. These bailiwicks

were, as already remarked, the chief bone of contention. But Bern

advocated, instead of war, a blockade of the Forest Cantons. This was

apparently a milder though actually a more cruel course. The

Waldst�tters in their mountain homes were to be cut off from all

supplies of grain, wine, salt, iron, and steel, for which they depended

on their richer Protestant neighbors. [281] Zwingli protested. "If you

have a right," he said in the pulpit, "to starve the Five Cantons to

death, you have a right to attack them in open war. They will now

attack you with the courage of desperation." He foresaw the disastrous

result. But his protest was in vain. Z�rich yielded to the counsel of

Bern, which was adopted by the Protestant deputies, May 15, 1531.

The decision of the blockade was communicated to the Forest Cantons,

and vigorously executed, Z�rich taking the lead. All supplies of

provision from Z�rich and Bern and even from the bailiwicks of St.

Gall, Toggenburg, Sargans, and the Rheinthal were withheld. The

previous year had been a year of famine and of a wasting epidemic (the

sweating sickness). This year was to become one of actual starvation.

Old men, innocent women and children were to suffer with the guilty.

The cattle was deprived of salt. The Waldst�tters were driven to

desperation. Their own confederates refused them the daily bread,

forgetful of the Christian precept, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him;

if he thirst, give him to drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals

of fire upon his head. Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil

with good" (Rom. 12:20, 21).

Zwingli spent the last months before his death in anxiety and fear. His

counsel had been rejected, and yet he was blamed for all these

troubles. He had not a few enemies in Z�rich, who undermined his

influence, and inclined more and more to the passive policy of Bern.

Under these circumstances, he resolved to withdraw from the public

service. On the 26th of July he appeared before the Great Council, and

declared, "Eleven years have I preached to you the gospel, and

faithfully warned you against the dangers which threaten the

confederacy if the Five Cantons--that is, those who hate the gospel and

live on foreign pensions--are allowed to gain the mastery. But you do

not heed my voice, and continue to elect members who sympathize with

the enemies of the gospel. And yet ye make me responsible for all this

misfortune. Well, I herewith resign, and shall elsewhere seek my

support."

He left the hall with tears. His resignation was rejected and

withdrawn. After three days he appeared again before the Great Council,

and declared that in view of their promise of improvement he would

stand by them till death, and do his best, with God's help. He tried to

persuade the Bernese delegates at a meeting in Bremgarten in the house

of his friend, Henry Bullinger, to energetic action, but in vain. "May

God protect you, dear Henry; remain faithful to the Lord Jesus Christ

and his Church."

These were the last words he spoke to his worthy successor. As he left,

a mysterious personage, clothed in a snow-white robe, suddenly

appeared, and after frightening the guards at the gate plunged into the

water, and vanished. He had a strong foreboding of an approaching

calamity, and did not expect to survive it. Halley's comet, which

returns every seventy-six years, appeared in the skies from the middle

of August to the 3d of September, burning like the fire of a furnace,

and pointing southward with its immense tail of pale yellow color.

Zwingli saw in it the sign of war and of his own death. He said to a

friend in the graveyard of the minster (Aug. 10), as he gazed at the

ominous star, "It will cost the life of many an honorable man and my

own. The truth and the Church will suffer, but Christ will never

forsake us." [282] Vadian of St. Gall likewise regarded the comet as a

messenger of God's wrath; and the famous Theophrastus, who was at that

time in St. Gall, declared that it foreboded great bloodshed and the

death of illustrious men. It was then the universal opinion, shared

also by Luther and Melanchthon, that comets, meteors, and eclipses were

fireballs of an angry God. A frantic woman near Z�rich saw blood

springing from the earth all around her, and rushed into the street

with the cry, "Murder, murder!" The atmosphere was filled with

apprehensions of war and bloodshed. The blockade was continued, and all

attempts at a compromise failed.

The Forest Cantons had only one course to pursue. The law of

self-preservation drove them to open war. It was forced upon them as a

duty. Fired by indignation against the starvation policy of their

enemies, and inspired by love for their own families, the Waldst�tters

promptly organized an army of eight thousand men, and marched to the

frontier of Z�rich between Zug and Cappel, Oct. 9, 1531.

The news brought consternation and terror to the Z�richers. The best

opportunity had passed. Discontent and dissension paralyzed vigorous

action. Frightful omens demoralized the people. Z�rich, which two years

before might easily have equipped an army of five thousand, could now

hardly collect fifteen hundred men against the triple force of the

enemy, who had the additional advantage of fighting for life and home.

Zwingli would not forsake his flock in this extreme danger. He mounted

his horse to accompany the little army to the battlefield with the

presentiment that he would never return. The horse started back, like

the horse of Napoleon when he was about to cross the Niemen. Many

regarded this as a bad omen; but Zwingli mastered the animal, applied

the spur, and rode to Cappel, determined to live or to die with the

cause of the Reformation.

The battle raged several hours in the afternoon of the eleventh of

October, and was conducted by weapons and stones, after the manner of

the Swiss, and with much bravery on both sides. After a stubborn

resistance, the Z�richers were routed, and lost the flower of their

citizens, over five hundred men, including seven members of the Small

Council, nineteen members of the Great Council of the Two Hundred, and

several pastors who had marched at the head of their flocks. [283]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[280] Bluntschli (who was a Protestant of Zurich) thinks that Zwingli

and Z�rich were upon the whole more to blame. He says, l.c. I. 334:

"Zwar hatte darin Zwingli ein richtiges politisches Princip

ausgesprochen, dass im wirklichen ernsten Conflict zwischen der innern

Berechtigung und dem �ussern, formellen Recht am Ende dieses jener

weichen m�sse. Aber er hatte dieses Princip weder richtig angewendet;

denn ein solcher Widerspruch lag in dem eidgen�ssischen Bundesrecht

denn doch nicht oder lange nicht in dem angegebenen Masse vor, noch

waren die Mittel, welche er vorschlug, um ein vermeintlich besseres,

weil nat�rlicheres Recht herzustellen, zu rechtfertigen. Und musste ein

gerechter Mann zugeben, dass die F�nf Orte auch ihre Stellung nicht

rein erhielten von Missbrauch, so war doch nicht zu l�ugnen, dass

damals auf Seite der St�dte und insbesondere Z�richs der Missbrauch

ihrer Stellung in eidgen�ssischen Dingen gr�sser war, dass somit die

St�dte sich durchaus nicht eigneten, als Vertreter der 'g�ttlichen

Gerechtigkeit und Strafe' die F�nf Orte von ihren hergebrachten Rechten

zu entsetzen. Auch in der ausw�rtigen Politik verliess Zwingli nun die

Grunds�tze des eidgen�ssischen Rechtes, die er selber vorher mit

Nachdruck vertheidigt hatte. Er ging in reformatorischem Eifer

Verbindungen ein und nahm an politischen Planen Theil, welche den

Frieden und selbst die Existenz der Eidgenossenschaft gef�hrden

mussten."

[281] Z�rich was charged by Bern with an excess of passion, Bern by

Z�rich with an excess of prudence. In the language of Zwingli:-- "Bern

klagt: Z�rich ist zu hitzig, Z�rich klagt: Bern ist zu witzig ."

[282] Bullinger, III. 46 (Comp. 137): "Min J�rg (the Abbot Georg M�ller

of Wettingen], mich und mengen eeren man [manchen Ehrenmann] wirt es

kosten, und wirt die wahrheit und Kylch [Kirche] nodt lyden; doch von

Christus werdent wir nit verlassen." Another contemporary gives an

account of a conversation of Dr. Joachim von Watt with some friends

about the meaning of the comet's appearance. It was published in the

"Schweizerische Museum," II. 335.

[283] Bullinger, III. 130, gives the names. The total number of the

slain and mortally wounded Z�richers was five hundred and fourteen,

while the Five Cantons lost only about eighty. The leaders of the army,

Georg G�ldli and Lavater, escaped, and were charged, the first with

treason, the other with incompetency.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 47. The Death of Zwingli.

M�rikofer, II. 414-420.--Egli, quoted on p. 179.--A. Erichson:

Zwingli's Tod und dessen Beurtheilung durch Zeitgenosen. Strassburg,

1883.

Zwingli himself died on the battlefield, in the prime of manhood, aged

forty-seven years, nine months, and eleven days, and with him his

brother-in-law, his stepson, his son-in-law, and his best friends. He

made no use of his weapons, but contented himself with cheering the

soldiers. [284] "Brave men," he said (according to Bullinger), "fear

not! Though we must suffer, our cause is good. Commend your souls to

God: he can take care of us and ours. His will be done."

Soon after the battle had begun, he stooped down to console a dying

soldier, when a stone was hurled against his head by one of the

Waldst�tters and prostrated him to the ground. Rising again, he

received several other blows, and a thrust from a lance. Once more he

uplifted his head, and, looking at the blood trickling from his wounds,

he exclaimed: What matters this misfortune? They may kill the body, but

they cannot kill the soul." These were his last words. [285]

He lay for some time on his back under a pear-tree (called the

Zwingli-Baum) in a meadow, his hands folded as in prayer, and his eyes

steadfastly turned to heaven. [286]

The stragglers of the victorious army pounced like hungry vultures upon

the wounded and dying. Two of them asked Zwingli to confess to a

priest, or to call upon the dear saints for their intercession. He

shook his head twice, and kept his eyes still fixed on the heavens

above. Then Captain Vokinger of Unterwalden, one of the foreign

mercenaries, against whom the Reformer had so often lifted his voice,

recognized him by the torch-light, and killed him with the, sword,

exclaiming, "Die, obstinate heretic." [287]

There he lay during the night. On the next morning the people gathered

around the dead, and began to realize the extent of the victory.

Everybody wanted to see Zwingli. Chaplain Stocker of Zug, who knew him

well, made the remark that his face had the same fresh and vigorous

expression as when he kindled his hearers with the fire of eloquence

from the pulpit. Hans Sch�nbrunner, an ex-canon of Fraum�nster in

Z�rich, as he passed the corpse of the Reformer, with Chaplain Stocker,

burst into tears, and said, "Whatever may have been thy faith, thou

hast been an honest patriot. May God forgive thy sins." [288] He voiced

the sentiment of the better class of Catholics.

But the fanatics and foreign mercenaries would not even spare the dead.

They decreed that his body should be quartered for treason and then

burnt for heresy, according to the Roman and imperial law. The sheriff

of Luzern executed the barbarous sentence. Zwingli's ashes were mingled

with the ashes of swine, and scattered to the four winds of heaven.

[289]

The news of the disaster at Cappel spread terror among the citizens of

Z�rich. "Then," says Bullinger, "arose a loud and horrible cry of

lamentation and tears, bewailing and groaning."

On no one fell the sudden stroke with heavier weight than on the

innocent widow of Zwingli: she had lost, on the same day, her husband,

a son, a brother, a son-in-law, a brother-in-law, and her most intimate

friends. She remained alone with her weeping little children, and

submitted in pious resignation to the mysterious will of God. History

is silent about her grief; but it has been vividly and touchingly

described in the Z�rich dialect by Martin Usteri in a poem for the

tercentenary Reformation festival in Z�rich (1819). [290]

Bullinger, Zwingli's successor, took the afflicted widow into his

house, and treated her as a member of his family. She survived her

husband seven years, and died in peace.

A few steps from the pear-tree where Zwingli breathed his last, on a

slight elevation, in view of the old church and abbey of Cappel, of the

Rigi, Pilatus, and the more distant snow-capped Alps, there arises a

plain granite monument, erected in 1838, mainly by the exertions of

Pastor Esslinger, with suitable Latin and German inscriptions. [291]

A few weeks after Zwingli, his friend Oecolampadius died peacefully in

his home at Basel (Nov. 24, 1531). The enemies spread the rumor that he

had committed suicide. They deemed it impossible that an arch-heretic

could die a natural death. [292]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[284] "Zwingli blieb in n�chster N�he bei den K�mpfenden stehen, machte

aber nach dem Zeugniss von Freund und Feind von seinen Waffen keinen

Gebrauch." M�rikofer, II. 417.

[285] According to Osw. Myconius (Vita H. Zwingli, ch. 12), who gives

the report of an eyewitness: "Prostratum, ajebat, prementium

multitudine jam tertio, sed in pedes semper restitisse: quarto fixum

cuspide sub mento et in genua prolapsum dixisse: 'Ecquid hoc

infortunii? Age, corpus quidem occidere possunt, animam non possunt.'

Atque his dictis mox obdormivisse in Domino."

[286] Bullinger, III. 136: "und verharet mitt sinem Gesicht zu stunen

am hymel." According to Tschudi, he lay on his face. Salat also says

("Archiv," etc., I. 310):, Zwingli ward funden ligend uf sim angsicht."

But this is not necessarily a contradiction, as the dying man may have

changed his position.

[287] Salat says that the man who did this cowardly act, was "ein

redlicher alter Christ," but does not name Vokinger (also spelt

Fuckinger, or Fugginger).

[288] M�rikofer, II. 418.

[289] According to an uncertain and improbable tradition, the heart

was, as it were, miraculously saved, and brought to Z�rich, but thrown

into the river to prevent idolatry. Myconius (Vita Zw., c. 12) reports:

"Hostibus digressis, post diem tertium accedunt amantes Zwinglii, si

quid reliquiarum eius offenderent, et ecce cor (mirabile dictu) se

offert e mediis cineribus integrum et illaesum ... Venit non multo

postea vir mihi notissimus, sed et familiarissimus [Thomas Plater?],

rogans an portionem cordis cupiam videre Zwingliani, quod secum ferat

in loculo: quia propter sermonem hunc inopinatum horror quidam totum

corpus pervaserat, negaram, alioquin et huius rei possem esse testis

oculatus."

[290] Der armen Frow Zwinglin Klag, published in the "Alpenrosen,"

Bern, 1820, p. 273; in Zwingli's Werke, II. B. 281; also in

Christoffel, I. 413, and M�rikofer, II. 517. After giving vent to her

woe, Anna Zwingli resorts to the Bible, which was her husband's

comfort, and was to be hers. I select the first and the last of the

fourteen stanzas of this poem, which M�rikofer numbers among "the

imperishable monuments of the great man." 1. "O Herre Gott, wie heftig

shluog Mich dynes Zornes Ruthen! Du armes Herz, ist's nit genuog,

Kannst du noch nicht verbluoten? Ich ring die Hand: K�m' doch myn End!

Wer nag myn Elendfassen? Wer misst die Not ? Myn Gott, Myn Gott, Hast

du mich gar verlassen ? 14. "Komm du, o Buoch du warst syn Hort, Syn

Trost in allem Uebel. Ward er verfolgt mit That und Wort, So griff er

nach der Bibel, Fand Hilf bei ihr. Herr, zeige mir Die Hilf in Jesu

Namen! Gib Muoth und St�rk Zum schweren Werk Dem schwachen Wybe! Amen

."

[291] Mrs. Meta Heusser (d. 1876), the most gifted Swiss poetess, who

lived a few miles from Cappel, wrote two beautiful poems for the

dedication of the monument, Oct. 11, 1838, which are printed in the

first series of her Lieder, pp. 189 sqq. I quote the first stanza of

the second poem:-- "Die St�tte, wo ein Heldenauge brach Ist theuer nach

den sp�ten Enkels�hnen; Es schweigt der Todtenklage banges Ach,

Verschlungen von des Sieges Jubelt�nen."

[292] See above, � 31, pp. 115 sq., and the note on p. 188.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 48. Reflections on the Disaster at Cappel.

We need not wonder that the religious and political enemies of Zwingli

interpreted the catastrophe at Cappel as a signal judgment of God and a

punishment for heresy. It is the tendency of superstition in all ages

to connect misfortune with a particular sin. Such an uncharitable

interpretation of Providence is condemned by the example of Job, the

fate of prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and the express rebuke of the

disciples by our Saviour in the case of the man born blind (John 9:31).

But it is found only too often among Christians. It is painful to

record that Luther, the great champion of the liberty of conscience,

under the influence of his mediaeval training, and unmindful of the

adage, De mortuis nihil nisi bonum, surpassed even the most virulent

Catholics in the abuse of Zwingli after his death. It is a sad

commentary on the narrowness and intolerance of the Reformer. [293]

The faithful friends of evangelical freedom and progress in Switzerland

revered Zwingli as a martyr, and regarded the defeat at Cappel as a

wholesome discipline or a blessing in disguise. Bullinger voiced their

sentiments. "The victory of truth," he wrote after the death of his

teacher and friend, "stands alone in God's power and will, and is not

bound to person or time. Christ was crucified, and his enemies imagined

they had conquered; but forty years afterwards Christ's victory became

manifest in the destruction of Jerusalem. The truth conquers through

tribulation and trial. The strength of the Christians is shown in

weakness. Therefore, beloved brethren in Germany, take no offence at

our defeat, but persevere in the Word of God, which has always won the

victory, though in its defence the holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs

suffered persecution and death. Blessed are those who die in the Lord.

Victory will follow in time. A thousand years before the eyes of the

Lord are but as one day. He, too, is victorious who suffers and dies

for the sake of truth. [294]

It is vain to speculate on mere possibilities. But it is more than

probable that a victory of the Protestants, at that time would have

been in the end more injurious to their cause than defeat. The

Z�richers would have forced the Reformation upon the Forest Cantons and

all the bailiwicks, and would thereby have provoked a reaction which,

with the aid of Austria and Spain and the counter-Reformation of the

papacy, might have ended in the destruction of Protestantism, as it

actually did in the Italian dependencies of Switzerland and the

Grisons, in Italy, Spain, and Bohemia.

It was evidently the will of Providence that in Switzerland, as well as

in Germany, both Churches, the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical,

should co-exist, and live in mutual toleration and useful rivalry for a

long time to come.

We must judge past events in the light of subsequent events and final

results. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The death of Zwingli is a heroic tragedy. He died for God and his

country. He was a martyr of religious liberty and of the independence

of Switzerland. He was right in his aim to secure the freedom of

preaching in all the Cantons and bailiwicks, and to abolish the

military pensions which made the Swiss tributary to foreign masters.

But he had no right to co�rce the Catholics and to appeal to the sword.

He was mistaken in the means, and he anticipated the proper time. It

took nearly three centuries before these reforms could be executed.

In 1847 the civil war in Switzerland was renewed in a different shape

and under different conditions. The same Forest Cantons which had

combined against the Reformation and for the foreign pensions, and had

appealed to the aid of Austria, formed a confederacy within the

confederacy (Sonderbund) against modern political liberalism, and again

entered into an alliance with Austria; but at this time they were

defeated by the federal troops under the wise leadership of General

Dufour of Geneva, with very little bloodshed. [295] In the year 1848

while the revolution raged in other countries, the Swiss Diet quickly

remodelled the constitution, and transformed the loose confederacy of

independent Cantons into a federal union, after the model of the United

States, with a representation of the people (in the Nationalrath) and a

central government, acting directly upon the people. The federal

constitution of 1848 guaranteed "the free exercise of public worship to

the recognized Confessions" (i.e. the Roman Catholic and Reformed); the

Revised Constitution of 1874 extended this freedom, within the limits

of morality and public safety, to all other denominations; only the

order of the Jesuits was excluded, for political reasons.

This liberty goes much further than Zwingli's plan, who would have

excluded heretical sects. There are now, on the one hand, Protestant

churches at Luzern, Baar, Brunnen, in the very heart of the Five

Cantons (besides the numerous Anglican Episcopal, Scotch Presbyterian,

and other services in all the Swiss summer resorts); and on the other

hand, Roman Catholic churches in Z�rich, Bern, Basel, Geneva, where the

mass was formerly rigidly prohibited.

As regards the foreign military service which had a tendency to

denationalize the Swiss, Zwingli's theory has completely triumphed. The

only relic of that service is the hundred Swiss guards, who, with their

picturesque mediaeval uniform, guard the pope and the Vatican. They are

mostly natives of the Five Forest Cantons.

Thus history explains and rectifies itself, and fulfils its promises.

NOTES.

There is a striking correspondence between the constitution of the old

Swiss Diet and the constitution of the old American Confederacy, as

also between the modern Swiss constitution and that of the United

States. The Swiss Diet seems to have furnished an example to the

American Confederacy, and the Congress of the United States was a model

to the Swiss Diet in 1848. The legislative power of Switzerland is

vested in the Assembly of the Confederacy (Bundesversammlung) or

Congress, which consists of the National Council (Nationalrath) or

House of Representatives, elected by the people, one out of twenty

thousand,--and the Council of Cantons (St�nderath) or Senate, composed

of forty-four delegates of the twenty-two Cantons (two from each) and

corresponding to the old Diet. The executive power is exercised by the

Council of the Confederacy (Bundesrath), which consists of seven

members, and is elected every three years by the two branches of the

legislature, one of them acting as President (Bundespr�sident) for the

term of one year (while the President of the United States is chosen by

the people for four years, and selects his own cabinet. Hence the head

of the Swiss Confederacy has very little power for good or evil, and is

scarcely known). To the Supreme Court of the United States corresponds

the Bundesgericht, which consists of eleven judges elected by the

legislature for three years, and decides controversies between the

Cantons. Comp. Bluntschli's Geschichte des Schweizerischen

Bundesrechts, 1875; R�ttimann, Das nordamerikanisehe Bundes-staatsrecht

verglichen mit den politischen Einrichtungen der Schweiz, Z�rich,

1867-72, 2 vols.; and Sir Francis O. Adams and C. D. Cunningham, The

Swiss Confederation, French translation with notes and additions by

Henry G. Loumyer, and preface by L. Ruchonnet, Geneva, 1890.

The provisions of the Federal Constitution of Switzerland, May 29,

1874, in regard to religion, are as follows: --

Abschnitt I. Art. 49. "Die Glaubens und Gewissensfreiheit ist

unverletzlich.

Niemand darf zur Theilnahme an einer Religionsgenossenschaft, oder an

einem religi�sen Unterricht, oder zur Vornahme einer religi�sen

Handlung gezwungen, oder wegen Glaubensansichten mit Strafen irgend

welcher Art belegt werden....

Art. 50. Die freie Aus�bung gottesdienstlicher Handlungen ist innerhalb

der Schranken der Sittlichkeit und der �ffentlichen Ordnung

gew�hrleistet ....

Art. 51. Der Orden der Jesuiten und die ihm affiliirten Gesellschaften

d�rfen in keinem Theile der Schweiz Aufnahme finden, und es ist ihren

Gliedern jede Wirksamkeit in Kirche und Schule untersagt."

The same Constitution forbids the civil and military officers of the

Confederation to receive pensions or titles or decorations from any

foreign government.

I. Art. 12. "Die Mitglieder der Bundesbeh�rden, die eidgen�ssischen

Civilund Milit�rbeamten und die eidgen�ssischen Repr�sentanten oder

Kommissariend�rfen von ausw�rtigen Regierungen weder Pensionen oder

Gehalte, noch Titel, Geschenke oder Orden annehmen."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[293] In his letter to Albrecht of Prussia, April, 1532 (in De Wette,

IV. 348-355), Luther expresses a doubt about Zwingli's salvation (on

account of his denial of the corporal presence). He scorns the idea

that he was a martyr; he regrets that the Catholic Cantons did not

complete their victory by suppressing the Zwinglian heresy, and he

warns the Duke of Prussia not to tolerate it in his dominion. In his

furious polemic tract, Short Confession of the Holy Sacrament, written

in 1645, a year before his death (Werke, Erlangen ed., vol. XXXII.

399-401, 410), Luther says that "Zwingel" (he always misspells his

name) and Oecolampadius "perished in their sins"; that Zwingli died "in

great and many sins and blasphemy" ( in grossen und vielen S�nden und

Gottesl�sterung), having expressed a hope for the salvation of such

"gottlose Heiden" as Socrates, Aristides, and the "greuliche Numa" that

he became a heathen; and that he perished by the sword because he took

up the sword. He adds that he, Martin Luther, "would rather a hundred

times be torn to pieces and burned than make common cause with

Stenkefeld [Stinkfeld for Schwenkfeld], Zwingel, Carlstadt, and

Oeclampadius!" O sancta simplicitas! How different is the conduct and

judgment of Zwingli, who, at Marburg, with tears in his eyes, offered

the hand of brotherhood to his great antagonist, and who said of him in

the very heat of the eucharistic controversy: "Luther is so excellent a

warrior of God, and searches the Scriptures with such great earnestness

as no one on earth for these thousand years has done; and no one has

ever equalled him in manly, unshaken spirit with which he has attacked

the pope of Rome. He was the true David whom the Lord himself appointed

to slay Goliath. He hurled the stones taken from the heavenly brook so

skilfully that the giant fell prostrate on the ground. Saul has slain

thousands, but David tens of thousands. He was the Hercules who rushed

always to the post of danger in battle ... Therefore we should justly

thank God for having raised such an instrument for his honor; and this

we do with pleasure."

[294] Christoffel, I. 409. Comp. also the beautiful preface of Zwingli

to the history of the passion, in which he shows his readiness to die

for Christ, quoted by M�rikofer, II. 415.

[295] The Swiss Sonderbunds-Krieg was an anticipation, on a small

scale, of the Civil War in the United States, though the causes were

different. In both cases the confederates rebelled against the federal

government, and sought the aid of their hereditary enemy; the Swiss of

the Catholic Forest Cantons that of Austria, the Americans of the

slaveholding Southern States that of England. For a clear sketch of the

Sonderbunds-Krieg, see Vuillemin, Geschichte der Schweizerischen

Eidgenossenschaft (1882), pp. 517-537.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 49. The Second Peace of Cappel. November, 1531.

Besides the works already quoted, see Werner Biel's account of the

immediate consequences of the war of Cappel in the "Archiv f�r

Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte" (Rom. Cath.), vol. III. 641-680.

He was at that time the secretary of the city of Z�rich. The articles

of the Peace in Hottinger, Schweizergeschichte, VII. 497 sqq., and in

Bluntschli, l.c. II. 269-276 (comp. I. 332 sqq.).

Few great battles have had so much effect upon the course of history as

the little battle of Cappel. It arrested forever the progress of the

Reformation in German Switzerland, and helped to check the progress of

Protestantism in Germany. It encouraged the Roman Catholic reaction,

which soon afterwards assumed the character of a formidable

Counter-Reformation. But, while the march of Protestantism was arrested

in its original homes, it made new progress in French Switzerland, in

France, Holland, and the British Isles.

King Ferdinand of Austria gave the messenger of the Five Cantons who

brought him the news of their victory at Cappel, fifty guilders, and

forthwith informed his brother Charles V. at Brussels of the fall of

"the great heretic Zwingli," which he thought was the first favorable

event for the faith of the Catholic Church. The Emperor lost no time to

congratulate the Forest Cantons on their victory, and to promise them

his own aid and the aid of the pope, of his brother, and the Catholic

princes, in case the Protestants should persevere in their opposition.

The pope had already sent men and means for the support of his party.

The disaster of Cappel was a prelude to the disaster of M�hlberg on the

Elbe, where Charles V. defeated the Smalcaldian League of the Lutheran

princes, April 24, 1547. Luther was spared the humiliation. The

victorious emperor stood on his grave at Wittenberg, but declined to

make war upon the dead by digging up and burning his bones, as he was

advised to do by his Spanish generals.

The war of Cappel was continued for a few weeks. Z�rich rallied her

forces as best she could. Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen sent troops,

but rather reluctantly, and under the demoralizing effect of defeat.

There was a want of harmony and able leadership in the Protestant camp.

The Forest Cantons achieved another victory on the Gubel (Oct. 24), and

plundered and wasted the territory of Z�rich; but as the winter

approached, and as they did not receive the promised aid from Austria,

they were inclined to peace. Bern acted as mediator.

The second religious Peace (the so-called Zweite Landsfriede) was

signed Nov. 20, 1531, [296] between the Five Forest Cantons and the

Z�richers, on the meadows of Teynikon, near Baar, in the territory of

Zug, and confirmed Nov. 24 at Aarau by the consent of Bern, Glarus,

Freiburg, and Appenzell. It secured mutual toleration, but with a

decided advantage to the Roman Catholics.

The chief provisions of the eight articles as regards religion were

these: --

1. The Five Cantons and their associates are to be left undisturbed in

their "true, undoubted, Christian faith"; the Z�richers and their

associates may likewise retain their "faith," but with the exception of

Bremgarten, Mellingen, Rapperschwil, Toggenburg, Gaster, and Wesen.

Legal toleration or parity was thus recognized, but in a manner which

implies a slight reproach of the Reformed creed as a departure from the

truth. Mutual recrimination was again prohibited, as in 1529. [297]

2. Both parties retain their rights and liberties in the common

bailiwicks: those who had accepted the new faith might retain it; but

those who preferred the old faith should be free to return to it, and

to restore the mass, and the images. In mixed congregations the church

property is to be divided according to population.

Z�rich was required to give up her league with foreign cities, as the

Five Cantons had been compelled in 1529 to break their alliance with

Austria. Thus all leagues with foreign powers, whether papal or

Protestant, were forbidden in Switzerland as unpatriotic. Z�rich had to

refund the damages of two hundred and fifty crowns for war expenses,

and one hundred crowns for the family of Kaiser, which had been imposed

upon the Forest Cantons in 1529. Bern agreed in addition to pay three

thousand crowns for injury to property in the territory of Zug.

The two treaties of peace agree in the principle of toleration (as far

as it was understood in those days, and forced upon the two parties by

circumstances), but with the opposite application to the neutral

territory of the bailiwicks, where the Catholic minority was protected

against further aggression. The treaty of 1529 meant a toleration

chiefly in the interest and to the advantage of Protestantism; the

treaty of 1531, a toleration in the interest of Romanism.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[296] It was concluded Nov. 16, but dated Nov. 20.

[297] The following is the Swiss-German text of the first article

(Bluntschli, II. 271), which may be compared with the first article of

the Peace of 1529 (see above, p. 171 sq.): "Zum ersten sollent und

wollent Wir, die von Z�rich, unsre getr�we liebe Eydgenossen von den V

Orten [i.e. the Five Forest Cantons of the old confederacy],

dessglichen auch ihr lieb Mitb�rger und Landl�t von Wallis und alle

ihre Mithaften, si syegent geistlich oder weltlich, by ihrem waaren

ungezwyffleten, christenlichen Glauben jetzt und hernach in ihren

eignen St�dten, Landen, Gebieten und Herrlichkeiten g�nzlich

ungearguirt und ungedisputirt blyben lassen, all b�ss F�nd, Usz�g,

Gef�hrd und Arglist vermieden und hintangesetzt.--Hinwiderum so w�llent

Wir, von den V Orten, unser Eydgnossen von Z�rich und ihre eigne

Mitverwandten by ihrem Glauben auch blyben lassen. Wir von den V Orten

behaltend uns in diesem Frieden luter vor alle, die uns sampt und

sonders mit Burg und Landrecht, auch in ander W�g verwandt sind, auch

all die, so uns Hilf, Rath, Bystand und Zuzug bewiesen und gethan, also

dass die harin luter mit uns begriffen und verfaszt syn

s�llent.--Hinwiederum so behaltent Wir von Z�rich uns vor, das die, so

uns Hilf, Rath, Bystand und Zuzug gethan vor und in disem Krieg es sye

in Abschlagung der Profiant oder in ander Weg, dass die auch in diesem

Frieden vergriffen syn s�llent.--Wyter so behaltend Wir, von den V

Orten uns vor und durgent luter us, die us den fryen Aemptern im

Erg�uw, Bremgarten, und Mellingen, so sich denen von Bern anh�ngig

gemacht, ihnen zuzogen, und, uns zu �berziehen, Vorschub gethan,

dessglychen sie die Berner noch ufenthaltend, desshalben ihnen

viellichter der Frieden nit annehmlich syn, zudem unsser Nothdurft zu

Usf�hrung des Kriegs gegen den Berneren will erforderen, dass man

dosselbst Durchzug haben m�cht, desshalb wir sie jetzmalen zu diesem

Frieden nit begriffen lassent. Dessglychen behaltend Wir auch luter

vor, die von Rapperschwyl, Toggenburg, Gastern und die von Wesen, so

unsser Eydgnossen von Z�rich nutzit angahnt noch verwandt sind, dass

die in disem Frieden auch usgeschlossen und nit begriffen syn s�llent,

doch dass nach Gnaden und in Ziemlichkeit mit ihnen gehandlet werd, mit

Straf oder mit Recht." Bluntschli (I. 337) thus comments on this

article: "Auch jetzt wieder musste zun�chst das Princip, dass beide

Confessionen Geltung haben, das Princip der Parit�t, den verschiedenen

eidgen�ssischen St�nden gegen�ber anerkannt werden. Aber die Form, wie

das geschah, war verletzend f�r die Reformirten. Es lag darin offenbar

ein Hohn gegen diese, dass sie zu einem Vert?--age ihre Zustimmung

geben mussten, in welchem der katholische Glaube als der 'reine,

unbezweifelte, christliche Glaube,' die Confession der Reformirten

dagegen nur als 'ein Glaube,' schlechthin bezeichnet ward; ein Spott,

der immerhin von ungleicher W�rdigung der beiden Confessionen ausging

und insofern dem wahren Geiste des parit�tischen Staatsprincips

widersprach. Diese Herabsetzung und Dem�thigung der Reformirten lag

zwar nur in dem Ausdruck, nicht in dem Inhalt dieser Bestimmung. Aber

gerade darum war sie um so weniger zu rechtfertigen. Sie reizte und

erbitterte bloss den einen Theil, und kitzelte nur den Hochmuth des

andern Theils. Wollte man ernstlich und auf die Dauer Frieden, so

durfte man nicht solcher Geh�ssigkeitden Lauf lassen."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 50. The Roman Catholic Reaction.

The Romanists reaped now the full benefit of their victory. They were

no longer disturbed by the aggressive movements of Protestant

preachers, and they regained much of the lost ground in the bailiwicks.

Romanism was restored in Rapperschwil and Gaster. The abbot of St. Gall

regained his convent and heavy damages from the city; Toggenburg had to

acknowledge his authority, but a portion of the people remained

Reformed. Thurgau and the Rheinthal had to restore the convents.

Bremgarten 22 and Mellingen had to pledge themselves to re-introduce

the mass and the images. In Glarus, the Roman Catholic minority

acquired several churches and preponderating influence in the public

affairs of the Canton. In Solothurn, the Reformation was suppressed, in

spite of the majority of the population, and about seventy families

were compelled to emigrate. In the Diet, the Roman Cantons retained a

plurality of votes.

The inhabitants of the Forest Cantons, full of gratitude, made a devout

pilgrimage to St. Mary of Einsiedeln, where Zwingli had copied the

Epistles of St. Paul from the first printed edition of the Greek

Testament in 1516, and where he, Leo Judae, and Myconius had labored in

succession for a reformation of abuses, with the consent of Diepold von

Geroldseck. That convent has remained ever since a stronghold of Roman

Catholic piety and superstition in Switzerland, and attracts as many

devout pilgrims as ever to the shrine of the "Black Madonna." It has

one of the largest printing establishments, which sends prayer-books,

missals, breviaries, diurnals, rituals, pictures, crosses, and

crucifixes all over the German-speaking Catholic world. [298]

Bullinger, who succeeded Zwingli, closes his "History of the

Reformation" mournfully, yet not without resignation and hope. "All

manner of tyranny and overbearance," he says, "is restored and

strengthened, and an insolent r�gime is working the ruin of the

confederacy. Wonderful are the counsels of the Lord. But he doeth all

things well. To him be glory and praise! Amen."

NOTE ON THE CONVENT OF EINSIEDELN.

(Comp. � 8, pp. 29 sqq.)

On a visit to Einsiedeln, June 12, 1890, I saw in the church a number

of pilgrims kneeling before the wonder-working statue of the Black

Madonna. The statue is kept in a special chapel, is coal-black, clothed

in a silver garment, crowned with a golden crown, surrounded by gilt

ornaments, and holding the Christ-Child in her arms. The black color is

derived by some from the smoke of fire which repeatedly consumed the

church, while the statue is believed to have miraculously escaped; but

the librarian (Mr. Meier) told me that it was from the smoke of

candles, and that the face of the Virgin is now painted with oil.

The library of the abbey numbers 40,000 volumes (including 900

incunabula), among them several copies of the first print of Zwingli's

Commentary on the true and false Religion, and other books of his. In

the picture-gallery are life-size portraits of King Frederick William

IV. of Prussia, his brother, the Prince of Prussia (afterwards Emperor

William I. of Germany), of Napoleon III. and Eugenie, of the Emperor

Francis Joseph of Austria and his wife, and their unfortunate son who

committed suicide in 1889, and of Pope Pius IX. These portraits were

presented to the convent on its tenth centenary in 1861. The convent

was founded by St. Meinhard, a hermit, in the ninth century, or rather

by St. Benno, who died there in 940. The abbey has now nearly 100

Benedictine monks, a gymnasium with 260 pupils of twelve to twenty

years, a theological seminary, and two filial institutions in Indiana

and Arkansas. The church is an imposing structure, after the model of

St. Peter's in Rome, surrounded by colonnades. The costly chandelier is

a present of Napoleon III. (1865).

The modern revival of Romanism, and the railroad from W�densweil,

opened 1877, have greatly increased the number of pilgrims. Goethe says

of Einsiedeln: "Es muss ernste Betrachtungen erregen, dass ein

einzelner Funke von Sittlichkeit und Gottesfurcht hier ein

immerbrennendes und leuchtendes Fl�mmchen angez�ndet, zu welchem

gla�bige Seelen mit grosser Beschwerlichkeit heranpilgern, um an dieser

heiligen Flamme auch ihr Kerzlein anzuz�nden. Wie dem auch sei, so

deutet es auf ein grenzenloses Bed�rfniss der Menschheit nach gleichem

Lichte, gleicher W�rme, wie es jener Erste im tiefsten Gef�hle und

sicherster Ueberzengung gehegt und genossen."

For a history of Einsiedeln, see Beschreibung des Klosters und der

Wallfahrt Maria-Einsiedeln. Einsiedeln. Benziger & Co. 122 pp.

The wood-cut on p. 197 represents the abbey as it was before and at the

time of Zwingli, and is a fair specimen of a rich mediaeval abbey, with

church, dwellings for the brethren, library, school, and gardens.

Einsiedeln lies in a dreary and sterile district, and derives its sole

interest from this remarkable abbey.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[298] The firm of "Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy Apostolic

See," Einsiedeln, New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago. The various

illustrated catalogues of this establishment give an idea of the

immense extent of its operations.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 51. The Relative Strength of the Confessions in Switzerland.

We may briefly sum up the result of the Reformation in Switzerland as

follows: --

Seven Cantons--Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and

Soluthurn (Soleur)--remained firm to the faith of their ancestors. Four

Cantons, including the two strongest--Z�rich, Bern, Basel, and

Schaffhausen--adopted the Reformed faith. Five Cantons--Glarus, St.

Gall, Appenzell, Thurgau, and Aargau--are nearly equally divided

between the two Confessions. Of the twenty-three subject towns and

districts, only Morat and Granson became wholly Protestant, sixteen

retained their former religion, and five were divided. In the Grisons

nearly two-thirds of the population adopted the Zwinglian Reformation;

but the Protestant gains in the Valtellina and Chiavenna were lost in

the seventeenth century. Ticino and Wallis are Roman Catholic. In the

French Cantons--Geneva, Canton de Vaud, and Neuchatel--the Reformation

achieved a complete victory, chiefly through the labors of Calvin.

Since the middle of the sixteenth century the numerical relation of the

two Churches has undergone no material change. Protestantism has still

a majority of about half a million in a population of less than three

millions. The Roman Catholic Church has considerably increased by

immigration from Savoy and France, but has suffered some loss by the

Old Catholic secession in 1870 under the lead of Bishop Herzog. The

Methodists and Baptists are making progress chiefly in those parts

where infidelity and indifferentism reign.

Each Canton still retains its connection with one or the other of the

two Churches, and has its own church establishment; but the bond of

union has been gradually relaxed, and religious liberty extended to

dissenting communions, as Methodists, Baptists, Irvingites, and Old

Catholics. The former exclusiveness is abolished, and the principle of

parity or equality before the law is acknowledged in all the Cantons.

An impartial comparison between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed

Cantons reveals the same difference as exists between Southern and

Northern Ireland, Eastern and Western Canada, and other parts of the

world where the two Churches meet in close proximity. The Roman

Catholic Cantons have preserved more historical faith and superstition,

churchly habits and customs; the Protestant Cantons surpass them in

general education and intelligence, wealth and temporal prosperity;

while in point of morality both are nearly equal.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 52. Zwingli. Redivivus.

The last words of the dying Zwingli, "They may kill the body, but

cannot kill the soul," have been verified in his case. His body was

buried with his errors and defects, but his spirit still lives; and his

liberal views on infant salvation, and the extent of God's saving grace

beyond the limits of the visible Church, which gave so much offence in

his age, even to the Reformers, have become almost articles of faith in

evangelical Christendom.

Ulrich Zwingli is, next to Martin Luther and John Knox, the most

popular among the Reformers. [299] He moved in sympathy with the common

people; he spoke and wrote their language; he took part in their public

affairs; he was a faithful pastor of the old and young, and imbedded

himself in their affections; while Erasmus, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius,

Calvin, Beza, and Cranmer stood aloof from the masses. He was a man of

the people and for the people, a typical Swiss; as Luther was a typical

German. Both fairly represented the virtues and faults of their nation.

Both were the best hated as well as the best loved men of their age,

according to the faith which divided, and still divides, their

countrymen.

Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli have been honored by a fourth

centennial commemoration of their birth,--the one in 1883, the other in

1884. Such honor is almost without a precedent, at least in the history

of theology. [300]

The Zwingli festival was not merely an echo of the Luther festival, but

was observed throughout the Reformed churches of Europe and America

with genuine enthusiasm, and gave rise to an extensive Zwingli

literature. It is in keeping with the generous Christian spirit which

the Swiss Reformer showed towards the German Reformer at Marburg, that

many Reformed churches in Switzerland, as well as elsewhere, heartily

united in the preceding jubilee of Luther, forgetting the bitter

controversies of the sixteenth century, and remembering gratefully his

great services to the cause of truth and liberty. [301]

In the following year (Aug. 25, 1885), a bronze statue was erected to

Zwingli at Z�rich in front of the Wasserkirche and City Library,

beneath the minster where be preached. It represents the Reformer as a

manly figure, looking trustfully up to heaven, with the Bible in one

hand and the sword in the other,--a combination true to history. Dr.

Alexander Schweizer, one of the ablest Swiss divines (d. July 3, 1888),

whose last public service was the Zwingli oration in the University,

Jan. 7, 1884, protested against the sword, and left the committee on

the monument. Dr. Konrad Ferdinand Meyer, the poet of the occasion,

changed the sword of Zwingli, with poetic ingenuity, into the sword of

Vokinger, by which he was slain. [302] Antistes Finsler, in his

oration, gave the sword a double meaning, as in the case of Paul, who

is likewise represented with the sword, namely, the sword by which he

was slain, and the sword of the spirit with which he still is fighting;

while at the same time it distinguishes Zwingli from Luther, and shows

him as the patriot and statesman.

The whole celebration--the orderly enthusiasm of the people, the

festive addresses of representative men of Church and State, the

illumination of the city and the villages around the beautiful

lake--bore eloquent witness to the fact that Zwingli has impressed his

image indelibly upon the memory of German Switzerland. Although his

descendants are at present about equally divided between orthodox

conservatives and rationalistic "reformers" (as they call themselves),

they forgot their quarrels on that day, and cordially united in

tributes to the abiding merits of him who, whatever were his faults,

has emancipated the greater part of Switzerland from the tyranny of

popery, and led them to the fresh fountain of the teaching and example

of Christ. [303]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[299] The German volksth�mlich expresses the idea better than popular.

[300] I say "almost." In 1880, five hundred years after the completion

of Wiclif's English Bible, his memory was celebrated throughout the

English-speaking Protestant world in five continents. The sixth

centenary of Dante's birth was celebrated in 1865 in Florence and all

Italy. The last divine whose centennial birthday was observed is

Neander, the Church historian. An eloquent commemorative oration was

delivered on that occasion by Dr. Harnack, his successor, in the Aula

of the University of Berlin, Jan. 17, 1889.

[301] See the literature on the Zwingli centennial in � 5, pp. 17 sq.

and the literature of the Luther celebration in vol. VI. 104 sq. and

730.

[302] "Hier das Schwert in meiner Hand Ist das Schwert, das mich

erschlug."

[303] See an account of that memorable celebration (which I witnessed

myself) in Erinnerungsbl�tter zur Einweihung des Zwingli-Denkmals in

Z�rich. Herausqegeben vom Denkmal-Komite. In 2 parts, Z�rich, 1885. The

chief address was made by Antistes Finsler, the twenty-second successor

of Zwingli. A part of the celebration was a dramatic representation of

Zwingli's death (a historic tragedy by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer), and a

banquet in the Tonhalle-Pavilion, where addresses were delivered by

delegates from different Cantons. Zwingli's poem, "Herr, nun heb den

Wagen selbst," was sung with great spirit by the Concordia. The Swiss

poet, Dr. Meyer, wrote the Festcantate. The statue was made by Natter,

a Roman Catholic sculptor of Vienna, who attended the unveiling. A

significant fact.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VI.

THE PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 53. Literature.

Supplementary to the literature in � 4, pp. 12 sqq.

I. Manuscript sources preserved in the City Library of Z�rich, which

was founded 1629, and contains c. 132,000 printed vols. and 3,500 MSS.

See Salomon V�gelin: Geschichte der Wasserkirche und der

Stadtbibliothek in Z�rich. Z�rich, 1848 (pp. 110 and 123). The

Wasserkirche (capella aquatica) is traced back to Charles the Great. It

contains also the remains of the lake dwellings. The bronze statue of

Zwingli stands in front of it. The Thesaurus Hottingerianus, a

collection of correspondence made by the theologian, J. H. Hottinger,

55 vols., embraces the whole Bullinger correspondence, which has been

much used, but never published in full.--The Simler Collection of 196

vols. fol., with double index of 62 vols. fol., contains

correspondence, proclamations, pamphlets, official mandates, and other

documents, chronologically arranged, very legible, on good paper.

Johann Jacob Simler (1716-1788), professor and inspector of the

theological college, spent the leisure hours of his whole life in the

collection of papers and documents relating to the history of

Switzerland, especially of the Reformation. This unique collection was

acquired by the government, and presented to the City Library in 1792.

It has often been used, and, though partly depreciated by more recent

discoveries, is still a treasure-house of information. The Bullinger

correspondence is found in the volumes from a.d. 1531-1575.--Acta

Ecclesiastica intermixtis politicis et politico-ecclesiasticis

Manuscripta ex ipsis fontibus hausta in variis fol. Tomis chronologice

pro administratione Antistitii Turicensis in ordinem redacta. 33 vols.

fol. Beautifully written. Comes down to the administration of Antistes

Joh. Jak. Hess (1795-1798). Tom I. extends from 1519-1531; tom. II.

contains a biography of Bullinger, with his likeness, and the acts

during his administration.--The State Archives of the City and Canton

Z�rich.

II. Printed works. Joh. Conr. F�sslin: Beytr�ge zur Erl�uterung der

KirchenReformationsgeschichten des Schweitzerlandes. Z�rich, 1741-1753.

5 Parts. Contains important documents relating to the Reformation in

Z�rich and the Anabaptists, the disputation at Ilanz, etc.--Simler's

Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden. Z�rich, 1760. 2 vols.--Joh. Jak.

Hottinger (Prof. of Theol. and Canon of the Great Minster): Helvetische

Kirchengeschichten vorstellend der Helvetiern ehemaliges Heidenthum,

und durch die Gnade Gottes gefolgtes Christenthum, etc. Z�rich,

1698-1729. 4 Theile 4�. 2d ed. 1737. A work of immense industry, in

opposition to a Roman Catholic work of Caspar Lang (Einsiedeln, 1692).

The third volume goes from 1616 to 1700, the fourth to 1728. Superseded

by Wirz.--Ludwig Wirz: Helvetische Kirchengeschichte. Aus Joh. Jak.

Hottingers �lterem Werke und anderen Quellen neu bearbeitet. Z�rich,

1808-1819. 6 vols. The fifth volume is by Melchior Kirchhofer, who

gives the later history of Zwingli from 1625, and the Reformation in

the other Cantons.--Joh. Jak. Hottinger: Geschichte der Eidgenossen

w�hrend der Zeiten der Kirchentrennung. Z�rich, 1825 and 1829. 2 vols.

This work forms vols. VI. and VII. of Joh. von M�ller's and Robert

Glutz Blotzheim's Geschichten Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft. The

second volume (p. 446 sqq.) treats of the period of Bullinger, and is

drawn in part from the Simler Collection and the Archives of Z�rich.

French translation by L. Vulliemin: Histoire des Suisses � l'�poque de

la R�formation. Paris et Zurich, 1833. 2 vols. G. R. Zimmermann (Pastor

of the Fraum�nster and Decan): Die Z�rcher Kirche von der Reformation

bis zum dritten Reformationsjubil�um (1519-1819) nach der Reihenfolge

der Z�rcherischen Antistes. Z�rich, 1878 (pp. 414). On Bullinger, see

pp. 36-73. Based upon the Acta Ecclesiastica quoted above.--Joh.

Strickler's Actensammlung, previously noticed (p. 13), extends only to

1532.

On the Roman Catholic side comp. Archiv f�r die Schweiz.

Reformationsgesch., noticed above, p. 13. The first volume (1868)

contains Salat's Chronik down to 1534; the second (1872), 135 papal

addresses to the Swiss Diet, mostly of the sixteenth century (from

Martin V. to Clement VIII.), documents referring to 1531, Roman and

Venetian sources on the Swiss Reformation, etc.; vol. III. (1876), a

catalogue of books on Swiss history (7-98), and a number of documents

from the Archives of Luzern and other cities, including three letters

of King Francis I. to the Catholic Cantons, and an account of the

immediate consequences of the War of Cappel by Werner Beyel, at that

time secretary of the city of Z�rich (pp. 641-680).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 54. Heinrich Bullinger. 1504-1575.

I. Sources. Bullinger's printed works (stated to be 150 by Scheuchzer

in "Bibliotheca Helvetica," Z�rich, 1733). His manuscript letters

(mostly Latin) in the "Thesaurus Hottingerianus" and the "Simler

Collection" of the City Library at Z�rich.--The second volume of the

Acta Ecclesiastica, quoted in � 53.--The Z�rich Letters or the

Correspondence of several English Bishops and others with some of the

Helvetian Reformers, chiefly from the Archives Of Zurich, translated

and edited for the "Parker Society" by Dr. Robinson, Cambridge

(University Press), 2d ed. 1846 (pp. 576).

II. Salomon Hess: Leben Bullinger's. Z�rich, 1828-'29, 2 vols. Not very

accurate.--\*Carl Pestalozzi: Heinrich Bullinger. Leben und ausgew�hlte

Schriften. Nach handschriftlichen und gleichzeitigen Quellen.

Elberfeld, 1858. Extracts from his writings, pp. 505-622. Pestalozzi

has faithfully used the written and printed sources in the

Stadtbibliothek and Archives of Z�rich.--R. Christoffel: H. Bullinger

und seine Gattin. 1875.--Justus Heer: Bullinger, in Herzog2, II.

779-794. A good summary.

Older biographical sketches by Ludwig Lavater (1576), Josias Simler

(1575), W. Stucki (1575), etc. Incidental information about Bullinger

in Hagenbach and other works on the Swiss Reformation, and in Meyer's

Die Gemeinde von Locarno, 1836, especially I. 198-216.

After the productive period of the Zwinglian Reformation, which

embraced fifteen years, from 1516 to 1531, followed the period of

preservation and consolidation under difficult circumstances. It

required a man of firm faith, courage, moderation, patience, and

endurance. Such a man was providentially equipped in the person of

Heinrich Bullinger, the pupil, friend, and successor of Zwingli, and

second Antistes of Z�rich. He proved that the Reformation was a work of

God, and, therefore, survived the apparent defeat at Cappel.

He was born July 18, 1504, at Bremgarten in Aargau, the youngest of

five sons of Dean Bullinger, who lived, like many priests of those

days, in illegitimate, yet tolerated, wedlock. [304] The father

resisted the sale of indulgences by Samson in 1518, and confessed, in

his advanced age, from the pulpit, the doctrines of the Reformation

(1529). In consequence of this act he lost his place. Young Henry was

educated in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Emmerich,

and in the University of Cologne. He studied scholastic and patristic

theology. Luther's writings and Melanchthon's Loci led him to the study

of the Bible and prepared him for a change.

He returned to Switzerland as Master of Arts, taught a school in the

Cistercian Convent at Cappel from 1523 to 1529, and reformed the

convent in agreement with the abbot, Wolfgang Joner. During that time

he became acquainted with Zwingli, attended the Conference with the

Anabaptists at Z�rich, 1525, and the disputation at Bern, 1528. He

married Anna Adlischweiler, a former nun, in 1529, who proved to be an

excellent wife and helpmate. He accepted a call to Bremgarten as

successor of his father.

After the disaster at Cappel, he removed to Z�rich, and was unanimously

elected by the Council and the citizens preacher of the Great Minster,

Dec. 9, 1531. It was rumored that Zwingli himself, in the presentiment

of his death, had designated him as his successor. No better man could

have been selected. It was of vital importance for the Swiss churches

that the place of the Reformer should be filled by a man of the same

spirit, but of greater moderation and self-restraint. [305]

Bullinger now assumed the task of saving, purifying, and consolidating

the life-work of Zwingli; and faithfully and successfully did he carry

out this task. When he ascended the pulpit of the Great Minster in Dec.

23, 1531, many hearers thought that Zwingli had risen from the grave.

[306] He took a firm stand for the Reformation, which was in danger of

being abandoned by timid men in the Council. He kept free from

interference with politics, which had proved ruinous to Zwingli. He

established a more independent, though friendly relation between Church

and State. He confined himself to his proper vocation as preacher and

teacher.

In the first years he preached six or seven times a week; after 1542

only twice, on Sundays and Fridays. He followed the plan of Zwingli in

explaining whole books of the Scriptures from the pulpit. His sermons

were simple, clear, and practical, and served as models for young

preachers.

He was a most devoted pastor, dispensing counsel and comfort in every

direction, and exposing even his life during the pestilence which

several times visited Z�rich. His house was open from morning till

night to all who desired his help. He freely dispensed food, clothing,

and money from his scanty income and contributions of friends, to

widows and orphans, to strangers and exiles, not excluding persons of

other creeds. He secured a decent pension for the widow of Zwingli, and

educated two of his children with his own. He entertained persecuted

brethren for weeks and months in his own house, or procured them places

and means of travel. [307]

He paid great attention to education, as superintendent of the schools

in Z�rich. He filled the professorships in the Carolinum with able

theologians, as Pellican, Bibliander, Peter Martyr. He secured a

well-educated ministry. He prepared, in connection with Leo Judae, a

book of church order, which was adopted by the Synod, Oct. 22, 1532,

issued by authority of the burgomaster, the Small and the Great

Council, and continued in force for nearly three hundred years. It

provides the necessary rules for the examination, election, and duties

of ministers (Predicanten) and deans (Decani), for semi-annual meetings

of synods with clerical and lay representatives, and the power of

discipline. The charges were divided into eight districts or chapters.

[308]

Bullinger's activity extended far beyond the limits of Z�rich. He had a

truly Catholic spirit, and stood in correspondence with all the

Reformed Churches. Beza calls him "the common shepherd of all Christian

Churches;" Pellican, "a man of God, endowed with the richest gifts of

heaven for God's honor and the salvation of souls." He received

fugitive Protestants from Italy, France, England, and Germany with open

arms, and made Z�rich an asylum of religious liberty. He thus protected

Celio Secondo Curione, Bernardino Occhino, and Peter Martyr, and the

immigrants from Locarno, and aided in the organization of an Italian

congregation in Z�rich. [309] Following the example of Zwingli and

Calvin, he appealed twice to the king of France for toleration in

behalf of the Huguenots. He dedicated to Henry II. his book on

Christian Perfection (1551), and to Francis II. his Instruction in the

Christian Religion (1559). He sent deputations to the French court for

the protection of the Waldenses, and the Reformed congregation in

Paris.

The extent of Bullinger's correspondence is astonishing. It embraces

letters to and from all the distinguished Protestant divines of his

age, as Calvin, Melanchthon, Bucer, Beza, Laski, Cranmer, Hooper,

Jewel, and crowned heads who consulted him, as Henry VIII., Edward VI.,

of England, Queen Elizabeth, Henry II. of France, King Christian of

Denmark, Philip of Hesse, and the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate.

Bullinger came into contact with the English Reformation from the time

of Henry VIII. to the reign of Elizabeth, especially during the bloody

reign of Mary, when many prominent exiles fled to Z�rich, and found a

fraternal reception under his hospitable roof. The correspondence of

Hooper, Jewel, Sandys, Grindal, Parkhurst, Foxe, Cox, and other church

dignitaries with Bullinger, Gwalter, Gessner, Simler, and Peter Martyr,

is a noble monument of the spiritual harmony between the Reformed

Churches of Switzerland and England in the Edwardian and Elizabethan

era. Archbishop Cranmer invited Bullinger, together with Melanchthon,

Calvin, and Bucer, to a conference in London, for the purpose of

framing an evangelical union creed; and Calvin answered that for such a

cause he would be willing to cross ten seas. Lady Jane Grey, who was

beheaded in 1554, read Bullinger's works, translated his book on

marriage into Greek, consulted him about Hebrew, and addressed him with

filial affection and gratitude. Her three letters to him are still

preserved in Z�rich. Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, who had enjoyed his

hospitality in 1547, addressed him shortly before his martyrdom in

1554, as his "revered father and guide," and the best friend he ever

had, and recommended his wife and two children to his care. Bishop

Jewel, in a letter of May 22, 1559, calls him his "father and much

esteemed master in Christ," thanks him for his "courtesy and kindness,"

which he and his friends experienced during the whole period of their

exile, and informs him that the restoration of the Reformed religion

under Elizabeth was largely due to his own "letters and

recommendations;" adding that the queen refused to be addressed as the

head of the Church of England, feeling that such honor belongs to

Christ alone, and not to any human being. Bullinger's death was

lamented in England as a public calamity. [310]

Bullinger faithfully maintained the doctrine and discipline of the

Reformed Church against the Roman Catholics and Lutherans with

moderation and dignity. He never returned the abuse of fanatics, and

when, in 1548, the Interim drove the Lutheran preachers from the

Swabian cities, he received them hospitably, even those who had

denounced the Reformed doctrines from the pulpit. He represents the

German-Swiss type of the Reformed faith in substantial agreement with a

moderate Calvinism. He gave a full exposition of his theological views

in the Second Helvetic Confession.

His theory of the sacrament was higher than that of Zwingli. He laid

more stress on the objective value of the institution. We recognize, he

wrote to Faber, a mystery in the Lord's Supper; the bread is not common

bread, but venerable, sacred, sacramental bread, the pledge of the

spiritual real presence of Christ to those who believe. As the sun is

in heaven, and yet virtually present on earth with his light and heat,

so Christ sits in heaven, and yet efficaciously works in the hearts of

all believers. When Luther, after Zwingli's death, warned Duke Albert

of Prussia and the people of Frankfort not to tolerate the Zwinglians,

Bullinger replied by sending to the duke a translation of Ratramnus'

tract, De corpore et sanguine Domini, with a preface. He rejected the

Wittenberg Concordia of 1536, because it concealed the Lutheran

doctrine. He answered Luther's atrocious attack on the Zwinglians

(1545) by a clear, strong, and temperate statement; but Luther died

soon afterwards (1546) without retracting his charges. When Westphal

renewed the unfortunate controversy (1552), Bullinger supported Calvin

in defending the Reformed doctrine, but counselled moderation. [311] He

and Calvin brought about a complete agreement on the sacramental

question in the Consensus Tigurinus, which was adopted in 1549 at

Z�rich, in the presence of some members of the Council, and afterwards

received the approval of the other Swiss Reformed churches. [312]

On the doctrine of Predestination, Bullinger did not go quite as far as

Zwingli and Calvin, and kept within the infralapsarian scheme. He

avoided to speak of the predestination of Adam's fall, because it

seemed irreconcilable with the justice of the punishment of sin. [313]

The Consensus Genevensis (1552), which contains Calvin's rigorous view,

was not signed by the pastors of Z�rich. Theodor Bibliander, the father

of biblical exegesis in Switzerland, and a forerunner of Arminianism,

opposed it. He adhered to the semi-Pelagian theory of Erasmus, and was

involved in a controversy with Peter Martyr, who was a strict

Calvinist, and taught in Z�rich since 1556. Bibliander was finally

removed from his theological professorship (Feb. 8, 1560), but his

salary was continued till his death (Nov. 26, 1564). [314]

On the subject of toleration and the punishment of heretics, Bullinger

agreed with the prevailing theory, but favorably differed from the

prevailing practice. He opposed the Anabaptists in his writings, as

much as Zwingli, and, like Melanchthon, he approved of the unfortunate

execution of Servetus, but he himself did not persecute. He tolerated

Laelio Sozini, who quietly died at Z�rich (1562), and Bernardino

Occhino, who preached for some time to the Italian congregation in that

city, but was deposed, without further punishment, for teaching

Unitarian opinions and defending polygamy. In a book against the Roman

Catholic Faber, Bullinger expresses the Christian and humane sentiment

that no violence should be done to dissenters, and that faith is a free

gift of God, which cannot be commanded or forbidden. He agreed with

Zwingli's extension of salvation to all infants dying in infancy and to

elect heathen; at all events, he nowhere dissents from these advanced

views, and published with approbation Zwingli's last work, where they

are most strongly expressed. [315]

Bullinger's house was a happy Christian home. He liked to play with his

numerous children and grandchildren, and to write little verses for

them at Christmas, like Luther. [316]

When his son Henry, in 1553, went to Strassburg, Wittenberg, and Vienna

to prosecute his theological studies, be wrote down for him wise rules

of conduct, of which the following are the most important: 1) Fear God

at all times, and remember that the fear of God is the beginning of

wisdom. 2) Humble yourself before God, and pray to him alone through

Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. 3) Believe firmly that God has

done all for our salvation through his Son. 4) Pray above all things

for strong faith active in love. 5) Pray that God may protect your good

name and keep thee from sin, sickness, and bad company. 6) Pray for the

fatherland, for your dear parents, benefactors, friends, and all men,

for the spread of the Word of God; conclude always with the Lord's

Prayer, and use also the beautiful hymn, Te Deum laudamus [which he

ascribes to Ambrose and Augustin]. 7) Be reticent, be always more

willing to hear than to speak, and do not meddle with things which you

do not understand. 8) Study diligently Hebrew and Greek as well as

Latin, history, philosophy, and the sciences, but especially the New

Testament, and read daily three chapters in the Bible, beginning with

Genesis. 9) Keep your body clean and unspotted, be neat in your dress,

and avoid above all things intemperance in eating and drinking. 10) Let

your conversation be decent, cheerful, moderate, and free from all

uncharitableness. [317] He recommended him to Melanchthon, and followed

his studies with letters full of fatherly care and affection. [318] He

kept his parents with him till their death, the widow of Zwingli (d.

1538), and two of her children, whom he educated with his own.

Notwithstanding his scanty income, he declined all presents, or sent

them to the hospitals. The whole people revered the venerable minister

of noble features and white patriarchal beard.

His last days were clouded, like those of many faithful servants of

God. The excess of work and care undermined his health. In 1562 he

wrote to Fabricius at Coire: "I almost sink under the load of business

and care, and feel so tired that I would ask the Lord to give me rest

if it were not against his will." The pestilence of 1564 and 1565

brought him to the brink of the grave, and deprived him of his wife,

three daughters, and his brother-in-law. He bore these heavy strokes

with Christian resignation. In the same two fatal years he lost his

dearest friends, Calvin, Blaurer, Gessner, Froschauer, Bibliander,

Fabricius, Farel. He recovered, and was allowed to spend several more

years in the service of Christ. His youngest daughter, Dorothea, took

faithful and tender care of his health. He felt lonely and homesick,

but continued to preach and to write with the aid of pastor Lavater,

his colleague and son-in-law. He preached his last sermon on Pentecost,

1575. He assembled, Aug. 26, all the pastors of the city and professors

of theology around his sick-bed, assured them of his perseverance in

the true apostolic and orthodox doctrine, recited the Apostles' Creed,

and exhorted them to purity of life, harmony among themselves, and

obedience to the magistrates. He warned them against intemperance,

envy, and hatred, thanked them for their kindness, assured them of his

love, and closed with a prayer of thanksgiving and some verses of the

hymns of Prudentius. Then he took each by the hand and took leave of

them with tears, as Paul did from the elders at Ephesus. A few weeks

afterwards he died, after reciting several Psalms (51, 16, and 42), the

Lord's Prayer, and other prayers, peacefully, in the presence of his

family, Sept. 17, 1575. He was buried in the Great Minster, at the side

of his beloved wife and his dear friend, Peter Martyr. According to his

wish, Rudolph Gwalter, Zwingli's son-in-law and his adopted son, was

unanimously elected his successor. Four of his successors were trained

under his care and labored in his spirit.

The writings of Bullinger are very numerous, mostly doctrinal and

practical, adapted to the times, but of little permanent value.

Scheuchzer numbers one hundred and fifty printed books of his. The

Z�rich City Library contains about one hundred, exclusive of

translations and new editions. Many are extant only in manuscript. He

wrote Latin commentaries on the New Testament (except the Apocalypse),

numerous sermons on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the Apocalypse. His

Decades (five series of ten sermons each on the Decalogue, the

Apostles' Creed, and the Sacraments) were much esteemed and used in

Holland and England. His work on the justifying grace of God was highly

prized by Melanchthon. His History of the Swiss Reformation, written by

his own hand, in two folio volumes, has been published in 1838-'40, in

three volumes. His most important doctrinal work is the Second Helvetic

Confession, which acquired symbolical authority. [319]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[304] The bishop of Constance allowed priests to keep concubines for an

annual tribute of four Rhenish guilders, called the Hurensold. See

Christoffel, Zwingli, II. 337, and Pestalozzi, p. 5.

[305] Pestalozzi, p. 25: "Zwingli und Bullinger--welche

Verschiedenheit! Zwingli's rasches, feuriges Temperament, Bullinger's

Ruhe und Gelassenheit; Zwingli's schneidender, stechender Witz,

Bullinger's einl�ssliche Gr�ndlichkeit; daher auch Zwingli's K�rze,

Bullinger's Ausf�hrlichkeit in den meisten seiner Arbeiten. Wie

geeignet zur gegenseitigen Erg�nzung!"

[306] "Talem concionem detonavit," wrote Myconius to Schenck, "ut multi

putarent Zwinglium non defunctum, sed ad Phoenicis modum renatum esse."

Hottinger, Helv. K. Gesch. III. 28.

[307] See the beautiful description of Pestalozzi, pp. 153 sqq.

[308] There are copies of several editions of this book in the City

Library at Z�rich, of 1532, 1535, 1563, etc. It is also printed in

Simler's Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden, I. 25-73.

[309] See above, p. 155, and the works of Meyer and M�rikofer quoted

there.

[310] See the letters of Barlow to Simler (Bullinger's son-in-law), and

Bishop Cox to Gwalter, in Z�rich Letters, pp. 494 and 496.

[311] Apologetica Defensio, etc., February, 1556.

[312] Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 471 sqq., and the literature

there quoted.

[313] In the Second Helvetic Confession, ch. VIII., he dismisses the

curious questions,"whether God would have Adam fall, or whether he

forced him to fall, or why he did not hinder his fall, and such like,"

and says that it is sufficient to know that God did forbid our first

parents to eat of the fruit, and punished them for disobedience.

[314] A fuller statement in Schaff, Creeds, I. 474 sqq., and especially

Schweizer, Central-dogmen, I. 139, 258-292.

[315] See above, p. 177 sq.

[316] Some of these verses are still remembered in Switzerland.

Specimens in Pestalozzi, 315 sqq.

[317] Pestalozzi, 588 sqq.

[318] The letters, pp. 695-617, are quite interesting. Henry became

pastor at Zollikon, and afterwards of St. Peter at Z�rich. He married a

daughter of Gwalter, who was a granddaughter of Zwingli.

[319] Extracts from Bullinger's Works are given by Pestalozzi, 505-622.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 55. Antistes Breitinger (1575-1645).

In the same year in which Bullinger died (1575), Johann Jakob

Breitinger was born, who became his worthy successor as Antistes of

Z�rich (1613-1645). [320] He called him a saint, and followed his

example. He was one of the most eminent Reformed divines of his age.

Thoroughly trained in the universities of Herborn, Marburg, Franeker,

Heidelberg, and Basel, he gained the esteem and affection of his

fellow-citizens as teacher, preacher, and devoted pastor. During the

fearful pestilence of 1611 he visited the sick from morning till night

at the risk of his life.

He attended as one of the Swiss delegates the Synod of Dort (1618 and

1619). He was deeply impressed with the learning, wisdom, and piety of

that body, and fully agreed with its unjust and intolerant treatment of

the Arminians. [321] On his return (May 21, 1619) he was welcomed by

sixty-four Z�richers, who rode to the borders of the Rhine to meet him.

Yet, with all his firmness of conviction, he was opposed to

confessional polemics in an intensely polemic age, and admired the good

traits in other churches and sects, even the Jesuits. He combined with

strict orthodoxy a cheerful temper, a generous heart, and active piety.

He had an open ear for appeals from the poor and the numerous sufferers

in the murder of the Valtellina (1620) and during the Thirty Years'

War. At his request, hospitals and orphan houses were founded and

collections raised, which in the Minster alone, during eight years

(1618-1628), exceeded fifty thousand pounds. He was in every way a

model pastor, model churchman, and model statesman. Although be towered

high above his colleagues, he disarmed envy and jealousy by his

kindliness and Christian humility. Altogether he shines next to Zwingli

and Bullinger as the most influential and useful Antistes of the

Reformed Church of Z�rich. [322]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[320] The immediate successors of Bullinger were Gwalter, Zwingli's

son-in-law (1575-1586), Lavater (1585-1586), Stumpf (1582-1592),

Leemann (1592-1613).

[321] Comp. Schweizer, Centraldogmen, II. 26, 116 sq., 140 sq., 143.

[322] J. C. M�rikofer (author of the Life of Zwingli), Johann Jakob

Breitinger Leipzig, 1873. Karl Meyer, in Herzog2, II. 597.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 56. Oswald Myconius, Antistes of Basel.

I. Correspondence between Myconius and Zwingli in Zwingli's Opera,

vols. VII. and VIII. (28 letters of the former and 20 of the

latter).--Correspondence with Bullinger in the Simler

Collection.--Antiqu. Gernl., I. The Chronicle of Fridolin Ryff, ed. by

W. Vischer (son), in the Basler Chroniken (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1872),

extends from 1514 to 1541.

II. Melchior Kirchofer (of Schaffhausen): Oswald Myconius, Antistes der

Baslerischen Kirche. Z�rich, 1813 (pp. 387). Still very

serviceable.--R. Hagenbach: Joh. Oecolampad und Oswald Myronius, die

Reformatoren Basels. Elberfeld, 1859 (pp. 309-462). Also his Geschichte

der ersten Basler Confession. Basel, 1828.--B. Riggenbach, in Herzog2,

X. 403-405.

Oswald Myconius (1488-1552), [323] a native of Luzern, an intimate

friend of Zwingli, and successor of Oecolampadius, was to the Church of

Basel what Bullinger was to the Church of Z�rich,--a faithful preserver

of the Reformed religion, but in a less difficult position and more

limited sphere of usefulness. He spent his earlier life as classical

teacher in Basel, Z�rich, Luzern, Einsiedeln, and again in Z�rich. His

pupil, Thomas Plater, speaks highly of his teaching ability and

success. Erasmus honored him with his friendship before he fell out

with the Reformation. [324]

After the death of Zwingli and Oecolampadius, he moved to Basel as

pastor of St. Alban (Dec. 22, 1531), and was elected Antistes or chief

pastor of the Church of that city, and professor of New Testament

exegesis in the university (August, 1532). He was not ordained, and had

no academic degree, and refused to take one because Christ had

forbidden his disciples to be called Rabbi (Matt. 23:8). [325] He

carried out the views of Oecolampadius on discipline, and maintained

the independence of the Church in its relation to the State and the

university. He had to suffer much opposition from Carlstadt, who, by

his recommendation, became professor of theology in Basel (1534), and

ended there his restless life (1541). He took special interest in the

higher and lower schools. He showed hospitality to the numerous

Protestants from France who, like Farel and Calvin, sought a temporary

refuge in Basel. The English martyrologist, John Foxe, fled from the

Marian persecution to Basel, finished and published there the first

edition of his Book of Martyrs (1554).

On the doctrine of the Eucharist, Myconius, like Calvin after him,

occupied a middle ground between Zwingli and Luther. He aided Bucer in

his union movement which resulted in the adoption of the Wittenberg

Concordia and a temporary conciliation of Luther with the Swiss (1536).

He was suspected by the Z�richers of leaning too much to the Lutheran

side, but he never admitted the corporal presence and oral manducation;

he simply emphasized more than Zwingli the spiritual real presence and

fruition of the body and blood of Christ. He thought that Luther and

Zwingli had misunderstood each other. [326]

Myconius matured, on the basis of a draft of Oecolampadius, the First

Basel Confession of Faith, which was adopted by the magistracy, Jan.

21, 1534, and also by the neighboring city of M�hlhausen. [327] It is

very simple, and consists of twelve Articles, on God (the trinity),

man, providence, Christ, the Church and sacraments, the Lord's Supper,

the ban, the civil government, faith and good works, the last judgment,

feasts, fasts, and celibacy, and the Anabaptists (condemning their

views on infant baptism, the oath, and civil government). It is written

in Swiss-German, with marginal Scripture references and notes. It

claims no infallibility or binding authority, and concludes with the

words: "We submit this our confession to the judgment of the divine

Scriptures, and are always ready, if we can be better informed from

them, very thankfully to obey God and his holy Word."

This Confession was superseded by maturer statements of the Reformed

faith, but retained a semi-symbolical authority in the Church of Basel,

as a venerable historical document.

Myconius wrote the first biography of Zwingli in twelve, short chapters

(1532). [328] His other writings are not important. [329]

One of his most influential successors was Lukas Gernler, who presided

as Antistes over the Church of Basel from 1656 to 1675. He formulated

the scholastic system of Calvinism, with many subtle definitions and

distinctions, in a Syllabus of 588 Theses. In connection with John

Henry Heidegger of Z�rich and the elder Turretin of Geneva, he prepared

the Helvetic Consensus Formula, the last and the most rigid of

Calvinistic symbols (1675). He was the last representative of strict

Calvinistic orthodoxy in Basel. He combined with an intolerant creed a

benevolent heart, and induced the magistracy of Basel to found an

orphan asylum. The famous Hebrew and Talmudic scholars, John Buxtorf

(1564-1629), his son, John (1599-1664), and his grandson, John Jacob

(1645-1704), who adorned the university of Basel in the seventeenth

century, fully agreed with the doctrinal position of Gernler, and

defended even the rabbinical tradition of the literal inspiration of

the Masoretic text against Louis Cappel, who attacked it with great

learning (1650). [330]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[323] His proper name was Geissh�ssler. He is to be distinguished from

Friedrich Myconius (Mecum), who was a friend of Luther and

superintendent of Gotha (d. 1546).

[324] ln a letter of Oct. 5, 1532, Erasmus called Myconius a "homo

ineptus et quondam ludimagister frigidus." Epist. 1233. See Hagenbach.

Oekol. tend Mycon., p. 329 sq. and 339, where he remarks: "Und doch

hatte Erasmus diesen Einfaltspinsel von Schulmeister fr�her seines

Umgangs gew�rdigt und ihn vor Vielen ausgezeichnet! Aber der gr�mliche

Mann war jetzt gegen alles erbittert, was mit der von ihm verkannten

und gehassten Reformation in Verbindung stand und glaubte sich, vom

alten Ruhme seines Namens zehrend, berechtigt, seinem Unwillen jeden

beliebigen Ausdruck zu geben."

[325] Hagenbach (341): "Myconius hatte keine kirchliche Ordination

erhalten, noch viel weniger etwas von dem was man einen akademischen

Grad nennt. Er war weder Baccalaureus, noch Licentiat, noch Magister,

noch Doctor geworden." Luther was proud to be a doctor of divinity; but

Melanchthon and Zwingli were satisfied with their M. A. Calvin, like

Myconius, was never ordained, as far as we know, although he was

intended for the priesthood.

[326] Hagenbach (359): "Was Zwingli verneint hatte, das verneinte auch

er [Myconius] fortw�hrend. Nie h�tte er zugegeben, dass Leib und Blut

Christi ihrer leiblichen Substanz nach in den Elementen des Abendmahls

vorhanden seien; nie zugegeben, dass sie auch von den Ungl�ubigen

genossen werden. Was dagegen Zwingli mehr zugegeben, als in den

Vordergrund gestellt hatte, den geistlichen Genuss durch den Glauben,

das hob er mit Nachdruck hervor. Mit gutem Gewissen glaubte er in den

Fusstapfen seines Meisters fortzuwandeln, der so redlich und tapfer in

Marburg die Hand zum Frieden geboten hatte."

[327] Bekanthnuss unseres heyl. christenlichen Gloubens, wie es die

Kylch von Basel haldt; also called Confessio M�hlhusana. In Niemeyer's

Collectio Confess., 78-84; and in Hagenbach's biography at the end, pp.

465-476. Comp. also his History of that Confession, and Schaff, Creeds,

I. 387 sq.

[328] It was reprinted at Berlin, 1841, in Vit�Quatuor Reformatorum,

with a Preface of Neander.

[329] See extracts in Hagenbach's biography, pp. 387-462.

[330] See Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 477 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 57. The Helvetic Confessions of Faith.

Niemeyer: Collectio Confess. (Hall. 1840), pp. 105-122 (Conf. Helv.

prior, German and Latin), and 462-536 (Conf. Helv. posterior).--Schaff:

Creeds of Christendom (New York, 6th ed. 1890), vol. I. 388-420

(history); III. 211-307 (First and Second Helv. Conf.), 831-909 (Second

Helv. Conf. in English). Other literature quoted by Schaff, I. 385 and

399.

Bullinger and Myconius authoritatively formulated the doctrines of the

Reformed Churches in Switzerland, and impressed upon them a strongly

evangelical character, without the scholastic subtleties of a later

period.

The Sixty-seven Conclusions and the two private Confessions of Zwingli

(to Charles V., and Francis I.) were not intended to be used as public

creeds, and never received the sanction of the Church. The Ten Theses

of Bern (1528), the First Confession of Basel (1534), the Z�rich

Consensus (1549), and the Geneva Consensus (1552) were official

documents, but had only local authority in the cities where they

originated. But the First and Second Helvetic Confessions were adopted

by the Swiss and other Churches, and kept their place as symbolical

books for nearly three hundred years. They represent the Zwinglian type

of doctrine modified and matured. They approach the Calvinistic system,

without its logical rigor.

I. The First Helvetic Confession, 1536. It is also called the Second

Basel Confession, to distinguish it from the First Basel Confession of

1534. It was made in Basel, but not for Basel alone. It owes its origin

partly to the renewed efforts of the Strassburg Reformers, Bucer and

Capito, to bring about a union between the Lutherans and the

Zwinglians, and partly to the papal promise of convening a General

Council. A number of Swiss divines were delegated by the magistrates of

Z�rich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, M�hlhausen, and Biel, to a

conference in the Augustinian convent at Basel, Jan. 30, 1536. Bucer

and Capito also appeared on behalf of Strassburg. Bullinger, Myconius,

Grynaeus, Leo Judae, and Megander were selected as a commission to draw

up a Confession of the faith of the Helvetic Churches, which might be

used at the proposed General Council. It was examined and signed by all

the clerical and lay delegates, February, 1536, and first published in

Latin. Leo Judae prepared the German translation, which is fuller than

the Latin text, and of equal authority.

Luther, to whom a copy was sent through Bucer, unexpectedly expressed,

in two remarkable letters, [331] his satisfaction with the earnest

Christian character of this document, and promised to do all he could

to promote union and harmony with the Swiss. He was then under the

hopeful impressions of the "Wittenberg Concordia," which Bucer had

brought about by his elastic diplomacy, May, 1536, but which proved,

after all, a hollow peace, and could not be honestly signed by the

Swiss. Luther himself made a new and most intemperate attack on the

Zwinglians (1545), a year before his death.

The First Helvetic Confession is the earliest Reformed Creed that has

acquired a national authority. It consists of 27 articles, is fuller

than the First Confession of Basel, but not so full as the Second

Helvetic Confession, by which it was afterwards superseded. The

doctrine of the sacraments and of the Lord's Supper is essentially

Zwinglian, yet emphasizes the significance of the sacramental signs and

the real spiritual presence of Christ, who gives his body and

blood--that is, himself--to believers, so that he more and more lives

in them, and they in him.

Bullinger and Leo Judae wished to add a caution against the binding

authority of this or any other confession that might interfere with the

supreme authority of the Word of God and with Christian liberty. They

had a correct feeling of a difference between a confession of doctrine

which may be improved from time to time with the progress of religious

knowledge, and a rule of faith which remains unchanged. A confession of

the Church has relative authority as norma normata, and depends upon

its agreement with the Holy Scriptures, which have absolute authority

as norma normans.

II. The Second Helvetic Confession, 1566. This is far more important

than the first, and obtained authority beyond the limits of

Switzerland. In the intervening thirty years Calvin had developed his

theological system, and the Council of Trent had formulated the modern

Roman creed. Bullinger prepared this Confession in 1562 for his private

use, as a testimony of the faith in which he had lived and wished to

die. Two years afterwards, during the raging of the pestilence, he

elaborated it more fully, in the daily expectation of death, and added

it to his last will and testament, which was to be delivered to the

magistracy of Z�rich after his decease.

But events in Germany gave to this private creed a public character.

The pious elector of the Palatinate, Frederick III., being threatened

by the Lutherans with exclusion from the treaty of peace on account of

his secession to the Reformed Church and the publication of the

Heidelberg Catechism (1563), requested Bullinger in 1565 to prepare a

full and clear exposition of the Reformed faith, that he might answer

the charges of heresy and dissension so constantly brought against the

same. Bullinger sent him a manuscript copy of his confession. The

Elector was so much pleased with it that he desired to have it

translated and published in Latin and German before the Imperial Diet,

which was to assemble at Augsburg in 1566 and to act on his alleged

apostasy,

In the meantime the Swiss felt the need of such a Confession as a

closer bond of union. The First Helvetic Confession was deemed too

short, and the Z�rich Consensus of 1549 and the Geneva Consensus of

1552 treated only two articles, namely, the Lord's Supper and

predestination. Conferences were held, and Beza came in person to

Z�rich to take part in the work. Bullinger freely consented to a few

changes, and prepared also the German version. Geneva, Bern,

Schaffhausen, Biel, the Grisons, St. Gall, and M�hlhausen expressed

their agreement. Basel alone, which had its own confession, declined

for a long time, but ultimately acceded.

The new Confession was published at Z�rich, March 12, 1566, in both

languages, at public expense, and was forwarded to the Elector of the

Palatinate and to Philip of Hesse. A French translation appeared soon

afterwards in Geneva under the care of Beza.

In the same year the Elector Frederick made such a manly and noble

defence of his faith before the Diet at Augsburg, that even his

Lutheran opponents were filled with admiration for his piety, and

thought no longer of impeaching him for heresy.

The Helvetic Confession is the most widely adopted, and hence the most

authoritative of all the Continental Reformed symbols, with the

exception of the Heidelberg Catechism. It was sanctioned in Z�rich and

the Palatinate (1566), Neuch�tel (1568), by the Reformed Churches of

France (at the Synod of La Rochelle, 1571), Hungary (at the Synod of

Debreczin, 1567), and Poland (1571 and 1578). It was well received also

in Holland, England, and Scotland as a sound statement of the Reformed

faith. It was translated not only into German, French, and English, but

also into Dutch, Magyar, Polish, Italian, Arabic, and Turkish. In

Austria and Bohemia the Reformed or Calvinists are officially called

"the Church of the Helvetic Confession," "the Lutherans, the Church of

the Augsburg Confession."

THIRD BOOK.

THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND

or

THE CALVINISTIC MOVEMENT.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[331] One to Jacob Meyer, burgomaster of Basel, Feb. 17, 1537, one to

the Swiss Reformed Cantons, Dec. 1, 1537, in De Wette's ed., vol. V. 54

sqq. and 83 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VII.

THE PREPARATORY WORK. FROM 1526 TO 1536.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 58. Literature on Calvin and the Reformation in French Switzerland.

Important documents relating to the Reformation in French Switzerland

are contained in the Archives of Geneva and Bern. Many documents have

been recently published by learned Genevese archaeologists, as Galiffe,

father and son, Gr�nus, Revilliod, E. Mallet, Chaponni�re, Fick, and

the Society of History and Archaeology of Geneva.

The best Calvin libraries are in the University of Geneva, where his

MSS. are preserved in excellent order, and in the St. Thomasstift at

Strassburg. The latter was collected by Profs. Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss,

the editors of Calvin's Works, during half a century, and embraces 274

publications of the Reformer (among them 36 Latin and 18 French

editions of the Institutio), many rare contemporary works, and 700

modern books bearing upon Calvin and his Reformation. The Society of

the History of French Protestantism in Paris (64 rue des saints p�res)

has a large collection of printed works.

I. Correspondence of the Swiss Reformers and their Friends.

Letters took to a large extent the place of modern newspapers and

pamphlets; hence their large number and importance.

\*A. S. Herminjard: Correspondance des r�formateurs dans les pays de

langue fran�aise, etc. Gen�ve et Paris (Fischbacher, 33 rue de Seine),

1866-'86, 7 vols. To be continued. The most complete collection of

letters of the Reformers of French Switzerland and their friends, with

historical and biographical notes. The editor shows an extraordinary

familiarity with the history of the French and Swiss Reformation. The

first three volumes embrace the period from 1512 to 1536; vols.

IV.-VII. extend from 1536 to 1642, or from the publication of Calvin's

Institutes to the acceptance of the ecclesiastical ordinances at

Geneva. For the following years to the death of Calvin (1564) we have

the correspondence in the Strassburg-Brunswick edition of Calvin's

works, vols. X.-XX. See below.

II. The History of Geneva before, during, and after the Reformation:

Jac. Spon: Histoire de la ville et de l'�tat de Gen�ve. Lyon, 1680, 2

vols.: revised and enlarged by J. A. Gautier, Gen�ve, 1730, 2 vols.

J. P. B�renger: Histoire de Gen�ve jusqu'en 1761. Gen�ve. 1772, 6 vols

(Gr�nus) Fragments biographiques et historiques extraits des registres

de Gen�ve. Gen�ve, 1815.

M�moires et Documents publi�s par la Soci�t� d'histoire et

d'arch�ologie de Gen�ve. 1840 sqq., vol. I.-XIV.

Francois Bonivard: Les chroniques de Gen�ve. Publi�s par G. Revilliod.

Gen�ve, 1867, 2 vols.

\*Am�d�e Roget (Professor at the University of Geneva, d. Sept. 29,

1883): Histoire du peuple de Gen�ve depuis la r�forme jusqu'�

l'escalade. Gen�ve, 1870-'83. 7 vols. From 1536 to 1567. The work was

to extend to 1602, but was interrupted by the death of the author.

Impartial. The best history of Geneva during the Reformation period.

The author was neither a eulogist nor a detractor of Calvin.--By the

same: L'�glise et l'�tat � Gen�ve du vivant de Calvin. Gen�ve, 1867

(pp. 91).

Jacq. Aug. Galiffe: Mat�riaux pour l'histoire de Gen�ve. Gen�ve, 1829

and '30, 2 vols. 8�; Notices g�n�alogiques sur les familles genevoises,

Gen�ve, 1829, 4 vols.--J. B. G. Galiffe (son of the former, and

Professor of the Academy of Geneva): Besan�on Hugues, lib�rateur de

Gen�ve. Historique de la fondation de l'independance Genevoise, Gen�ve,

1859 (pp. 330); Gen�ve historique et arch�ol., Gen�ve, 1869; Quelques

pages d'histoire exacte, soit les proc�s criminels intent�s � Gen�ve en

1547, pour haute trahison contre noble Ami Perrin, ancien syndic,

conseiller et capitaine-g�n�ral de la republique, et contre son

accusateur noble Laurent Meigret dit le Magnifique, Gen�ve, 1862 (135

pp. 4�); Nouvelles pages d'histoire exacte soit le proc�s de Pierre

Ameaux, Gen�ve, 1863 (116 pp. 4�). The Galiffes, father and son,

descended from an old Genevese family, are Protestants, but very

hostile to Calvin and his institutions, chiefly from the political

point of view. They maintain, on the ground of family papers and the

acts of criminal processes, that Geneva was independent and free before

Calvin, and that he introduced a system of despotism. "La plupart des

faits racont�s par le medecin Lyonnais" (Bolsec), says the elder

Galiffe (Notices g�n�alogiques, III. 547), "sont parfaitement vrais."

He judges Calvin by the modem theory of toleration which Calvin and

Beza with their whole age detested. "Les v�ritable protestants

genevois," he says, "� taient ceux qui voulaient que chacun - libre d

penser ce que so raison lui inspirait, et de ne faire que ce qu'elle

approuvait; mais que personne ne se permit d'attaquer la religion de

son prochain, de se moquer de sa croyance, u de le scandaliser par des

\_onstrations malicieuses et par des fanfaronnades de su\_iori�qui ne

prouvent que la fatui�ridicule de ceux qui se nomment les\_us." The

Galiffes sympathize with Ami Perrin, Fran�ois Favre, Jean Philippe,

Jean Lullin, Pierre Vandel, Michael Servet, and all others who were

opposed to Calvin. For a fair criticism of the works of the Galiffes,

seeLaFrance Protestante, II. 767 sqq., 2d ed.

III. The Reformers Before Calvin:

\*Le Chroniqueur. Recueil historique, et journal de l'Helvetie romande,

en l'an 1535 et en l'an 1536. Edited by L. Vulliemin, 1835. Lausanne

(Marc Duclos), 326 pp. 4�. Descriptions and reprints of documents

relating to the religious condition in those two years, in the form of

a contemporary journal.

Melchior Kirchhofer (of Schaffhausen, 1773-1853). Das Leben Wilhelm

Farels aus den Quellen bearbeitet. Z�rich, 1831 and '33, 2 vols. (pp.

251 and 190, no index). Very good for that time. He also wrote

biographies of Haller, Hofmeister, Myconius.

C. Chenevi�re: Farel, Froment, Viret, r�formateurs relig. Gen�ve, 1835.

H. Jaquemot: Viret, r�formateur de Lausanne. Strassburg, 1856.

F. Godet (Professor and Pastor in Neuchatel): Histoire de la

r�formation et du refuge dans le pays de Neuchatel. Neuchatel, 1859

(209 pp.). Chiefly devoted to the labors of Farel, but carries the

history down to the immigration of French refugees after the Revocation

of the Edict of Nantes.

C. Schmidt (of Strassburg): Wilhelm Farel und Peter Viret. Nach

handschriftlichen und gleichzeitigen Quellen. Elberfeld, 1860. (In vol.

IX. of the "Leben und ausgew�hlte Schriften der V�ter der reform.

Kirche.")

T. Cart: Pierre Viret, le r�formateur vaudois. Lausanne, 1864.

C. Junod: Farel, r�formateur de la Swisse romande et r�formateur de

l'�glise de Neuchatel. Neuchatel et Paris, 1865.

IV. Works and Correspondence of John Calvin:

Joh. Calvini: Opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E.

Reuss, theologi Argentoratenses. Brunsvigae, 1863 sqq. (in the Corp.

Reform.). So far (1892) 48 vols. 4�. The most complete and most

critical edition. The three editors died before the completion of their

work, but left material for the remaining volumes (vols. 45 sqq.) which

are edited by Alf. Erichson.

Older Latin edd., Geneva, 1617, 7 vols. folio, and Amstelod., 1667-'71,

in 9 vols. folio. Separate Latin editions of the Institutes, by Tholuck

(Berlin, 1834 and '46), and of the Commentaries on Genesis by

Hengstenberg (Berlin, 1838), on the Psalms (Berlin, 1830-'34), and the

New Testament, except the Apocalypse (1833-'38, in 7 vols.), by

Tholuck. The same books have also been separately republished in

French.

An English edition of Calvin's Works, by the "Calvin Translation

Society," Edinburgh, 1843-'53, in 52 vols. The Institutes have been

translated by Allen (London, 1813, often reprinted by the Presbyterian

Board of Publication in Philadelphia), and by Henry Beveridge

(Edinburgh, 1846). German translations of his Institutes by Fr. Ad.

Krummacher (1834) and by B. Spiess (the first edition of 1536,

Wiesbaden, 1887), and of parts of his Comment., by C. F. L. Matthieu

(1859 sqq.).

The extensive correspondence of Calvin was first edited in part by Beza

and Jonvilliers (Calvin's secretary), Genevae, 1575, and other

editions; then by Bretschneider (the Gotha Letters), Lips. 1835; by A.

Crottet, Gen�ve, 1850; much more completely By JULES BONNET, Lettres

Fran�aises, Paris, 1854, 2 vols.; an English translation (from the

French and Latin) by D. Constable and M. R. Gilchrist, Edinburgh and

Philadelphia (Presbyterian Board of Publication), 1855 sqq., in 4 vols.

(the fourth with an index), giving the letters in chronological order

(till 1558). The last and best edition is by the Strassburg Professors

in Calvini Opera, vol. X. Part II. to vol. XX., with ample Prolegomena

on the various editions of Calvin's Letters and the manuscript sources.

His letters down to 1542 are also given by Herminjard, vols. VI. and

VII., quoted above.

V. Biographies of Calvin:

\*Theodor Beza (d. 1605): Johannis Calvini Vita. First published with

Calvin's posthumous Commentary on Joshua, in the year of his death. It

is reprinted in all editions of Calvin's works, and in Tholuck's

edition of Calvin's Commentary on the Gospels. In the same year Beza

published a French edition under the title, L'Histoire de la vie et

mort de Maistre Jean Calvin avec le testament et derniere volont� dudit

Calvin: et le catalogue des livres par luy composez. Gen�ve, 1564;

second French edition, enlarged and improved by his friend and

colleague, Nic. Colladon, 1565; best edition, Geneva, 1657 (very rare,

204 pp.), which has been carefully republished from a copy in the

Mazarin library, with an introduction and notes by Alfred Franklin,

Paris, 1869 (pp. lxi and 294). This edition should be consulted. The

three biographies of Beza (two French and one Latin) are reprinted in

the Brunswick edition of Calvin's Opera with a notice litt�raire, Tom.

XXI. pp. 6-172, to which are added the Epitaphia in lo. Calvinum

scripta (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French). There are also German,

English, and Italian translations of this biography. An English

translation by Francis Sibson of Trinity College, Dublin, reprinted in

Philadelphia, 1836; another by Beveridge, Edinburgh, 1843.

The biography of Beza as enlarged by Colladon, though somewhat

eulogistic, and especially Calvin's letters and works, and the letters

of his friends who knew him best, furnish the chief material for an

authentic biography.

Hierosme Hermes Bolsec: Histoire de la vie, moeurs, actes, doctrine,

constance et mort de Jean Calvin, jadis ministre de Gen�ve, d�di� au

Reverendissime archeuesque, conte de l'�glise de Lyon, et Primat de

France, Lyon, 1577 (26 chs. and 143 pp.); republished at Paris, 1582;

and with an introduction and notes by L. Fr. Chastel, Lyon, 1875 (pp.

xxxi and 328). I have used Chastel's edition. A Latin translation, De

J. Calvini magni quondam Genevensium ministri vita, moribus, rebus

gestis, studiis ac denique morte, appeared in Paris, 1577, also at

Cologne, 1580; a German translation at Cologne, 1581. Bolsec was a

Carmelite monk, then physician at Geneva, expelled on account of

Pelagian views and opposition to Calvin, 1551; returned to the Roman

Church; d. at Annecy about 1584. His book is a mean and unscrupulous

libel, inspired by feelings of hatred and revenge; but some of his

facts are true, and have been confirmed by the documents published by

Galiffe. Bolsec wrote a similar biography of Beza: Histoire de la vie,

moeurs, doctrine et d�portments de Th. de B�ze dit le Spectable, 1582.

A French writer says, "Ces biographies sont un tissu de calomnies qu'

aucun historien s�rieux, pas m�me le P. Maimbourg, n'a os� admettre et

dont plus r�cemment M. Mignet a fait bonne justice." (A. R�ville in

Lichtenberger's "Encycl.," II. 343.) Comp. the article "Bolsec" in La

France Protestante, 2d ed. (1879), II. 745-776.

Antibolseccus. Cleve, 1622. Of this book I find only the title.

Jacques Le Vasseur (canon and dean of the Church of Noyon): Annales de

l'eglise cath�drale de Noyon. Paris, 1633, 2 vols. 4�. Contains some

notices on the birth and relations of Calvin.

Jacques Desmay (R. C.): Remarques sur la vie de J. Calvin h�r�siarque

tir�es des Registres de Noyon. Rouen, 1621 and 1657.

Charles Drelincourt (pastor at Charenton): La d�fense de Calvin contre

l'outrage fait � sa m�moire. Gen�ve, 1667; in German, Hanau, 1671. A

refutation of the slanders of Bolsec and a posthumous book of Cardinal

Richelieu on the easiest and surest method of conversion of those who

separated themselves from the Roman Church. Bayle gives an epitome in

his Dictionnaire.

Melchior Adam: Vita Calvini, in his Vitae Theologorum, etc. 3d ed.

Francof., 1705 (Part II., Decades duae, etc., pp. 32-55). Chiefly from

Beza.

Elijah Waterman (pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Bridgeport,

Conn.) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Calvin: together with a

selection of Letters written by him and other distinguished Reformers.

Hartford, 1813.

Vincent Audin (R. C., 1793-1851): Histoire de la vie, des ouvrages et

des doctrines de Calvin. Paris, 1841, 2 vols.; 5th ed. 1851; 6th ed.

1873. English translation by John McGill; German translation, 1843.

Written like a novel, with a deceptive mixture of truth and falsehood.

It is a Bolsec redivivus. Audin says that he first cast away the book

of Bolsec "as a shameful libel. All testimony was against Bolsec:

Catholics and Protestants equally accused him. But, after a patient

study of the reformer, we are now compelled to admit, in part, the

recital of the physician of Lyon. Time has declared for Bolsec; each

day gives the lie to the apologists of Calvin." He boasts of having

consulted more than a thousand volumes on Calvin, but betrays his

polemical bias by confessing that he "desired to prove that the refugee

of Noyon was fatal to civilization, to the arts, and to civil and

religious liberty." Audin wrote in the same spirit the history of

Luther (1839, 3 vols.), Henry VIII. (1847), and Leo X. (1851). His work

is disowned and virtually refuted by fair-minded Catholics like

Kampschulte, Cornelius, and Funk.

\*Paul Henry, D. D. (pastor of a French Reformed Church in Berlin): Das

Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators, etc. (dedicated to

Neander). Hamburg, 1835-44, 3 vols. English translation (but without

the notes and appendices, and differing from the author on the case of

Servetus) by Henry Stebbing, London and New York, 1851, in 2 vols. This

large work marks an epoch as an industrious collection of valuable

material, but is ill digested, and written with unbounded admiration

for Calvin. Henry wrote also, in opposition to Audin and Galiffe, an

abridged Leben Johann Calvin's. Ein Zeugniss f�r die Wahrheit. Hamburg

and Gotha, 1846 (pp. 498).

Thomas Smyth, D. D.: Calvin and his Enemies. 1843; new ed. Philadelphia

(Presbyterian Board of Publication), 1856, and again 1881. Apologetic.

Thomas H. Dyer: The Life of John Calvin. London (John Murray), 1850,

pp. 560 (republished, New York, 1851). Graphic and impartial, founded

upon Calvin's correspondence, Henry, and Trechsel (Antitrinitarier).

Felix Bungener: Calvin, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses �crits. Paris, 2d

ed. 1863 (pp. 468). English translation, Edinburgh, 1863.

\*E. St�helin (Reformed minister at Basel): Johannes Calvin; Leben und

ausgew�hlte Schriften. Elberfeld, 1863, 2 vols. (in "V�ter und

Begr�nder der reform. Kirche," vol. IV. in two parts). One of the best

biographies, though not as complete as Henry's, and in need of

modification and additions from more recent researches.

Paul Pressel (Luth.): Johann Calvin. Ein evangelisches Lebensbild.

Elberfeld, 1864 (pp. 263). For the tercentenary of Calvin's death (May

27, 1864). Based upon St�helin, Henry, Mignet, and Bonnet's edition of

Calvin's letters.

Albert Rilliet: Bibliographie de la vie de Calvin. "Correspond.

litteraire." Paris, 1864. La premier s�jour de Calvin � Gen�ve. Gen.

1878.

\*Guizot (the great historian and statesman, a descendant of the

Huguenots, d. at Val Richer, Sept. 12, 1874): St. Louis and Calvin.

London, 1868. Comp. also his sketch in the Mus�e des protestants

c�l�bres.

\*F. W. Kampschulte (a liberal Roman Catholic, Professor of History at

Bonn, died an Old Catholic, 1872): Joh. Calvin, seine Kirche und sein

Staat in Genf. Leipzig, 1869, vol. I. (vols. II. and III. have not

appeared). A most able, critical, and, for a Catholic, remarkably fair

and liberal work, drawn in part from unpublished sources.--In the same

spirit of fairness, Prof. Funk of T�bingen wrote an article on Calvin

in the 2d ed. of Wetzer and Welte's Catholic Kirchenlexicon, II.

1727-1744.

Thomas M'Crie, D. D.: The Early Years of John Calvin. A Fragment,

1509-1536. A posthumous work, edited by William Ferguson. Edinburgh,

1880 (pp. 199). Valuable as far as it goes.

Art. "Calvin" in La France Protestante, Paris, 2d ed. vol. III. (1881),

508-639.

Abel Lefranc: La jeunesse de Calvin. Paris, 1888 (pp. 229). The author

brings to light new facts on the extent of the Protestant movement at

Noyon.--Comp. his Histoire de la Ville de Noyon et de ses institutions.

Paris, 1888.

Annales Calviniani by the editors of the Brunswick edition of Calvin's

Opera. Tom. XXI. 183-818. From 1509 to 1572. Invaluable for reference.

VI. Biographical Sketches and Essays on Special Points Connected with

Calvin:

Fr. Aug. Alex. Mignet (eminent French historian and academician,

1796-1884): M�moire sur l'�tablissement de la r�forme et sur la

constitution du Calvinisme � Gen�ve. Paris, 1834. The same in German,

Leipzig, 1843.

G. Weber: Geschichtliche Darstellung des Calvinismus im Verh�ltniss zum

Staat in Genf und Frankreich bis zur Aufhebung des Edikts von Nantes.

Heidelberg, 1836 (pp. 372).

\* J. J. Herzog: Joh. Calvin, Basel, 1843; and in his Real-Encyklop.2

vol. III. 77-106.

\*Jules Bonnet: Lettres de Jean Calvin, 1854; Calvin au val d'Aoste,

1861 Idelette de Bure, femme de Calvin (in "Bulletin de la soci�t� de

l'histoire du Protest. fran�ais," 1856, Nos. 11 and 12); R�cits du

seizi�me si�cle, Paris, 1864; Nouveaux r�cits, 1870; Derniers r�cits,

1876.

E. Renan: Jean Calvin, in � tudes d'histoire religieuse, 5th ed. Paris,

1862; English translation by O. B. Frothingham Studies of Religious

History and Criticism, New York, 1864, pp. 285-297).

J. H. Albert Rilliet: Lettre � M. Merle D'Aubign� sur deux points

obscurs de la vie de Calvin, Gen�ve, 1864. Le premier sejour de Calvin

a Gen�ve, in his and Dufour's edition of Calvin's French Catechism,

Gen�ve, 1878.

M�nkeberg: Joachim Westphal and Joh. Calvin. Hamburg, 1866.

J. K�stlin: Calvin's Institutio nach Form und Inhalt.

Edmond Stern: La th�orie du culte d'apr�s Calvin. Strassburg, 1869.

James Anthony Froude: Calvinism, an Address delivered to the Students

of St. Andrews, March 17, 1871 (in his Short Studies on Great Subjects,

Second Series, New York, 1873, pp. 9-53).

Principal William Cunningham (Free Church of Scotland, d. 1861): The

Reformers and the Theology of the Reformers. Edinburgh, 1862.

Principal John Tulloch (of the Established Church of Scotland, d.

1885): Leaders of the Reformation. Edinburgh, 1859; 3d ed. 1883.

Philip Schaff: John Calvin, in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," Andover, 1857,

pp. 125-146, and in Creeds of Christendom (New York, 1877), I. 421-471.

A. A. Hodge (d. at Princeton, 1885): Calvinism, in Johnson's "Universal

Cyclopaedia" (New York, 1875 sqq.), vol. I. pp. 727-734; new ed. 1886,

vol. I. 676-683.

Lyman H. Atwater: Calvinism in Doctrine and Life, in the, "Presbyterian

Quarterly and Princeton Review," New York, January, 1875, pp. 73-106.

Dardier and Jundt: Calvin, in Lichtenberger's "Encyclop�die des

sciences religieuses," Tom. II. 529-557. (Paris, 1877.)

P. Lobstein: Die Ethik Calvins in ihren Grundz�gen. Strassburg, 1877.

W. Lindsay Alexander: Calvin, in "Encycl. Brit.," 9th ed. vol. IV. 714

sqq.

Pierre Vaucher: Calvin et les Genevois. Gen. 1880.

A. Pierson: Studien over Joh. Kalvijn. Haarlem, 1881-'83.

J. M. Usteri: Calvin's Sacraments und Tauflehre. 1884.

B. Fontana: Documenti dell' archivio Vaticano e dell' Estense, circa il

soggiorno di Calv. a Ferrara. Rom. 1885. E. Comba in "Revisita

Christ.," 1885, IV.-VII.

C. A. Cornelius (liberal Catholic): Die Verbannung Calvins aus Genf. im

J. 1536. M�nchen, 1886. Die R�ckkehr Calvins nach Genf. I. Die

Guillermins (pp. 62); II. Die Artichauds; III. Die Berufung (pp. 102).

M�nchen, 1888 and 1889. Separate print from the "Abhandlungen der K.

bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften," XIX. Bd. II. Abth. Cornelius, a

friend of D�llinger, agrees in his high estimate of Calvin with

Kampschulte, but dwells chiefly on the political troubles of Geneva

during Calvin's absence (with large quotations from Herminjard's

collection of letters), and stops with Calvin's return, September,

1540.

Charles W. Shields: Calvin's Doctrine on Infant Salvation, in the

"Presb. and Ref. Review," New York, 1890, pp. 634-651. Tries to show

that Calvin taught universal infant salvation(?).

Ed. Stricker: Johann Calvin als erster Pfarrer der reformirten Gemeinde

zu Strassburg. Nach urkundlichen Quellen. Strassburg, 1890 (vi and 66

pp.).--In connection with Calvin's sojourn at Strassburg may also be

consulted, R. Reuss: Histoire de l'�glise de Strassbourg, 1880; and A.

Erichson: L'�glise fran�aise de Strassbourg au XVIme si�cle, 1886.

E. Doumergue (Professor of Church History at Montauban): Essai sur

l'histoire du culte r�form� principalement au XVIe et au XlXe si�cle.

Paris, 1890. The first part, pp. 1-116, treats of Calvin's Liturgies

and labors for church poetry and music.

The literature on Servetus will be given below, in the section on

Calvin and Servetus.

VII. Histories of the Reformation in French Switzerland:

Abr. Ruchat (Professor of Theology in the Academy of Lausanne, d.

1750): Histoire de la r�formation de la Suisse. Gen�ve, 1727 sq., 6

vols.; new ed. with appendices, by Prof. L. Vulliemin, Nyon, 1835-'38,

7 vols. Comes down to 1566. Strongly anti-Romish and devoted to Bern,

diffuse and inelegant in style, but full of matter, "un recueil de

savantes dissertations, un extrait de documents" (Dardier, in

Lichtenberger's "Encyclop.," XI. 345).--An English abridgment in one

volume by J. Collinson: History of the Reformation in Switzerland by

Ruchat. London, 1845. Goes to 1537.

Dan. Gerdes (1698-1767): Introductio in Historiam Evangelii seculo XVI.

passim per Europam renovati doctrinaeque Reformatae; accedunt varia

monumenta pietatis atque rei literariae. Groningae, 1744-'52, 4 vols.

Contains pictures of the Reformers and interesting documents. Parts of

vols. I., II., and IV. treat of the Swiss Reformation.

C. B. Hundeshagen (Professor in Bern, afterwards in Heidelberg and

Bonn; d. 1872): Die Conflicte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und

Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558. Nach meist

ungedruckten Quellen. Bern, 1842.

\*J. Gaberel (ancien pasteur): Histoire de l'�glise de Gen�ve depuis le

commencement de la r�forme jusqu'en 1815. Gen�ve, 1855-63, 3 vols.

P. Charpenne: Histoire de la r�formation et des r�formateurs de Gen�ve.

Paris, 1861.

Fleury: Histoire de l'�glise de Gen�ve. Gen�ve, 1880. 2 vols.

The works of Amad. Roget, quoted sub II.

\*Merle D'Aubign� (Professor of Church History in the Free Church

Theological Seminary at Geneva): Histoire de la r�formation en Europe

au temps du Calvin. Paris, 1863-'78. English translation in several

editions, the best by Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1863-'78, 8 vols.;

American edition by Carter, New York, 1870-'79, 8 vols. The second

division of Merle's work on the Reformation. The last three volumes

were edited after his death (Oct. 21, 1872) by Duchemin and Binder, and

translated by William L. R. Cates. The work gives the history of the

Reformation in Geneva down to 1542, and of the other Reformed Churches

to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is, therefore, incomplete,

but, as far as it goes, the most extensive, eloquent, and dramatic

history of the Reformation by an enthusiastic partisan of the

Reformers, especially Calvin, in full sympathy with their position and

faith, except on the union of Church and State and the persecution of

heretics. The first division, which is devoted to the Lutheran

Reformation till 1530, had an extraordinary circulation in England and

America. Ranke, with his calm, judicial temperament, wondered that such

a book could be written in the nineteenth century. (See Preface to vol.

VII. p. vi, note.)

�tienne Chastel (Professor of Church History in the University of

Geneva, d. 1882): Histoire du Christianisme. Paris, 1882, 5 vols. Tom.

IV. 66 sqq. treats of the Swiss Reformation.

G. P. Fisher: The Reformation. New York, 1873, ch. VII. pp. 192-241.

Philippe Godet (son of Frederic, the commentator): Histoire litt�raire

de la Suisse fran�aise. Neuch�tel and Paris, 1890. Ch. II. 51-112

treats of the Reformers (Farel, Viret, Froment, Calvin, and Beza).

Virgile Rossel: Histoire litt�raire de la Suisse romande. Gen�ve (H.

Georg), 1890, 2 vols. The first vol. Des origines jusqu'au XVIIIme

si�cle.

The Histories of the Reformation in France usually give also an account

of the labors of Farel, Calvin, and Beza; e.g. the first volume of

Gottlob von Polenz: Geschichte des franz�sischen Calvinismus (Gotha,

1857 sqq.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 59. The Condition of French Switzerland before the Reformation.

The losses of the Reformation in German Switzerland were more than made

up by the gains in French Switzerland; that is, in the three Cantons,

Vaud, Neuch�tel, and Geneva. [332] Protestantism moved westward. Calvin

continued, improved, and completed the work of Zwingli, and gave it a

wider significance. Geneva took the place of Z�rich, and surpassed in

influence the city of Zwingli and the city of Luther. It became "the

Protestant Rome," from which proceeded the ideas and impulses for the

Reformed Churches of France, Holland, England, and Scotland. The city

of Calvin has long since departed from his rigorous creed and

theocratic discipline, and will never return to them; but the

evangelical faith still lives there in renewed vigor; and among cities

of the same size there is none that occupies a more important and

influential position in theological and religious activity as well as

literary and social culture, and as a convenient centre for the

settlement of international questions, than Geneva.

The Reformation of French Switzerland cannot be separated from that of

France. The inhabitants of the two countries are of the same Celtic or

Gallic stock mixed with Germanic (Frank and Burgundian) blood. The

first evangelists of Western Switzerland were Frenchmen who had to flee

from their native soil. They became in turn, through their pupils, the

founders of the Reformed Church of France. The Reformed Churches of the

two countries are one in spirit. After the Revocation of the Edict of

Nantes, many Huguenots found an asylum in Geneva, Vaud, and Neuch�tel.

The French Swiss combine the best traits of the French character with

Swiss solidity and love of freedom. They are ever ready to lend a

helping hand to their brethren across the frontier, and they form at

the same time a connecting link between them and the Protestants of the

German tongue. Their excellent educational institutions attract

students from abroad and train teachers for other countries.

The territory of the French Cantons, which embraces 1665 square miles,

was in the sixteenth century under the protection of the Swiss

Confederacy.

Vaud was conquered by Bern from the Duke of Savoy, and ruled by

bailiffs till 1798. [333]

The principality of Neuch�tel and Valangin concluded a co-burghery with

Freiburg, 1290, with Bern, 1307, and with Solothurn, 1324. In 1707 the

principality passed to King Frederick I. of Prussia, who confirmed the

rights and liberties of the country and its old alliance with

Switzerland. The connection with Prussia continued till 1857, when it

was dissolved by free consent. [334]

Geneva was originally governed by a bishop and a count, who divided the

spiritual and secular government between them. Duke Charles III. of

Savoy tried to subdue the city with the aid of an unworthy and servile

bishop, Pierre de la Baume, whom he had appointed from his own family

with the consent of Pope Leo X. [335] But a patriotic party, under the

lead of Philibert Berthelier, Besan�on Hugues, and Fran�ois Bonivard

(Byron's "Prisoner of Chillon") opposed the attempt and began a

struggle for independence, which lasted several years, and resembles on

a small scale the heroic struggle of Switzerland against foreign

oppression. The patriots, on account of their alliance with the Swiss,

were called Eidgenossen,--a German word for (Swiss) Confederates, which

degenerated by mispronunciation into Eignots and Huguenots, and passed

afterwards from Geneva to France as a nickname for Protestants. [336]

The party of the Duke of Savoy and the bishop were nicknamed Mamelukes

or slaves. The patriots gained the victory with the aid of the German

Swiss. On Feb. 20, 1526, Bern and Freiburg concluded an alliance with

Geneva, and pledged their armed aid for the protection of her

independence. The citizens of Geneva ratified the Swiss alliance by an

overwhelming majority, who shouted, "The Swiss and liberty!" The bishop

appealed in vain to the pope and the emperor, and left Geneva for St.

Claude. But he had to accept the situation, and continued to rule ten

years longer (till 1536). [337]

This political movement, of which Berthelier is the chief hero, had no

connection with the Reformation, but prepared the way for it, and was

followed by the evangelical labors of Farel and Viret, and the

organization of the Reformed Church under Calvin. During the war of

emancipation there grew up an opposition to the Roman Church and the

clergy of Geneva, which sided with Savoy and was very corrupt, even

according to the testimonies of Roman Catholic writers, such as Bishop

Antoine Champion, Bonivard, the Soeur de Jussie, and Francis of Sales.

Reports of the Lutheran and Zwinglian reformation nursed the

opposition. Freiburg (Fribourg) remained Roman Catholic [338] and broke

the alliance with Geneva; but Bern strengthened the alliance and

secured for Geneva political freedom from Savoy and religious freedom

from Rome.

NOTES.

For the understanding of the geography and history of the Swiss

Confederacy, the following facts should be considered in connection

with the map facing p. 1.

1. The original Confederacy of the Three Forest Cantons (Urcantone,

Waldst�tte), Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, from Aug. 1, 1291 (the date

of the renewal of an older covenant of 1244) to 1332. Victory at

Morgarten over Duke Leopold of Austria, Nov. 15, 1315. (After 1352 the

number of Forest Cantons was five, including Luzern and Zug.)

2. The Confederacy of the Eight Cantons (Orte) from 1353 to 1481.

Luzern joined the Forest Cantons in 1332 (thenceforward the Confederacy

was called the Bund der Vier Waldst�tte, to which in 1352 was added Zug

as the Fifth Forest Canton; hence the F�nf Orte or Five Cantons).

Z�rich joined 1351.

Glarus joined 1352.

Zug " 1352

Bern " 1353.

Victories over the Austrians at Sempach, July 9, 1386 (Arnold von

Winkelried), and N�fels, April 9, 1388. Battle against the Dauphin of

France (Louis XI.) Aug. 26, 1444, at St. Jacob near Basel (the

Thermopylae of the Swiss), and victories over Charles the Bold of

Burgundy, at Grandson, June 22, 1476, and Nancy, Jan. 5, 1477.

3. The Confederacy of the Thirteen Cantons, 1513-1798.

Freiburg joined 1481.

Schaffhausen joined 1501

Solothurn " 1481

Appenzell " 1513

Basel " 1501.

4. The Confederation under the French Directory, 1798-1802. Vaud, with

the help of France, made herself independent of Bern, 1798. Valtellina

Chiavenna, and Bormio were lost to the Grisons and attached to the

Cisalpine Republic by Napoleon, 1797. Neuch�tel separated from

Switzerland.

5. The Confederation of Nineteen Cantons from 1803-1813, under the

influence of Napoleon as "Mediator."

6. Modern Switzerland of Twenty-Two Cantons from the Congress of

Vienna, 1815, to date.

The new Cantons are: Ticino, Valais, St. Gall, Aargau, Thurgau,

Grisons, Geneva, Vaud, Neuch�tel. They were formerly dependent on, and

protected by, or freely associated with, the Thirteen Can

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[332] La Suisse fran�aise orla Suisse romande. Vaud has 1244 square

miles; Neuch�tel, 312; Geneva, 109. The first numbered, in 1889,

251,000 inhabitants; the second, 109,000; the third, 107,000.

[333] See Vulliemin, Le canton de Vaud, Lausanne, 3d ed., 1885.

Verdeil, Histoire du canton de Vaud, Lausanne, 1854-'57, 4 vols.

[334] See the historical works on Neuch�tel by Chambrier, Matile,

Boyve, Majer, Beno�t.

[335] Pierre de la Baume was bishop of Geneva from 1523 to 1536, became

bishop of Besan�on 1542, and died 1544. Bonivard (as quoted by Audin,

who praises the bishops of Geneva) says of him: "He was a great

dissipator of goods, in all things superfluous, esteeming it a

sovereign virtue in a prelate to have his table loaded with large

dishes of meat and all sorts of wines; and when there he gave himself

up so completely as to exceed thirty-one courses." Audin adds (p. 116):

"This shaft would have been much more pointed, had not Bonivard often

seated himself at this table and drank far otherwise than became the

prior of St. Victor."

[336] Merle D'Aubign�, I. 119: "Until after the Reformation, this

sobriquet had a purely political meaning, in no respect religious, and

designated simply the friends of independence. Many years after, the

enemies of the Protestants of France called them by this name, wishing

to stigmatize them and impute to them a foreign, republican, and

heretical origin. Such is the true etymology of the term." There are,

however, two other etymologies,--one from Hugh Capet, from whom

descended Henry IV., the political and military leader of the

Huguenots.

[337] For the details of these political struggles, which have little

interest for Church history, see Merle D'Aubign�, I. 1-426; the

Histories of Geneva, and Am. Roget, Les Suisses et Gen�ve, ou

l'emancipation de la communaut�genevoise au XVIesi�cle, Gen�ve, 1864, 2

vols. Also Kampschulte, l.c. I. 3-90.

[338] It is famous for the organ in the Church of St. Nicolas, for a

suspension bridge, and a Catholic university. It is the seat of the

bishop of Lausanne, and must not be confounded with

Freiburg-im-Breisgau in the Grand Duchy of Baden, which is also a

stronghold of Romanism.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 60. William Farel (1489-1565).

Letters of Farel and to Farel in Herminjard, beginning with vol. I.

193, and in the Strassburg edition of Calvin's correspondence, Opera,

X.-XX.

Biographies by Beza (Icones, 1580, with a picture); Melchior Adam

(Decades duae, 57-61); \*Kirchhofer (1833, 2 vols.); Verheiden (Imagines

et Elogia, 1725, p. 86 sq., with picture); Chenevi�re (1835); Junod

(1865). Merle D'Aubign� gives a very minute but broken account of

Farel's earlier labors, especially in Geneva (vols. III., IV., V.,

books 5, 6, and 9) . See also Ruchat, F. Godet, and other works

mentioned in � 58, and art. "Farel" in La France Protestante, tome VI.

886-416 (1888).

Two years after the political emancipation of Geneva from the yoke of

Savoy, Bern embraced the Protestant Reformation (1528), and at once

exerted her political and moral influence for the introduction of the

new religion into the neighboring French territory over which she had

acquired control. She found three evangelists ready for this work,--one

a native of Vaud, and two fugitive Frenchmen. The city of Freiburg, the

Duke of Savoy, Charles V., and the pope endeavored to prevent the

progress of heresy, but in vain.

The pioneer of Protestantism in Western Switzerland is William Farel.

He was a travelling evangelist, always in motion, incessant in labors,

a man full of faith and fire, as bold and fearless as Luther and far

more radical, but without his genius. He is called the Elijah of the

French Reformation, and "the scourge of the priests." Once an ardent

papist, he became as ardent a Protestant, and looked hereafter only at

the dark side, the prevailing corruptions and abuses of Romanism. He

hated the pope as the veritable Antichrist, the mass as idolatry,

pictures and relics as heathen idols which must be destroyed like the

idols of the Canaanites. Without a regular ordination, he felt himself

divinely called, like a prophet of old, to break down idolatry and to

clear the way for the spiritual worship of God according to his own

revealed word. He was a born fighter; he came, not to bring peace, but

the sword. He had to deal with priests who carried firearms and clubs

under their frocks, and he fought them with the sword of the word and

the spirit. Once he was fired at, but the gun burst, and, turning

round, he said, "I am not afraid of your shots." He never used violence

himself, except in language. He had an indomitable will and power of

endurance. Persecution and violence only stimulated him to greater

exertions. His outward appearance was not prepossessing: he was small

and feeble, with a pale but sunburnt face, narrow forehead, red and

ill-combed beard, fiery eyes, and an expressive mouth.

Farel had some of the best qualities of an orator: a sonorous and

stentorian voice, appropriate gesture, fluency of speech, and intense

earnestness, which always commands attention and often produces

conviction. His contemporaries speak of the thunders of his eloquence

and of his transporting prayers. "Tua illa fulgura," writes Calvin.

"Nemo tonuit fortius," says Beza. His sermons were extemporized, and

have not come down to us. Their power lay in the oral delivery. We may

compare him to Whitefield, who was likewise a travelling evangelist,

endowed with the magnetism of living oratory. In Beza's opinion, Calvin

was the most learned, Farel the most forcible, Viret the most gentle

preacher of that age. [339]

The chief defect of Farel was his want of moderation and discretion. He

was an iconoclast. His violence provoked unnecessary opposition, and

often did more harm than good. Oecolampadius praised his zeal, but

besought him to be also moderate and gentle. "Your mission," he wrote

to him, "is to evangelize, not to curse. Prove yourself to be an

evangelist, not a tyrannical legislator. Men want to be led, not

driven." Zwingli, shortly before his death, exhorted him not to expose

himself rashly, but to reserve himself for the further service of the

Lord.

Farel's work was destructive rather than constructive. He could pull

down, but not build up. He was a conqueror, but not an organizer of his

conquests; a man of action, not a man of letters; an intrepid preacher,

not a theologian. He felt his defects, and handed his work over to the

mighty genius of his younger friend Calvin. In the spirit of genuine

humility and self-denial, he was willing to decrease that Calvin might

increase. This is the finest trait in his character. [340]

Guillaume Farel, the oldest of seven children of a poor but noble

family, was born in the year 1489 (five years after Luther and Zwingli,

twenty years before Calvin) at Gap, a small town in the alps of

Dauphin� in the south-east of France, where the religious views of the

Waldenses were once widely spread. He inherited the blind faith of his

parents, and doubted nothing. He made with them, as he remembered in

his old age, a pilgrimage to a wonder-working cross which was believed

to be taken from the cross of our Lord. He shared in the superstitious

veneration of pictures and relics, and bowed before the authority of

monks and priests. He was, as he said, more popish than popery.

At the same time he had a great thirst for knowledge, and was sent to

school at Paris. Here he studied the ancient languages (even Hebrew),

philosophy, and theology. His principal teacher, Jacques Le F�vre

d'�taples (Faber Stapulensis, 1455-1536), the pioneer of the

Reformation in France and translator of the Scriptures, introduced him

into the knowledge of Paul's Epistles and the doctrine of justification

by faith, and prophetically told him, already in 1512: "My son, God

will renew the world, and you will witness it." [341] Farel acquired

the degree of Master of Arts (January, 1517), and was appointed teacher

at the college of Cardinal Le Moine.

The influence of Le F�vre and the study of the Bible brought him

gradually to the conviction that salvation can be found only in Christ,

that the word of God is the only rule of faith, and that the Roman

traditions and rites are inventions of man. He was amazed that he could

find in the New Testament no trace of the pope, of the hierarchy, of

indulgences, of purgatory, of the mass, of seven sacraments, of

sacerdotal celibacy, of the worship of Mary and the saints. Le F�vre,

being charged with heresy by the Sorbonne, retired in 1521 to his

friend William Bri�onnet, bishop of Meaux, who was convinced of the

necessity of a reformation within the Catholic Church, without

separation from Rome. [342] There he translated the New Testament into

French, which was published in 1523 without his name (almost

simultaneously with Luther's German New Testament.) Several of his

pupils, Farel, G�rard, Roussel, Michel d'Arande, followed him to Meaux,

and were authorized by Bri�onnet to preach in his diocese. Margaret of

Valois, sister of King Francis I. (then Duchess of Alen�on, afterwards

Queen of Navarre), patronized the reformers and also the freethinkers.

But Farel was too radical for the mild bishop, and forbidden to preach,

April 12, 1523. He went to Gap and made some converts, including four

of his brothers; but the people found his doctrine "very strange," and

drove him away. There was no safety for him anywhere in France, which

then began seriously to persecute the Protestants.

Farel fled to Basel, and was hospitably received by Oecolampadius. At

his suggestion he held a public disputation in Latin on thirteen

theses, in which he asserted the perfection of the Scriptures,

Christian liberty, the duty of pastors to preach the Gospel, the

doctrine of justification by faith, and denounced images, fasting,

celibacy, and Jewish ceremonies (Feb. 23, 1524). [343] The disputation

was successful, and led to the conversion of the Franciscan monk

Pellican, a distinguished Greek and Hebrew scholar, who afterwards

became professor at Z�rich. He also delivered public lectures and

sermons. Oecolampadius wrote to Luther that Farel was a match for the

Sorbonne. [344] Erasmus, whom Farel imprudently charged with cowardice

and called a Balaam, regarded him as a dangerous disturber of the

peace, [345] and the Council (probably at the advice of Erasmus)

expelled him from the city.

Farel now spent about a year in Strassburg with Bucer and Capito.

Before he went there he made a brief visit to Z�rich, Schaffhausen, and

Constance, and became acquainted with Zwingli, Myconius, and Grebel. He

had a letter of commendation to Luther from Oecolampadius, but it is

not likely that he went to Wittenberg, since there is no allusion to it

either in his or in Luther's letters. At the request of Ulrich, Duke of

W�rtemberg, he preached in M�mpelgard (Montb�liard), and roused a

fierce opposition, which forced him soon to return to Strassburg. Here

he found Le F�vre and other friends from Meaux, whom the persecution

had forced to flee.

In 1526 Farel was again in Switzerland, and settled for a while, at the

advice of Haller, as school teacher under the name of Guillaume Ursinus

(with reference to Bern, the city of bears), at Aigle (�len) [346] in

the Pays de Vaud on the borders of Valais, subject to Bern.

He attended the Synod in Bern, January, 1528, which decided the victory

of the Reformation, and received a commission from that city to preach

in all the districts under its control (March 8, 1528). He accordingly

labored as a sort of missionary bishop at Murat (Murten), Lausanne,

Neuch�tel, Valangin, Yverdun, Biel (Bienne), in the M�nster valley, at

Orbe, Avenche, St. Blaise, Grandson, and other places. He turned every

stump and stone into a pulpit, every house, street, and market-place

into a church; provoked the wrath of monks, priests, and bigoted women;

was abused, called, "heretic" and, "devil," insulted, spit upon, and

more than once threatened with death. An attempt to poison him failed.

Wherever he went he stirred up all the forces of the people, and made

them take sides for or against the new gospel.

His arrival in Neuch�tel (December, 1529) marks an epoch in its

history. In spite of violent opposition, he succeeded in introducing

the Reformation in the city and neighboring villages. He afterwards

returned to Neuch�tel, where he finished his course. [347] Robert

Olivetan, Calvin's cousin, published the first edition of his French

translation of the Bible at Neuch�tel in 1535. Farel had urged him to

do this work. It is the basis of the numerous French translations made

since that time.

In 1532 Farel with his friend Saunier visited the Waldenses in Piedmont

at the request of Georg Morel and Peter Masson, two Waldensian

preachers, who were returning from a visit to Strassburg and the

Reformed Churches of Switzerland. He attended the Synod which met at

Chanforans in the valley of Angrogne, Sept. 12, 1532, and resolved to

adopt the doctrines of the Reformation. He advised them to establish

schools. He afterwards collected money for them and sent them four

teachers, one of whom was Robert Olivetan, who was at that time private

tutor at Geneva. This is the beginning of the fraternal relations

between the Waldenses and the Reformed Churches which continue to this

day.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[339] Beza, in his Icones, thus describes Farel's best qualities: "Hic

enim ille est qui nullis diffictultatibus fractus, nullis minis,

convitiis, verberibus denique inflictis territus, Mombelgardenses,

Neocomenses, Lausanenses, Aquileienses, Genevenses denique Christo

lucrifecit. Fuit enim in hoc homine praeter pietatem, doctrinam, vitae

innocentiam, eximiamque modestiam, singularis quaedam animi praesentia,

ingenium acre, sermo vehementiae plenus, ut tonare potius quam loqui

videretur: ardorque denique tantus in precando, ut audientes quasi in

coelum usque subveheret." And he compares Calvin, Farel, and Viret in

these verses (in 1568):-- "Gallica mirata est Calvinum ecclesia nuper,

Quo nemo docuit doctius. Est quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem,

Quo nemo tonuit fortius. Et miratur adhuc funden tem mella Viretum, Quo

nemo fatur dulcius. Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim,

Aut interibis Gallia."

[340] "L'homme du midi [Farel] �tait fait pour conqu�rir; l'homme du

nord [Calvin] pour conserver et discipliner la conqu�te. Farel en eut

le sentiment si distinct, qu'il s'effa�a spontan�ment devant Calvin le

jour o�il le contraignit par les 'tonnerres' de sa parole de demeurer

�Gen�ve, qui avait besoin de son g�nie." Philippe Godet, Hist. litter.

de la Suisse fran�aise, p. 51.

[341] "Mon fils, Dieu renouvellera le monde et tu en seras le t�moin."

Herminjard, I. 5, note. Compare the passage there quoted from Le

F�vre's work on St. Paul.

[342] Herminjard (I. 3) begins his Correspondance des R�f. with a

letter of Le F�vre to Bri�onnet, Dec. 15, 1512, in which he dedicated

to him his Commentary on the Epistles of Paul.

[343] Herminjard (I. 193-195) gives the theses from the Archives of

Z�rich. The first is the most characteristic: "Absolutissimam nobis

praescripsit Christus vivendi regulam, cui nec addere licet, nec

detrahere." OEcolampadius served as interpreter, since Farel's French

pronunciation of Latin made it difficult to understand him.

[344] "Nimirum instructus ad totam Sorbonicam affligendam, si non et

perdendam." Letter of May 15, 1524, in Herminjard, I. 215.

[345] He described him in a letter to the official of Besan�on, 1524:

"Nihil vidi unquam mendacius, virulentius aut seditiosius." Quite

natural from his standpoint. The two characters had no points of

contact.

[346] In August, 1526, Bucer addressed him, "Ursinus, �lae episcopus."

Herminjard, I. 461.

[347] For a graphic account of his labors in Neuch�tel, see Vuillemin's

Le Chroniqueur, pp. 86 sqq., and F. Godet, Histoire de la reformation

et du refuge dans le pays de Neuch�tel (1859), pp. 69-190.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 61. Farel at Geneva. First Act of the Reformation (1535).

On their return from Piedmont, Farel and Saunier stopped at Geneva,

Oct. 2, 1532. Zwingli had previously directed the attention of Farel to

that city as an important field for the Reformation. Olivetan was there

to receive them.

The day after their arrival the evangelists were visited by a number of

distinguished citizens of the Huguenot party, among whom was Ami

Perrin, one of the most ardent promoters of the Reformation, and

afterwards one of the chief opponents of Calvin. They explained to them

from the open Bible the Protestant doctrines, which would complete and

consolidate the political freedom recently achieved. They stirred up a

great commotion. The Council was alarmed, and ordered them to leave the

city. Farel declared that he was no trumpet of sedition, but a preacher

of the truth, for which he was ready to die. He showed credentials from

Bern, which made an impression. He was also summoned to the Episcopal

Council in the house of the Abb� de Beaumont, the vicar-general of the

diocese. He was treated with insolence. "Come thou, filthy devil," said

one of the canons, "art thou baptized? Who invited you hither? Who gave

you authority to preach?" Farel replied with dignity: "I have been

baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and am

not a devil. I go about preaching Christ, who died for our sins and

rose for our justification. Whoever believes in him will be saved;

unbelievers will be lost. I am sent by God as a messenger of Christ,

and am bound to preach him to all who will hear me. I am ready to

dispute with you, and to give an account of my faith and ministry.

Elijah said to King Ahab, 'It is thou, and not I, who disturbest

Israel.' So I say, it is you and yours, who trouble the world by your

traditions, your human inventions, and your dissolute lives." The

priests had no intention to enter into a discussion; they knew and

confessed, "If we argue, our trade is gone." One of the canons

exclaimed: "He has blasphemed; we need no further evidence; he deserves

to die." Farel replied: "Speak the words of God, and not of Caiaphas."

Hereupon the whole assembly shouted: "Away with him to the Rhone! Kill

the Lutheran dog!" He was reviled, beaten, and shot at. One of the

syndics interposed for his protection. He was ordered by the Episcopal

Council to leave Geneva within three hours.

He escaped with difficulty the fury of the priests, who pursued him

with clubs. He was covered with spittle and bruises. Some Huguenots

came to his defence, and accompanied him and Saunier in a boat across

the lake to a place between Morges and Lausanne. At Orbe, Farel found

Antoine Froment, a native of Dauphin�, and prevailed on him to go to

Geneva as evangelist and a teacher of children (November, 1532); but he

was also obliged to flee.

In this critical condition the Roman party, supported by Freiburg,

called to their aid Guy Furbity, a learned Dominican doctor of the

Sorbonne. He preached during advent, 1533, against the Protestant

heresy with unmeasured violence. In Jan. 1, 1534, the bishop forbade

all preaching without his permission.

Farel returned under the protection of Bern, and held a public

disputation with Furbity, Jan. 29, 1534, in the presence of the Great

and Small Councils and the delegates of Bern. He could not answer all

his objections, but he denied the right of the Church to impose

ordinances which were not authorized by the Scriptures, and defended

the position that Christ was the only head of the Church. He used the

occasion to explain the Protestant doctrines, and to attack the Roman

hierarchy. Christ and the Holy Spirit, he said, are not with the pope,

but with those whom he persecutes. The disputation lasted several days,

and ended in a partial victory for Farel. Unable to argue from the

Scriptures, Furbity confessed:, What I preached I cannot prove from the

Bible; I have learned it from the Summa of St. Thomas"; but he repeated

in the pulpit of St. Peter's his charges against the heretics, Feb. 15,

and was put in prison for several years.

Farel continued to preach in private houses. On March 1, when a monk,

Francis Coutelier, attacked the Reformation, he ascended the pulpit to

refute him. This was his first public sermon in Geneva. The Freiburgers

protested against these proceedings, and withdrew from the coburghery

(April 12). The bishop pronounced the ban over the city (April 30); the

Duke of Savoy threatened war. But Bern stood by Geneva, and under her

powerful protection, Farel, Viret, and Froment vigorously pushed the

Reformation, though not without much violence.

The priests, monks, and nuns gradually left the city, and the bishop

transferred his see to Annecy, an asylum prepared by the Duke of Savoy.

Sister Jeanne de Jussie, one of the nuns of St. Claire, has left us a

lively and naive account of their departure to Annecy. "It was a

piteous thing," she says, "to see this holy company in such a plight,

so overcome with fatigue and grief that several swooned by the way. It

was rainy weather, and all were obliged to walk through muddy roads,

except four poor invalids who were in a carriage. There were six poor

old women who had taken their vows more than sixteen years before. Two

of these, who were past sixty-six, and had never seen anything of the

world, fainted away repeatedly. They could not bear the wind; and when

they saw the cattle in the fields, they took the cows for bears, and

the long-wooled sheep for ravaging wolves. They who met them were so

overcome with compassion that they could not speak a word. And though

our mother, the vicaress, had supplied them all with good shoes to save

their feet, the greater number could not walk in them, but hung them at

their waists. And so they walked from five o'clock in the morning, when

they left Geneva, till near midnight, when they got to St. Julien,

which is only a little league off." It took the nuns fifteen hours to

go a short league. The next day (Aug. 29) they reached Annecy under the

ringing of all the bells of the city, and found rest in the monastery

of the Holy Cross. The good sister Jussie saw in the Reformation a just

punishment of the unfaithful clergy. "Ah," she said, "the prelates and

churchmen did not observe their vows at this time, but squandered

dissolutely the ecclesiastical property, keeping women in adultery and

lubricity, and awakening the anger of God, which brought divine

judgment on them." [348]

In Aug. 27, 1535, the Great Council of Two Hundred issued an edict of

the Reformation, which was followed by another, May 21, 1536. The mass

was abolished and forbidden, images and relics were removed from the

churches. The citizens pledged themselves by an oath to live according

to the precepts of the Gospel. A school was established for the

elementary religious education of the young at the Convent de Rive,

under the direction of Saunier. Out of it grew, afterwards, the college

and academy of Calvin. A general hospital was founded at St. Claire,

and endowed with the revenues of old Catholic hospitals. The bishop's

palace was converted into a prison. Four ministers and two deacons were

appointed with fixed salaries payable out of the ecclesiastical

revenues. Daily sermons were introduced at St. Pierre and St. Gervais;

the communion after the simple solemn fashion of Z�rich was, to be

celebrated four times a year; baptism might be administered on any day,

but only in the church, and by a minister. All shops were to be closed

on Sunday. A strict discipline, which extended even to the headdress of

brides, began to be introduced.

This was the first act in the history of the Reformation of Geneva. It

was the work of Farel, but only preparatory to the more important work

of Calvin. The people were anxious to get rid of the rule of Savoy and

the bishop, but had no conception of evangelical religion, and would

not submit to discipline. They mistook freedom for license. They were

in danger of falling into the opposite extreme of disorder and

confusion.

This was the state of things when Calvin arrived at Geneva in the

summer of 1536, and was urged by Farel to assume the great task of

building a new Church on the ruins of the old. Although twenty years

older, he assumed willingly a subordinate position. He labored for a

while as Calvin's colleague, and was banished with him from Geneva,

because they demanded submission to a confession of faith and a

rigorous discipline. Calvin went to Strassburg. Farel accepted a call

as pastor to Neuch�tel (July, 1538), the city where he had labored

before.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[348] Le commencement de l'h�r�sie en G�n�ve. Gr�nus, Fragments

historiques, pp. 199-208; Le Chroniqueur, 147-150. Ruchat (III. 383,

ed. Vulliemin) doubts the simplicity of these good sisters, and

suspects them of occasional communication with the Franciscans through

subterranean passages: "Il y a pourtant quelque lieu de douter si ces

religieuses �taient aussi simples que la soeur de Jussi voudrait nous

le faire accroire. Les chemins souterrains qu'on d�couvrit apr�s leur

d�part sous leur couvent (et qui conduissaient �celui des Cordeliers

qui �tait a quelques pas de l�), donnent tout lieu de soup�onner

qu'elles recevaient de temps en temps des visites de ces bons fr�res,

et qu'ainsi elles n'�taient pas tant novices dans les affaires du

monde."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 62. The Last Labors of Farel.

For the remaining twenty-seven years of his life, Farel remained chief

pastor at Neuch�tel, and built up the Protestant Church in connection

with Fabri, his colleague. He tried to introduce a severe discipline,

by which he offended many of the new converts, and even his friends in

Bern; but Fabri favored a milder course.

From Neuch�tel Farel, following his missionary impulse, made preaching

excursions to Geneva, Strassburg, and Metz, in Lorraine. At Metz he

preached in the cemetery of the Dominicans, while the monks sounded all

the bells to drown his voice. He accompanied Calvin to Z�rich to bring

about the Consensus Tigurinus with the Zwinglians (1549). He followed

Servetus to the stake (Oct. 27, 1553), and exhorted him in vain to

renounce his errors. He collected money for the refugees of Locarno,

and sent letters of comfort to his persecuted brethren in France. He

made two visits to Germany (1557) to urge upon the German princes an

active intercession in behalf of the Waldenses and French Protestants,

but without effect. In December, 1558, when already sixty-nine years of

age, he married, against the advice of his friends, a poor maiden, who

had fled with her widowed mother from France to Neuch�tel. [349] Calvin

was much annoyed by this indiscretion, but besought the preachers of

that city to bear with patience the folly of the old bachelor.

The marriage did not cool Farel's zeal. In 1559 he visited the French

refugees in Alsace and Lorraine. In November, 1561, he accepted an

invitation to Gap, his birthplace, and ventured to preach in public,

notwithstanding the royal prohibition, to the large number of his

fellow-citizens who had become Protestants.

Shortly before his death Calvin informed him of his illness, May 2,

1564, in the last letter from his pen: "Farewell, my best and truest

brother! And since it is God's will that you remain behind me in the

world, live mindful of our friendship, which as it was useful to the

Church of God, so the fruit of it awaits us in heaven. Pray do not

fatigue yourself on my account. It is with difficulty that I draw my

breath, and I expect that every moment will be the last. It is enough

that I live and die for Christ, who is the reward of his followers both

in life and in death. Again, farewell with the brethren." [350] Farel,

notwithstanding the infirmity of old age, travelled to Geneva, and paid

his friend a touching farewell visit, but returned home before his

death. He wrote to Fabri: "Would I could die for him! What a beautiful

course has he happily. finished! God grant that we may thus finish our

course according to the grace that he has given us."

His last journey was a farewell visit to the Protestants at Metz, who

received him with open arms, and were exceedingly comforted by his

presence (May, 1565). He preached with the fire of his youth. Soon

after his return to Neuch�tel, he died peacefully, Sept. 13, 1565,

seventy-six years old. The friends who visited him in his last days

were deeply impressed with his heroic steadfastness and hopefulness. He

was poor and disinterested, like all the Reformers. [351] A monument

was erected to him at Neuch�tel, May 4, 1876.

The writings of Farel are polemical and practical tracts for the times,

mostly in French. [352]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[349] Six years afterwards he became the father of a son, his only

child, who survived him three years. John Knox surpassed him in

matrimonial enterprise: he married, as a widower of fifty-eight, a

Scotch lass of sixteen, of royal name and blood (Margaret Stuart), who

bore him three daughters, and two years after his death (1572)

contracted a second marriage. If Erasmus had lived, he might have

pointed to these examples in confirmation of his witticisms on the

marriages of Luther and Oecolampadius.

[350] Calvin, Opera, XX. 302, where this epistola is called "ultima

omnium et valedictoria."

[351] La France Prot., VI. 409: "Toute sa succession se monta �120

livres, preuve de son enti�re desint�ressement." Godet, l.c, p. 185:

"Calvin mourant ne laissa que 125 �cus de fortune �ses h�ritiers. Le

petit tr�sor de Farel trouv�apr�s sa mort se montait �120 livres du

pays."

[352] See a list of 18 in Schmidt, l.c., p. 38; a more complete one

(24) in La France Protest., VI. 410-414. Herminjard, in the 7 vols. of

his Correspond. des R�f, gives 107 of his letters, and 242 letters

addressed to him.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 63. Peter Viret and the Reformation in Lausanne.

Biographies of Viret in Beza's Icones, in Verheiden's Imagines et

Elogia (with a list of his works, pp. 88-90), by Chenevi�re (1835),

Jaquemot (1856), C. Schmidt (1860). References to him in Ruchat, Le

Chroniqueur, Gaberel, Merle D'Aubign�, etc.

Farel was aided in his evangelistic efforts chiefly by Viret and

Froment, who agreed with his views, but differed from his violent

method.

Peter Viret, the Reformer of Lausanne, was the only native Swiss among

the pioneers of Protestantism in Western Switzerland; all others were

fugitive Frenchmen. He was born, 1511, at Orbe, in the Pays de Vaud,

and educated for the priesthood at Paris. He acquired a considerable

amount of classical and theological learning, as is evident from his

writings. He passed, like Luther and Farel, through a severe mental and

moral struggle for truth and peace of conscience. He renounced Romanism

before he was ordained, and returned to Switzerland. He was induced by

Farel in 1531 to preach at Orbe. He met with considerable success, but

also with great difficulty and opposition from priests and people. He

converted his parents and about two hundred persons in Orbe, to whom he

administered the holy communion in 1532. He shared the labors and

trials of Farel and Froment in Geneva. An attempt was made to poison

them; he alone ate of the poisoned dish, but recovered, yet with a

permanent injury to his health.

His chief work was done at Lausanne, where he labored as pastor,

teacher, and author for twenty-two years. By order of the government of

Bern a public disputation was held Oct. 1 to 10, 1536. [353] Viret,

Farel, Calvin, Fabri, Marcourt, and Caroli were called to defend the

Reformed doctrines. Several priests and monks were present, as Drogy,

Mimard, Michod, Loys, Berilly, and a French physician, Claude

Blancherose. A deputy of Bern presided. The discussion was conducted in

French. Farel prepared ten Theses in which he asserts the supremacy of

the Bible, justification by faith alone, the high-priesthood and

mediatorship of Christ, spiritual worship without ceremonies and

images, the sacredness of marriage, Christian freedom in the observance

or non-observance of things indifferent, such as fasts and feasts.

Farel and Viret were the chief speakers. The result was the

introduction of the Reformation, November 1 of the same year. Viret and

Pierre Caroli were appointed preachers. Viret taught at the same time

in the academy founded by Bern in 1540.

Caroli stayed only a short time. He was a native of France and a doctor

of the Sorbonne, who had become nominally a Protestant, but envied

Viret for his popularity, took offence at his sermons, and wantonly

charged him, Farel, and Calvin, with Arianism. He was deposed as a

slanderer, and at length returned to the Roman Church. [354]

In 1549 Beza was appointed second professor of theology at the academy,

and greatly strengthened Viret's hands. Five young Frenchmen who were

trained by them for the ministry, and had returned to their native land

to preach the gospel, were seized at Lyons and burned, May 16, 1553,

notwithstanding the intercession of the Reformed Cantons with King

Henry II.

Viret attempted to introduce a strict discipline with the ban, but

found as much opposition as Calvin at Geneva and Farel at Neuch�tel.

Bern disapproved the ban and also the preaching of the rigorous

doctrine of predestination. Beza was discouraged, and accepted a call

to Geneva (September, 1558). Viret was deposed (Jan. 20, 1559). The

professors of the academy and a number of preachers resigned. Viret

went to Geneva and was appointed preacher of the city (March 2, 1559).

His sermons were more popular and impressive than those of Calvin, and

better attended.

With the permission of Geneva, he labored for a while as an evangelist,

with great success, at Nismes, Montpellier, and Lyons. He presided as

Moderator over the fourth national Synod of the Huguenots, August,

1563. He accepted a call from Jeanne d'Albret to an academy at Orthez,

in Bearn, which she founded in 1566. There, in 1571, he died, the last

of the triumvirate of the founders of the Reformed Church in French

Switzerland. He was twice married, first to a lady of Orbe (1538); a

second time, to a lady of Geneva (1546). He was small, sickly, and

emaciated, but fervent in spirit, and untiring in labor.

Viret was an able and fruitful author, and shows an uncommon

familiarity with classical and theological literature. He wrote, mostly

in the form of dialogues, expositions of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten

Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, a summary of Christian doctrine,

polemical books against the Council of Trent, against the mass and

other doctrines of Romanism, and tracts on Providence, the Sacraments,

and practical religion. The most important is The Christian Instruction

in the Doctrine of the Gospel and the Law, and in the true Philosophy

and Theology both Natural and Supernatural (Geneva, 1564, 3 vols.

fol.). His writings are exceedingly rare. [355]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[353] The acts of this disputation are printed in Vulliemin's

Chroniqueur en l'an 1536, No. 17, pp. 315-326. The chapter of Lausanne

protested, pp. 316, 325.

[354] See his letter of submission to Pope Paul III., June, 1537, in

Herminjard, IV. 248 sqq.

[355] C. Schmidt, in his monograph on Viret, pp. 56-71, gives a list of

them with extracts. Comp. Phil. Godet, l.c. 70 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 64. Antoine Froment.

A. Froment: Les actes et gestes merveilleux de la cit� de Gen�ve,

nouvellement convertie � l'Evangile. Edited by G. Revilliod, Gen�ve,

1854. A chronicle from 1532 to 1536, fresh and lively, but partial and

often inac-curate. Much used by Merle D'Aubign�. Letters in Herminjard,

Tom. IV.

There is no special monograph of Froment, and he is omitted in Beza's

Icones and also in Verheiden's Imagines et Elogia (Hagae, 1725),

probably on account of his spotted character. Sketches in La France

Protest., VI. 723-733, and notices in Roget, Merle D'Aubign�, Gaberel,

Polenz. A good article by Th. Schott in Herzog2, IV. 677-699, and by

Roget in Lichtenberger's "Encycl.," V. 342-344. On his literary merita

see Phil. Godet, Histoire litteraire de la Suisse Romande, 82 sqq.

Antoine Froment was born in 1509 in Mens, in Dauphin�, and was one of

the earliest disciples of Farel, his countryman. He accompanied him in

his evangelistic tours through Switzerland, and shared in his troubles,

persecutions, and successes. In 1532 he went for the first time to

Geneva, and opened an elementary school in which he taught religion. He

advertised it by placards in these words: "A man has arrived, who in

the space of one month will teach anybody, great or small, male or

female, to read and write French; who does not learn it in that time

need not pay anything. He will also heal many diseases without charge."

The people flocked to him; he was an able teacher, and turned his

lessons into addresses and sermons.

On new year's day, in 1533, he preached his first sermon on the public

place, Molard, attacked the pope, priests, and monks as false prophets

(Matt. 7:15 sq.), but was interrupted by armed priests, and forced by

the police to flee to a retreat. He left the city by night, in

February, but returned again and again, and aided Farel, Viret, and

Calvin.

Unfortunately he did not remain faithful to his calling, and fell into

disgrace. He neglected his pastoral duties, kept a shop, and at last

gave up the ministry. His colleagues, especially Calvin, complained

bitterly of him. [356] In December, 1549, he was engaged by Bonivard,

the official historian of the Republic, to assist him in his Chronicle,

which was completed in 1552. Then he became a public notary of Geneva

(1553). He got into domestic troubles. Soon after the death of his

first wife, formerly abbess of a convent, he married a second time

(1561), but committed adultery with a servant, was deposed, imprisoned,

and banished, 1562.

His misfortune seems to have wrought in him a beneficial change. In

1572 he was permitted on application to return to Geneva in view of his

past services, and in 1574 he was reinstated as notary. He died in

1581(?). The Genevese honored his memory as one, though the least

important, and the least worthy, of the four Reformers of their city.

His chief work is the Chronicle mentioned above, which supplements the

Chronicles of Bonivard, and Sister Jeanne de Jussie. [357]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[356] "Froment," says Farel, "a d�g�n�r�en ivraie (ivresse)."

[357] Michelet (Hist. de France, XI. 91): "Nul livre plus amusant que

la chronique de Froment, hardi colporteur de la gr�ce, naif et mordant

satirique que les d�votes g�nevoises, plaisamment d�voil�es par lui,

essay�rent de jeter au Rh�ne."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN CALVIN AND HIS WORK.

The literature in � 58, pp. 225-231.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 65. John Calvin compared with the Older Reformers.

We now approach the life and work of John Calvin, who labored more than

Farel, Viret, and Froment. He was the chief founder and consolidator of

the Reformed Church of France and French Switzerland, and left the

impress of his mind upon all other Reformed Churches in Europe and

America.

Revolution is followed by reconstruction and consolidation. For this

task Calvin was providentially foreordained and equipped by genius,

education, and circumstances.

Calvin could not have done the work of Farel; for he was not a

missionary, or a popular preacher. Still less could Farel have done the

work of Calvin; for he was neither a theologian, nor a statesman.

Calvin, the Frenchman, would have been as much out of place in Z�rich

or Wittenberg, as the Swiss Zwingli and the German Luther would have

been out of place and without a popular constituency in French-speaking

Geneva. Each stands first and unrivalled in his particular mission and

field of labor.

Luther's public career as a reformer embraced twenty-nine years, from

1517 to 1546; that of Zwingli, only twelve years, from 1519 to 1531

(unless we date it from his preaching at Einsiedeln in 1516); that of

Calvin, twenty-eight years, from 1536 to 1564. The first reached an age

of sixty-two: the second, of forty-seven; the third, of fifty-four.

Calvin was twenty-five years younger than Luther and Zwingli, and had

the great advantage of building on their foundation. He had less

genius, but more talent. He was inferior to them as a man of action,

but superior as a thinker and organizer. They cut the stones in the

quarries, he polished them in the workshop. They produced the new

ideas, he constructed them into a system. His was the work of Apollos

rather than of Paul: to water rather than to plant, God giving the

increase.

Calvin's character is less attractive, and his life less dramatic than

Luther's or Zwingli's, but he left his Church in a much better

condition. He lacked the genial element of humor and pleasantry; he was

a Christian stoic: stern, severe, unbending, yet with fires of passion

and affection glowing beneath the marble surface. His name will never

rouse popular enthusiasm, as Luther's and Zwingli's did at the

celebration of the fourth centennial of their birth; no statues of

marble or bronze have been erected to his memory; even the spot of his

grave in the cemetery at Geneva is unknown. [358] But he surpassed them

in consistency and self-discipline, and by his exegetical, doctrinal,

and polemical writings, he has exerted and still exerts more influence

than any other Reformer upon the Protestant Churches of the Latin and

Anglo-Saxon races. He made little Geneva for a hundred years the

Protestant Rome and the best-disciplined Church in Christendom. History

furnishes no more striking example of a man of so little personal

popularity, and yet such great influence upon the people; of such

natural timidity and bashfulness combined with such strength of

intellect and character, and such control over his and future

generations. He was by nature and taste a retiring scholar, but

Providence made him an organizer and ruler of churches.

The three leading Reformers were of different nationality and

education. Luther, the son of a German peasant, was trained in the

school of monasticism and mysticism, under the influence of St.

Augustin, Tauler, and Staupitz, and retained strong churchly

convictions and prejudices. Zwingli, the son of a Swiss country

magistrate, a republican patriot, an admiring student of the ancient

classics and of Erasmus, passed through the door of the Renaissance to

the Reformation, and broke more completely away from mediaevalism.

Calvin, a native Frenchman, a patrician by education and taste, studied

law as well as theology, and by his legal and judicial mind was

admirably qualified to build up a new Christian commonwealth.

Zwingli and Luther met once face to face at Marburg, but did not

understand each other. The Swiss extended to the German the hand of

fellowship, notwithstanding their difference of opinion on the mode of

Christ's presence in the Eucharist; but Luther refused it, under the

restraint of a narrower dogmatic conscience. Calvin saw neither, but

was intimate with Melanchthon, whom he met at the Colloquies of Worms

and Regensburg, and with whom he kept up a correspondence till his

death. He rightly placed the German Reformer, as to genius and power,

above the Swiss, and generously declared that, even if Luther should

call him a devil, he would still esteem Luther as a most eminent

servant of God. Luther saw, probably, only two books of Calvin, his

reply to Sadolet and his tract on the Lord's Supper; the former he

read, as he says, with singular delight ("cum singulari voluptate ").

How much more would he have been delighted with his Institutes or

Commentaries! He sent respectful greetings to Calvin through

Melanchthon, who informed him that he was in high favor with the

Wittenberg doctor.

Calvin, in his theology, mediated between Zwingli and Luther.

Melanchthon mediated between Luther and Calvin; he was a friend of

both, though unlike either in disposition and temper, standing as a man

of peace between two men of war. The correspondence between Calvin and

Melanchthon, considering their disagreement on the deep questions of

predestination and free-will, is highly creditable to their head and

heart, and proves that theological differences of opinion need not

disturb religious harmony and personal friendship.

The co-operative friendships between Luther and Melanchthon, between

Zwingli and Oecolampadius, between Farel and Calvin, between Calvin,

Beza, and Bullinger, are among the finest chapters in the history of

the Reformation, and reveal the hand of God in that movement.

Widely as these Reformers differed in talent, temperament, and sundry

points of doctrine and discipline, they were great and good men,

equally honest and earnest, unselfish and unworldly, brave and

fearless, ready at any moment to go to the stake for their conviction.

They labored for the same end: the renovation of the Catholic Church by

leading it back to the pure and perennial fountain of the perfect

teaching and example of Christ.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[358] A plain stone, with the letters "J. C.," is pointed out to the

stranger as marking his resting-place in the cemetery of Plein Palais

outside of the city, but it is not known on what authority. He himself

especially enjoined that no monument should mark his grave.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 66. Calvin's Place in History.

1. Calvin was, first of all, a theologian. He easily takes the lead

among the systematic expounders of the Reformed system of Christian

doctrine. He is scarcely inferior to Augustin among the fathers, or

Thomas Aquinas among the schoolmen, and more methodical and symmetrical

than either. Melanchthon, himself the prince of Lutheran divines and

"the Preceptor of Germany," called him emphatically "the Theologian."

[359]

Calvin's theology is based upon a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures.

He was the ablest exegete among the Reformers, and his commentaries

rank among the very best of ancient and modern times. His theology,

therefore, is biblical rather than scholastic, and has all the

freshness of enthusiastic devotion to the truths of God's Word. At the

same time he was a consummate logician and dialectician. He had a rare

power of clear, strong, convincing statement. He built up a body of

doctrines which is called after him, and which obtained symbolical

authority through some of the leading Reformed Confessions of Faith.

Calvinism is one of the great dogmatic systems of the Church. It is

more logical than Lutheranism and Arminianism, and as logical as

Romanism. And yet neither Calvinism nor Romanism is absolutely logical.

Both are happily illogical or inconsistent, at least in one crucial

point: the former by denying that God is the author of sin--which

limits Divine sovereignty; the latter by conceding that baptismal (i.e.

regenerating or saving) grace is found outside of the Roman

Church--which breaks the claim of exclusiveness. [360]

The Calvinistic system is popularly (though not quite correctly)

identified with the Augustinian system, and shares its merit as a

profound exposition of the Pauline doctrines of sin and grace, but also

its fundamental defect of confining the saving grace of God and the

atoning work of Christ to a small circle of the elect, and ignoring the

general love of God to all mankind (John 3:16). It is a theology of

Divine sovereignty rather than of Divine love; and yet the love of God

in Christ is the true key to his character and works, and offers the

only satisfactory solution of the dark mystery of sin. Arminianism is a

reaction against scholastic Calvinism, as Rationalism is a more radical

reaction against scholastic Lutheranism. [361]

Calvin did not grow before the public, like Luther and Melanchthon, who

passed through many doctrinal changes and contradictions. He adhered to

the religious views of his youth unto the end of his life. [362] His

Institutes came like Minerva in full panoply out of the head of

Jupiter. The book was greatly enlarged and improved in form, but

remained the same in substance through the several editions (the last

revision is that of 1559). It threw into the shade the earlier

Protestant theologies,--as Melanchthon's Loci, and Zwingli's Commentary

on the True and False Religion,--and it has hardly been surpassed

since. As a classical production of theological genius it stands on a

level with Origen's De Principiis, Augustin's De Civitate Dei, Thomas

Aquinas' Summa Theologiae, and Schleiermacher's Der Christliche Glaube.

2. Calvin is, in the next place, a legislator and disciplinarian. He is

the founder of a new order of Church polity, which consolidated the

dissipating forces of Protestantism, and fortified it against the

powerful organization of Romanism on the one hand, and the destructive

tendencies of sectarianism and infidelity on the other.

In this respect we may compare him to Pope Hildebrand, but with this

great difference, that Hildebrand, the man of iron, reformed the papacy

of his day on ascetic principles, and developed the mediaeval theocracy

on the hierarchical basis of an exclusive and unmarried priesthood;

while Calvin reformed the Church on social principles, and founded a

theocracy on the democratic basis of the general priesthood of

believers. The former asserted the supremacy of the Church over the

State; the latter, the supremacy of Christ over both Church and State.

Calvin united the spiritual and secular powers as the two arms of God,

on the assumption of the obedience of the State to the law of Christ.

The last form of this kind of theocracy or Christocracy was established

by the Puritans in New England in 1620, and continued for several

generations. In the nineteenth century, when the State has assumed a

mixed religious and non-religious character, and is emancipating itself

more and more from the rule of any church organization or creed, Calvin

would, like his modern adherents in French Switzerland, Scotland, and

America, undoubtedly be a champion of the freedom and independence of

the Church and its separation from the State.

Calvin found the commonwealth of Geneva in a condition of license

bordering on anarchy: he left it a well-regulated community, which John

Knox, the Reformer of Scotland, from personal observation, declared to

be "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since

the days of the Apostles," and which Valentin Andreae, a shining light

of the Lutheran Church, likewise from personal observation, half a

century after Calvin's death, held up to the churches of Germany as a

model for imitation. [363]

The moral discipline which Calvin introduced reflects the severity of

his theology, and savors more of the spirit of the Old Testament than

the spirit of the New. As a system, it has long since disappeared, but

its best results remain in the pure, vigorous, and high-toned morality

which distinguishes Calvinistic and Presbyterian communities.

It is by the combination of a severe creed with severe self-discipline

that Calvin became the father of the heroic races of French Huguenots,

Dutch Burghers, English Puritans, Scotch Covenanters, and New England

Pilgrims, who sacrificed the world for the liberty of conscience. "A

little bit of the worlds history," says the German historian H�usser,

[364] "was enacted in Geneva, which forms the proudest portion of the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A number of the most distinguished

men in France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain professed her creed;

they were sturdy, gloomy souls, iron characters cast in one mould, in

which there was an interfusion of Romanic, Germanic, mediaeval, and

modern elements; and the national and political consequences of the new

faith were carried out by them with the utmost rigor and consistency."

A distinguished Scotch divine (Principal Tulloch) echoes this judgment

when he says: [365] "It was the spirit bred by Calvin's discipline

which, spreading into France and Holland and Scotland, maintained by

its single strength the cause of a free Protestantism in all these

lands. It was the same spirit which inspired the early and lived on in

the later Puritans; which animated such men as Milton and Owen and

Baxter; which armed the Parliament of England with strength against

Charles I., and stirred the great soul of Cromwell in its proudest

triumphs; and which, while it thus fed every source of political

liberty in the Old World, burned undimned in the gallant crew of the

'Mayflower,' the Pilgrim Fathers,--who first planted the seeds of

civilization in the great continent of the West." [366]

Calvin was intolerant of any dissent, either papal or heretical, and

his early followers in Europe and America abhorred religious toleration

(in the sense of indifference) as a pestiferous error; nevertheless, in

their conflict with reactionary Romanism and political despotism, they

became the chief promoters of civil and religious liberty based upon

respect for God's law and authority. The solution of the apparent

inconsistency lies in the fact that Calvinists fear God and nothing

else. In their eyes, God alone is great, man is but a shadow. The fear

of God makes them fearless of earthly despots. It humbles man before

God, it exalts him before his fellow-men. The fear of God is the basis

of moral self-government, and self-government is the basis of true

freedom. [367]

3. Calvin's influence is not confined to the religious and moral

sphere; it extends to the intellectual and literary development of

France. He occupies a prominent position in the history of the French

language, as Luther, to a still higher degree, figures in the history

of the German language. Luther gave to the Germans, in their own

vernacular, a version of the Bible, a catechism, and a hymn-book.

Calvin did not translate the Scriptures (although from his commentaries

a tolerably complete version might be constructed), and his catechism

and a few versified psalms never became popular; but he wrote classical

French as well as classical Latin, and excelled his contemporaries in

both. He was schooled in the Renaissance, but, instead of running into

the pedantic Ciceronianism of Bembo, he made the old Roman tongue

subservient to Christian thought, and raised the French language to the

dignity of one of the chief organs of modern civilization,

distinguished for directness, clearness, precision, vivacity, and

elegance.

The modern French language and literature date from Calvin and his

contemporary, Fran�ois Rabelais (1483-1553). These two men, so totally

different, reflect the opposite extremes of French character. Calvin

was the most religious, Rabelais the most witty man, of his generation;

the one the greatest divine, the other the greatest humorist, of

France; the one a Christian stoic, the other a heathen Epicurean; the

one represented discipline bordering on tyranny, the other liberty

running into license. Calvin created the theological and polemical

French style,--a style which suits serious discussion, and aims at

instruction and conviction. Rabelais created the secular style, which

aims to entertain and to please. [368]

Calvin sharpened the weapons with which Bossuet and the great Roman

Catholic divines of the seventeenth century attacked Protestantism,

with which Rousseau and the philosophers of the eighteenth century

attacked Christianity, and with which Adolf Monod and Eug�ne Bersier of

the nineteenth century preached the simple gospel of the New Testament.

[369]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[359] With this judgment the Strassburg editors of his works agree, by

calling Calvin "theologorum principem et antesignanum" (Opera, I. IX.).

Scaliger says: "Calvin is alone among theologians; there is no ancient

to compare with him." The term ho theologos, as a title of special

distinction, was flrst given to the Apostle John, and afterwards to

Gregory Nazianzen; in both cases with special reference to the advocacy

of the divinity of Christ (the theotes tou logou). Calvin earned the

title in a more comprehensive sense, as covering the whole field of

exegetical, dogmatic, and polemic theology.

[360] Expressed in the formula of Cyprian: "extra ecclesiam [Romanam]

nulla salus." Cyprian was logically right, but theologically wrong,

when, in his controversy with the Roman bishop, he denied the validity

of heretical and schismatical baptism.

[361] Harnack excludes Calvinism and Arminianism from his

Dogmengeschichte, while he devotes to Socinianism, which is not nearly

as important, no less than thirty-eight pages (III. 653-691). A strange

omission in this important work, completed in 1890. He explains this

omission (in a private letter to me, dated March 3, 1891) on the ground

that he includes Calvinism and Arminianism in the

Entwicklungsgeschichte des Protestantismus, which he did not intend to

treat in his Dogmengeschichte.

[362] Beza says: "In the doctrine which he delivered at first, Calvin

persisted steadily to the last, scarcely making any change."

[363] See these and other remarkable judgments quoted more fully in �

110.

[364] The Period of the Reformation, ed. by Oncken, transl. by Mrs.

Sturgis (New York, 1874), p. 255.

[365] Luther and Other Leaders of the Reformation, p. 264 sq. (3d ed.

1883).

[366] George Bancroft, the historian of the United States, derives the

free institutions of America chiefly from Calvinism through the medium

of Puritanism. It is certain that, in the colonial period, Calvinism

was the most powerful factor in the theology, and religious life of

America; but since the close of the eighteenth century, Arminian

Methodism fairly divides the field with it and is numerically the

strongest denomination in the United States at the present day. The

Baptists, who come next in numerical strength, the Presbyterians, the

Congregationalists, and the Dutch and German Reformed rank on the

Calvinistic, but the Protestant Episcopalians and Lutherans,

predominantly on the Arminian side. The Episcopal Church, however,

leaves room for the moderate Calvinism of the Thirty-nine Articles

(Art. 17), the high Calvinism of the Lambeth Articles and Irish

Articles, and the semi-Catholic tendency of the Prayer-Book. The

Lutheran Formula of Concord is Calvinistic in the doctrine of

unconditional election of believers and the slavery of the human will,

but Arminian in the doctrine of universal atonement and universal

vocation, and semi-Catholic in the doctrine of the sacraments

(baptismal regeneration and the eucharistic presence).

[367] Goethe gives classic expression to this truth in the lines: --

"In der Beschr�nkung erst zeigt sich der Meister, Und das Gesetz nur

kann uns Freiheit geben."

[368] Calvin alludes once (in a letter of 1553) to the Pantagruel of

Rabelais, which was condemned as an obscene book.

[369] Bossuet (in his Histoire des Variations) says: "Rien ne flattait

davantage Calvin que la gloire de bien �crire. Donnons lui donc,

puisqu'il le veut tant cette gloire, d'avoir aussi bien �crit qu'homme

de son si�cle.... Sa plume �tait plus correcte, surtout en latin, que

celle de Luther; et son style, qui �tait plus triste, �tait aussi plus

suivi et plus ch�ti�. Ils excellaient l'un et l'autre �parler la langue

de leur pays." Martin, in his Histoire de France (Tom. VIII. 186 sq.),

discusses at some length the merits of Calvin for French prose, and

calls him the first writer of the sixteenth century "par la dur�e et

l'influence de sa langue, de son style." Pierre Larousse, in his Grand

Dictionnaire (Tom. III. 186), calls Calvin "fondateur de in R�forme en

France et un des p�res de notre langue." Equally favorable are the

judgments of Sayous, Lacroix, Nisard, and Marc-Monnier.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 67. Calvin's Literary Labors.

The best edition of Calvin's Opera by the Strassburg professors, Baum,

Cunitz, and Reuss (now all dead), embraces so far 48 quarto vols.

(1863-1892); the remaining volumes were prepared for publication by Dr.

Reuss before his death (1891). He wrote to me from Neuhof, near

Strassburg, July 11, 1887: "Alles ist zum Druck vorbereitet und ganz

fertig mit Prolegomenis, etc. Es bleibt nichts mehr zu thun �brig als

die Correctur und die Fortsetzung des immer � jour gehaltenen Index

rerum et nominum, et locorum S. S., was ein anderer nach meinem Tode

besorgen kann. Denn ich werde die Vollendung nicht erleben. F�r den

Schluss habe ich sogar noch ein Supplement ausgearbeitet, n�mlich eine

franz�sische Bibel, extrahirt aus den franz�sischen Commentaren und

Predigten, nebst allen Varianten der zu Calvin's Zeiten in Genf

gedruckten Bibeln." Vol. 45 sqq. are edited by Erichson.

Older editions appeared at Geneva, 1617, in 7 vols., in 15 fol., and at

Amsterdam, 1667-1671, in 9 vols. fol. The English translation,

Edinburgh, 1843-1854, has 62 vols. 8�. Several works have been

separately published in Latin, French, German, Dutch, English, and

other languages. See a chronological list in Henry: Das Leben Joh.

Calvins, vol. III. Beilagen, 175-252, and in La France Prot. III.

545-636 (2d ed.).

The literary activity of Calvin, whether we look at the number or at

the importance of works, is not surpassed by any ecclesiastical writer,

ancient or modern, and excites double astonishment when we take into

consideration the shortness of his life, the frailty of his health, and

the multiplicity of his other labors as a teacher, preacher, church

ruler, and correspondent. Augustin among the Fathers, Thomas Aquinas

among the Schoolmen, Luther and Melanchthon among the Reformers, were

equally fruitful; but they lived longer, with the exception of Thomas

Aquinas. Calvin, moreover, wrote in two languages with equal clearness,

force, and elegance; while Augustin and Thomas Aquinas wrote only in

Latin; Luther was a master of German; and Melanchthon, a master of

Latin and Greek, but his German is as indifferent as Luther's Latin.

Calvin's works may be divided into ten classes.

1. Exegetical Writings. Commentaries on the Pentateuch and Joshua, on

the Psalms, on the Larger and Minor Prophets; Homilies on First Samuel

and Job; Commentaries on all the books of the New Testament, except the

Apocalypse. They form the great body of his writings. [370]

2. Doctrinal. The Institutes (Latin and French), first published at

Basel, 1536; 2d ed., Strassburg, 1539; 5th Latin ed., Geneva, 1559.

[371]

Minor doctrinal works: Three Catechisms, 1537, 1542, and 1545; On the

Lord's Supper (Latin and French), 1541; the Consensus Tigurinus, 1549

and 1551 (in both languages); the Consensus Genevensis (Latin and

French), 1552; the Gallican Confession (Latin and French), 1559 and

1562. [372]

3. Polemical and Apologetic. [373]

(a) Against the Roman Church: Response to Cardinal Sadoletus, 1539;

Against Pighius, on Free-will, 1543; On the Worship of Relics, 1543;

Against the Faculty of the Sorbonne, 1544; On the Necessity of a

Reformation, 1544; Against the Council of Trent, 1547.

(b) Against the Anabaptists: On the Sleep of the Soul

(Psychopannychia), 1534; Brief Instruction against the Errors of the

Sect of the Anabaptists, 1544.

(c) Against the Libertines: Adversus fanaticam et furiosam sectam

Libertinorum qui se Spirituales vocant (also in French), 1545.

(d) Against the Anti-Trinitarians: Defensio orthodoxae fidei S.

Trinitatis adversus prodigiosos errores Serveti, 1554; Responsum ad

Quaestiones G. Blandatrae, 1558; Adversus Valentinum Gentilem, 1561;

Responsum ad nobiles Fratres Polonos (Socinians) de controversia

Mediatoris, 1561; Brevis admonitio ad Fratres Polonos ne triplicem in

Deo essentiam pro tribus personis imaginando tres sibi Deos fabricent,

1563.

(e) Defence of the Doctrine of Predestination against Bolsec and

Castellio, 1554 and 1557.

(f) Defence of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper against the Calumnies

of Joachim Westphal, a Lutheran fanatic (two Defensiones and an

Admonitio ultima), 1555, 1556, 1557, and a tract on the same subject

against Hesshus (ad discutiendas Heshusii nebulas), 1561.

4. Ecclesiastical and Liturgical. Ordinances of the Church of Geneva,

1537; Project of Ecclesiastical Ordinances, 1541; Formula of Oath

prescribed to Ministers, 1542; Order of Marriage, 1545; Visitation of

the Churches in the Country, 1546; Order of Baptism, 1551; Academic

Laws, 1559; Ecclesiastical Ordinances, and Academic Laws, 1561;

Liturgical Prayers. [374]

5. Sermons and Homilies. They are very, numerous, and were mostly taken

down by auditors. [375]

6. Minor Treatises. His academic oration, for Cop in Paris, 1533;

Against Astrology, 1549; On Certain Scandals, 1550, etc.

7. Consilia on various doctrinal and polemical subjects.

8. Letters. Calvin's correspondence was enormous, and fills ten volumes

in the last edition of his works. [376]

9. Poetical. A hymn to Christ, free metrical versions of several

psalms, and an epic (Epinicion Christo cantatum, 1541). [377]

10. Calvin edited Seneca, De Clementia, with notes, 1532; a French

translation of Melanchthon's Loci, with preface, 1546; and wrote

preface to Olivetan's French Bible, 1535, etc.

The Adieus to the Little Council, and to the ministers of Geneva,

delivered on his death-bed in 1564, form a worthy conclusion of the

literary labors of this extraordinary teacher.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[370] Opera, vols. XXIII.-XLIV., contain the Old Testament

Commentaries. Those on the New Testament have been separately edited in

Latin by Tholuck, 1833-'38, 7 vols. 8�.

[371] Ibid. vols. I.-IV. (1863-'66). Latin and French. There are three

English translations of the Institutes, one by Thomas Norton (London,

1561, etc.), another by John Allen (London, 1813, 3d ed. 1844, in 2

vols.), a third by Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh, 1845-'46, 3 vols.). The

work was also translated into Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German,

Hungarian, Greek, and other languages. A new French ed. by Fr.

Baumgartner, Gen. 1888.

[372] Tractatus theologiciminores, in Opera, vol. V., etc.

[373] Vols. V.-IX.

[374] Vol. X. Pars I. (1871), pp. 5-146, and vol. VI. 161-210.

[375] Henry (II. 198) says that the Geneva library contains forty-four

manuscript volumes of sermons of Calvin; but the librarian Diodati

informed him afterwards (III. Preface, p. viii.) that there are only

nine volumes left, namely, the sermons between the years 1549-'51,

1555-'56, 1560-'61. The sermons on the Decalogue, on Deuteronomy, on

Job, on the Sacrifice of Abraham, and many others were published during

his life-time.

[376] Vols. X.-XX. The Strassburg editors give in all 4271 letters of

Calvin and to Calvin. Herminjard has published so far his

correspondence down to 1542 (the seventh volume appeared in 1886).

[377] Vols. V. 423-428, and VI. 212-224. A French metrical translation

of the Epinicion appeared In Paris, 1555, under the title, Chant de

Victoire chant�a Jesus Christ, etc.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 68. Tributes to the Memory of Calvin.

Comp. the large collection of Opinions and Testimonies respecting the

Writings of Calvin, in the last volume of the English edition of his

works published by the Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh, 1854, pp.

376-464. I have borrowed from it several older testimonies.

No name in church history--not even Hildebrand's or Luther's or

Loyola's--has been so much loved and hated, admired and abhorred,

praised and blamed, blessed and cursed, as that of John Calvin. Living

in a fiercely polemic age, and standing on the watch-tower of the

reform movement in Western Europe, he was the observed of all

observers, and exposed to attacks from every quarter. Religious and

sectarian passions are the deepest and strongest. Melanchthon prayed

for deliverance from "the fury of theologians." Roman Catholics feared

Calvin as their most dangerous enemy, though not a few of them

honorably admitted his virtues. Protestants were divided according to

creed and prejudice: some regarding him as the first among the

Reformers and the nearest to Paul; others detesting his favorite

doctrine of predestination. Even his share in the burning of Servetus

was defended as just during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

but is now universally deplored or condemned. [378]

Upon the whole, the verdict of history is growingly in his favor. He

improves upon acquaintance. Those who know him best esteem him most.

The fruits of his labors are abundant, especially in the

English-speaking world, and constitute his noblest monument. The

slanderous charges of Bolsec, though feebly re-echoed by Audin, are no

longer believed. All impartial writers admit the purity and integrity,

if not the sanctity, of his character, and his absolute freedom from

love of gain and notoriety. One of the most eminent skeptical

historians of France goes so far as to pronounce him "the most

Christian man" of his age. Few of the great luminaries of the Church of

God have called forth such tributes of admiration and praise from able

and competent judges.

The following selection of testimonies may be regarded as a fair index

of the influence which this extraordinary man has exerted from his

humble study in "the little corner" on the south-western border of

Switzerland upon men of different ages, nationalities, and creeds, down

to the present time.

Tributes of Contemporaries (Sixteenth Century).

Martin Luther (1483-1546).

From a letter to Bucer, Oct. 14, 1539.

"Present my respectful greetings to Sturm and Calvin (then at

Strassburg], whose books I have perused with singular pleasure (quorum

libellos singulari cum voluptate legi)."

Martin Bucer (1491-1551).

"Calvin is a truly learned and singularly eloquent man (vere doctus

mireque Facundus vir), an illustrious restorer of a purer Christianity

(purioris Christianismi instaurator eximius)."

Theodore Beza (1519-1605).

From his Vita Calvini (Latin) at the Close (Opera, XXI. 172).

"I have been a witness of Calvin's life for sixteen years, and I think

I am fully entitled to say that in this man there was exhibited to all

a most beautiful example of the life and death of the Christian (longe

pulcherrimum vere christianae tum vita tum mortis exemplum), which it

will be as easy to calumniate as it will be difficult to emulate."

Compare also the concluding remarks of his French biography, vol. XXI.

46 (Aug. 19, 1564).

John Sturm of Strassburg (1507-1589).

"John Calvin was endued with a most acute judgment, the highest

learning, and a prodigious memory, and was distinguished as a writer by

variety, copiousness, and purity, as may be seen for instance from his

Institutes of the Christian Religion ... I know of no work which is

better adapted to teach religion, to correct morals, and to remove

errors."

Jerome Zanchi (1516-1590).

An Italian convert to Protestantism. Professor at Strassburg and

Heidelberg.

From a letter to the Landgrave of Hesse.

"Calvin, whose memory is honored, as all Europe knows, was held in the

highest estimation, not only for eminent piety and the highest learning

(praestanti pietate et maxima eruditione), but likewise for singular

judgment on every subject (singulari in rebus omnibus judicio

clarissimus)."

Bishop Jewel (1522-1571).

"Calvin, a reverend father, and worthy ornament of the Church of God."

Joseph Scaliger (1640-1609).

"Calvin is an instructive and learned theologian, with a higher purity

and elegance of style than is expected from a theologian. The two most

eminent theologians of our times are John Calvin and Peter Martyr; the

former of whom has treated sound learning as it ought to be treated,

with truth and purity and simplicity, without any of the scholastic

subtleties. Endued with a divine genius, he penetrated into many things

which lie beyond the reach of all who are not deeply skilled in the

Hebrew language, though he did not himself belong to that class."

"O how well Calvin apprehends the meaning of the Prophets! No one

better ... O what a good book is the Institutes! ... Calvin stands

alone among theologians (Solus inter theologos Calvinus)."

This judgment of the greatest scholar of his age, who knew thirteen

languages, and was master of philology, history, chronology,

philosophy, and theology, is all the more weighty as he was one of the

severest of critics.

Florimond De R�mond (1540-1602).

Counseiller du Roy au Parlement de Bordeaux. Roman Catholic.

From his L'histoire de la naissanse, progrez, et decadence de l'h�r�sie

de ce si�cle, divis� en huit livres, dedi� � n�tre saint P�re le Pape

Paul cinqui�me. Paris, 1605. bk. VII. ch. 10.

"Calvin had morals better regulated and settled than N., and shewed

from early youth that he did not allow himself to be carried away by

the pleasures of sense (plaisirs de la chair et du ventre) ... With a

dry and attenuated body, he always possessed a fresh and vigorous

intellect, ready in reply, bold in attack; even in his youth a great

faster, either on account of his health, and to allay the headaches

with which he was continually afflicted, or in order to have his mind

more disencumbered for the purposes of writing, studying, and improving

his memory. Calvin spoke little; what he said were serious and

impressive words (et n'estoit que propos serieux et qui portoyent

coup); he never appeared in company, and always led a retired life. He

had scarcely his equal; for during twenty-three years that he retained

possession of the bishopric (l'evesch�) of Geneva, he preached every

day, and often twice on Sundays. He lectured on theology three times a

week; and every Friday he entered into a conference which he called the

Congregation. His remaining hours were employed in composition, and

answering the letters which came to him as to a sovereign pontiff from

all parts of heretical Christendom (qui arrivoyent � luy de toute la

Chr�tient� h�r�tique, comme au Souveraine Pontife)....

"Calvin had a brilliancy of spirit, a subtlety of judgment, a grand

memory, an eminent erudition, and the power of graceful diction.... No

man of all those who preceded him has surpassed him in style, and few

since have attained that beauty and facility of language which he

possessed."

Etienne Pasquier (1528-1615).

Roman Catholic. Consellier et Avocat G�n�ral du Roy an la Chambre des

Comptes de Paris.

From Les Recherches de la France, p. 769 (Paris, 1633).

... "He [Calvin) wrote equally well in Latin and French, the latter of

which languages is greatly indebted to him for having enriched it with

an infinite number of fine expressions (enrichie d'une infinit� de

beaux traits), though I could have wished that they had been written on

a better subject. In short, a man wonderfully conversant with and

attached to the books of the Holy Scriptures, and such, that if he had

turned his mind in the proper direction, he might have been ranked with

the most distinguished doctors of the Church."

Jacques Auguste de Thou (Thuanus, 1553-1617).

President of the Parliament of Paris. A liberal Roman Catholic and one

of the framers of the Edict of Nantes.

From the 36th book of his Historia sui Temporis (from 1543-1607).

"John Calvin, of Noyon in Picardy, a person of lively spirit and great

eloquence (d'un esprit vif et d'une grande eloquence), [379] and a

theologian of high reputation among the Protestants, died of asthma,

May 20 [27], 1564, at Geneva, where he had taught for twenty-three

years, being nearly fifty-six years of age. Though he had labored under

various diseases for seven years, this did not render him less diligent

in his office, and never hindered him from writing."

De Thou has nothing unfavorable to say of Calvin.

Testimonies of Later French Writers.

Charles Drelincourt (1595-1669).

"In that prodigious multitude of books which were composed by Calvin,

you see no words thrown away; and since the prophets and apostles,

there never perhaps was a man who conveyed so many distinct statements

in so few words, and in such appropriate and well-chosen terms (en des

mots si propres et si bien choisis).... Never did Calvin's life appear

to me more pure or more innocent than after carefully examining the

diabolical calumnies with which some have endeavored to defame his

character, and after considering all the praises which his greatest

enemies are constrained to bestow on his memory."

Moses Amyraut (1596-1645).

"That incomparable Calvin, to whom mainly, next to God, the Church owes

its Reformation, not only in France, but in many other parts of

Europe."

Bishop Jacques B�nigne Bossuet (1627-1704).

From his Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes (1688), the

greatest polemical work in French against the Reformation.

"I do not know if the genius of Calvin would be found as fitted to

excite the imagination and stir up the populace as was that of Luther,

but after the movement had commenced, he rose in many countries, more

especially in France, above Luther himself, and made himself head of a

party which hardly yields to that of the Lutherans. By his searching

intellect and his bold decisions, he improved upon all those who had

sought in this century to establish a new church, and gave a new turn

to the pretended reformation.

"It is a weak feeling which makes us desirous to find anything

extraordinary in the death-beds of these people. God does not always

bestow these examples. Since he permits heresy for the trial of his

people, it is not to be wondered at that to complete this trial he

allows the spirit of seduction to prevail in them even to the end, with

all the fair appearances by which it is covered; and, without learning

more of the life and death of Calvin, it is enough to know that he has

kindled in his country a flame which not all the blood shed on its

account has been able to extinguish, and that he has gone to appear

before the judgment of God without feeling any remorse for a great

crime ....

"Let us grant him then, since he wishes it so much, the glory of having

written as well as any man of his age; let us even place him, if

desired, above Luther; for whilst the latter was in some respects more

original and lively, Calvin, his inferior in genius, appears to have

surpassed him in learning. Luther triumphed as a speaker, but the pen

of Calvin was more correct, especially in Latin, and his style, though

severe, was much more consecutive and chaste. They equally excelled in

speaking the language of their country, and both possessed an

extraordinary vehemence. Each by his talents has gained many disciples

and admirers. Each, elated by success, has fancied to raise himself

above the Fathers; neither could bear contradiction, and their

eloquence abounds in nothing more largely than virulent invective."

Richard Simon (1638-1712).

One of the greatest critical and biblical scholars of the Roman

Catholic Church.

From his Critical History of the Old Testament (Latin and French).

"As Calvin was endued with a lofty genius, we are constantly meeting

with something in his commentaries which delights the mind (quo animus

rapitur); and in consequence of his intimate and perfect acquaintance

with human nature, his ethics are truly charming, while he does his

utmost to maintain their accordance with the sacred text. Had he been

less under the influence of prejudice, and had he not been solicitous

to become the leader and standard-bearer of heresy, he might have

produced a work of the greatest usefulness to the Catholic Church."

The same passage, with additions, occurs in French. Simon says that no

author "had a better knowledge of the utter inability of the human

heart," but that "he gives too much prominence to this inability," and

"lets no opportunity pass of slandering the Roman Church," so that part

of his commentaries is "useless declamations" (d�clamations inutiles).

"Calvin displays more genius and judgment in his works than Luther; he

is more cautious, and takes care not to make use of weak proofs, of

which his adversaries might take advantage. He is subtle to excess in

his reasoning, and his commentaries are filled with references

skilfully drawn from the text--which are capable of prepossessing the

minds of those readers who are not profoundly acquainted with

religion."

Simon greatly underrates Calvin's knowledge of Hebrew when he says that

he knew not much more than the Hebrew letters. Dr. Diestel (Geschichte

des Alten Test. in der christl. Kirche, 1869, p. 267) justly pronounces

this a slander which is refuted by every page of Calvin's commentaries.

He ascribes to him a very good knowledge of Hebrew: "ausgew�hlt mit

einer sehr t�chtigen hebr�ischen Sprachkenntniss."

Pierre Bayle (1647-1706).

Son of a Reformed minister, educated by the Jesuits of Toulouse,

converted to Romanism, returned to Protestantism, skeptical, the author

of a Dictionnaire historique et critique.

"That a man who had acquired so great a reputation and so great an

authority should have had only a hundred crowns of salary, and have

desired no more, and that after having lived fifty-five years with

every sort of frugality, he left to his heirs only the value of three

hundred crowns, including his library, is a circumstance so heroical,

that one must be devoid of feeling not to admire it, and one of the

most singular victories which virtue and greatness of soul have been

able to achieve over nature, even among ministers of the gospel. Calvin

has left imitators in so far as regards activity of life, zeal and

affection for the interest of his party; they employ their eloquence,

their pens, their endeavors, their solicitations in the advancement of

the kingdom of God; but they do not forget themselves, and they are,

generally speaking, an exemplification of the maxim that the Church is

a good mother, in whose service nothing is lost.

"The Catholics have been at last obliged to dismiss to the region of

fable the atrocious calumnies (les calomnies atroces) which they had

uttered against the moral character of Calvin; their best authors now

restrict themselves to stating that if he was exempt from the vices of

the body, he has not been so from those of the mind, such as pride,

passion, and slander. I know that the Cardinal de Richelieu, or that

dexterous writer who has published under his name 'The Method of

Conversation,' had adopted the absurdities of Bolsec. But in general,

eminent authors speak no more of that. The mob of authors will never

renounce it. These calumnies are to be found in the 'Systema decretorum

dogmaticorum,' published at Avignon in 1693, by Francis Porter. Thus

the work of Bolsec will always be cited as long as the Calvinists have

adversaries, but it will be sufficient to brand it eternally with

calumny that there is among Catholics a certain number of serious

authors who will not adopt its fables."

Jean Alphonse Turretin (1617-1737).

Professor of theology of Geneva and representative of a moderate

Calvinism. The most distinguished theologian of his name, also called

Turretin the younger, to distinguish him from his father Fran�ois.

"John Calvin was a man whose memory will be blessed to the latest age

(vir benedictae in omne oevum memoriae). ... He has by his immense

labors instructed and adorned not only the Church of Geneva, but the

whole Reformed world, so that not unfrequently all the Reformed

Churches are in the gross called after his name."

Montesquieu (1689-1755).

Author of De l'esprit des lois (the oracle of the friends of moderate

freedom).

"The Genevese should bless the birthday of Calvin."

Voltaire (1694-1778).

"Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations."

"The famous Calvin, whom we regard as the Apostle of Geneva, raised

himself up to the rank of Pope of the Protestants (s'�rigea en pape des

Protestants). He was acquainted with Latin and Greek, and the had

philosophy of his time. He wrote better than Luther, and spoke worse;

both were laborious and austere, but hard and violent (durs et

emport�s).... Calvinism conforms to the republican spirit, and yet

Calvin had a tyrannical spirit.... He demanded the toleration which he

needed for himself in France, and he armed himself with intolerance at

Geneva.... The severity of Calvin was united with the greatest

disinterestedness (au plus grand desint�ressement)."

Jean Jaques Rousseau (1712-1778).

A native of Geneva. The apostle of the French Revolution, as Calvin was

the apostle of the French Reformation.

From Lettres �crites de la montagne.

"Quel homme fut jamais plus tranchant, plus imp�rieux, plus d�cisif,

plus divinement infaillible � son gr� que Calvin, pour qui la moindre

opposition ... �tait toujours une oeuvre de Satan, un crime digne Du

feu!"

D'alembert (1717-1783).

"Calvin justly enjoyed a great reputation--a literary man of the first

rank (homme de lettre du premier ordre)--writing in Latin as well as

one could do in a dead language, and in French with singular purity for

his time (avec une puret� singuli�re pour son temps). This purity,

which our able grammarians admire even at this day, renders his

writings far superior to almost all those of the same age, as the works

of the Port-Royalists are distinguished even at the present day, for

the same reason, from the barbarous rhapsodies of their opponents and

contemporaries.

Frederic Ancillon (1767-1837).

Tableau des R�volutions du Syst�me Politique de l'Europe.

"Calvin was not only a profound theologian, but likewise an able

legislator; the share which he had in the framing of the civil and

religious laws which have produced for several centuries the happiness

of the Genevan republic, is perhaps a fairer title to renown than his

theological works; and this republic, celebrated notwithstanding its

small size, and which knew how to unite morals with intellect, riches

with simplicity, simplicity with taste, liberty with order, and which

has been a focus of talents and virtues, has proved that Calvin knew

men, and knew how to govern them."

Fr. Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874).

Celebrated French historian and statesman, of Huguenot descent.

From St. Louis et Calvin, pp. 361 sqq.

"Calvin is great by reason of his marvellous powers, his lasting

labors, and the moral height and purity of his character.... Earnest in

faith, pure in motive, austere in his life, and mighty in his works,

Calvin is one of those who deserve their great fame. Three centuries

separate us from him, but it is impossible to examine his character and

history without feeling, if not affection and sympathy, at least

profound respect and admiration for one of the great Reformers of

Europe and of the great Christians of France."

By the same (1787-1874).

From Mus�e des protestants c�l�bres.

"Luther vint pour d�truire, Calvin pour fonder, par des n�cessit�s

�gales, mais differentes.... Calvin fut l'homme de cette seconde �poque

de toutes les grandes r�volutions sociales, o�, apr�s avoir conquis par

la guerre le terrain qui doit leur appartenir, elles travaillent � s'y

�tablir par la paix, selon des principes et sous les formes qui

conviennent � leur nature.... L'id�e g�n�rale selon laquelle Calvin

agit en br�lant Servet �tait de son si�cle, et an a tort de la lui

imputer."

Fran�ois Aug. Marie Mignet (1796-1884).

Celebrated French historian and academician.

From his M�moire sur l'�tablissement de la R�forme � Gen�ve.

"Calvin fut, dans le protestantisme, apr�s Luther, ce qu'est la

cons�quance apr�s le principe; dans la Suisse, ce qu'est la r�gle apr�s

une r�volution.... Calvin, s'il n'avait ni le g�nie de l'invention ni

celui de la conqu�te; s'il n'�tait ni un r�volutionnaire comme Luther

ni un missionaire comme Farel, il avait une force de logique qui devait

pousser plus loin la r�forme du premier, et une facult� d'organisation

qui devait achever l'oeuvre du second. C'est par l� qu'il renouvela la

face du protestantisme at qu'il constitua Gen�ve."

Jules Michelet (1798-1874).

Histoire de France, vol. XI. (Les Guerres De Religion), Paris, 1884,

pp. 88, 89, 92.

"C'�tait un travailleur terrible, avec un air souffrant, une

constitution mis�rable et d�bile, veillant, s'usant, se consumant, ne

distinguant ni nuit ni jour....

"C'�tait une langue inou�e [Calvin's French style], la nouvelle langue

fran�aise. Vingte ans apr�s Commines, trente ans avant Montaigne, dej�

la langue de Rousseau.... Son plus redoutable attribut, c'est sa

p�n�trante clart�, son extr�me lumi�re d'argent, plut�t d'acier, d'une

lame qui brille, mais qui tranche. On sent que cette lumi�re vient du

dedans, du fond de la conscience, d'un coeur �prement convaincu, dont

la logique est l'aliment....

"Le fond de ce grand et puissant th�ologien �tait d'�tre un l�giste. Il

l'�tait de culture, d'esprit, de caract�re. Il en avait les deux

tendances: l'appel au juste, au vrai, un �pre besoin de justice; mais,

d'autre part aussi, l'esprit dur, absolu, des tribunaux d'alors, et it

le porta dans la th�ologie.... La pr�destination de Calvin se trouva,

en pratique, une machine a faire des martyrs."

Bon Louis Henri Martin (1810-1883).

Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus recul�s jusqu'en 1789,

Tom. VIII. p. 325, of the fourth edition, Paris, 1860. Crowned by the

French Academy.

Martin, in his standard work, thus describes the influence of Calvin

upon the city of Geneva: "Calvin ne la sauve pas seulement, mais

conquiert � cette petite ville une grandeur, une puissance morale

immense. Il en fait la capitale de la R�forme, autant que la R�forme

peut avoir une capitale, pour la moiti� du monde protestant, avec une

vaste influence, accept�e ou subie, sur l'autre moiti�. Gen�ve n'est

rien par la population, par les armes, par le territoire: elle est tout

par l'esprit. Un seul avantage mat�riel lui garantit tons ses avantages

moraux: son admirable position, qui fait d'elle une petite France

r�publicaine et protestante, ind�pendante de la monarchie catholique de

France et � l'abri de l'absorption monarchique et catholique; la Suisse

protestante, alli�e n�cessaire de la royaut� fran�aise contre

l'empereur, couvre Gen�ve par la politique vis-�-vis du roi et par

l'�p�e contra les maisons d'Autriche et de Savoie."

Ernest Renan (1823-1892).

Renan, a member of the French Academy, a brilliant genius, and one of

the first historians of France, was educated for the Roman Catholic

priesthood, but became a skeptic. This makes his striking tribute all

the more significant.

From his article on John Calvin in his �tudes d'histoire religieuse,

7th ed. Paris, 1880, pp. 337-367.

"Calvin was one of those absolute men, cast complete in one mould, who

is taken in wholly at a single glance: one letter, one action suffices

for a judgment of him. There were no folds in that inflexible soul,

which never knew doubt or hesitation.... Careless of wealth, of titles,

of honors, indifferent to pomp, modest in his life, apparently humble,

sacrificing everything to the desire of making others like himself, I

hardly know of a man, save Ignatius Loyola, who could match him in

those terrible transports.... It is surprising that a man who appears

to us in his life and writings so unsympathetic should have been the

centre of an immense movement in his generation, and that this harsh

and severe tone should have exerted so great an influence on the minds

of his contemporaries. How was it, for example, that one of the most

distinguished women of her time, Ren�e of France, in her court at

Ferrara, surrounded by the flower of European wits, was captivated by

that stern master, and by him drawn into a course that must have been

so thickly, strewn with thorns? This kind of austere seduction is

exercised by those only who work with real conviction. Lacking that

vivid, deep, sympathetic ardor which was one of the secrets of Luther's

success, lacking the charm, the perilous, languishing tenderness of

Francis of Sales, Calvin succeeded more than all, in an age and in a

country which called for a reaction towards Christianity, simply

because he was the most Christian man of his century (l'homme le plus

chr�tien de son si�cle, p. 342)."

Felix Bungener (1814-1874).

Pastor of the national Church of Geneva, and author of several

historical works.

From Calvin, sa vie, son oeuvre et ses �crits, Paris, 1862; English

translation (Edinburgh, 1863), pp. 338, 349.

"Let us not give him praise which he would not have accepted. God alone

creates; a man is great only because God thinks fit to accomplish great

things by his instrumentality. Never did any great man understand this

better than Calvin. It cost him no effort to refer all the glory to

God; nothing indicates that he was ever tempted to appropriate to

himself the smallest portion of it. Luther, in many a passage,

complacently dwells on the thought that a petty monk, as he says, has

so well made the Pope to tremble, and so well stirred the whole world.

Calvin will never say any such thing; he never even seems to say it,

even in the deepest recesses of his heart; everywhere you perceive the

man, who applies to all things--to the smallest as to the greatest--the

idea that it is God who does all and is all. Read again, from this

point of view, the very pages in which he appeared to you the

haughtiest and most despotic, and see if, even there, he is anything

other than the workman referring all, and in all sincerity, to his

master.... But the man, in spite of all his faults, has not the less

remained one of the fairest types of faith, of earnest piety, of

devotedness, and of courage. Amid modern laxity, there is no character

of whom the contemplation is more instructive; for there is no man of

whom it has been said with greater justice, in the words of an apostle,

'he endured as seeing him who is invisible.' "

From Dutch Scholars.

James Arminius (1560-1609).

The founder of Arminianism.

"Next to the study of the Scriptures which I earnestly inculcate, I

exhort my pupils to peruse Calvin's Commentaries, which I extol in

loftier terms than Helmich himself (a Dutch divine, 1551-1608]; for I

affirm that he excels beyond comparison (incomparabilem esse) in the

interpretation of Scripture, and that his commentaries ought to be more

highly valued than all that is handed down to us by the library of the

fathers; so that I acknowledge him to have possessed above most others,

or rather above all other men, what may be called an eminent spirit of

prophecy (spiritum aliquem prophetiae eximium). His Institutes ought to

be studied after the [Heidelberg] Catechism, as containing a fuller

explanation, but with discrimination (cum delectu), like the writings

of all men."

Dan. Gerdes (1698-1767).

Historia Evangelii Renovati, IV. 41 sq. (Groningae, 1752).

"Calvin's labors were so highly useful to the Church of Christ, that

there is hardly any department of the Christian world to be found that

is not full of them,--hardly any heresy that has arisen which he has

not successfully encountered with that two-edged sword, the Word of

God, or a portion of Christian doctrine which he has not illustrated in

a remarkable manner. Certainly his commentaries on the Old and New

Testaments are all that could be desired; every one of his sermons is

full of unction; his Institutes bear the most complete and finished

execution; his doctrinal treatises are distinguished by solidity; his

critical works by warmth and fervor; his practical writings by virtue

and piety; and his letters by mildness, prudence, gravity, and wisdom."

Judgments of German Scholars.

John Lawrence Mosheim (1695-1755).

From the English translation of his Institutes of Ecclesiastical

History, by James Murdock, D. D., New York, 1854, vol. III. 163, 167,

192.

"Calvin was venerated, even by his enemies, for his genius, learning,

eloquence, and other endowments, and moreover was the friend of

Melanchthon.

"Few persons of his age will bear any comparison with Calvin for

patient industry, resolution, hatred of the Roman superstition,

eloquence, and genius. Possessing a most capacious mind, he endeavored

not only to establish and bless his beloved Geneva with the best

regulations and institutions, but also to make it the mother and the

focus of light and influence to the whole Reformed Church, just as

Wittenberg was to the Lutheran community.

"The first rank among the interpreters of the age is deservedly

assigned to John Calvin, who endeavored to expound nearly the whole of

the sacred volume.

"His Institutes are written in a perspicuous and elegant style, and

have nothing abstruse and difficult to be comprehended in the arguments

or mode of reasoning."

Johannes von M�ller (1752-1809).

The great historian of Switzerland, called "the German Tacitus."

Allgemeine Geschichte, Bk. III.

"John Calvin had the spirit of an ancient lawgiver, a genius and

characteristic which gave him in part unmistakable advantages, and

failings which were only the excess of virtues, by the assistance of

which he carried through his objects. He had also, like other

Reformers, an indefatigable industry, with a fixed regard to a certain

end, an invincible perseverance in principles and duty during his life,

and at his death the courage and dignity of an ancient Roman censor. He

contributed greatly to the development and advance of the human

intellect, and more, indeed, than he himself foresaw. For among the

Genevese and in France, the principle of free inquiry, on which he was

obliged at first to found his system, and to curb which he afterwards

strove in vain, became more fruitful in consequences than among nations

which are less inquisitive than the Genevese, and less daring than the

French. From this source were developed gradually philosophical ideas,

which, though they are not yet purified sufficiently from the passions

and views of their founders, have yet banished a great number of gloomy

and pernicious prejudices, and have opened us prospects of a pure

practical wisdom and better success for the future."

Fr. August Tholuck (1799-1877).

Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, 3d ed. 1831, p. 19.

"In his [Calvin's] Exposition on the Epistle to the Romans are united

pure Latinity, a solid method of unfolding and interpreting, founded on

the principles of grammatical science and historical knowledge, a

deeply penetrating faculty of mind, and vital piety."

Dr. Twesten (1789-1876).

The successor of Schleiermacher in the chair of systematic theology at

Berlin, and an orthodox Lutheran in the United Evangelical Church of

Prussia.

From his Dogmatik der evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche, I. 216 (4th ed.

Hamburg, 1838).

After speaking very highly and justly of Melanchthon and John Gerhard,

Twesten thus characterizes Calvin's Institutes: --

"Mehr aus einem Gusz, als Melanchthon's Loci, die reife Frucht eines

tief religi�sen und �cht wissenschaftlichen Geistes, mit groszer

Klarheit, Kraft und Sch�nheit der Darstellung geschrieben, einfach in

der Anlage, reich und gr�ndlich in der Ausf�hrung, verdient es neben

jenen auch in unserer Kirche als eins der vorz�glichsten Werke auf dem

Gebiete der dogmatischen Literatur �berhaupt studirt zu werden."

Paul Henry.

Doctor of theology and pastor of a French Reformed Church in Berlin,

author of two learned biographies of Calvin: a large one, in 3 vols.

(1833-1844), which is chiefly valuable as a collection of documents,

and a popular one in 1 vol.

From Das Leben Johann Calvins (Hamburg and Gotha, 1846), pp. 443 sqq.

"The whole tendency of Calvin was practical; learning was subordinate;

the salvation of the world, the truth was to him the main thing. His

spiritual tendency was not philosophical, but his dialectical bent ran

principles to their utmost consequences. He had an eye to the minutest

details. His former study of law had trained him for business.... He

was a watchman over the whole Church.... All his theological writings

excel in acuteness, dialectics, and warmth of conviction. He had great

eloquence at command, but despised the art of rhetoric.... Day and

night he was occupied with the work of the Lord. He disliked the daily

entreaties of his colleagues to grant himself some rest. He continued

to labor through his last sicknesses, and only stopped dictating a week

before his death, when his voice gave out.... All sought his counsel;

for God endowed him with such a happy spirit of wisdom that no one

regretted to have followed his advice. How great was his erudition! How

marvellous his judgment! How peculiar his kindness, which came to the

aid even of the smallest and lowliest, if necessary, and his meekness

and patient forbearance with the imperfections of others!"

Dr. L. St�helin.

Johannes Calvin. Leben und ausgew�hlte Schriften. Elberfeld, 1863. Vol.

II. pp. 365-393.

This description of Calvin's character as a man and as a Christian is

faithful in praise and censure, but too profuse to be inserted. Dr.

St�helin emphasizes the logic of his intellect and conscience, his firm

assurance of eternal election, his constant sense of the nearness of

God, "the majesty" of his character, the predominance of the Old

Testament feature, his resemblance to Moses and the Hebrew Prophets,

his irritability, anger, and contemptuousness, relieved by genuine

humility before God, his faithfulness to friends, his life of unceasing

prayer, his absolute disinterestedness and consecration to God. He also

quotes the remarkable testimony of Renan, that Calvin was "the most

Christian man in Christendom."

Dr. Friedrich Trechsel (1805-1885).

Die Protestantischen Antitrinitarier. Heidelberg, 1839-1844 (I. 177).

"People have often supposed that they were insulting Calvin's memory by

calling him the Pope of Protestantism! He was so, but in the noblest

sense of the expression, through the spiritual and moral superiority

with which the Lord of the Church had endowed him for its deliverance;

through his unwearied, universal zeal for God's honor; through his wise

care for the edifying of the kingdom of Christ; in a word, through all

which can be comprehended in the idea of the papacy, of truth and

honor."

Ludwig H�usser (1818-1867).

Professor of history at Heidelberg.

The Period of the Reformation, edited by Oncken (1868, 2d ed. 1880),

translated by Mrs. Sturge, New York, 1874 (pp. 241 and 244).

"As the German Reformation is connected with Martin Luther, and the

Swiss with Ulrich Zwingli, that of the Romanic and Western European

nations is connected with John Calvin, the most remarkable personage of

the time. He was not equal either to Luther or Zwingli in general

talent, mental vigor, or tranquility of soul; but in logical acuteness

and talent for organization he was at least equal, if not superior, to

either. He settled the basis for the development of many states and

churches. He stamped the form of the Reformation in countries to which

he was a stranger. The French date the beginnings of their literary

development from him, and his influence was not restricted to the

sphere of religion, but embraced their intellectual life in general; no

one else has so permanently influenced the spirit and form of their

written language as he.

"At a time when Europe had no solid results of reform to allow, this

little State of Geneva stood up as a great power; year by year it sent

forth apostles into the world, who preached its doctrines everywhere,

and it became the most dreaded counterpoise to Rome, when Rome no

longer had any bulwark to defend her. The missionaries from this little

community displayed the lofty and dauntless spirit which results from

stoical education and training; they bore the stamp of a

self-renouncing heroism which was elsewhere swallowed up in theological

narrowness. They were a race with vigorous bones and sinews, for whom

nothing was too daring, and who gave a new direction to Protestantism

by causing it to separate itself from the old traditional monarchical

authority, and to adopt the gospel of democracy as part of its creed.

It formed a weighty counterpoise to the desperate efforts which the

ancient Church and monarchical power were making to crush the spirit of

the Reformation.

"It was impossible to oppose Caraffa, Philip II., and the Stuarts, with

Luther's passive resistance; men were wanted who were ready to wage war

to the knife, and such was the Calvinistic school. It everywhere

accepted the challenge; throughout all the conflicts for political and

religious liberty, up to the time of the first emigration to America,

in France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland, we recognize the

Genevan school."

Dr. Karl Rudolf Hagenbach (1801-1874).

Swiss Reformed, of Basel.

Geschichte des Reformation, 5th ed. edited by Nippold, Leipzig, 1887,

p. 605.

"Calvin hatte so zu sagen kein irdisches Vaterland, dessen Freiheit er,

wie Zwingli, zu wahren sich bewogen fand. Das himmlische Vaterland, die

Stadt Gottes war es, in welche er alle zu sammeln sich berufen sah. Ihm

galt nicht Grieehe, nicht Skythe, nicht Franzose, nicht Deutscher,

nicht Eidgenosz, sondern einzig und allein die neue Kreatur in Christo.

Es w�re th�richt, ihm solches zum Vorwurf zu machen. Es ist vielmehr

richtig bemerkt worden, wie Calvin, obgleich er nicht die Gr�sze Genfs

als solche gesucht, dennoch dieser Stadt zu einer weltgeschichtlichen

Gr�sze verholfen, die sie ohne ihn niemals erreicht haben w�rde. Aber

so viel ist richtig, dasz das Reinmenschliche, das im Familien- und

Volksleben seine Wurzel hat, und das durch das Christenthum nicht

verdr�ngt, aber wohl veredelt werden soll, bei Calvin weniger zur

Entwickelung kam. M�nner des strengen Gedankens und einer rigiden

Gesetzlichkeit werden geneigt sein, Calvin �ber Luther und Zwingli zu

erheben. Und er hat auch seine unbestreitbaren Vorz�ge. Poetisch

angelegte Gem�tsmenschen aber werden anf�nglich Calvin und seiner vom

Naturboden losgel�sten, abstrakten Fr�mmigkeit gegen�ber sich eines

gewissen Fr�stelns nicht erwehren k�nnen und einige Zeit brauchen, bis

sie es �berwunden haben; w�hrend sie sich zu dem herzgewinnenden Luther

sogleich und auch dann noch hingezogen f�hlen, wenn er sch�umt und vor

Zorn uebersprudelt."

Dr. Is. Dorner (1809-1884).

Geschichte der Protestantischen Theologie. M�nchen, 1867, pp. 374, 376.

"Calvin was equally great in intellect and character, lovely in social

life, full of tender sympathy and faithfulness to friends, yielding and

forgiving towards personal offences, but inexorably severe when he saw

the honor of God obstinately and malignantly attacked. He combined

French fire and practical good sense with German depth and soberness.

He moved as freely in the world of ideas as in the business of Church

government. He was an architectonic genius in science and practical

life, always with an eye to the holiness and majesty of God."

(Condensed translation.)

Dr. Kahnis (Lutheran, 1814-1888).

Die Lutherische Dogmatik. Leipzig, 1861, vol. II. p. 490 sq.

"The fear of God was the soul of his piety, the rock-like certainty of

his election before the foundation of the world was his power, and the

doing of the will of God his single aim, which he pursued with

trembling and fear.... No other Reformer has so well demonstrated the

truth of Christ's word that, in the kingdom of God, dominion is

service. No other had such an energy of self-sacrifice, such an

irrefragable conscientiousness in the greatest as well as the smallest

things, such a disciplined power. This man, whose dying body was only

held together by the will flaming from his eyes, had a majesty of

character which commanded the veneration of his contemporaries."

F. W. Kampschulte (1831-1872).

Catholic Professor of History In the University of Bonn from 1860 to

1872, and author of an able and Impartial work on Calvin, which was

Interrupted by his death. Vols. II. and III. were never published. He

protested against the Vatican decrees of 1870.

Johann Calvin. Seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf. Erster Band,

Leipzig,

1869, p. 274 sq.

"Calvin's Lehrbuch der christlichen Religion ist ohne Frage das

hervorragendste und bedeutendste Erzeugniss, welches die

reformatorische Literatur des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts auf dem Gebiete

der Dogmatik aufzuweisen hat. Schon ein oberfl�chlicher Vergleich l�sst

uns den gewaltigen Fortschritt erkennen, den es gegen�ber den

bisherigen Leistungen auf diesem Gebiete bezeichnet. Statt der

unvollkommenen, nach der einen oder andern Seite unzul�nglichen

Versuche Melanchthon's, Zwingli's, Farel's erhalten wir aus Calvin's

Hand das Kunstwerk eines, wenn auch nicht harmonisch in sich

abgeschlossenen, so doch wohlgegliederten, durchgebildeten Systems, das

in allen seinen Theilen die leitenden Grundgedanken widerspiegelt und

von vollst�ndiger Beherrschung des Stoffes zeugt. Es hatte eine

unverkennbare Berechtigung, wenn man den Verfasser der Institution als

den Aristoteles der Reformation bezeichnete. Die ausserordentliche

Belesenheit in der biblischen und patristischen Literatur, wie sie

schon in den fr�heren Ausgaben des Werkes hervortritt, setzt in

Erstaunen. Die Methode ist lichtvoll und klar, der Gedankengang streng

logisch, �berall durchsicktig, die Eintheilung und Ordnung des Stoffes

dem leitenden Grundgedanken entsprechend; die Darstellung schreitet

ernst und gemessen vor und nimmt, obschon in den sp�teren Ausgaben mehr

gelehrt als anziehend, mehr auf den Verstand als auf das Gem�th

berechnet, doch zuweilen einen h�heren Schwung an. Calvin's Institution

enth�lt Abschnitte, die dem Sch�nsten, was von Pascal und Bossuet

geschrieben worden ist, an die Seite gestellt werden k�nnen: Stellen,

wie jene fiber die Erhabenheit der heiligen Schrift, aber das Elend des

gefallenen Menschen, �ber die Bedeutung des Gebetes, werden nie

verfehlen, ait den Leser einen tiefen Eindruck zu machen. Auch von den

katholischen Gegnern Calvin's sind diese Vorz�ge anerkannt und manche

Abschnitte seines Werkes sogar benutzt worden. Man begreift es

vollkommen, wenn er selbst mit dem Gef�hl der Befriedigung und des

Stolzes auf sein Werk blickt und in seinen �brigen Schriften gern auf

das 'Lehrbuch' zur�ckverweist."

"Und doch beschleicht uns, trotz aller Bewunderung, zu der uns der

Verfasser n�thigt, bei dem Durchlesen seines Werkes ein unheimliches

Gef�hl. Ein System, das von dem furchtbaren Gedanken der doppelten

Praedestination ausgeht, welches die Menschen ohne jede R�cksicht auf

das eigene Verhalten in Erw�hlte und Verworfene scheidet und die Einen

wie die Anderen zu blossen Werkzeugen zur Verherrlichung der g�ttlichen

Majest�t macht ... ein solches System kann unm�glich dem deukenden,

Belehrung und Trost suchenden Menschengeist innere Ruhe und

Befriedigung gew�hren."

Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss.

Joh. Calvini Opera, vol. I. p. ix.

The Strassburg editors of Calvin's Works belong to the modern liberal

school of theology.

"Si Lutherum virum maximum, si Zwinglium civem Christianum nulli

secundum, si Melanthonem praeceptorem doctissimum merito appellaris,

Calvinum jure vocaris theologorum principem et antesignanum. In hoc

enim quis linguarum et literarum praesidia, quis disciplinarum fere

omnium non miretur orbem? De cujus copia doctrinae, rerumque

dispositions aptissime concinnata, et argumentorum vi ac validitate in

dogmaticis; de ingenii acumine et subtilitate, atque nunc festiva nunc

mordaci salsedine in polemicis, de felicissima perspicuitate,

sobrietate ac sagacitate in exegeticis, de nervosa eloquentia et

libertate in paraeneticis; de prudentia sapientiaque legislatoria in

ecclesiis constituendis, ordinandis ac regendis incomparabile, inter

omnes viros doctos et de rebus evangelicis libere sentientes jam abunde

constat. Imo inter ipsos adversarios romanos nullus hodie est, vel

mediocri harum rerum cognitione imbutus vel tantilla judicii praeditus

aequitate, qui argumentorum et sententiarum ubertatem, proprietatem

verborum sermonemque castigatum, stili denique, tam latini quam

gallici, gravitatem et luciditatem non admiretur. Quae cuncta quum in

singulis fere scriptis, tum praecipue relucent in immortali illa

Institutione religionis Christianae, quae omnes ejusdem generis

expositiones inde ab apostolorum temporibus conscriptas, adeoque ipsos

Melanthonis Locos theologicos, absque omni controversia longe

antecellit atque eruditum et ingenuum lectorem, etiamsi alicubi secus

senserit, hodieque quasi vinctum trahit et vel invitum rapit in

admirationem."

Tributes from English Writers (Mostly Episcopal).

Richard Hooker (1553-1600).

From his Preface to the Ecclesiastical Polity (Keble's ed. vol. I. p.

158).

"Whom [Calvin], for my own part, I think incomparably the wisest man

that ever the French Church did enjoy since the hour it enjoyed him.

His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he

gathered not by hearing or reading so much as by teaching others. For,

though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge of this

kind, yet he to none, but only to God, the Author of that most blessed

fountain, the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit,

together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides.--We

should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them

whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment

there are, which have deservedly procured him honor throughout the

world: the one, his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of

the Christian Religion; the other, his no less industrious travails for

exposition of Holy Scripture, according unto the same Institutions....

"Of what account the Master of Sentences [Peter Lombard] was in the

Church of Rome; the same and more, among the preachers of Reformed

Churches, Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were

judged they which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings; his books

almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by."

Bishop Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626).

"Calvin was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a

preface of the highest honor."

Dr. John Donne (1573-1631).

Royal Chaplain and Dean of St. Paul's, London; distinguished as a poet

and divine.

"St. Augustin, for sharp insight and conclusive judgment in exposition

of places of Scripture, which he always makes so liquid and pervious,

hath scarce been equalled therein by any of all the writers in the

Church of God, except Calvin may have that honor, for whom (when it

concerns not points of controversy) I see the Jesuits themselves,

though they dare not name him, have a high degree of reverence."

Bishop Hall (1574-1656).

Works, III. 516.

"Reverend Calvin, whose judgment I so much honor, that I reckon him

among the best interpreters of Scripture since the Apostles left the

earth."

Bishop Sanderson (1587-1663).

"When I began to set myself to the study of Divinity as my proper

business, Calvin's Institutions were recommended to me, as they

generally were to all young scholars in those times, as the best and

most perfect system of Divinity, and the fittest to be laid as a

groundwork in the study of the profession. And, indeed, my expectation

was not at all ill-deemed in the study of those Institutions."

Richard Baxter (1615-1691).

"I know no man, since the Apostles' days, whom I value and honor more

than Calvin, and whose judgment in all things, one with another, I more

esteem and come nearer to."

Bishop Wilson of Calcutta.

From Sermon preached on the death of the Rev. Basil Wood.

"Calvin's Commentaries remain, after three centuries, unparalleled for

force of mind, justness of exposition, and practical views of

Christianity."

Archbishop Lawrence.

From his Bampton Lectures.

"Calvin was both a wise and a good man, inferior to none of his

contemporaries in general ability, and superior to almost all in the

art, as well as elegance, of composition, in the perspicuity and

arrangement of his ideas, the structure of his periods, and the

Latinity of his diction."

Archdeacon Julius Charles Hare (1795-1855).

He had, of all Englishmen, the best knowledge and highest appreciation

of Luther.

From his Mission of the Comforter, II. 449.

"Calvin's Commentaries, although they too are almost entirely doctrinal

and practical, taking little note of critical and philosophical

questions, keep much closer to the text [than Luther's], and make it

their one business to bring out the meaning of the words of Scripture

with fulness and precision. This they do with the excellence of a

master richly endowed with the word of wisdom and with the word of

knowledge, and from the exemplary union of a severe masculine

understanding with a profound insight into the spiritual depths of the

Scriptures, they are especially calculated to be useful in

counteracting the erroneous tendencies of an age, when we seem about to

be inundated with all that was fantastical and irrational in the

exegetical mysticism of the Fathers, and are bid to see divine power in

all allegorical cobwebs, and heavenly life in artificial flowers. I do

not mean to imply an adoption or approval of all Calvin's views,

whether on doctrinal or other questions. But we may happily owe much

gratitude and love, and the deepest intellectual obligations, to those

whom at the same time we may, deem to be mistaken on certain points."

Thomas H. Dyer.

The Life of John Calvin. London, 1850, p. 533 sq.

"That Calvin was in some respects a really great man, and that the

eloquent panegyric of his friend and disciple Beza contains much that

is true, will hardly be denied. In any circumstances his wonderful

abilities and extensive learning would have made him a shining light

among the doctors of the Reformation; an accidental, or, as his friends

and followers would say, a providential and predestinated visit to

Geneva, made him the head of a numerous and powerful sect. Naturally

deficient in that courage which forms so prominent a trait in Luther's

character, and which prompted him to beard kings and emperors face to

face, Calvin arrived at Geneva at a time when the rough and initiatory

work of Reform had already been accomplished by his bolder and more

active friend Farel. Some peculiar circumstances in the political

condition of that place favored the views which he seems to have formed

very shortly after his arrival....

"The preceding narrative has already shown how, from that time to the

hour of his death, his care and labor were constantly directed to the

consolidation of his power, and to the development of his scheme of

ecclesiastical polity. In these objects he was so successful that it

may be safely affirmed that none of the Reformers, not even Luther

himself, attained to so absolute and extensive an influence."

Archdeacon Frederic W. Farrar, D. D., F. R. S.

History of Interpretation. London, 1886, pp. 342-344.

"The greatest exegete and theologian of the Reformation was undoubtedly

Calvin. He is not an attractive figure in the history of that great

movement. The mass of mankind revolt against the ruthless logical

rigidity of his 'horrible decree.' They fling it from their belief with

the eternal 'God forbid!' of an inspired natural horror. They dislike

the tyranny of theocratic sacerdotalism [?] which be established at

Geneva. Nevertheless his Commentaries, almost alone among those of his

epoch, are still a living force. They are far more profound than those

of Zwingli, more thorough and scientific, if less original and less

spiritual, than those of Luther. In spite of his many defects--the

inequality of his works, his masterful arrogance of tone, his

inconsequent and in part retrogressive view of inspiration, the manner

in which he explains away every passage which runs counter to his

dogmatic prepossessions--in spite, too, of his 'hard expressions and

injurious declamations'--he is one of the greatest interpreters of

Scripture who ever lived. He owes that position to a combination of

merits. He had a vigorous intellect, a dauntless spirit, a logical

mind, a quick insight, a thorough knowledge of the human heart,

quickened by rich and strange experience; above all, a manly and

glowing sense of the grandeur of the Divine. The neatness, precision,

and lucidity of his style, his classic training and wide knowledge, his

methodical accuracy of procedure, his manly independence, his avoidance

of needless and commonplace homiletics, his deep religious feeling, his

careful attention to the entire scope and context of every passage, and

the fact that he has commented on almost the whole of the Bible, make

him tower above the great majority of those who have written on Holy

Scripture. Nothing can furnish a greater contrast to many helpless

commentaries, with their congeries of vacillating variorum annotations

heaped together in aimless multiplicity, than the terse and decisive

notes of the great Genevan theologian.... A characteristic feature of

Calvin's exegesis is its abhorrence of hollow orthodoxy. He regarded it

as a disgraceful offering to a God of truth. He did not hold the theory

of verbal dictation. He will never defend or harmonize what he regards

as an oversight or mistake in the Sacred writers. He scorns to support

a good cause by bad reasoning.... But the most characteristic and

original feature of his Commentaries is his anticipation of modern

criticism in his views about the Messianic prophecies. He saw that the

words of psalmists and prophets, while they not only admit of but

demand 'germinant and springing developments,' were yet primarily

applicable to the events and circumstances of their own days."

Scotch Tributes.

ln Scotland, the land of John Knox, who studied at the feet of Calvin,

his principles were most highly appreciated and most fully carried out.

Sir William Hamilton (1788-1856).

"Looking merely to his learning and ability, Calvin was superior to all

modern, perhaps to all ancient, divines. Succeeding ages have certainly

not exhibited his equal. To find his peer we must ascend at least to

Aquinas or Augustin."

Dr. William Cunningham (1805-1861).

Principal of the New College and Professor of Church History in

Edinburgh. Presbyterian of the Free Church.

Reformers, and the Theology of the Reformation. Edinburgh, 1866,

pp. 292, 294, 299.

"John Calvin was by far the greatest of the Reformers with respect to

the talents he possessed, the influence he exerted, and the service he

rendered to the establishment and diffusion of important truth....

"The systematizing of divine truth, and the full organization of the

Christian Church according to the word of God, are the great peculiar

achievements of Calvin. For this work God eminently qualified him, by

bestowing upon him the highest gifts both of nature and of grace; and

this work he was enabled to accomplish in such a way as to confer the

greatest and most lasting benefits upon the Church of Christ, and to

entitle him to the commendation and the gratitude of all succeeding

ages....

"Calvin certainly was not free from the infirmities which are always

found in some form or degree even in the best men; and in particular,

he occasionally exhibited an angry impatience of contradiction and

opposition, and sometimes assailed and treated the opponents of the

truth and cause of God with a violence and invective which cannot be

defended, and should certainly not be imitated. He was not free from

error, and is not to be implicitly followed in his interpretation of

Scripture, or in his exposition of doctrine. But whether we look to the

powers and capacities with which God endowed him, the manner in which

he employed them, and the results by which his labors have been

followed,--or to the Christian wisdom, magnanimity, and devotedness

which marked his character and generally regulated his conduct, there

is probably not one among the sons of men, beyond the range of those

whom God miraculously inspired by his Spirit, who has stronger claims

upon our veneration and gratitude."

In another place which I cannot refer to, Cunningham, the successor of

Chalmers, says: "Calvin is the man who, next to St. Paul, has done most

good to mankind."

Dr. John Tulloch (1823-1886).

Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews, of

the Established Church of Scotland.

Luther and other Leaders of the Reformation. Edinburgh and London, 3d

ed. 1883, pp. 234-237, 243, 245.

"Thus lived and died Calvin, a great, intense, and energetic character,

who, more than any other of that great age, has left his impress upon

the history of Protestantism. Nothing, perhaps, more strikes us than

the contrast between the single naked energy which his character

presents and of which his name has become symbolical, and the grand

issues which have gone forth from it. Scarcely anywhere else can we

trace such an impervious potency of intellectual and moral influence

emanating from so narrow a centre.

"There is in almost every respect a singular dissimilarity between the

Genevan and the Wittenberg reformer. In personal, moral, and

intellectual features, they stand contrasted--Luther with his massive

frame and full big face and deep melancholy eyes; Calvin, of moderate

stature, pale and dark complexion, and sparkling eyes, that burned

nearly to the moment of his death (Beza: Vita Calv.). Luther, fond and

jovial, relishing his beer and hearty family repasts with his wife and

children; Calvin, spare and frugal, for many years taking only one meal

a day, and scarcely needing sleep. In the one, we see a rich and

complex and buoyant and affectionate nature touching humanity at every

point, in the other, a stern and grave unity of moral character. Both

were naturally of a somewhat proud and imperious temper, but the

violence of Luther is warm and boisterous, that of Calvin is keen and

zealous. It might have been a very uncomfortable thing, as Melanchthon

felt, to be exposed to Luther's occasional storms; but after the storm

was over, it was pleasant to be folded once more to the great heart

that was sorry for its excesses. To be the object of Calvin's dislike

and anger was something to fill one with dread, not only for the

moment, but long afterwards, and at a distance, as poor Castellio felt

when he gathered the pieces of driftwood on the banks of the Rhine at

Basel.

"In intellect, as in personal features, the one was grand, massive, and

powerful, through depth and comprehension of feeling, a profound but

exaggerated insight, and a soaring eloquence; the other was no less

grand and powerful, through clearness and correctness of judgment,

vigor and consistency of reasoning, and weightiness of expression. Both

are alike memorable in the service which they rendered to their native

tongue--in the increased compass, flexibility, and felicitous mastery

which they imparted to it. The Latin works of Calvin are greatly

superior in elegance of style, symmetry of method, and proportionate

vigor of argument. He maintains an academic elevation of tone, even

when keenly agitated in temper; while Luther, as Mr. Hallam has it,

sometimes descends to mere 'bellowing in bad Latin.' Yet there is a

coldness in the elevation of Calvin, and in his correct and

well-balanced sentences, for which we should like ill to exchange the

kindling though rugged paradoxes of Luther. The German had the more

rich and teeming--the Genevan the harder, more serviceable, and

enduring mind. When interrupted in dictating for several hours, Beza

tells us that he could return and commence where he had left off; and

that amidst all the multiplicity of his engagements, he never forgot

what he required to know for the performance of any duty.

"As preachers, Calvin seems to have commanded a scarcely less powerful

success than Luther, although of a different character--the one

stimulating and rousing, 'boiling over in every direction'--the other

instructive, argumentative, and calm in the midst of his vehemence

(Beza: Vita Calv.). Luther flashed forth his feelings at the moment,

never being able to compose what might be called a regular sermon, but

seizing the principal subject, and turning all his attention to that

alone. Calvin was elaborate and careful in his sermons as in everything

else. The one thundered and lightened, filling the souls of his hearers

now with shadowy awe, and now with an intense glow of spiritual

excitement; the other, like the broad daylight, filled them with a more

diffusive though less exhilarating clearness....

"An impression of majesty and yet of sadness must ever linger around

the name of Calvin. He was great and we admire him. The world needed

him and we honor him; but we cannot love him. He repels our affections

while he extorts our admiration; and while we recognize the worth, and

the divine necessity, of his life and work, we are thankful to survey

them at a distance, and to believe that there are also other modes of

divinely governing the world, and advancing the kingdom of

righteousness and truth.

"Limited, as compared with Luther, in his personal influence,

apparently less the man of the hour in a great crisis of human

progress, Calvin towers far above Luther in the general influence over

the world of thought and the course of history, which a mighty

intellect, inflexible in its convictions and constructive in its

genius, never fails to exercise."

William Lindsay Alexander, D. D., F. R. S. E. (1808-1884).

Professor of Theology and one of the Bible Revisers. Congregationalist.

From Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th ed. vol. IV. (1878) p. 721.

"Calvin was of middle stature; his complexion was somewhat pallid and

dark; his eyes, to the latest clear and lustrous, bespoke the acumen of

his genius. He was sparing in his food and simple in his dress; he took

but little sleep, and was capable of extraordinary efforts of

intellectual toil. His memory was prodigious, but he used it only as

the servant of his higher faculties. As a reasoner he has seldom been

equalled, and the soundness and penetration of his judgment were such

as to give to his conclusions in practical questions almost the

appearance of predictions, and inspire in all his friends the utmost

confidence in the wisdom of his counsels. As a theologian he stands on

an eminence which only Augustin has surpassed; whilst in his skill as

an expounder of Scripture, and his terse and elegant style, he

possessed advantages to which Augustin was a stranger. His private

character was in harmony with his public reputation and position. If

somewhat severe and irritable, he was at the same time scrupulously

just, truthful, and steadfast; he never deserted a friend or took an

unfair advantage of an antagonist; and on befitting occasions he could

be cheerful and even facetious among his intimates."

Testimonies of American Divines.

Dr. Henry B. Smith (1815-1877).

Professor of Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Presbyterian.

From his Address before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian

Church, St. Louis, 1855, delivered by request of the Presbyterian

Historical Society. See Faith and Philosophy, pp. 98 and 99.

"Though the Reformation, under God, began with Luther in the power of

faith, it was carried on by Calvin with greater energy, and with a more

constructive genius, both in theology and in church polity, as he also

had a more open field. The Lutheran movement affected chiefly the

centre and the north of Europe; the Reformed Churches were planted in

the west of Europe, all around the ocean, in the British Isles, and by

their very geographical site were prepared to act the most efficient

part, and to leap the walls of the old world, and colonize our shores.

"Nothing is more striking in a general view of the history of the

Reformed Churches than the variety of countries into which we find

their characteristic spirit, both in doctrine and polity, penetrating.

Throughout Switzerland it was a grand popular movement. There is first

of all, Zwingli, the hero of Zurich, already in 1516 preaching against

the idolatrous veneration of Mary, a man of generous culture and

intrepid spirit, who at last laid down his life upon the field of

battle. In Basle we find Oecolampadius, and also Bullinger [in Zurich],

the chronicler of the Swiss reform. Farel aroused Geneva to iconoclasm

by his inspiring eloquence.

"Thither comes in 1536, from the France which disowned him, Calvin, the

mighty law-giver, great as a preacher, an expositor, a teacher and a

ruler; cold in exterior, but burning with internal fire; who produced

at twenty-six years of age his unmatched Institutes, and at thirty-five

had made Geneva, under an almost theocratic government, the model city

of Europe, with its inspiring motto, 'post tenebras lux.' He was

feared and opposed by the libertines of his day, as he is in our own.

His errors were those of his own times: his greatness is of all times.

Hooker calls him 'incomparably the wisest man of the French Church;' he

compares him to the 'Master of Sentences,' and says, 'that though

thousands were debtors to him as touching divine knowledge, yet he was

to none, only to God.' Montesquieu declares that 'the Genevese should

ever bless the day of his birth.' Jewel terms him 'a reverend Father,

and worthy ornament of the Church of God.' 'He that will not honor the

memory of Calvin,' says Mr. Bancroft, 'knows but little of the origin

of American liberty.' Under his influence Geneva became the 'fertile

seed-plot' of reform for all Europe; with Zurich and Strassburg, it was

the refuge of the oppressed from the British Isles, and thus

indoctrinated England and ourselves with its own spirit."

From Dr. Smith's article "Calvin" in Appleton's American Cyclopaedia.

"Calvin's system of doctrine and polity has shaped more minds and

entered into more nations than that of any other Reformer. In every

land it made men strong against the attempted interference of the

secular power with the rights of Christians. It gave courage to the

Huguenots; it shaped the theology of the Palatinate; it prepared the

Dutch for the heroic defence of their national rights; it has

controlled Scotland to the present hour; it formed the Puritanism of

England; it has been the basis of the New England character; and

everywhere it has led the way in practical reforms. His theology

assumed different types in the various countries into which it

penetrated, while retaining its fundamental traits."

Dr. George P. Fisher (b. 1827).

Professor of Church History in Yale Divinity School, New Haven.

Congregationalist.

From his History of the Reformation. New York, 1873, pp. 206 and 238.

When we look at his extraordinary intellect, at his culture--which

opponents, like Bossuet, have been forced to commend--at the invincible

energy which made him endure with more than stoical fortitude

infirmities of body under which most men would have sunk, and to

perform, in the midst of them, an incredible amount of mental labor;

when we see him, a scholar naturally fond of seclusion, physically

timid, and recoiling from notoriety and strife, abjuring the career

that was most to his taste, and plunging, with a single-hearted,

disinterested zeal and an indomitable will, into a hard, protracted

contest; and when we follow his steps, and see what things he effected,

we cannot deny him the attributes of greatness....

"His last days were of a piece with his life. His whole course has been

compared by Vinet to the growth of one rind of a tree from another, or

to a chain of logical sequences. He was endued with a marvellous power

of understanding, although the imagination and sentiments were less

roundly developed. His systematic spirit fitted him to be the founder

of an enduring school of thought. In this characteristic he may be

compared with Aquinas. He has been appropriately styled the Aristotle

of the Reformation. He was a perfectly honest man. He subjected his

will to the eternal rule of right, as far as he could discover it. His

motives were pure. He felt that God was near him, and sacrificed

everything to obey the direction of Providence. The fear of God ruled

in his soul; not a slavish fear, but a principle such as animated the

prophets of the Old Covenant. The combination of his qualities was such

that he could not fail to attract profound admiration and reverence

from one class of minds, and excite intense antipathy in another. There

is no one of the Reformers who is spoken of, at this late day, with so

much personal feeling, either of regard or aversion. But whoever

studies his life and writings, especially the few passages in which he

lets us into his confidence and appears to invite our sympathy, will

acquire a growing sense of his intellectual and moral greatness, and a

tender consideration for his errors.'

G. G. Herrick, D. D.

Congregational Minister of Mount Vernon Church, Boston.

From Some Heretics of Yesterday. Boston, 1890, pp. 210 sqq.

"Calvin gathered up the spiritual and intellectual forces that had been

started by the Reformation movement, and marshalled and systematized

them, and bound them into unity by the mastery of his logical thought,

as the river gathers cloud and rill, and snow-drift and dew-fall, and

constrains them through its own channel into the unity and directness

of a powerful current. The action of Luther was impulsive, magnetic,

popular, appealing to sentiment and feeling, that of Calvin was logical

and constructive, appealing to understanding and reason. He was the

systematizer of the Reformation....

"Calvin's work was national, and more; he gave to the Reformation a

universality like that of the gigantic system with which they [the

Reformers] all were at war. Calvin, more than any other man that has

ever lived, deserves to be called the Pope of Protestantism. While he

was still living his opinions were deferred to by kings and prelates,

and even after he was dead his power was confessed by his enemies. The

papists called his Institutes The Heretics' Koran.... He set up

authority against authority, and maintained and perpetuated what he set

up by the inherent clearness and energy and vigor of his own mental

conceptions. The authority of the Romish Pope was based upon the

venerable tradition of the past that had grown up by the accretion of

ages; the authority of the Protestant Pope rested upon a logical

structure which he himself built up, out of blocks hewn from alleged

Scripture assertion and legitimate inferences therefrom....

"The man himself is one of the wonders of all time, and his work was

admirable, beyond any words of appreciation that it is possible for me

to utter. For while he himself tolerated no differences of theological

opinion, and would have bound all thought by his own logical chain,

this nineteenth century is as much indebted to his work as it is to

that of Luther. That work constituted the world's largest step towards

democratic freedom. It set the individual man in the presence of the

living God, and made the solitary soul, whether of prince or pauper, to

feel its responsibility to, and dependence upon, Him alone who from

eternity has decreed the sparrow's flight or fall. Out of this logical

conception of the equality of all men in the presence of Jehovah, he

deduced the true republican character of the Church; a theory to which

all Americans, and especially we of New England, owe our rich

inheritance. He gave to the world, what it had not before, a majestic

and consistent conception of a kingdom of God ruling in the affairs of

men; of the beauty and the blessedness of a true Christian state; of

the possibility of the city of God being one day realized in the

universal subordination of human souls to divine authority...."

For testimonies bearing upon Calvin's system of discipline, see below,

� 110.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[378] La France Protestante par MM. Eug�ne et �mile Haag, Paris, 2d ed.

Tom. III. (1881), p. 508: "Trois partis religieux, divis�'s par des

animosit�s que le temps n'a pas encore assoupies, nous ont transmis des

documents sur la vie de cet homme illustre. Les uns, depuis l'apostat

Bolsec jusqu'au n�o-catholique romantique, Audin, depuis le lutherien

fanatique Westphal jusqu'aux 'vieux genevois' Galiffe pere et fils.

n'�coutant que la voix d'une haine implacable ou d'une jalousie

furieuse, nous le peignent comme une esp�ce de sc�l�rat souill�des

vices les plus honteux, comme un despote alt�r�de sang, tandis que les

autres, depuis Th�odore de B�ze, son coll�gue, jusqu'au pasteur Paul

Henry, de Berlin, son z�l�disciple, c�dant �l'entra�nenent d'une amit�e

trop indulgente on d'une admiration un peu exalt�e, nous le pr�sentent

comme un parfait type de la vertu. "D'autres, dans ces derniers temps

surtout, s'�levant au-dessus d'�troits pr�jug�s dogmatiques, moins

homines de parti que philosophes, ont entrepris de juger cette grande

figure historique avec l'impartialit�que commande l'histoire; ilsont vu

en Calvin, non pas le fondateur d'une secte, mais une de ces hautes

intelligences qui apparaissent de loin en loin pour dominer une �poque,

'et r�pandent sur les plus grandes choses l'�clat de leur propre

grandeur.' "

[379] Or, as quoted from another edition by the Strassburg editors

(XXI. 11) "personnage d'un grand esprit et merveilleusement eloquent

(admirabili facundia praeditus)." A French translation of the Historia

appeared in 1734.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER IX.

FROM FRANCE TO SWITZERLAND.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 69. Calvin's Youth and Training.

Calvini Opera, vol. XXI. (1879).--On Noyon and the family of Calvin,

Jacques Le Vasseur (Dr. of theology, canon and dean of the cathedral of

Noyon): Annales de l'�glise cath�drale de Noyon. Paris, 1633, 2 vols.

4�.--Jacques Desmay(Dr. of the Sorbonne and vicar-general of the

diocese of Rouen): Remarques sur la vie de Jean Calvin tir�es des

Registres de Noyon, lieu de sa naissance. Rouen, 1621.

Thomas M'Crie (d. 1835): The Early Years of Calvin. A Fragment.

1509-1536. Ed. by William Ferguson. Edinburgh, 1880 (199 pp.). A

posthumous work of the learned biographer of Knox and Melville.

Abel Lefranc: La Jeunesse de Calvin. Paris (33 rue de Seine), 228 pp.

Comp. the biographies of Calvin by Henry, large work, vol. I. chs.

I.-VIII. (small ed. 1846, pp. 12-29); Dyer (1850), pp. 4-10; St�helin

(1862) I. 3-12; \*Kampschulte (1869), I. 221-225.

"As David was taken from the sheepfold and elevated to the rank of

supreme authority; so God having taken me from my originally obscure

and humble condition, has reckoned me worthy of being invested with the

honorable office of a preacher and minister of the gospel. When I was

yet a very little boy, my father had destined me for the study of

theology. But afterwards, when he considered that the legal profession

commonly raised those who follow it, to wealth, this prospect induced

him suddenly to change his purpose. Thus it came to pass, that I was

withdrawn from the study of philosophy and was put to the study of law.

To this pursuit I endeavored faithfully to apply myself, in obedience

to the will of my father; but God, by the secret guidance of his

providence, at length gave a different direction to my course. And

first, 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 and brought my mind to a teachable

frame, which was more burdened in such matters than might have been

expected from one 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 though I did not

altogether leave off other studies, I yet pursued them with less

ardor." [380]

This is the meagre account which Calvin himself incidentally gives of

his youth and conversion, in the Preface to his Commentary on the

Psalms, when speaking of the life of David, in which he read his own

spiritual experience. Only once more he alludes, very briefly, to his

change of religion. In his Answer to Cardinal Sadoletus, he assures him

that he did not consult his temporal interest when he left the papal

party. "I might," he said, "have reached without difficulty the summit

of my wishes, namely, the enjoyment of literary ease, with something of

a free and honorable station." [381]

Luther indulged much more freely in reminiscences of his hard youth,

his early monastic life, and his discovery of the doctrine of

justification by faith alone, which gave peace and rest to his troubled

conscience.

John Calvin [382] was born July 10, 1509,--twenty-five years after

Luther and Zwingli,--at Noyon, an ancient cathedral city, called

Noyon-la-Sainte, on account of its many churches, convents, priests,

and monks, in the northern province of Picardy, which has given birth

to the crusading monk, Peter of Amiens, to the leaders of the French

Reformation and Counter-Reformation (the Ligue), and to many

revolutionary as well as reactionary characters. [383]

His father, G�rard Cauvin, a man of hard and severe character, occupied

a prominent position as apostolic secretary to the bishop of Noyon,

proctor in the Chapter of the diocese, and fiscal procurator of the

county, and lived on intimate terms with the best families of the

neighborhood. [384] His mother, Jeanne Lefranc, of Cambrai, was noted

for her beauty and piety, but died in his early youth, and is not

mentioned in his letters. The father married a second time. He became

involved in financial embarrassment, and was excommunicated, perhaps on

suspicion of heresy. He died May 26 (or 25), 1531, after a long

sickness, and would have been buried in unconsecrated soil but for the

intercession of his son, Charles, who gave security for the discharge

of his father's obligations. [385]

Calvin had four brothers and two sisters. [386] Two of his brothers

died young, the other two received a clerical education, and were early

provided with benefices through the influence of the father.

Charles, his elder brother, was made chaplain of the cathedral in 1518,

and cur� of Roupy, but became a heretic or infidel, was excommunicated

in 1531, and died Oct. 1, 1537, having refused the sacrament on his

death-bed. He was buried by night between the four pillars of a gibbet.

[387]

His younger brother, Antoine, was chaplain at Tournerolle, near

Traversy, but embraced the evangelical faith, and, with his sister,

Marie, followed the Reformer to Geneva in 1536. Antoine kept there a

bookstore, received the citizenship gratuitously, on account of the

merits of his brother (1546), was elected a member of the Council of

Two Hundred (1558), and of the Council of the Sixty (1570), also one of

the directors of the hospital, and died in 1573. He was married three

times, and divorced from his second wife, the daughter of a refugee, on

account of her proved adultery (1557). Calvin had innocently to suffer

for this scandal, but made him and his five children chief heirs of his

little property. [388]

The other sister of Calvin was married at Noyon, and seems to have

remained in the Roman Catholic Church.

A relative and townsman of Calvin, Pierre Robert, called Olivetan,

embraced Protestantism some years before him, and studied Greek and

Hebrew with Bucer at Strassburg in 1528. [389] He joined Farel in

Neuchatel, and published there his French translation of the Bible in

1535.

More than a hundred years after Calvin's death, another member of the

family, Eloi Cauvin, a Benedictine monk, removed from Noyon to Geneva,

and embraced the Reformed religion (June 13, 1667). [390]

These and other facts show the extent of the anti-papal sentiment in

the family of Cauvin. In 1561 a large number of prominent persons of

Noyon were suspected of heresy, and in 1562 the Chapter of Noyon issued

a profession of faith against the doctrines of Calvin. [391]

After the death of Calvin, Protestantism was completely crushed out in

his native town.

Calvin received his first education with the children of the noble

family de Mommor (not Montmor), to which he remained gratefully

attached. He made rapid progress in learning, and acquired a refinement

of manners and a certain aristocratic air, which distinguished him from

Luther and Zwingli. A son of de Mommor accompanied him to Paris, and

followed him afterwards to Geneva.

His ambitious father destined him first for the clerical profession. He

secured for him even in his twelfth year (1521) a part of the revenue

of a chaplaincy in the cathedral of Noyon. [392] In his eighteenth year

Calvin received, in addition, the charge of S. Martin de Marteville

(Sept. 27, 1527), although he had not yet the canonical age, and had

only received the tonsure.

Such shocking irregularities were not uncommon in those days. Pluralism

and absenteeism, though often prohibited by Councils, were among the

crying abuses of the Church. Charles de Hangest, bishop of Noyon,

obtained at fifteen years of age a dispensation from the pope "to hold

all kinds of offices, compatible and incompatible, secular and regular,

etiam tria curata "; and his nephew and successor, Jean de Hangest, was

elected bishop at nineteen years of age. Odet de Ch�tillon, brother of

the famous Coligny, was created cardinal in his sixteenth year. Pope

Leo X. received the tonsure as a boy of seven, was made archbishop in

his eighth, and cardinal-deacon in his thirteenth year (with the

reservation that he should not put on the insignia of his dignity nor

discharge the duties of his office till he was sixteen), besides being

canon in three cathedrals, rector in six parishes, prior in three

convents, abbot in thirteen additional abbeys, and bishop of Amalfi,

deriving revenues from them all!

Calvin resigned the chaplaincy in favor of his younger brother, April

30, 1529. He exchanged the charge of S. Martin for that of the village

Pont-l'Ev�que (the birthplace of his father), July 5, 1529, but he

resigned it, May 4, 1534, before he left France. In the latter parish

he preached sometimes, but never administered the sacraments, not being

ordained to the priesthood. [393]

The income from the chaplaincy enabled him to prosecute his studies at

Paris, together with his noble companions. He entered the College de la

Marche in August, 1523, in his fourteenth year. [394] He studied

grammar and rhetoric with an experienced and famous teacher, Marthurin

Cordier (Cordatus). He learned from him to think and to write Latin,

and dedicated to him in grateful memory his Commentary on the First

Epistle to the Thessalonians (1550). Cordier became afterwards a

Protestant and director of the College of Geneva, where he died at the

age of eighty-five in the same year with Calvin (1564). [395]

From the College de la Marche Calvin was transferred to the strictly

ecclesiastical College de Montague, in which philosophy and theology

were taught under the direction of a learned Spaniard. In February,

1528, Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jesuits, entered

the same college and studied under the same teacher. The leaders of the

two opposite currents in the religious movement of the sixteenth

century came very near living under the same roof and sitting at the

same table.

Calvin showed during this early period already the prominent traits of

his character: he was conscientious, studious, silent, retired,

animated by a strict sense of duty, and exceedingly religious. [396] An

uncertain tradition says that his fellow-students called him "the

Accusative," on account of his censoriousness. [397]

NOTES. SLANDEROUS REPORTS ON CALVIN'S YOUTH.

Thirteen years after Calvin's death, Bolsec, his bitter enemy, once a

Romanist, then a Protestant, then a Romanist again, wrote a calumnious

history of his life (Histoire de la vie, moeurs, actes, doctrine,

constance, et mort de Jean Calvin, Lyon, 1577, republished by

Louis-Fran�ois Chastel, Magistrat, Lyon, 1875, pp. 323, with an

introduction of xxxi. pp.). He represents Calvin as "a man, above all

others who lived in the world, ambitious, impudent, arrogant, cruel,

malicious, vindictive, and ignorant"(!) (p. 12).

Among other incredible stories he reports that Calvin in his youth was

stigmatized (fleur-de-lys�, branded with the national flower of France)

at Noyon in punishment of a heinous crime, and then fled from France in

disgrace. "Calvin," he says (p. 28 sq.), "pourveu d'une cure et d'une

chapelle, fut surprins ou (et) convaincu Du pech� de Sodomie, pour

lequel il fut en danger de mort par feu, comment est la commune peine

de tel pech�: mais que l'Evesque de laditte ville [Noyon] par

compassion feit moderer laditte peine en une marque de fleur de lys

chaude sur l'espaule. Iceluy Calvin confuz de telle vergongne et

vitup�re, se defit de ses deux b�n�fices es mains du cur� de Noyon,

duquel ayant receu quelque somme d'argent s'en alla vers Allemaigne et

Itallie: cherchant son adventure, et passa par la ville de Ferrare, ou

il receut quelque aumone de Madame la Duchesse."Bolsec gives as his

authority a Mr. Bertelier, secretary of the Council of Geneva, who, he

says, was sent to Noyon to make inquiries about the early life of

Calvin, and saw the document of his disgrace. But nobody else has seen

such a document, and if it had existed at all, it would have been used

against him by his enemies. The story is contradicted by all that is

authentically known of Calvin, and has been abundantly refuted by

Drelincourt, and recently again by Lefranc (p. 48 sqq., 176-182).

Kampschulte (I. 224, note 2) declares it unworthy of serious

refutation. Nevertheless it has been often repeated by Roman

controversialists down to Audin.

The story is either a malignant slander, or it arose from confounding

the Reformer with a younger person of the same name (Jean Cauvin), and

chaplain of the same church at Noyon, who it appears was punished for

some immorality of a different kind ("pour avoir retenue en so maison

une femme du mauvais gouvernement") in the year 1550, that is, about

twenty years later, and who was no heretic, but died a "bon Catholic"

(as Le Vasseur reports in Annales de Noyon, p. 1170, quoted by Lefranc,

p. 182). b.c. Galiffe, who is unfriendly to Calvin, adopts the latter

suggestion (Quelques pages d'histoire exacte, p. 118).

Several other myths were circulated about the Reformer; e.g., that he

was the son of a concubine of a priest; that he was an intemperate

eater; that he stole a silver goblet at Orleans, etc. See Lefranc, pp.

52 sqq.

Similar perversions and inventions attach to many a great name. The

Sanhedrin who crucified the Lord circulated the story that the

disciples stole his body and cheated the world. The heretical Ebionites

derived the conversion of Paul from disappointed ambition and revenge

for an alleged offence of the high-priest, who had refused to give him

his daughter in marriage. The long-forgotten myth of Luther's suicide

has been seriously revived in our own age (1890) by Roman Catholic

priests (Majunke and Honef) in the interest of revived Ultramontanism,

and is believed by thousands in spite of repeated refutation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[380] Opera, XXXI. 21 (Latin and French).

[381] Opera, V. 388 sqq.

[382] The Latinized form of Cauvin or Chauvin. Alcuin, one of his

assumed names, is an anagram of Calvin. See La France Protest., III.

518, note. He assumed the name Calvinus in his book on Seneca, 1532.

[383] Michelet (Histoire de France, XI. 88) calls Picardy "un pays

f�cond en r�volutionnaires, en brouillants amis de l'humanit�." Lefranc

(p. 24): "Les deux mouvements contraires, la R�forme fran�aise et ce

qui la combattit avec le plus d'acharnement, la Ligue, sont n�s dans le

m�me pays." Noyon lies 67 miles N.N.E. of Paris, is enclosed with

gardens, has a large old cathedral, a bishop's palace, a hospital, a

seminary, several public fountains, manufactures of fine linens, tulle,

oil, leather, and a brisk trade, with a population of about 6000. From

Lippincott's Gazetteer, p. 1620.

[384] "De notaire apostolique, la premi�re charge qu'il obtint, il

devint successivement notaire du chapitre, greffier de l'officialit�,

procureur fiscal du comt�et promoteur du chapitre. C'est�Noyon, en

quelque sorte, le fac-totum du clerg�." Lefranc, p. 2.

[385] Lefranc, pp. 17 and 199. Herminjard, II. 394. Bolsec, in his

Histoire de Calvin, calls G�rard Cauvin "un tr�s-ex�crable

blasph�mateur de Dieu." Perhaps he confounded him with his eldest son,

Charles.

[386] See the genealogical table in Henry, vol. III.; Beilage, 16, p.

174.

[387] Carolus ejus frater et presbyter Novioduni mortuus noctu et clam

sepultus est inter quatuor columnas furcae publicae quia Eucharistiam

sumere noluerat." Papire Masson, Vita Calv.; Lefranc, pp. 18-21 and

210.

[388] Beza, at the close of his Latin Vita Calv. (in Calvin's Opera,

XXI. 171), and Lefranc, l.c., p. 184.

[389] Letter of Bucer to Farel, May 1, 1528, in Herminjard, II. no.

232, and Opera, X. Pt. I. p. 1. The "juvenis Noviodunensis" there

mentioned was not Calvin, as Kampschulte (I. 231) conjectures, but

probably Olivetan. There is no trace of such an early visit of Calvin

to Strassburg.

[390] La France Prot. III. 639.

[391] See the list and the profession in Lefranc, 216) sqq. He goes,

however, too far when he says (p. x. sq.): "Ce qui ressort d'une �tude

attentive des faits, c'est que Calvin est sorti d�ja protestant de sa

ville natale. C'est dans ce centre qu'il puisa ses id�es. Il y trouva

tout d'abord l'appui le plus ferme, ses amis les plus chauds et ses

lieutenants les plus d�vou�s. A un moment donn�, la moiti�de la

population se d�clara pour lui. Chose remarquable, un nombre

consid�rable des ses compatriots, et parmi eux les personnages les plus

en vue, le suivirent jusqu'�Gen�ve. Durant toute sa vie, Calvin

conserva d'actifs rapports avec sa villenatale et ceux de ses fid�les

qui y �taient rest�s." Calvin was not converted before 1532. See � 72.

[392] Desmay (quoting from the Registres of Noyon, see Op. XXI. 189):

Jean Calvin obtient une portion du revenue de la chapelle de la G�sine

de la Vierge fond�e dans la cath�drale de Noyon." There were four

chaplains at Noyon. The first two had to say mass alternately every

morning. John Calvin, not being ordained, had to pay a priest to take

his place. Lefranc, p. 10. Zwingli received a papal pension even after

he had begun his work of reform. See above, � 8, p. 31 sq. This is all

wrong, but was not so considered at that time.

[393] Beza says: "Quo loco [Pons Episcopi] constat Calvinum, antequam

Gallia excederet, nullis alioqui pontificiis ordinibus (unquam)

initiatum, aliquot ad populum conciones habuisse." Op. XXI. 121.

"Unquam" is omitted in the text, but added in the notes. The French

biography of Colladon reads: "En laquelle cure il a depuis presch�par

fois, avans qu'il se retirast de France." Ibid. 54.

[394] This is the date given by Kampschulte (I. 223), Lefranc (p. 14),

and others. According to Opera, XXI. 189, Calvin was "Corderii

discipulus in Collegio de la Marche Lutetice," in the year 1529; but in

that year he was a student of the university. There is some confusion

in the dates referring to the period of his studies in Paris.

[395] Cordier was called "linguae, morum vitaeque magister." He was the

Rollin of the sixteenth century. He wrote Rudimenta grammaticae; le

miroir de la jeunesse; commentarius puerorum, etc. See Lefranc, p. 62,

and "Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Protest. fran�ais," XVII. 449.

[396] Beza-Colladon (XXI. 54): "Quant �ses moeurs, il estoit sur tout

fort consciencieux, ennemi des vices, et fort adonn�au service de Dieu

qu'on appeloit pour lors: tellement que son coeur tendoit entierement

�la Theologie, et son p�re pretendoit de l'y faire employer." In the

Latin Vita, Beza says that he was "tenera aetate mirum in modum

religiosus." With this agrees the testimony of the Roman Catholic,

Florimond de Raemond, previously quoted, p. 273.

[397] Le Vasseur, p. 1158. Beza gives some probability to this report

by the notice that Calvin was "severus omnium in suis sodalibus

censor."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 70. Calvin as a Student in the French Universities. a.d. 1528-1533.

The letters of Calvin from 1530 to 1532, chiefly addressed to his

fellow-student, Fran�ois Daniel of Orleans, edited by Jules Bonnet, in

the Edinburgh ed. of Calvin's Letters, I. 3 sqq.; Herminjard, II. 278

sqq.; Opera, X. Part II. 3 sqq. His first letter to Daniel is dated

"Melliani, 8 Idus Septembr.," and is put by Herminjard and Reuss in the

year 1530 (not 1529). Mellianum is Meillant, south of Bourges (and not

to be confounded with Meaux, as is done in the Edinburgh edition).

Comp. Beza-Colladon, in Op. XXI. 54 sqq., 121 sqq. L. Bonnet: � tudes

sur Calvin, in the "Revue Chr�tienne "for 1855. --Kampschulte, I.

226-240;M'Crie, 12-28;Lefranc, 72-108.

Calvin received the best education--in the humanities, law, philosophy,

and theology--which France at that time could give. He studied

successively in the three leading universities of Orleans, Bourges, and

Paris, from 1528 to 1533, first for the priesthood, then, at the wish

of his father, for the legal profession, which promised a more

prosperous career. After his father's death, he turned again with

double zeal to the study of the humanities, and at last to theology.

He made such progress in learning that he occasionally supplied the

place of the professors. He was considered a doctor rather than an

auditor. [398] Years afterwards, the memory of his prolonged night

studies survived in Orleans and Bourges. By his excessive industry he

stored his memory with valuable information, but undermined his health,

and became a victim to headache, dyspepsia, and insomnia, of which he

suffered more or less during his subsequent life. [399] While he

avoided the noisy excitements and dissipations of student life, he

devoted his leisure to the duties and enjoyments of friendship with

like-minded fellow-students. Among them were three young lawyers,

Duchemin, Connan, and Fran�ois Daniel, who felt the need of a

reformation and favored progress, but remained in the old Church. His

letters from that period are brief and terse; they reveal a love of

order and punctuality, and a conscientious regard for little as well as

great things, but not a trace of opposition to the traditional faith.

His principal teacher in Greek and Hebrew was Melchior Volmar (Wolmar),

a German humanist of Rottweil, a pupil of Lef�vre, and successively

professor in the universities of Orleans and Bourges, and, at last, at

T�bingen, where he died in 1561. He openly sympathized with the

Lutheran Reformation, and may have exerted some influence upon his

pupil in this direction, but we have no authentic information about it.

[400] Calvin was very intimate with him, and could hardly avoid

discussing with him the religious question which was then shaking all

Europe. In grateful remembrance of his services he dedicated to him his

Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (Aug. 1, 1546).

[401]

His teachers in law were the two greatest jurists of the age, Pierre

d'Estoile (Petrus Stella) at Orleans, who was conservative, and became

President of the Parliament of Paris, and Andrea Alciati at Bourges, a

native of Milan, who was progressive and continued his academic career

in Bologna and Padua. Calvin took an interest in the controversy of

these rivals, and wrote a little preface to the Antapologia of his

friend, Nicholas Duchemin, in favor of d'Estoile. [402] He acquired the

degree of Licentiate or Bachelor of Laws at Orleans, Feb. 14, 1531

(1532). [403] On leaving the university he was offered the degree of

Doctor of Laws without the usual fees, by the unanimous consent of the

professors. [404] He was consulted about the divorce question of Henry

VIII., when it was proposed to the universities and scholars of the

Continent; and he gave his opinion against the lawfulness of marriage

with a brother's widow. [405] The study of jurisprudence sharpened his

judgment, enlarged his knowledge of human nature, and was of great

practical benefit to him in the organization and administration of the

Church in Geneva, but may have also increased his legalism and

overestimate of logical demonstration.

In the summer of 1531, after a visit to Noyon, where he attended his

father in his last sickness, Calvin removed a second time to Paris,

accompanied by his younger brother, Antoine. He found there several of

his fellow-students of Orleans and Bourges; one of them offered him the

home of his parents, but he declined, and took up his abode in the

College Fortet, where we find him again in 1533. A part of the year he

spent in Orleans.

Left master of his fortune, he now turned his attention again chiefly

to classical studies. He attended the lectures of Pierre Dan�s, a

Hellenist and encyclopaedic scholar of great reputation. [406]

He showed as yet no trace of opposition to the Catholic Church. His

correspondence refers to matters of friendship and business, but avoids

religious questions. When Daniel asked him to introduce his sister to

the superior of a nunnery in Paris which she wished to enter, he

complied with the request, and made no effort to change her purpose. He

only admonished her not to confide in her own strength, but to put her

whole trust in God. This shows, at least, that he had lost faith in the

meritoriousness of vows and good works, and was approaching the heart

of the evangelical system. [407]

He associated much with a rich and worthy merchant, Estienne de la

Forge, who afterwards was burned for the sake of the Gospel (1535).

He seems to have occasionally suffered in Paris of pecuniary

embarrassment. The income from his benefices was irregular, and he had

to pay for the printing of his first book. At the close of 1531 he

borrowed two crowns from his friend, Duchemin. He expressed a hope soon

to discharge his debt, but would none the less remain a debtor in

gratitude for the services of friendship.

It is worthy of remark that even those of his friends who refused to

follow him in his religious change, remained true to him. This is an

effective refutation of the charge of coldness so often made against

him. Fran�ois Daniel of Orleans renewed the correspondence in 1559, and

entrusted to him the education of his son Pierre, who afterwards became

an advocate and bailiff of Saint-Benoit near Orleans. [408]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[398] "Doctor potius quam auditor," says Beza, who studied in the same

universities a few years later, and lodged at Orleans in the house or

pension of Duchemin, a friend of Calvin.

[399] Beza (XXI. 122): "Quibus continuatis vigiliis ille quidem solidam

eruditionem et excellentissiman memoriam est consequutus, sed etiam

vicissim, ut verisimile est, ventriculi imbecillitatem contraxit, quae

varios ipsi morbos et tandem etiam intempestivam mortem attulit."

[400] Florimond de Raemond (who shows a tendency to discredit the

French Reformation by tracing it to a foreign, German source) asserts

that Volmar first instilled the poison of heresy into the mind of

Calvin, and advised him to exchange the Code of Justinian for the

Gospel of Christ. But Calvin and Beza (Op. XXI. 122), while speaking

highly of Volmar as a teacher and friend, say nothing about his

religious influence.

[401] Opera, XII. no. 814. He apologizes for his long silence. The

correspondence with Volmar is lost, but may yet be found.

[402] March 6, 1531. Herminjard, II. 314 sq. no. 328; Lefranc, 79 sq.

[403] In Op. XXI. 190, the degree is dated from the year 1532."Dans un

act de se jour [Febr. 14]est nomm�maistre Jean Cauvinlicenci�es lois."

In a document relating to the settlement of the estate of the deceased

G�rard Cauvin, which Lefranc (p. 202) quotes from Le Vasseur (Annal.,

p. 1169), and assigns to Feb. 14, 1631, Calvin is mentioned as

"licenti��s loix."

[404] "Absque ullo precio, summo docentium omnium consensu," says Beza

(Op. XXI. 122). Colladon (f. 54) adds that Calvin refused the offer

("ce que toutesfois il refusa"); but it is not clear whether he meant

the gratuity or the degree itself, probably the former.

[405] Gerdes, IV. 201; M'Crie, 63; Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 8. Burnet,

in his Hist. of the Ref. of the Ch. of England (Part I. Bk. II.),

refers to a letter of Calvin on the subject, which I cannot find in

Herminjard.

[406] Lefranc (p. 89) calls him "l'un des esprits les plus profonds et

les plus puissants de cette Renaissance qui compta tant de g�nies

universels," and quotes the distich:-- Magnus Budaeus, major Danesius

ille, Argivos norat, iste etiam reliquos."'

[407] "Nolui eam deducere a sententia ... sed paucis admonui, ne suis

se viribus efferret, ne quid sibi de se temere promitteret, sed omnia

reponeret in Dei virtute, in quo sumus et vivimus." Herminjard, II.

347.

[408] See the last three letters of Calvin to Daniel (1559 and 1560) in

Opera, vol. XVII. 584, 680, and XVIII. 16. Lefranc says (p. 77): "Rien

de touchant comme cette correspondance o�le grave r�formateur montre

une indulgence et une souriante bonhomie qui ne lui sont pas

habituelles .... Cet �change de lettres r�v�le veritablement un Calvin

affectueux et d�licat qu'on a trop souvent m�connu, sur la foi des

Bolsec et des Audin." There is a German monograph on Pierre Daniel

d'Orleans by Hagen of Bern, translated into French by Paul de Felice,

Orleans, 1876.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 71. Calvin as a Humanist. Commentary on Seneca.

"L. Annei Se | necae, Romani Senato | ris, ac philosophi clarissi | mi,

libri duo de Clementia, ad Ne | ronem Caesarem: | Joannis Caluini

Nouiodunaei commentariis illustrati ... | Parisiis ... 1532." 4�).

Reprinted 1576, 1597, 1612, and, from the ed. princeps, in Opera, vol.

V. (1866) pp. 5-162. The commentary is preceded by a dedicatory

epistle, a sketch of the life of Seneca.

H. Lecoultre: Calvin d'apr�s son commentaire sur le "De Clementia" de

S�n�que (1532). Lausanne, 1891 (pp. 29).

In April, 1532, Calvin, in his twenty-third year, ventured before the

public with his first work, which was printed at his own expense, and

gave ample proof of his literary taste and culture. It is a commentary

on Seneca's book On Mercy. He announced its appearance to Daniel with

the words, "Tandem jacta est alea." He sent a copy to Erasmus, who had

published the works of Seneca in 1515 and 1529. He calls him "the honor

and delight of the world of letters." [409] It is dedicated to Claude

de Hangest, his former schoolmate of the Mommor family, at that time

abbot of St. Eloy (Eligius) at Noyon.

This book moves in the circle of classical philology and moral

philosophy, and reveals a characteristic love for the best type of

Stoicism, great familiarity with Greek and Roman literature. [410]

masterly Latinity, rare exegetical skill, clear and sound judgment, and

a keen insight into the evils of despotism and the defects of the

courts of justice, but makes no allusion to Christianity. It is

remarkable that his first book was a commentary on a moral philosopher

who came nearer to the apostle Paul than any heathen writer.

It is purely the work of a humanist, not of an apologist or a reformer.

There is no evidence that it was intended to be an indirect plea for

toleration and clemency in behalf of the persecuted Protestants. It is

not addressed to the king of France, and the implied comparison of

Francis with Nero in the incidental reference to the Neronian

persecution would have defeated such a purpose. [411]

Calvin, like Melanchthon and Zwingli, started as a humanist, and, like

them, made the linguistic and literary culture of the Renaissance

tributary to the Reformation. They all admired Erasmus until he opposed

the Reformation, for which he had done so much to prepare the way. They

went boldly forward, when he timidly retreated. They loved religion

more than letters. They admired the heathen classics, but they followed

the apostles and evangelists as guides to the higher wisdom of God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[409] "Litterarum alterum decus ac primae deliciae." In his dedicatory

letter to Claude de Hangest, April 4, 1532, which is also printed in

Herminjard, II. p. 411.

[410] He freely quotes Aristotle, Plutarch, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Horace,

Pliny, Quintilian, Curtius, Macrobius, Terence, Diogenes La�rtius, and

especially his favorite Cicero, whom he was for some time in the habit

of reading through once a year. Lecoultre gives in an appendix a list

of the works quoted by Calvin. He thinks that he was already then at

heart a Protestant.

[411] "Quum Nero diris suppliciis impotenter saeviret in Christianos."

Op. V. 10. Henry, Herzog, Dorner, and Guizot assume an apologetic aim;

while St�helin and Kampschulte deny it.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 72. Calvin's Conversion. 1532.

Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms (Opera, XXXI. 21, 22, Latin and

French in parallel columns), and his Reply to Sadolet (Opera, V. 389).

See above, p. 296.

Henry, I. ch. II. St�helin, I. l6-28. Kampschulte, I. 230. Lefranc, 96

sqq.

A brilliant career--as a humanist, or a lawyer, or a churchman--opened

before Calvin, when he suddenly embraced the cause of the Reformation,

and cast in his lot with a poor persecuted sect.

Reformation was in the air. The educated classes could not escape its

influence. The seed sown by Lef�vre had sprung up in France. The

influence from Germany and Switzerland made itself felt more and more.

The clergy opposed the new opinions, the men of letters favored them.

Even the court was divided: King Francis I. persecuted the Protestants;

his sister, Marguerite d'Angoul�me, queen of Navarre, protected them.

How could a young scholar of such precocious mind and intense

studiousness as Calvin be indifferent to the religious question which

agitated the universities of Orleans, Bourges, and Paris? He must have

searched the Scriptures long and carefully before he could acquire such

familiarity as he shows already in his first theological writings.

He speaks of his conversion as a sudden one (subita conversio), but

this does not exclude previous preparation any more than in the case of

Paul. [412] A city may be taken by a single assault, yet after a long

siege. Calvin was not an unbeliever, nor an immoral youth; on the

contrary, he was a devout Catholic of unblemished character. His

conversion, therefore, was a change from Romanism to Protestantism,

from papal superstition to evangelical faith, from scholastic

traditionalism to biblical simplicity. He mentions no human agency, not

even Volmar or Olivetan or Lef�vre. "God himself," he says, "produced

the change. He instantly subdued my heart to obedience." Absolute

obedience of his intellect to the word of God, and obedience of his

will to the will of God: this was the soul of his religion. He strove

in vain to attain peace of conscience by the mechanical methods of

Romanism, and was driven to a deeper sense of sin and guilt. "Only one

haven of salvation," he says, "is left open for our souls, and that is

the mercy of God in Christ. We are saved by grace--not by our merits,

not by our works." Reverence for the Church kept him back for some time

till he learned to distinguish the true, invisible, divine essence of

the Church from its outward, human form and organization. Then the

knowledge of the truth, like a bright light from heaven, burst upon his

mind with such force, that there was nothing left for him but to obey

the voice from heaven. He consulted not with flesh and blood, and

burned the bridge behind him.

The precise time and place and circumstances of this great change are

not accurately known. He was very reticent about himself. It probably

occurred at Orleans or Paris in the latter part of the year 1532. [413]

In a letter of October, 1533, to Francis Daniel, he first speaks of the

Reformation in Paris, the rage of the Sorbonne, and the satirical

comedy against the queen of Navarre. [414] In November of the same year

he publicly attacked the Sorbonne. In a familiar letter to Bucer in

Strassburg, which is dated from Noyon, Sept. 4 (probably in 1534), he

recommends a French refugee, falsely accused of holding the opinions of

the Anabaptists, and says, "I entreat of you, master Bucer, if my

prayers, if my tears are of any avail, that you would compassionate and

help him in his wretchedness. The poor are left in a special manner to

your care; you are the helper of the orphan.... Most learned Sir,

farewell; thine from my heart." [415]

There never was a change of conviction purer in motive, more radical in

character, more fruitful and permanent in result. It bears a striking

resemblance to that still greater event near Damascus, which

transformed a fanatical Pharisee into an apostle of Jesus Christ. And,

indeed, Calvin was not unlike St. Paul in his intellectual and moral

constitution; and the apostle of sovereign grace and evangelical

freedom had not a more sympathetic expounder than Luther and Calvin.

[416]

Without any intention or effort on his part, Calvin became the head of

the evangelical party in less than a year after his conversion. Seekers

of the truth came to him from all directions. He tried in vain to

escape them. Every quiet retreat was turned into a school. He comforted

and strengthened the timid brethren in their secret meetings of

devotion. He avoided all show of learning, but, as the old Chronicle of

the French Reformed Church reports, he showed such depth of knowledge

and such earnestness of speech that no one could hear him without being

forcibly impressed. He usually began and closed his exhortations with

the word of Paul, "If God is for us, who can be against us?" This is

the keynote of his theology and piety.

He remained for the present in the Catholic Church. His aim was to

reform it from within rather than from without, until circumstances

compelled him to leave.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[412] Quum superstitionibus papatus magis pertinaciter addictus essem,

quam ut facile esset e tam profundo luto me extrahi, animum meum, qui

pro aetate nimis obduruerat, subita conversione (par une conversion

subite)ad docilitatem subegit." Opera, XXXI. 21. Lefranc (p. 40)

weakens the sense of this decisive passage.

[413] So Kampschulte (I. 242), Lefranc (p. 98 "dans la seconde moiti�de

l'ann�e 1532 "), and, apparently, also the Strassburg editors, vol.

XXI. 191. Beza seems to date the conversion further back (to 1628 or

1627) and traces it to the influence of Olivetan, and so also Henry and

Merle d'Aubign� (I. 635). St�helin (I. 21) puts it forward to the

beginning of 1533. Calvin spent the greater part of the year 1532 to

1533 at Orleans. Op. xxi. 191.

[414] Ep. 19 in Op. X. Part II. 27. Bonnet, I. 12. Herminjard, III.

106. Lefranc, 109 sqq.

[415] "Tuus ex animo." Op. X. Part II. 24. Bonnet, Letters, I. 9-11.

Herminjard, III. 201, locates this letter in 1534, which is more likely

than 1532. The letter presupposes a previous acquaintance with Bucer.

This might be dated back with Kampschulte (I. 231) to the year 1528, if

Calvin were that unnamed "Noviodunensis juvenis" whom Bucer, in a

letter to Farel, dated May 1, 1528, mentions as having fled from

persecution at Orleans to Strassburg to study Greek and Hebrew; but

Bucer probably referred to Pierre Robert Olivetan, who was likewise

from Noyon, and a relative and friend of Calvin, and perhaps brought

Calvin into contact with Bucer. Herminjard, II. 132 (note 5),

conjectures that the young man was Froment. But Froment was a native of

Dauphin�, not of Noyon. Comp. Op. X. Part II. 1; xxi. 191.

[416] Audin, following in the track of Bolsec, traces Calvin's

conversion to wounded ambition, and thereby exposes, as Kampschulte

justly observes (I. 242), his utter ignorance and misconception of

Calvin's character, whose only, ambition was to serve God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 73. Calvin's Call.

As in the case of Paul, Calvin's call to his life-work coincided with

his conversion, and he proved it by his labors. "By their fruits ye

shall know them."

We must distinguish between an ordinary and an extraordinary call, or

the call to the ministry of the gospel, and the call to reform the

Church. The ordinary ministry is necessary for the being, the

extraordinary for the well-being, of the Church. The former corresponds

to the priesthood in the Jewish dispensation, and continues in unbroken

succession; the latter resembles the mission of the prophets, and

appears sporadically in great emergencies. The office of a reformer

comes nearest the office of an apostle. There are founders of the

Church universal, as Peter and Paul; so there are founders of

particular churches, as Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox, Zinzendorf,

Wesley; but none of the Reformers was infallible.

1. All the Reformers were born, baptized, confirmed, and educated in

the historic Catholic Church, which cast them out; as the Apostles were

circumcised and trained in the Synagogue, which cast them out. They

never doubted the validity of the Catholic ordinances, and rejected the

idea of re-baptism. Distinguishing between the divine substance and the

human addition, Calvin said of his baptism, "I renounce the chrism, but

retain the baptism." [417]

The Reformers were also ordained priests in the Roman Church, except

Melanchthon and Calvin,--the greatest theologians among them. A

remarkable exception. Melanchthon remained a layman all his life; yet

his authority to teach is undoubted. Calvin became a regular minister;

but how?

He was, as we have seen, intended and educated for the Roman

priesthood, and early received the clerical tonsure. [418] He also held

two benefices, and preached sometimes in Pont l'Ev�que, and also in

Ligni�res, a little town near Bourges, where he made the impression

that, he preached better than the monks." [419]

But he never read mass, and never entered the higher orders, properly

so called.

After he left the Roman Church, there was no Evangelical bishop in

France to ordain him; the bishops, so far, all remained in the old

Church, except two or three in East Prussia and Sweden. If the validity

of the Christian ministry depended on an unbroken succession of

diocesan bishops, which again depends on historical proof, it would be

difficult to defend the Reformation and to resist the claims of Rome.

But the Reformers planted themselves on the promise of Christ, the

ever-present head of the Church, who is equally near to his people in

any age. They rejected the Roman Catholic idea of ordination as a

divinely instituted sacrament, which can only be performed by bishops,

and which confers priestly powers of offering sacrifice and dispensing

absolution. They taught the general priesthood of believers, and fell

back upon the internal call of the Holy Spirit and the external call of

the Christian people. Luther, in his earlier writings, lodged the power

of the keys in the congregation, and identified ordination with

vocation. "Whoever is called," he says, "is ordained, and must preach:

this is our Lord's consecration and true chrism." He even consecrated,

by a bold irregularity, his friend Amsdorf as superintendent of

Naumburg, to show that he could make a bishop as well as the pope, and

could do it without the use of consecrated oil.

Calvin was regularly elected pastor and teacher of theology at Geneva

in 1536 by the presbyters and the council, with the consent of the

whole people. [420]

This popular election was a revival of the primitive custom. The

greatest bishops of the early Church--such as Cyprian, Ambrose, and

Augustin--were elected by the voice of the people, which they obeyed as

the voice of God.

We are not informed whether Calvin was solemnly introduced into his

office by prayer and the laying on of the hands of presbyters (such as

Farel and Viret), after the apostolic custom (1 Tim. 4:14), which is

observed in the Reformed Churches. He did not regard ordination as

absolutely indispensable, but as a venerable rite sanctioned by the

practice of the Apostles which has the force of a precept. [421] He

even ascribed to it a semi-sacramental character. "The imposition of

hands," he says, "which is used at the introduction of the true

presbyters and ministers of the Church into their office, I have no

objection to consider as a sacrament; for, in the first place, that

sacrament is taken from the Scripture, and, in the next place, it is

declared by Paul to be not unnecessary or useless, but a faithful

symbol of spiritual grace (1 Tim. 4:14). I have not enumerated it as a

third among the sacraments, because it is not ordinary or common to all

the faithful, but a special rite for a particular office. The

ascription of this honor to the Christian ministry, however, furnishes

no reason of pride in Roman priests; for Christ has commanded the

ordination of ministers to dispense his Gospel and his mysteries, not

the inauguration of priests to offer sacrifices. He has commissioned

them to preach the Gospel and to feed his flock, and not to immolate

victims." [422]

The evangelical ministry in the non-episcopal Churches was of necessity

presbyterial, that is, descended from the, Presbyterate, which was

originally identical with the episcopate. Even the Church of England,

during her formative period under the reigns of Edward VI. and

Elizabeth, recognized the validity of presbyterial ordination, not only

in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the Continent, but within her

own jurisdiction, as in the cases of Peter Martyr, professor of

theology at Oxford; Bucer, Fagius, and Cartwright, professors at

Cambridge; John � Lasco, pastor in London; Dean Whittingham of Durham,

and many others. [423]

2. But whence did Calvin and the other Reformers derive their authority

to reform the old Catholic Church and to found new Churches? Here we

must resort to a special divine call and outfit. The Reformers belong

not to the regular order of priests, but to the irregular order of

prophets whom God calls directly by his Spirit from the plough or the

shepherd's staff or the workshop or the study. So he raises and endows

men with rare genius for poetry or art or science or invention or

discovery. All good gifts come from God; but the gift of genius is

exceptional, and cannot be derived or propagated by ordinary descent.

There are divine irregularities as well as divine regularities. God

writes on a crooked as well as on a straight line. Even Paul was called

out of due time, and did not seek ordination from Peter or any other

apostle, but derived his authority directly from Christ, and proved his

ministry by the abundance of his labors.

In the apostolic age there were apostles, prophets, and evangelists for

the Church at large, and presbyter-bishops and deacons for particular

congregations. The former are considered extraordinary officers. But

their race is not yet extinct, any more than the race of men of genius

in any other sphere of life. They arise whenever and wherever they are

needed.

We are bound to the ordinary means of grace, but God is free, and his

Spirit works when, where, and how he pleases. God calls ordinary men

for ordinary work in the ordinary way; and he calls extraordinary men

for extraordinary work in an extraordinary way. He has done so in times

past, and will do so to the end of time. [424]

Hooker, the most "judicious" of Anglican divines, says: Though

thousands were debtors to Calvin, as touching divine knowledge, yet he

was to none, only to God."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[417] "Je renonce le cresme, et retient mon Baptesme." Colladon, in Op.

XXI. 53.

[418] The value of the tonsure was differently estimated, but it was

generally excluded from the lower orders. Calvin says (Inst. IV. ch.

19, � 22): "Some represent the clerical tonsure to be the first order

of all, and episcopacy the last; others exclude the tonsure, and place

the archiepiscopal office among the orders." Peter the Lombard

distinguishes seven orders, corresponding to the seven gifts of the

Holy Spirit (Isa. 11:2, 3),--beadles, readers, exorcists, acolytes,

subdeacons, deacons, priests. He regards the episcopate, not as a

separate ordo, but only as a dignity with four grades,--patriarch,

archbishop, metropolitan, bishop. Several schoolmen and canonists

reckon eight or nine ordines, including bishops and archbishops. The

Council of Trent defined the three ordines majores,--bishops, priests

(presbyters), and deacons.

[419] Colladon, Op. XXI. 56: "Il prescha (while he studied at Bourges)

quelquefois en une petite ville du pays de Berry, nomm�e Ligni�res, et

eut entr�e en la maison du seigneur du lieu qui estoit pour lors:

lequel ... disait ... qu'il lui semblait que, M. Jean Calvin preshoit

mieux que les moines." His preaching at Pont l'Ev�que is mentioned by

Colladon, ibid. fol. 64, and by Beza, fol. 121. See above, p. 301.

[420] Beza, Vita C. (XXI. 125 sq.) Suffragiis presbyterii et

magistratus, accedente plebis consensu, delectus non concionator tantum

(hoc autem primum recuserat), sed etiam sacrarumliterarum doctor, quod

unum admittebat, est designatus anno Domini MDXXXVI mense Augusto."

Comp. Colladon, ibid. fol. 58 sq.: "declar�Pasteur et Docteur en caste

Eglise [de Gen�ve]avec l�gitime �lection et approbation."

[421] Inst. IV. ch. III. � 16.

[422] Institutes, IV. ch. XIX. � 28. (In Tholuck's ed. II. 470.)

[423] Keble says in his Introduction to Hooker's Ecclesiastical

Polity:, Nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote (1594), numbers had

been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better

than presbyterial ordination."

[424] Our own age is witness to this fact. I may refer to Dwight Lyman

Moody, who is a plain, unordained layman, but a genuine, God-taught

evangelist. He has probably converted more people to a Christian life

than any clergyman or learned professor of theology of this age, and

has made his home at Northfield a Jerusalem for Bible students from all

parts of the country, and even from across the sea.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 74. The Open Rupture. An Academic Oration. 1533.

Calv. Opera, X. P. I. 30; XXI. 123, 129, 192. A very graphic account by

Merle D'Aubign�, bk. II. ch. xxx. (vol. II. 264-284).

For a little while matters seemed to take a favorable turn at the court

for reform. The reactionary conduct of the Sorbonne and the insult

offered to Queen Marguerite by the condemnation of her "Mirror of a

Sinful Soul,"--a tender and monotonous mystic reverie, [425] --

offended her brother and the liberal members of the University. Several

preachers who sympathized with a moderate reformation, G�rard Roussel,

and the Augustinians, Bertault and Courault, were permitted to ascend

the pulpit in Paris. [426] The king himself, by his opposition to the

German emperor, and his friendship with Henry VIII., incurred the

suspicion of aiding the cause of heresy and schism. He tried, from

political motives and regard for his sister, to conciliate between the

conservative and progressive parties. He even authorized the invitation

of Melanchthon to Paris as counsellor, but Melanchthon wisely declined.

Nicolas Cop, the son of a distinguished royal physician (William Cop of

Basel), and a friend of Calvin, was elected Rector of the University,

Oct. 10, 1533, and delivered the usual inaugural oration on All Saint's

Day, Nov. 1, before a large assembly in the Church of the Mathurins.

[427]

This oration, at the request of the new Rector, had been prepared by

Calvin. It was a plea for a reformation on the basis of the New

Testament, and a bold attack on the scholastic theologians of the day,

who were represented as a set of sophists, ignorant of the Gospel.

"They teach nothing," says Calvin, "of faith, nothing of the love of

God, nothing of the remission of sins, nothing of grace, nothing of

justification; or if they do so, they pervert and undermine it all by

their laws and sophistries. I beg you, who are here present, not to

tolerate any longer these heresies and abuses." [428]

The Sorbonne and the Parliament regarded this academic oration as a

manifesto of war upon the Catholic Church, and condemned it to the

flames. Cop was warned and fled to his relatives in Basel. [429]

Calvin, the real author of the mischief, is said to have descended from

a window by means of sheets, and escaped from Paris in the garb of a

vine-dresser with a hoe upon his shoulder. His rooms were searched and

his books and papers were seized by the police. [430]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[425] Le miroirde l'�me p�cheresse (1533). The book was condemned on

purely negative evidence. The silence about purgatory and the

intercession of saints was construed as a denial.

[426] Elie Courault (Coraud, Couraud, Coraldus) afterwards fled to

Basel in 1534, and became a colleague of Farel and Calvin at Geneva in

1536. See Herminjard, IV. 114, note 9.

[427] Bulaeus, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, VI. 238, and in the

"Catalogus illustrium Academicorum Univ. Parisiensis" at the end of the

same volume. A notice of Cop in Herminjard, III. 129 sq. note 3.

[428] The incomplete draft of' this address has been discovered by J.

Bonnet among the MSS. of the Geneva Library, and the whole of it by

Reuss and Cunitz in the library of St. Thomas in Strassburg. It is

printed in Opera, X. Pars II. 30-36 (and the shorter draft, IX.

873-876). Comp. Herminjard, III. 117, note, and 418 sqq.

[429] Three hundred crowns were offered for his capture dead or alive.

So Bucer wrote to Blaurer, Jan. 13, 1534, in Herminjard, III. 130. Cop

informed Bucer, April 5, 1534, that a German was burned in Paris, for

denying transubstantiation. Ibid. III. 159.

[430] According to Beza (XXI. 123), Queen Marguerite protected Calvin

and honorably received him at the court; but he certainly left Paris

very soon. Colladon says nothing of an interference of Marguerite. The

story of the escape of Calvin is told by Papyrius Masson, and Desmay.

See M'Crie, p. 100, note 59. It has been compared to Paul's escape at

Damascus, Acts 9:25.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 75. Persecution of the Protestants in Paris. 1534.

Beza in Vita Calv., vol. XXI. 124.--Jean Crespin: Livre des Martyrs,

Gen�ve, 1570.--The report of the Bourgeois de Paris.--Gerdesius, IV.

Mon. 11. Henry, I. 74; II. 333.--Dyer, I. 29.--Polenz, I.

282.--Kampschulte, I. 243.--"Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot.

fran�.," X. 34; XI. 253.

This storm might have blown over without doing much harm. But in the

following year the reaction was greatly strengthened by the famous

placards, which gave it the name of "the year of placards." An

over-zealous, fanatical Protestant by the name of Feret, a servant of

the king's apothecary, placarded a tract "on the horrible, great,

intolerable abuses of the popish mass," throughout Paris and even at

the door of the royal chamber at Fontainebleau, where the king was then

residing, in the night of Oct. 18, 1534. In this placard the mass is

described as a blasphemous denial of the one and all-sufficient

sacrifice of Christ; while the pope, with all his brood (toute sa

vermine) of cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks, are denounced as

hypocrites and servants of Antichrist. [431]

All moderate Protestants deplored this untimely outburst of radicalism.

It retarded and almost ruined the prospects of the Reformation in

France. The best cause may be undone by being overdone.

The king was highly and justly incensed, and ordered the imprisonment

of all suspected persons. The prisons were soon filled. To purge the

city from the defilement caused by this insult to the holy mass and the

hierarchy, a most imposing procession was held from the Louvre to Notre

Dame, on Jan. 29, 1535. The image of St. Genevi�ve, the patroness of

Paris, was carried through the streets: the archbishop, with the host

under a magnificent d�is, and the king with his three sons,

bare-headed, on foot, a burning taper in their hands, headed the

procession, and were followed by the princes, cardinals, bishops,

priests, ambassadors, and the great officers of the State and of the

University, walking two and two abreast, in profound silence, with

lighted torches. Solemn mass was performed in the cathedral. Then the

king dined with the prelates and dignitaries, and declared that he

would not hesitate to behead any one of his own children if found

guilty of these new, accursed heresies, and to offer them as a

sacrifice to divine justice.

The gorgeous solemnities of the day wound up with a horrible autodaf�

of six Protestants: they were suspended by a rope to a machine, let

down into burning flames, again drawn up, and at last precipitated into

the fire. They died like heroes. The more educated among them had their

tongues slit. Twenty-four innocent Protestants were burned alive in

public places of the city from Nov. 10, 1534, till May 5, 1535. Among

them was Etienne de la Forge (Stephanus Forgeus), an intimate friend of

Calvin. Many more were fined, imprisoned, and tortured, and a

considerable number, among them Calvin and Du Tillet, fled to

Strassburg. [432]

These cruelties were justified or excused by charges of heresy,

immorality, and disloyalty, and by a reference to the excesses of a

fanatical wing of the Anabaptists in M�nster, which took place in the

same year. [433] But the Huguenots were then, as their descendants have

always been, and are now, among the most intelligent, moral, and

orderly citizens of France. [434]

The Sorbonne urged the king to put a stop to the printing-press (Jan.

13, 1535). He agreed to a temporary suspension (Feb. 26). Afterwards

censors were appointed, first by Parliament, then by the clergy (1542).

The press stimulated free thought and was stimulated by it in turn.

Before 1500, four millions of volumes (mostly in folio) were printed;

from 1500 to 1536, seventeen millions; after that time the number is

beyond calculation. [435] The printing-press is as necessary for

liberty as respiration for health. Some air is good, some bad; but

whether good or bad, it is the condition of life.

This persecution was the immediate occasion of Calvin's Institutes, and

the forerunner of a series of persecutions which culminated under the

reign of Louis XIV., and have made the Reformed Church of France a

Church of martyrs.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[431] They are indiscriminately called "faux proph�tes, damnables

trompeurs, apostats, loups, faux pasteurs, menteurs, blasph�mateurs,

meurtriers des �mes, renonceurs de J�sus Christ, ravisseurs de

l'honneur de Dieu, et plus d�testables queles diables." Farel, then in

Switzerland, was suspected of having some share in this incendiary

publication, but without any evidence. Courault, who was then in

confinement, advised not to publish the paper, "as it would excite

great commotion in the minds of the people, and bring odium on the

whole body of the faithful." Hist. Martyr., fol. 64, quoted by M'Crie,

p. 102.

[432] Beza (XXI. 124) gives a brief account of the persecution:"Eousque

inflammata fascinati Francisci Regis ira ob schedas quosdam adversus

missam per urbem sparsas ipsiusque regii cubiculi foribus ad fixas, ut

publica decreta supplicatione, cui una cum liberis suis tribus nudo

capite ardentem facem quasi expiationis causa gestans interfuit,

quatuor urbis celebrioribus locis octonos martyres vivos ustulari

juberet, atque adeo solemni jure jurando testaretur, se ne liberis

quidem suis parsurum, si forte teterrimis illis, ut vocabat, haeresibus

essent infecti." The Protestant reports are verified by that of a Roman

Catholic, "Bourgeois de Paris," who witnessed the burnings with

satisfaction, as a spectacle well pleasing to God, and mentions the

dates and places of execution (namely, Nov. 10, 1534, Nov. 18, Nov. 19,

Dec. 4; Jan. 21,1535, Jan. 22, Feb. 16, 19, 26, March 3, May 5), as

well as the occupations of the victims, most of whom were workingmen,

one a rich merchant. This report was published in 1854 and is reprinted

in Michelet's Histoire de France (vol. X. 340 sq.).

[433] Pour excuser envers les princes protestants les pers�cutions

qu'on faisait contre l'Evangile." Colladon (XXI. 57).

[434] Michelet (X. 339) says: "Rien de plus saint, de plus pur, que les

origines du protestantisme fran�ais. Rien de plus �loign�de la

sanglante orgie de Munster."

[435] Michelet, l.c. 342 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 76. Calvin as a Wandering Evangelist. 1533-1536.

For nearly three years Calvin wandered as a fugitive evangelist under

assumed names [436] from place to place in Southern France,

Switzerland, Italy, till he reached Geneva as his final destination. It

is impossible accurately to determine all the facts and dates in this

period.

He resigned his ecclesiastical benefices at Noyon and Pont l'Ev�que,

May 4, 1534, and thus closed all connection with the Roman Church.

[437] That year was remarkable for the founding of the order of the

Jesuits at Montmartre (Aug. 15), which took the lead in the

Counter-Reformation; by the election of Pope Paul III. (Alexander

Farnese, Oct. 13), who confirmed the order, excommunicated Henry VIII.,

and established the Inquisition in Italy; and by the bloody persecution

of the Protestants in Paris, which has been described in the preceding

section. [438]

The Roman Counter-Reformation now began in earnest, and called for a

consolidation of the Protestant forces.

Calvin spent the greater part of the year 1533 to 1534, under the

protection of Queen Marguerite of Navarre, in her native city of

Angoul�me. This highly gifted lady (1492-1549), the sister of King

Francis I., grandmother of Henry IV., and a voluminous writer in verse

and prose, was a strange mixture of piety and liberalism, of idealism

and sensualism. She patronized both the Reformation and the

Renaissance, Calvin and Rabelais; she wrote the Mirror of a Sinful

Soul, and also the Heptameron in professed imitation of Boccaccio's

Decamerone; yet she was pure, and began and closed the day with

religious meditation and devotion. After the death of her royal brother

(1547), she retired to a convent as abbess, and declared on her

death-bed that, after receiving extreme unction, she had protected the

Reformers out of pure compassion, and not from any wish to depart from

the faith of her ancestors. [439]

Calvin lived at Angoul�me with a wealthy friend, Louis du Tillet, who

was canon of the cathedral and cur� of Claix, and had acquired on his

journeys a rare library of three or four thousand volumes. [440] He

taught him Greek, and prosecuted his theological studies. He associated

with honorable men of letters, and was highly esteemed by them. [441]

He began there the preparation of his Institutes. [442] He also aided

Olivetan in the revision and completion of the French translation of

the Bible, which appeared at Neuch�tel in June, 1535, with a preface of

Calvin. [443]

From Angoul�me Calvin made excursions to N�rac, Poitiers, Orleans, and

Paris. At N�rac in B�arn, the little capital of Queen Marguerite, he

became personally acquainted with Le F�vre d'�taples (Faber

Stapulensis), the octogenarian patriarch of French Humanism and

Protestantism. Le F�vre, with prophetic vision, recognized in the young

scholar the future restorer of the Church of France. [444] Perhaps he

also suggested to him to take Melanchthon for his model. [445] Roussel,

the chaplain and confessor of Marguerite, advised him to purify the

house of God, but not to destroy it.

At Poitiers, Calvin gained several eminent persons for the Reformation.

According to an uncertain tradition he celebrated with a few friends,

for the first time, the Lord's Supper after the Reformed fashion, in a

cave (grotte de Croutelles) near the town, which long afterwards was

called "Calvin's Cave." [446]

Towards the close of the year 1534, he ventured on a visit to Paris.

There he met, for the first time, the Spanish physician, Michael

Servetus, who had recently published his heretical book On the Errors

of the Trinity, and challenged him to a disputation. Calvin accepted

the challenge at the risk of his safety, and waited for him in a house

in the Rue Saint Antoine; but Servetus did not appear. Twenty years

afterwards he reminded Servetus of this interview: "You know that at

that time I was ready to do everything for you, and did not even count

my life too dear that I might convert you from your errors." Would that

he had succeeded at that time, or never seen the unfortunate heretic

again.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[436] Such as Charles d'Espeville, Martianus Lucanius, Carolus

Passelius, Alcuin, Deper�an, Calpurnius. There is a monograph on these

assumed names, Diatribe de Pseudonymia Calvini, by Liebe, Amsterdam,

1723, which includes several letters of importance. So says

Kampschulte, I. 245.

[437] Le Vasseur, 1161. Herminjard, V. 104. Op. XXI. 193.

[438] Beza calls the year 1534 "horrenda in multos pios saevitia

insignia" (Calv. Op. XXI. 124).

[439] Dyer (Life of Calvin, p. 18) says of her: "Plato's divine and

earthly love never met more conspicuously in a human being," and quotes

the remark of M. G�nin, the editor of her correspondence: "Le trait

saillant du caract�re de Marguerite c'est d'avoir alli�toute sa vie les

id�es religieuses et les id�es d'amour mondain."

[440] Ep. 20, Op. X. Pt. I. 37. Florimond de Raemond (p. 883) extends

Calvin's sojourn at Angoul�me to three years, which is evidently an

error.

[441] Florimond de Raemond: "Il estoit en bonne estim�et r�putation,

aim�de tous ceux qui aimoient les lettres."

[442] According to the same Roman Catholic historian.

[443] Ep. 29 in Op. X. Pars I. 51: the preface in vol. IX. 787-790.

Beza (followed by St�helin, I. 88) makes him take part also in the

first edition, which appeared in 1634, and contained only the New

Testament. But this seems to be an error. See Reuss, "R�vue de

Theologie," 1866, No. III. 318, and Kampschulte, I. 247; also

Herminjard, III. 349, note 8.

[444] Beza (XXI, 123): "Excepit juvenem [Calvinum] bonus senex et

libenter vidit, futurum augurans insigne coelestis in Gallia

instaurandi regni instrumentum."

[445] According to Florimond de Raemond.

[446] Bayle, Art. Calvin and La Place. Crottet, Petite Chronique

Protestante de France, 96 sqq. St�helin, I. 32. Lefranc, 120.

Herminjard, III. 202, note 4.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 77. The Sleep of the Soul. 1534.

Psychopannychia. Aureliae, 1534; 2d and revised ed. Basel, 1536; 3d ed.

Strassburg, 1542; French trans. Paris, 1558; republished in Opera, vol.

V. 165-232.--Comp. the analysis of St�helin, I. 36-40, and La France

Prot. III. 549. English translation in Calvin's Tracts, III. 413-490.

Before Calvin left France, he wrote, at Orleans, 1534, his first

theological book, entitled Psychopannychia, or the Sleep of the Soul.

He refutes in it the hypothesis entertained by some Anabaptists, of the

sleep of the soul between death and resurrection, and proves the

unbroken and conscious communion of believers with Christ, their living

Head. He appeals no more to philosophy and the classics, as in his

earlier book on Seneca, but solely to the Scriptures, as the only rule

of faith. Reason can give us no light on the future world, which lies

beyond our experience.

He wished to protect, by this book, the evangelical Protestants against

the charge of heresy and vagary. They were often confounded with the

Anabaptists who roused in the same year the wrath of all the German

princes by the excesses of a radical and fanatical faction at M�nster.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 78. Calvin at Basel. 1535 to 1536.

The outbreak of the bloody persecution, in October, 1534, induced

Calvin to leave his native land and to seek safety in free Switzerland.

He was accompanied by his friend and pupil, Louis du Tillet, who

followed him as far as Geneva, and remained with him till the end of

August, 1537, when he returned to France and to the Roman Church. [447]

The travellers passed through Lorraine. On the frontier of Germany,

near Metz, they were robbed by an unfaithful servant. They arrived

utterly destitute at Strassburg, then a city of refuge for French

Protestants. They were kindly received and aided by Bucer.

After a few days' rest they proceeded to Basel, their proper

destination. There Farel had found a hospitable home in 1524, and Cop

and Courault ten years later. Calvin wished a quiet place for study

where he could promote the cause of the Gospel by his pen. He lodged

with his friend in the house of Catharina Klein (Petita), who thirty

years afterwards was the hostess of another famous refugee, the

philosopher, Petrus Ramus, and spoke to him with enthusiasm of the

young Calvin, "the light of France." [448]

He was kindly welcomed by Simon Grynaeus and Wolfgang Capito, the heads

of the university. He prosecuted with Grynaeus his study of the Hebrew.

He dedicated to him in gratitude his commentary on the Epistle to the

Romans (1539). He became acquainted also with Bullinger of Z�rich, who

attended the conference of Reformed Swiss divines for the preparation

of the first Helvetic Confession (1536). [449]

According to a Roman Catholic report, Calvin, in company with Bucer,

had a personal interview with Erasmus, to whom three years before he

had sent a copy of his commentary on Seneca with a high compliment to

his scholarship. The veteran scholar is reported to have said to Bucer

on that occasion that "a great pestilence was arising in the Church

against the Church." [450] But Erasmus was too polite, thus to insult a

stranger. Moreover, he was then living at Freiburg in Germany and had

broken off all intercourse with Protestants. When he returned to Basel

in July, 1536, on his way to the Netherlands, he took sick and died;

and at that time Calvin was in Italy. The report therefore is an idle

fiction. [451]

Calvin avoided publicity and lived in scholarly seclusion. He spent in

Basel a year and a few months, from January, 1535, till about March,

1536.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[447] M. Crottet, Correspondance de Calvin avec L. du Tillet, 1850.

[448] "Lumen Galliae." See the Reminiscences of Basel, by Petrus Ramus

(1572), quoted in Op. XXI. 194. Ch. Waddington, Ramus, sa vie, ses

�crits et ses opinions, Paris, 1855. St�helin, I. 41 sqq. Kampschulte,

I. 250.

[449] See above, p. 219. Ep. 2634, referred to in Op. XXI. 196.

[450] "Video magnam pestem oriri in Ecclesia contra Ecclesiam."

[451] It rests on the sole authority of Florimond de Raemond, p. 890.

He puts the visit in the year 1534, when Calvin was yet in France, and

could not accompany Bucer. Beza and Colladon know nothing of such an

interview. Bayle doubted it. Merle d'Aubign�, III. 203-204 (Engl.

trans. III. 183-185), however, accepts and embellishes it as if he had

been present and heard the colloquy of the three scholars.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 79. Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion.

1. The full title of the first edition is "Christia | nae Religionis

Insti | tutio totam fere pietatis summam et quic | quid est in doctrina

salutis cognitu ne- | cessarium, complectens: omnibus pie | tatis

studiosis lectu dignissi | mum opus, ac re- | cens edi- | tum. |

Praefatio| ad Chri | stianissimum Regem Francae, qua | hic ei liber pro

confessione fidei | offertur. | Joanne Calvino | Nouiodunensi authore.

| Basileae, | M. D. XXXVI." The dedicatory Preface is dated 'X.

Calendas Septembres' (i.e. August 23), without the year; but at the

close of the book the month of March, 1536, is given as the date of

publication. The first two French editions (1541 and 1545) supplement

the date of the Preface correctly: "De Basle le vingt-troysiesme

d'Aoust mil cinq cent trente cinq." The manuscript, then, was completed

in August, 1535, but it took nearly a year to print it.

2. The last improved edition from the pen of the author (the fifth

Latin) is a thorough reconstruction, and bears the title: "Institutio

Chri | stianae Religionis, in libros qua | tuor nunc primum digesta,

certisque distincta capitibus, ad aptissimam | methodum: aucta etiam

tam magna accessione ut propemodum opus | novum haberi possit. | Joanne

Calvino authore. | Oliva Roberti Stephani. | Genevae. | M. D. LIX." The

subsequent Latin editions are reprints of the ed. of 1559, with an

index by Nic. Colladon, another by Marlorat. The Elzevir ed. Leyden,

1654, fol., was especially esteemed for its beauty and accuracy. A

convenient modern ed. by Tholuck (Berlin, 1834, 2d ed. 1846).

3. The first French edition appeared without the name and place of the

printer (probably Michel du Bois at Geneva), under the title:

"Institution de la religion chrestienne en laquelle est comprinse une

somme de pi�t�.... compos�e en latin par J. Calvin et translat�e par

luy mesme. Avec la pr�face address�e au tres chrestien Roy de France,

Fran�ois premier de ce nom: par laquelle ce pr�sent livre luy esi

offert pour confession de Foy. M. D. XLI." 822 pp. 8�, 2d ed. Gen�ve,

Jean Girard, 1545; 3d ed. 1551; 4th ed. 1553; 5th ed. 1554; 6th ed.

1557; 7th ed. 1560, in fol.; 8th ed. 1561, in 8�; 9th ed. 1561, in 4�;

10th ed. 1562, etc.; 15th ed. Geneva, 1564. Elzevir ed. Leyden, 1654.

4. The Strassburg editors devote the first four volumes to the

different editions of the Institutes in both languages. Vol, I.

contains the editio princeps Latina of Basel, 1536 (pp. 10-247), and

the variations of six editions intervening between the first and the

last, viz., the Strassburg editions of 1539, 1543, 1545, and the Geneva

editions of 1550, 1553, 1554 (pp. 253-1152); vol. II., the editio

postrema of 1559 (pp. 1-1118); vols. III. and IV., the last edition of

the French translation, or free reproduction rather (1560), with the

variations of former editions.

5. The question of the priority of the Latin or French text is now

settled in favor of the former. See Jules Bonnet, in the Bulletin de la

Soci�t� de l'histoire du protestantisme fran�ais for 1858, vol. VI. p.

137 sqq., St�helin, vol. I. p. 55, and the Strassburg editors of the

Opera, in the ample Prolegomena to vols. I. and III. Calvin himself

says expressly (in the Preface to his French ed. 1541), that he first

wrote the Institutes in Latin ("premi�rement l'ay mis en latin"), for

readers of all nations, and that he translated or reproduced them

afterwards for the special benefit of Frenchmen ("l'ay aussi translat�

en notre langage"). In a letter to his friend, Fran�ois Daniel, dated

Lausanne, Oct. 13, 1536, he writes that he began the French translation

soon after the publication of the Latin (Letters, ed. Bonnet, vol. I.

p. 21), but it did not appear till 1541, under the title given above.

The erroneous assertion of a French original, so often repeated (by

Bayle, Maimbourg, Basnage, and more recently by Henry, vol. I. p. 104;

III. p. 177; Dorner, Gesch. der protest. Theol. p. 375; also by Guizot,

H. B. Smith, and Dyer), arose from confounding the date of the Preface

as given in the French editions (23 Aug., 1535), with the later date of

publication (March, 1536). It is quite possible, however, that the

dedication to Francis I. was first written in French, and this would

most naturally account for the earlier date in the French editions.

6. On the differences of the several editions, comp. J. Thomas:

Histoire de l'instit. chr�tienne de J. Calv. Strasbourg, 1859. Alex.

Schweizer: Centraldogmen, I. 150 sqq. (Z�rich, 1854). K�stlin: Calvin's

Institutio nach Form und Inhalt, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for

1868.

7. On the numerous translations, see above, pp. 225, 265; Henry, Vol.

III. Beilagen, 178-189; and La France Prot. III. 553.

In the ancient and venerable city of Basel, on the borders of

Switzerland, France, and Germany--the residence of Erasmus and

Oecolampadius, the place where a reformatory council had met in 1430,

and where the first Greek Testament was printed in 1516 from

manuscripts of the university library John Calvin, then a mere youth of

twenty-six years, and an exile from his native land, finished and

published, twenty years after the first print of the Greek Testament,

his Institutes of the Christian Religion, by which he astonished the

world and took at once the front rank among the literary champions of

the evangelical faith.

This book is the masterpiece of a precocious genius of commanding

intellectual and spiritual depth and power. It is one of the few truly

classical productions in the history of theology, and has given its

author the double title of the Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas of the

Reformed Church. [452]

The Roman Catholics at once perceived the significance of the

Institutio, and called it the Koran and Talmud of heresy. [453] It was

burned by order of the Sorbonne at Paris and other places, and more

fiercely and persistently persecuted than any book of the sixteenth

century; but, we must add, it has found also great admirers among

Catholics who, while totally dissenting from its theological system and

antipopish temper, freely admit its great merits in the non-polemical

parts. [454]

The Evangelicals greeted the Institutio at once with enthusiastic

praise as the clearest, strongest, most logical, and most convincing

defence of Christian doctrines since the days of the apostles. A few

weeks after its publication Bucer wrote to the author: "It is evident

that the Lord has elected you as his organ for the bestowment of the

richest fulness of blessing to his Church." [455]

Nor is this admiration confined to orthodox Protestants. Dr. Baur, the

founder of the T�bingen school of historical critics, declares this

book of Calvin to be "in every respect a truly classical work,

distinguished in a high degree by originality and acuteness of

conception, systematic consistency, and clear, luminous method." [456]

And Dr. Hase pointedly calls it "the grandest scientific justification

of Augustinianism, full of religious depth with inexorable consistency

of thought." [457]

The Institutio is not a book for the people, and has not the rousing

power which Luther's Appeal to the German Nobility, and his tract on

Christian Freedom exerted upon the Germans; but it is a book for

scholars of all nations, and had a deeper and more lasting effect upon

them than any work of the Reformers. Edition followed edition, and

translations were made into nearly all the languages of Europe. [458]

Calvin gives a systematic exposition of the Christian religion in

general, and a vindication of the evangelical faith in particular, with

the apologetic and practical aim of defending the Protestant believers

against calumny and persecution to which they were then exposed,

especially in France. He writes under the inspiration of a heroic faith

that is ready for the stake, and with a glowing enthusiasm for the pure

Gospel of Christ, which had been obscured and deprived of its effect by

human traditions, but had now risen from this rubbish to new life and

power. He combines dogmatics and ethics in organic unity.

He plants himself firmly on the immovable rock of the Word of God, as

the only safe guide in matters of faith and duty. He exhibits on every

page a thorough, well-digested knowledge of Scripture which is truly

astonishing. He does not simply quote from it as a body of proof texts,

in a mechanical way, like the scholastic dogmaticians of the

seventeenth century, but he views it as an organic whole, and weaves it

into his system. He bases the authority of Scripture on its intrinsic

excellency and the testimony of the Holy Spirit speaking through it to

the believer. He makes also judicious and discriminating use of the

fathers, especially St. Augustin, not as judges but as witnesses of the

truth, and abstains from those depreciatory remarks in which Luther

occasionally indulged when, instead of his favorite dogma of

justification by faith, he found in them much ascetic monkery and

exaltation of human merit. "They overwhelm us," says Calvin, in the

dedicatory Preface, "with senseless clamors, as despisers and enemies

of the fathers. But if it were consistent with my present design, I

could easily support by their suffrages most of the sentiments that we

now maintain. Yet while we make use of their writings, we always

remember that 'all things are ours,' to serve us, not to have dominion

over us, and that 'we are Christ's alone' (1 Cor. 3:21-23), and owe him

universal obedience. He who neglects this distinction will have nothing

certain in religion; since those holy men were ignorant of many things,

frequently at variance with each other, and sometimes even inconsistent

with themselves." He also fully recognizes the indispensable use of

reason in the apprehension and defence of truth and the refutation of

error, and excels in the power of severe logical argumentation; while

he is free from scholastic dryness and pedantry. But he subordinates

reason and tradition to the supreme authority of Scripture as he

understands it.

The style is luminous and forcible. Calvin had full command of the

majesty, dignity, and elegance of the Latin Ianguage. The discussion

flows on continuously and melodiously like a river of fresh water

through green meadows and sublime mountain scenery. The whole work is

well proportioned. It is pervaded by intense earnestness and fearless

consistency which commands respect even where his arguments fail to

carry conviction, or where we feel offended by the contemptuous tone of

his polemics, or feel a shudder at his decretum horribile.

Calvin's system of doctrine agrees with the (ecumenical creeds in

theology and Christology; with Augustinianism in anthropology and

soteriology, but dissents from the mediaeval tradition in ecclesiology,

sacramentology, and eschatology. We shall discuss the prominent

features of this system in the chapter on Calvin's Theology.

The Institutio was dedicated to King Francis I. of France (1494-1547),

who at that time cruelly persecuted his Protestant subjects. As Justin

Martyr and other early Apologists addressed the Roman emperors in

behalf of the despised and persecuted sect of the Christians,

vindicating them against the foul charges of atheism, immorality, and

hostility to Caesar, and pleading for toleration, so Calvin appealed to

the French monarch in defence of his Protestant countrymen, then a

small sect, as much despised, calumniated, and persecuted, and as moral

and innocent as the Christians in the old Roman empire, with a manly

dignity, frankness, and pathos never surpassed before or since. He

followed the example set by Zwingli who addressed his dying confession

of faith to the same sovereign (1531). These appeals, like the

apologies of the ante-Nicene age, failed to reach or to affect the

throne, but they moulded public opinion which is mightier than thrones,

and they are a living force to-day.

The preface to the Institutio is reckoned among the three immortal

prefaces in literature. The other two are President De Thou's preface

to his History of France, and Casaubon's preface to Polybius. Calvin's

preface is superior to them in importance and interest. Take the

beginning and the close as specimens. [459]

"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 on the subject of religion might be instructed in

the nature of true piety. And this labor I undertook chiefly for my

countrymen, the French, of whom I apprehend multitudes to be hungering

and thirsting after Christ, but saw very few possessing any real

knowledge of him. That this was my design the book itself proves by its

simple method and unadorned composition. But when I perceived that the

fury of certain wicked men in your kingdom had grown to such a height,

as to have no room in the land for sound doctrine, I thought I should

be usefully employed, if in the same work I delivered my instructions

to them, and exhibited my confession to you, that you may know the

nature of that doctrine, which is the object of such unbounded rage to

those madmen who are now disturbing the country with fire and sword.

For I shall not be afraid to acknowledge, that this treatise contains a

summary of that very doctrine, which, according to their clamors,

deserves to be punished with imprisonment, banishment, proscription,

and flames, and to be exterminated from the face of the earth. I well

know with what atrocious insinuations your ears have been filled by

them, in order to render our cause most odious in your esteem; but your

clemency should lead you to consider that if accusation be accounted a

sufficient evidence of guilt, there will be an end of all innocence in

words and actions."

"But I return to you, Sire. Let not your Majesty be at all moved by

those groundless accusations with which our adversaries endeavor to

terrify you; as that the sole tendency and design of this new gospel,

for so they call it, is to furnish a pretext for seditions, and to gain

impunity for all crimes. 'For God is not the author of confusion, but

of peace;' nor is 'the Son of God,' who came to destroy 'the works of

the devil, the minister of sin.' And it is unjust to charge us with

such motives and designs of which we have never given cause for the

least suspicion. Is it probable that we are meditating the subversion

of kingdoms? We, who were never heard to utter a factious word, whose

lives were ever known to be peaceable and honest while we lived under

your government, and who, even now in our exile, cease not to pray for

all prosperity to attend yourself and your kingdom! Is it probable that

we are seeking an unlimited license to commit crimes with impunity, in

whose conduct, though many things may be blamed, yet there is nothing

worthy of such severe reproach? Nor have we, by divine grace, profited

so little in the gospel, but that our life may be to our detractors an

example of chastity, liberality, mercy, temperance, patience, modesty,

and every other virtue. It is an undeniable fact, that we sincerely

fear and worship God, whose name we desire to be sanctified both by our

life and by our death; and envy itself is constrained to bear testimony

to the innocence and civil integrity of some of us, who have suffered

the punishment of death, for that very thing which ought to be

accounted their highest praise. But if the gospel be made a pretext for

tumults, which has not yet happened in your kingdom; if any persons

make the liberty of divine grace an excuse for the licentiousness of

their vices, of whom I have known many; there are laws and legal

penalties, by which they may be punished according to their deserts:

only let not the gospel of God be reproached for the crimes of wicked

men. You have now, Sire, the virulent iniquity of our calumniators laid

before you in a sufficient number of instances, that you may not

receive their accusations with too credulous an ear.

"I fear I have gone too much into the detail, as this preface already

approaches the size of a full apology; whereas, I intended it not to

contain our defence, but only to prepare your mind to attend to the

pleading of our cause; for though you are now averse and alienated from

us, and even inflamed against us, we despair not of regaining your

favor, if you will only once read with calmness and composure this our

confession, which we intend as our defence before your Majesty. But, on

the contrary, if your ears are so preoccupied with the whispers of the

malevolent, as to leave no opportunity for the accused to speak for

themselves, and if those 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 extremities. Yet shall we in

patience possess our souls, and wait for the mighty hand of the Lord,

which undoubtedly will in time appear, and show itself armed for the

deliverance of the poor from their affliction, and for the punishment

of their despisers, who now exult in such perfect security.

"May the Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne in

righteousness, and your kingdom with equity."

The first edition of the Institutes was a brief manual containing, in

six chapters, an exposition 1) of the Decalogue; 2) of the Apostles'

Creed; 3) of the Lord's Prayer; 4) of baptism and the Lord's Supper; 5)

of the other so-called Sacraments; 6) of Christian liberty, Church

government, and discipline. The second edition has seventeen, the

third, twenty-one chapters. In the author's last edition of 1559, it

grew to four or five times its original size, and was divided into four

books, each book into a number of chapters (from seventeen to

twenty-five), and each chapter into sections. It follows in the main,

like every good catechism, the order of the Apostles' Creed, which is

the order of God's revelation as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The

first book discusses the knowledge of God the Creator (theology

proper); the second, the knowledge of God the Redeemer (Christology);

the third, of the Holy Spirit and the application of the saving work of

Christ (soteriology); the fourth, the means of grace, namely, the

Church and the sacraments. [460]

Although the work has been vastly improved under the revising hand of

the author, in size and fulness of statement, the first edition

contains all the essential features of his system. "Ex ungue leonem."

His doctrine of predestination, however, is stated in a more simple and

less objectionable form. He dwells on the bright and comforting side of

that doctrine, namely, the eternal election by the free grace of God in

Christ, and leaves out the dark mystery of reprobation and preterition.

[461] He gives the light without the shade, the truth without the

error. He avoids the paradoxes of Luther and Zwingli, and keeps within

the limits of a wise moderation. The fuller logical development of his

views on predestination and on the Church, dates from his sojourn in

Strassburg, where he wrote the second edition of the Institutes, and

his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

The following sections on some of his leading doctrines from the last

edition give a fair idea of the spirit and method of the work:

The Connection Between the Knowledge of God and the Knowledge of

Ourselves.

(Book I. ch. 1, �� 1, 2.)

1. "True and substantial wisdom principally consists of two parts, the

knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves. But while these two

branches of knowledge are so intimately connected, which of them

precedes and produces the other, is not easy to discover. For, in the

first place, no man can take a survey of himself but he must

immediately turn to the contemplation of God, in whom he 'lives and

moves' (Acts 17:28); since it is evident that the talents which we

possess are not from ourselves, and that our very existence is nothing

but a subsistence in God alone. These bounties, distilling to us by

drops from heaven, form, as it were, so many streams conducting us to

the fountain-head. Our poverty conduces to a clearer display of the

infinite fulness of God. Especially the miserable ruin, into which we

have been plunged by the defection of the first man, compels us to

raise our eyes towards heaven not only as hungry and famished, to seek

thence a supply for our wants, but, aroused with fear, to learn

humility.

"For since man is subject to a world of miseries, and has been spoiled

of his divine array, this melancholy exposure discovers an immense mass

of deformity. Every one, therefore, must be so impressed with a

consciousness of his own infelicity, as to arrive at some knowledge of

God. Thus a sense of our ignorance, vanity, poverty, infirmity,

depravity, and corruption, leads us to perceive and acknowledge that in

the Lord alone are to be found true wisdom, solid strength, perfect

goodness, and unspotted righteousness; and so, by our imperfections, we

are excited to a consideration of the perfections of God. Nor can we

really aspire toward him, till we have begun to be displeased with

ourselves. For who would not gladly rest satisfied with himself? Where

is the man not actually absorbed in self-complacency, while he remains

unacquainted with his true situation, or content with his own

endowments, and ignorant or forgetful of his own misery? The knowledge

of ourselves, therefore, is not only an incitement to seek after God,

but likewise a considerable assistance towards finding him.

2. "On the other hand, it is plain that no man can arrive at the true

knowledge of himself, without having first contemplated the divine

character, and then descended to the consideration of his own. For such

is the native pride of us all, that we invariably esteem ourselves

righteous, innocent, wise, and holy, till we are convinced by clear

proofs of our unrighteousness, turpitude, folly, and impurity. But we

are never thus convinced, while we confine our attention to ourselves

and regard not the Lord, who is the only standard by which this

judgment ought to be formed." ...

Rational Proofs to Establish the Belief in the Scripture.

(Book I. ch. 8, �� 1, d 2.)

1. "Without this certainty [that is, the testimony of the Holy Spirit],

better and stronger than any human judgment, in vain will the authority

of the Scripture be either defended by arguments, or established by the

consent of the Church, or confirmed by any other supports; since,

unless the foundation be laid, it remains in perpetual suspense.

Whilst, on the contrary, when regarding it in a different point of view

from common things, we have once religiously received it in a manner

worthy of its excellence, we shall then derive great assistance from

things which before were not sufficient to establish the certainty of

it in our minds. For it is admirable to observe how much it conduces to

our confirmation, attentively to study the order and disposition of the

divine wisdom dispensed in it, the heavenly nature of its doctrine,

which never savors of anything terrestrial, the beautiful agreement of

all the parts with each other, and other similar characters adapted to

conciliate respect to any writings. But our hearts are more strongly

confirmed, when we reflect that we are constrained to admire it more by

the dignity of the subjects than by the beauties of the language. For

even this did not happen without the particular providence of God, that

the sublime mysteries of the kingdom of heaven should be communicated,

for the most part, in an humble and contemptible style: lest if they

had been illustrated with more of the splendor of eloquence, the

impious might cavil that their triumph is only the triumph of

eloquence. Now, since that uncultivated and almost rude simplicity

procures itself more reverence than all the graces of rhetoric, what

opinion can we form, but that the force of truth in the sacred

Scripture is too powerful to need the assistance of verbal art? Justly,

therefore, does the apostle argue that the faith of the Corinthians was

founded 'not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God,' because

his preaching among them was 'not with enticing words of man's wisdom,

but in demonstration of the Spirit of power' (1 Cor. 2:4). For the

truth is vindicated from every doubt, when, unassisted by foreign aid,

it is sufficient for its own support. But that this is the peculiar

property of the Scripture, appears from the insufficiency of any human

compositions, however artificially polished, to make an equal

impression on our minds. Read Demosthenes or Cicero; read Plato,

Aristotle, or any others of that class; I grant that you will be

attracted, delighted, moved, and enraptured by them in a surprising

manner; but if, after reading them, you turn to the perusal of the

sacred volume, whether you are willing or unwilling, it will affect you

so powerfully, it will so penetrate your heart, and impress itself so

strongly on your mind, that, compared with its energetic influence, the

beauties of rhetoricians and philosophers will almost entirely

disappear; so that it is easy to perceive something divine in the

sacred Scriptures, which far surpass the highest attainments and

ornaments of human industry.

2. "I grant, indeed, that the diction of some of the prophets is neat

and elegant, and even splendid; so that they are not inferior in

eloquence to the heathen writers. And by such examples the Holy Spirit

hath been pleased to show that he was not deficient in eloquence,

though elsewhere he hath used a rude and homely style. But whether we

read David, Isaiah, and others that resemble them, who have a sweet and

pleasant flow of words, or Amos, the herdsman, Jeremiah, and Zechariah,

whose rougher language savors of rusticity; that majesty of the Spirit

which I have mentioned is everywhere conspicuous .... With respect to

the sacred Scripture, though presumptuous men try to cavil at various

passages, yet it is evidently replete with sentences which are beyond

the powers of human conception. Let all the prophets be examined, not

one will be found who has not far surpassed the ability of men; so that

those to whom their doctrine is insipid must be accounted utterly

destitute of all true taste ....

11. "If we proceed to the New Testament, by what solid foundations is

its truth supported ? Three evangelists recite their history in a low

and mean style. Many proud men are disgusted with that simplicity

because they attend not to the principal points of doctrine; whence it

were easy to infer, that they treat of heavenly mysteries which are

above human capacity. They who have a spark of ingenuous modesty will

certainly be ashamed, if they peruse the first chapter of Luke. Now the

discourses of Christ, a concise summary of which is comprised in these

three evangelists, easily exempt their writings from contempt. But

John, thundering from his sublimity, more powerfully than any

thunderbolt, levels to the dust the obstinacy of those whom he does not

compel to the obedience of faith. Let all those censorious critics,

whose supreme pleasure consists in banishing all reverence for the

Scripture out of their own hearts and the hearts of others, come forth

to public view. Let them read the Gospel of John: whether they wish it

or not, they will there find numerous passages, which, at least, arouse

their indolence and which will even imprint a horrible brand on their

consciences to restrain their ridicule; similar is the method of Paul

and of Peter, in whose writings, though the greater part be obscure,

yet their heavenly majesty attracts universal attention. But this one

circumstance raises their doctrine sufficiently above the world, that

Matthew, who had before been confined to the profit of his table, and

Peter and John, who had been employed in fishing-boats, all plain,

unlettered men, had learned nothing in any human school which they

could communicate to others. And Paul, from not only a professed but a

cruel and sanguinary enemy, being converted to a new man, proves by his

sudden and unhoped-for change, that he was constrained, by a command

from heaven, to vindicate that doctrine which he had before opposed.

Let these deny that the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles; or, at

least, let them dispute the credibility of the history: yet the fact

itself loudly proclaims that they were taught by the Spirit, who,

though before despised as some of the meanest of the people, suddenly

began to discourse in such a magnificent manner on the mysteries of

heaven ....

13. "Wherefore, the Scripture will then only be effectual to produce

the saving knowledge of God, when the certainty of it shall be founded

on the internal persuasion of the Holy Spirit. Thus those human

testimonies, which contribute to its confirmation, will not be useless,

if they follow that first and principal proof, as secondary aids to our

imbecility. But those persons betray great folly, who wish it to be

demonstrated to infidels that the Scripture is the Word of God, which

cannot be known without faith. Augustin, therefore, justly observes,

that piety and peace of mind ought to precede in order that a man may

understand somewhat of such great subjects."

Meditation on the Future Life.

(Book III. ch. 9, �� 1, 3, 6.)

1. "With whatever kind of tribulation we may be afflicted, we should

always keep the end in view; to habituate ourselves to a contempt of

the present life, that we may thereby be excited to meditation on that

which is to come. For the Lord, well knowing our strong natural

inclination to a brutish love of the world, adopts a most excellent

method to reclaim us and rouse us from one insensibility that we may

not be too tenaciously attached to that foolish affection. There is not

one of us who is not desirous of appearing through the whole course of

his life, to aspire and strive after celestial immortality. For we are

ashamed of excelling in no respect the brutal herds, whose condition

would not be at all inferior to ours, unless there remained to us a

hope of eternity after death. But if you examine the designs, pursuits,

and actions of every individual, you will find nothing in them but what

is terrestrial. Hence that stupidity, that the mental eyes, dazzled

with the vain splendor of riches, powers, and honors, cannot see to any

considerable distance. The heart also, occupied and oppressed with

avarice, ambition, and other inordinate desires, cannot rise to any

eminence. In a word, the whole soul, fascinated by carnal allurements,

seeks its felicity on earth.

"To oppose this evil, the Lord, by continual lessons of miseries,

teaches his children the vanity of the present life. That they may not

promise themselves profound and secure peace in it, therefore he

permits them to be frequently disquieted and infested with wars or

tumults, with robberies or other injuries. That they may not aspire

with too much avidity after transient and uncertain riches, or depend

on those which they possess, sometimes by exile, sometimes by the

sterility of the land, sometimes by a conflagration, sometimes by other

means, he reduces them to indigence, or at least confines them within

the limits of mediocrity. That they may not be too complacently

delighted with conjugal blessings, he either causes them to be

distressed with the wickedness of their wives, or humbles them with a

wicked offspring, or afflicts them with want or loss of children. But

if in all these things he is more indulgent to them, yet that they may

not be inflated with vainglory, or improper confidence, he shows them

by diseases and dangers the unstable and transitory nature of all

mortal blessings. We therefore truly derive advantages from the

discipline of the cross, only when we learn that this life, considered

in itself, is unquiet, turbulent, miserable in numberless instances,

and in no respect altogether happy; and that all its reputed blessings

are uncertain, transient, vain, and adulterated with a mixture of many

evils; and in consequence of this at once conclude that nothing can be

sought or expected on earth but conflict, and that when we think of a

crown we must raise our eyes toward heaven. For it must be admitted

that the mind is never seriously excited to desire and meditate on the

future life, without having previously imbibed a contempt of the

present ....

3. "But the faithful should accustom themselves to such a contempt of

the present life, as may not generate either hatred of life or

ingratitude towards God himself. For this life, though it is replete

with innumerable miseries, is yet deservedly reckoned among the divine

blessings which must not be despised. Wherefore if we discover nothing

of the divine beneficence in it, we are already guilty of no small

ingratitude towards God himself. But to the faithful especially it

should be a testimony of the divine benevolence, since the whole of it

is destined to the advancement of their salvation. For before he openly

discovers to us the inheritance of eternal glory, he intends to reveal

himself as our Father in inferior instances; and those are the benefits

which he daily confers on us. Since this life, then, is subservient to

a knowledge of the divine goodness, shall we fastidiously scorn it as

though it contained no particle of goodness in it? We must, therefore,

have this sense and affection, to class it among the bounties of the

divine benignity which are not to be rejected. For if Scripture

testimonies were wanting, which are very numerous and clear, even

nature itself exhorts us to give thanks to the Lord for having

introduced us to the light of life, for granting us the use of it, and

giving us all the helps necessary to its preservation. And it is a far

superior reason for gratitude, if we consider that here we are in some

measure prepared for the glory of the heavenly kingdom. For the Lord

has ordained that they who are to be hereafter crowned in heaven, must

first engage in conflicts on earth, that they may not triumph without

having surmounted the difficulties of warfare and obtained the victory.

Another reason is, that here we begin in various blessings to taste the

sweetness of the divine benignity, that our hope and desire may be

excited after the full revelation of it. When we have come to this

conclusion, that our life in this world is a gift of the divine

clemency, which as we owe it to him, we ought to remember with

gratitude, it will then be time for us to descend to a consideration of

its most miserable condition, that we may be delivered from excessive

cupidity, to which, as has been observed, we are naturally inclined

....

6." It is certainly true that the whole family of the faithful, as long

as they dwell on earth, must be accounted as 'sheep for the slaughter'

(Rom. 8:36), that they may be conformed to Christ their Head. Their

state, therefore, would be extremely deplorable, if they did not

elevate their thoughts towards heaven, to rise above all sublunary

things, and look beyond present appearances (1 Cor. 15:19). On the

contrary, when they have once raised their heads above this world,

although they see the impious flourishing in riches and honors, and

enjoying the most profound tranquillity; though they see them boasting

of their splendor and luxury, and behold them abounding in every

delight; though they may also be harassed by their wickedness, insulted

by their pride, defrauded by their avarice, and may receive from them

any other lawless provocations; yet they will find no difficulty in

supporting themselves even under such calamities as these. For they

will keep in view that day when the Lord will receive his faithful

servants into his peaceful kingdom; will wipe every tear from their

eyes (Isa. 25:8; Rev. 7:17), invest them with robes of joy, adorn them

with crowns of glory, entertain them with his ineffable delights, exalt

them to fellowship with His Majesty, and, in a word, honor them with a

participation of his happiness. But the impious, who have been great in

this world, he will precipitate down to the lowest ignominy; he will

change their delights into torments, and their laughter and mirth into

weeping and gnashing of teeth; he will disturb their tranquillity with

dreadful agonies of conscience, and will punish their delicacy with

inextinguishable fire, and even put them in subjection to the pious,

whose patience they have abused. For, according to Paul, it is a

righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to those that

trouble the saints, and rest to those who are troubled, when the Lord

Jesus shall be revealed from heaven (2 Thess. 1:6, 7). This is our only

consolation, and deprived of this, we must of necessity either sink

into despondency of mind, or solace ourselves to our own destruction

with the vain pleasures of the world. For even the psalmist confesses

that he staggered, when he was too much engaged in contemplating the

present prosperity of the impious; and that he could no otherwise

establish himself, till he entered the sanctuary of God, and directed

his views to the last end of the godly and of the wicked (Ps. 73:2,

etc.).

"To conclude in one word, the cross of Christ triumphs in the hearts of

believers over the devil and the flesh, over sin and impious men, only

when their eyes are directed to the power of the resurrection."

Christian Liberty.

(Book 3, ch. 19, � 9.)

1. "It must be carefully observed, that Christian liberty is in all its

branches a spiritual thing; all the virtue of which consists in

appeasing terrified consciences before God, whether they are disquieted

and solicitous concerning the remission of their sins, or are anxious

to know if their works, which are imperfect and contaminated by the

defilements of the flesh, be acceptable to God, or are tormented

concerning the use of things that are indifferent. Wherefore those are

guilty of perverting its meaning, who either make it the pretext of

their irregular appetites, that they may abuse the divine blessings to

the purposes of sensuality, or who suppose that there is no liberty but

what is used before men, and therefore in the exercise of it totally

disregard their weak brethren.

2. "The former of these sins is the more common in the present age.

There is scarcely any one whom his wealth permits to be sumptuous, who

is not delighted with luxurious splendor in his entertainments, in his

dress, and in his buildings; who does not desire a pre-eminence in

every species of luxury; who does not strangely flatter himself on his

elegance. And all these things are defended under the pretext of

Christian liberty. They allege that they are things indifferent. This,

I admit, provided they be indifferently used. But where they are too

ardently coveted, proudly boasted, or luxuriously lavished, these

things, of themselves otherwise indifferent, are completely polluted by

such vices. This passage of Paul makes an excellent distinction

respecting things which are indifferent: 'Unto the pure, all things are

pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, is nothing pure;

but even their mind and conscience is defiled' (Titus 1:15). For why

are curses denounced on rich men, who 'receive their consolation,' who

are 'satiated,' who 'now laugh,' who 'lie on beds of ivory,' who 'join

field to field,' who 'have the harp and lyre, and the tabret, and wine

in their feasts?' (Luke 6:24, 25; Amos 6:1; Isa. 5:8). Ivory and gold

and riches of all kinds are certainly blessings of divine providence,

not only permitted, but expressly designed for the use of men; nor are

we anywhere prohibited to laugh, or to be satiated with food, or to

annex new possessions to those already enjoyed by ourselves or by our

ancestors, or to be delighted with musical harmony, or to drink wine.

This, indeed, is true; but amidst an abundance of all things, to be

immersed in sensual delights, to inebriate the heart and mind with

present pleasures, and perpetually to grasp at new ones, these things

are very remote from a legitimate use of the divine blessings. Let them

banish, therefore, immoderate cupidity, excessive profusion, vanity,

and arrogance; that with a pure conscience they may make a proper use

of the gifts of God. When their hearts shall be formed to this

sobriety, they will have a rule for the legitimate enjoyment of them.

On the contrary, without this moderation, even the common pleasures of

the vulgar are chargeable with excess. For it is truly observed, that a

proud heart frequently dwells under coarse and ragged garments, and

that simplicity and humility are sometimes concealed under purple and

fine linen.

3. "Let all men in their respective stations, whether of poverty, of

competence, or of splendor, live in the remembrance of this truth, that

God confers his blessings on them for the support of life, not of

luxury; and let them consider this as the law of Christian liberty,

that they learn the lesson which Paul had learned, when he said: 'I

have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know

both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all

things I am intrusted, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound

and to suffer need' (Phil. 4:11, 12)."

The Doctrine of Election.

(Book 3, ch. 21, � 1.)

1. "Nothing else [than election by free grace] will be sufficient to

produce in us suitable humility, or to impress us with a due sense of

our great obligations to God. Nor is there any other basis for solid

confidence, even according to the authority of Christ, who, to deliver

us from all fear and render us invincible amidst so many dangers,

snares, and deadly conflicts, promises to preserve in safety all whom

the Father has committed to his care .... The discussion of

predestination, a subject of itself rather intricate, is made very

perplexed and therefore dangerous by human curiosity, which no barriers

can restrain from wandering into forbidden labyrinths, and soaring

beyond its sphere, as if determined to leave none of the divine secrets

unscrutinized or unexplored .... The secrets of God's will which he

determined to reveal to us, he discovers in his Word; and these are all

that he foresaw would concern us, or conduce to our advantage ....

2." Let us bear in mind, that to desire any other knowledge of

predestination than what is unfolded in the Word of God, indicates as

great folly, as a wish to walk through impassable roads, or to see in

the dark. Nor let us be ashamed to be ignorant of some things relative

to a subject in which there is a kind of learned ignorance (aliqua

docta ignorantia) ....

3. "Others desirous of remedying this evil, will leave all mention of

predestination to be as it were buried .... Though their moderation is

to be commended in judging that mysteries ought to be handled with such

great sobriety, yet as they descend too low, they leave little

influence on the mind of man which refuses to submit to unreasonable

restraints .... The Scripture is the school of the Holy Spirit, in

which as nothing necessary and useful to be known is omitted, so

nothing is taught which it is not beneficial to know .... Let us permit

the Christian man to open his heart and his ears to all the discourses

addressed to him by God, only with this moderation, that as soon as the

Lord closes his sacred mouth, he shall also desist from further inquiry

.... 'The secret things,' says Moses (Deut. 29:29), 'belong unto the

Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and

to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of his law.'

5. "Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and

adjudges others to eternal death, no one, desirous of the credit of

piety, dares absolutely to deny .... Predestination we call 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; but eternal life is fore-ordained for

some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being

created for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated

either to life or to death. This God has not only testified in

particular persons, but has given as specimen of it in the whole

posterity of Abraham, which should evidently show the future condition

of every nation to depend upon his decision (Deut. 32:8, 9)."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[452] Kampschulte, a Roman Catholic historian, and others, call him

"the Aristotle;" Martin, a liberal French historian, and others, call

him--more appropriately--"the Thomas Aquinas," of Protestantism.

[453] Florimond de Raemond: "l'Alcoran ou plut�t le Talmud de

l'h�r�sie."

[454] See the testimonies of Bossuet, and especially of Kampschulte,

quoted in 68, p. 285 sq.

[455] "Videmur nobis agnoscere, dominum instituisse tui ustum ecclesiis

suis uberrimum concedere, eisque tuo ministerio latissime commodare."

Herminjard, IV. 118.

[456] Dogmengeschichte, vol. III. 27.

[457] Kirchengeschichte, p. 405 (11th edition).

[458] Many editors print, as a motto, the distich of the Hungarian,

Paul Thurius: Praeter apostolicas post Christi temporachartas, Huic

peperere libro saecula nulla parem."

[459] I have made use of the faithful translation of John Allen,

compared with the Latin original.

[460] He himself gives in the preface to the last edition the following

account of the successive improvements of the work: "In the first

edition of this work, not expecting that success which the Lord in his

infinite goodness hath given, I handled the subject for the most part

in a superficial manner, as is usual in small treatises. But when I

understood that it had obtained from almost all pious persons such a

favorable acceptance as I never could have presumed to wish, much less

to hope, while I was conscious of receiving far more attention than I

had deserved, I thought it would evince great ingratitude, if I did not

endeavor at least, according to my humble ability, to make some

suitable return for the attentions paid to me;--attentions of

themselves calculated to stimulate my industry. Nor did I attempt this

only in the second edition, but in every succeeding one the work has

been improved by some farther enlargements. But though I repented not

the labor then devoted to it, yet I never satisfied myself till it was

arranged in the order in which it is now published. And I trust I have

here presented to my readers what their judgments will unite in

approving. Of my diligent application to the accomplishment of this

service for the Church of God, I can produce abundant proof. For, last

winter, when I thought that a quartan ague would speedily terminate in

my death, the more my disorder increased, the less I spared myself till

I had finished this book, to leave it behind me as some grateful return

to such kind solicitations of the religious public. Indeed, I would

rather it had been done sooner, but it is soon enough, if well enough.

I shall think it has appeared at the proper time, when I shall find it

to have been more beneficial than before to the Church of God. This is

my only wish."

[461] See the quotations of the several passages bearing upon this

doctrine in Schweizer's Centraldogmen, I. 150-152, and in St�helin, I.

66-68.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 80. From Basel to Ferrara. The Duchess Ren�e.

Shortly after, if not before, the publication of his great work, in

March, 1536, Calvin, in company with Louis du Tillet, crossed the Alps

to Italy, the classical soil of the literary and artistic Renaissance.

He hoped to aid the cause of the religious Renaissance. He went to

Italy as an evangelist, not as a monk, like Luther, who learned at Rome

a practical lesson of the working of the papacy.

He spent a few months in Ferrara at the brilliant court of the Duchess

Ren�e or Renata (1511-1575), the second daughter of Louis XII., of

France, and made a deep and permanent impression on her. She had

probably heard of him through Queen Marguerite and invited him to a

visit. She was a small and deformed, but noble, pious, and highly

accomplished lady, like her friends, Queen Marguerite and Vittoria

Colonna. She gathered around her the brightest wits of the Renaissance,

from Italy and France, but she sympathized still more with the spirit

of the Reformation, and was fairly captivated by Calvin. She chose him

as the guide of her conscience, and consulted him hereafter as a

spiritual father as long as he lived. [462] He discharged this duty

with the frankness and fidelity of a Christian pastor. Nothing can be

more manly and honorable than his letters to her. Guizot affirms, from

competent knowledge, 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,

intelligent justice and knowledge of the world than Calvin displayed in

his intercourse with the Duchess of Ferrara." [463]

Renan wonders that such a stern moralist should have exercised a

lasting influence over such a lady, and attributes it to the force of

conviction. But the bond of union was deeper. She recognized in Calvin

the man who could satisfy her spiritual nature and give her strength

and comfort to fight the battle of life, to face the danger of the

Inquisition, to suffer imprisonment, and after the death of her husband

and her return to France (1559) openly to confess and to maintain the

evangelical faith under most trying circumstances when her own

son-in-law, the Duke of Guise, carried on a war of extermination

against the Reformation. She continued to correspond with Calvin very

freely, and his last letter in French, twenty-three days before his

death, was directed to her. She was in Paris during the dreadful

massacre of St. Bartholomew, and succeeded in saving the lives of some

prominent Huguenots. [464]

Threatened by the Inquisition which then began its work of crushing out

both the Renaissance and the Reformation, as two kindred serpents,

Calvin bent his way, probably through Aosta (the birthplace of Anselm

of Canterbury) and over the Great St. Bernard, to Switzerland.

An uncertain tradition connects with this journey a persecution and

flight of Calvin in the valley of Aosta, which was commemorated five

years later (1541) by a memorial cross with the inscription "Calvini

Fuga." [465]

At Basel he parted from Du Tillet and paid a last visit to his native

town to make a final settlement of family affairs. [466]

Then he left France, with his younger brother Antoine and his sister

Marie, forever, hoping to settle down in Basel or Strassburg and to

lead there the quiet life of a scholar and author. Owing to the

disturbances of war between Charles V. and Francis I., which closed the

direct route through Lorraine, he had to take a circuitous journey

through Geneva.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[462] Beza (xxi. 123): "Illam [Ferrariensem Ducissam]in vero pietatis

studio confirmavit, ut eum postea vivum semper dilexerit, ac nunc

quoque superstes gratae in defunctum memoriae specimen edat

luculentum." Colladon (53) speaks likewise of the high esteem in which

the Duchess, then still living, held Calvin before and after his death.

Bolsec in his libel (Ch. v. 30), mentions the visit to Ferrara, but

suggests a mercenary, motive. "Calvin," he says, "s'en alla vers

Allemaigne et Itallie: cherchant son adventure, et passa par la ville

de Ferrare, ou il receut quelque aumone de Madame la Duchesse."

[463] St. Louis and Calvin, p. 207. He adds: "And the duchess was not

the only, person towards whom he fulfilled this duty of a Christian

pastor. His correspondence shows that he exercised a similar influence,

in a spirit equally lofty and judicious, over the consciences of many

Protestants."

[464] See the correspondence in the Letters by Bonnet, and in the

Strassburg-Braunschweig edition. On Ren�e and her relation to Calvin

see Henry, I. 159, 450-454; III. Beilage 142-153; in his smaller work,

62-69; 478-483; St�helin, I. 94-108; Sophia W. Weitzel, Ren�e of

France, Duchess of Ferrara, New York, 1883; and Theod. Schott, in

Herzog2, XII. 693-701.

[465] In the city of Aosta, near the Croix-de-Ville, stands a column

eight feet high, surmounted by a cross of stone, with the following

inscription: Hanc Calvini Fuga erexit Anno MDXLI Religionis Constantia

Reparavit Anno MDCCXLI. The inscription was renewed again in 1841, with

the following addition (according to Merle d'Aubign�, who saw it

himself, vol. V. 531): Civium Munificentia Renovavit Et Adornavit. Anno

MDCCCXLI. "Religionis constantia" must refer to the Roman faith which

drove Calvin and his heresy away. Dr. Merle d'Aubign� accepts Calvin's

flight on the ground of this monumental testimony as a historical fact,

but the silence of Calvin, Beza, and Colladon throws doubt on it. See

J. Bonnet, Calvin au Val d'Aosta, 1861; A. Rilliet, Lettre �Mr. Merle

d'Aubign�sur deux points obscure de la vie de Calvin, 1864; St�helin,

I. 110; Kampschulte, I. 280 (note); La France Prof., III. 520; Thomas

M'Crie, The Early Years of Calvin pp. 95 and 104. Fontana: Documenti

del archivio vaticano e dell' Estenso circa soggiorno di Calvino a

Ferrara, 1885. Comba in "Rivista christiana," 1885; Sandovini in

Rivista stor. italiana," 1887.

[466] This visit to Noyon is mentioned by Beza in the Latin Vita, who

adds that he then brought his only surviving brother Antoine, with him

to Geneva (XXI. 125). Colladon (58) agrees, and informs us that Calvin

left Du Tillet at Basel, who from there went to Neuch�tel. In his

French Life of C., Beza omits the journey to France: "A son retour

d'Italie ... il passa �la bonne heure par ceste ville de Gen�ve."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER X.

CALVIN'S FIRST SOJOURN AND LABORS IN GENEVA. 1536-1538.

From 1536, and especially from 1541, we have, besides the works and

letters of Calvin and his correspondents and other contemporaries,

important sources of authentic information in the following documents:

--

1. Registres du Conseil de Gen�ve, from 1536-1564. Tomes 29-58.

2. Registres des actes de bapt�me et de marriage, preserved in the

archives of the city of Geneva.

3. Registres des actes du Consistoie de Gen�ve, of which Calvin was a

permanent member.

4. Registres de la V�n�rable Compagnie, or the Ministerium of Geneva.

5. The Archives of Bern, Z�rich, and Basel, of that period, especially

those of Bern, which stood in close connection with Geneva and

exercised a sort of protectorate over Church and State.

From these sources the Strassburg editors of Calvin's Works have

carefully compiled the Annales Calviniani, in vol. XXI. (or vol. XII.

of Thesaurus Epistolicus Calvinianus), 185-818 (published 1879). The

same volume contains also the biographies of Calvin by Beza (French and

Latin) and Colladon (French), the epitaphia, and a Notice Litt�raire,

1-178.

J. H. Albert RILLIET: Le pr�mier s�jour de Calvin a Gen�ve. In his and

Dufour's ed. of Calvin's French Catechism. Geneva, 1878.--Henry, vol.

I. chs. VIII. and IX.--Dyer, ch.III.--St�helin, I. 122 sqq.

Kampschulte, I. 278-320.--Merle D'Aubign�, bk. XI. chs. I.-XIV.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 81. Calvin's Arrival and Settlement at Geneva.

Calvin arrived at Geneva in the later part of July, 1536, [467] two

months after the Reformation had been publicly introduced (May 21).

He intended to stop only a night, as he says, but Providence had

decreed otherwise. It was the decisive hour of his life which turned

the quiet scholar into an active reformer.

His presence was made known to Farel through the imprudent zeal of Du

Tillet, who had come from Basel via Neuch�tel, and remained in Geneva

for more than a year. Farel instinctively felt that the providential

man had come who was to complete and to save the Reformation of Geneva.

He at once called on Calvin and held him fast, as by divine command.

Calvin protested, pleading his youth, his inexperience, his need of

further study, his natural timidity and bashfulness, which unfitted him

for public action. But all in vain. Farel, "who burned of a marvellous

zeal to advance the Gospel," threatened him with the curse of Almighty

God if he preferred his studies to the work of the Lord, and his own

interest to the cause of Christ. Calvin was terrified and shaken by

these words of the fearless evangelist, and felt "as if God from on

high had stretched out his hand." He submitted, and accepted the call

to the ministry, as teacher and pastor of the evangelical Church of

Geneva. [468]

It was an act of obedience, a sacrifice of his desires to a sense of

duty, of his will to the will of God.

Farel gave the Reformation to Geneva, and gave Calvin to Geneva--two

gifts by which he crowned his own work and immortalized his name, as

one of the greatest benefactors of that city and of Reformed

Christendom.

Calvin was foreordained for Geneva, and Geneva for Calvin. Both have

made, their calling and election sure."

He found in the city on Lake Leman "a tottering republic, a wavering

faith, a nascent Church." He left it a Gibraltar of Protestantism, a

school of nations and churches. [469]

The city had then only about twelve thousand inhabitants, but by her

situation on the borders of France and Switzerland, her recent

deliverance from political and ecclesiastical despotism, and her raw

experiments in republican self-government, she offered rare advantages

for the solution of the great social and religious problems which

agitated Europe.

Calvin's first labors in that city were an apparent failure. The

Genevese were not ready yet and expelled him, but after a few years

they recalled him. They might have expelled him again and forever; for

he was poor, feeble, and unprotected. But they gradually yielded to the

moulding force of his genius and character. Those who call him "the

pope of Geneva" involuntarily pay him the highest compliment. His

success was achieved by moral and spiritual means, and stands almost

alone in history.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[467] Not in August (as stated by Beza, Annal. 126, 203, and most

biographers). He went to Basel for two weeks (August 4-19), and

returned to Geneva, according to promise, about the middle of August,

for settlement. See his letter to Daniel, Oct. 13, 1536, in Herminjard,

IV. 87; comp. 77 note; also Rilliet and Roget.

[468] Beza (Vita, XXI. 125): "At ego tibi, inquit [Farellus], studia

tua praetexenti denuncio omnipotentis Dei nomine futurum ut, nisi in

opus istud Domini nobiscum incumbas, tibi non tam Christum quam te

ipsum quaerenti Dominus maledicat. Hac terribili denunciatione

territus, Calvinus sese presbyterii et magistratus voluntati permisit,

quorum suffragiis, accedente plebis consensu, delectus non concionator

tantum (hoc autem primum recusarat), sed etiam sacrarum literarum

doctor, quod unum admittebat, est designatus anno Domini MDXXXVI. mense

Augusto." With this should be compared Calvin's own account in the

Preface to his commentary on the Psalms, and Ann. Calv. 203 sq. Merle

d'Aubign�, at the close of vol. V. 534-550, gives a dramatic

description of Calvin's first arrival and interview with Farel at

Geneva, with some embellishments of his imagination.

[469] Michelet has an eloquent chapter on the transformation of Geneva

by Calvin, who made it from a city of pleasure and commerce "a fabric

of saints and martyrs," a "ville �tonnante o�tout �tait flamme et

pri�re, lecture, travail, austerit�" (XI. 96).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 82. First Labors and Trials.

Calvin began his labors, Sept. 5, 1536, by a course of expository

lectures on the Epistles of Paul and other books of the New Testament,

which he delivered in the Church of St. Peter in the afternoon. They

were heard with increasing attention. He had a rare gift of teaching,

and the people were hungry for religious instruction.

After a short time he assumed also the office of pastor which he had at

first declined.

The Council was asked by Farel to provide a suitable support for their

new minister, but they were slow to do it, not dreaming that he would

become the most distinguished citizen, and calling him simply "that

Frenchman." [470] He received little or no salary till Feb. 13, 1537,

when the Council voted him six gold crowns. [471]

Calvin accompanied Farel in October to the disputation at Lausanne,

which decided the Reformation in the Canton de Vaud, but took little

part in it, speaking only twice. Farel was the senior pastor, twenty

years older, and took the lead. But with rare humility and simplicity

he yielded very soon to the superior genius of his young friend. He was

contented to have conquered the territory for the renewed Gospel, and

left it to him to cultivate the same and to bring order out of the

political and ecclesiastical chaos. He was willing to decrease, that

Calvin might increase. Calvin, on his part, treated him always with

affectionate regard and gratitude. There was not a shadow of envy or

jealousy between them.

The third Reformed preacher was Courault, formerly an Augustinian monk,

who, like Calvin, had fled from France to Basel, in 1534, and was

called to Geneva to replace Viret. Though very old and nearly blind, he

showed as much zeal and energy as his younger colleagues. Saunier, the

rector of the school, was an active sympathizer, and soon afterwards

Cordier, Calvin's beloved teacher, assumed the government of the school

and effectively aided the ministers in their arduous work. Viret came

occasionally from the neighboring Lausanne. Calvin's brother, and his

relative Olivetan, who joined them at Geneva, increased his influence.

The infant Church of Geneva had the usual trouble with the Anabaptists.

Two of their preachers came from Holland and gained some influence. But

after an unfruitful disputation they were banished by the large Council

from the territory of the city as early as March, 1537. [472]

A more serious trouble was created by Peter Caroli, a doctor of the

Sorbonne, an unprincipled, vain, and quarrelsome theological adventurer

and turncoat, who changed his religion several times, led a disorderly

life, and was ultimately reconciled to the pope and released from his

concubine, as he called his wife. He had fled from Paris to Geneva in

1535, became pastor at Neuch�tel, where he married, and then at

Lausanne. He raised the charge of Arianism against Farel and Calvin at

a synod in Lausanne, May, 1537, [473] because they avoided in the

Confession the metaphysical terms Trinity and Person, (though Calvin

did use them in his Institutio and his Catechism,) and because they

refused, at Caroli's dictation, to sign the Athanasian Creed with its

damnatory clauses, which are unjust and uncharitable. Calvin was

incensed at his arrogant and boisterous conduct and charged him with

atheism. "Caroli," he said, "quarrels with us about the nature of God

and the distinction of the persons; but I carry the matter further 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" (Matt. 7:6). This is the

first manifestation of his angry temper and of that contemptuous tone

which characterizes his polemical writings. He handed in with his

colleagues a confession on the Trinity. [474] The synod after due

consideration was satisfied with their orthodoxy, and declared Caroli

convicted of calumny and unworthy of the ministry. He died in a

hospital at Rome. [475]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[470] "Ille Gallus." Annal. Calv. XXI. 204. The Registers were then

kept in Latin, but after 1537, in French. The native languages

superseded the Latin with the progress of the Reformation.

[471] Under that date the Registres du Cons. report: "Icy est

parl�deCalvinusqu'il na encore gu�re re�eu et est�arrest�que l'on luy

d�livre ung six escus soleil" (Annal. 208).

[472] Ann. 208-210."Conseil des Deux-cents (Lundi 19 Mars). Fuit

propositum negotium illorum Katabaptistarum sur lesquelz a

est�advis�que iceulx et tous aultres de leur secte soyent

perpetuellement bannys de ceste cit�et terres dicelle sus poenne de la

vye." They were asked to recant, but answered that their conscience did

not allow it, whereupon they were, "perpetually banished."

[473] The troubles with Caroli began in January, 1537; the synod

convened May 13. Opera, X. 82, sqq.; letter of Farel, p. 102, of

Calvin, 107; Annal. 207 and 211. Kampschulte (I. 296) gives a wrong

date (March).

[474] Confessio de Trinitate propter calumnias P. Caroli, signed by

Farel, Calvin, and Viret, and approved by Capito, Bucer, Myconius, and

Grynaeus, in Opera, IX. 703-710.

[475] On the controversies with Caroli, see Beza, Vita, in Op. XXI. 126

sq.; Letters, Nos. 638, 640, 644, 645, 665, in the 4th. vol. of

Herminjard; Ruchat, vol. v.; Henry, I. 253; II. 37, 182; III. Beil.,

209; and Merle d'Aubign�, VI. 362 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 83. The Reformers introduce Order and Discipline.

Confession de la Foy laquelle tous les bourgeois et habitans de Gen�ve

et subjectz du pays doyvent jurer de garder et tenir; extraicte de

l'instruction dont on use en l'�glise de la dicte ville, 1537.

Confessio Fidei in quam jurare cives omnes Genevenses et qui sub

civitatis ejus ditione agunt, jussi sunt. The French in Opera, vol. IX.

693-700 (and by Rilliet-Dufour, see below); the Latin in vol. V.

355-362. See also vol. XXII. 5 sqq. (publ. 1880).

Le Cat�chisme de l'Eglise de Gen�ve, c'est � dire le Formulaire

d'instruire les enfans la Chretient� fait en mani�re de dialogue ou le

ministre interrogue et l'enfant respond. The first edition of 1537 is

not divided into questions and answers, and bears the title Instruction

et Confession de Foy dont on use en l'Eglise de Gen�ve. A copy of it

was discovered by H. Bordier in Paris and published by Th. Dufour,

together with the first ed. of the Confession de la Foy, at Geneva,

1878 (see below). A copy of a Latin ed. of 1545 had been previously

found in the Ducal library at Gotha.

Catechismus sive Christianae religionis institutio, communibus renatae

nuper in evangelio Genevensis ecclesiae suffragiis recepta et vulgari

quidem prius idiomate, nunc vero Latine etiam in lucem edita, Joanne

Calvino auctore. The first draft, or Catechismus prior, was printed at

Basel, 1538 (with a Latin translation of the Confession of 1537).

Reprinted in Opera in both languages, vol. V. 313-364. The second or

larger Catechism appeared in French, 1541, in Latin, 1545, etc.; both

reprinted in parallel columns, Opera, vol. VI. 1-160.

(Niemeyer in his Coll. Conf. gives the Latin text of the larger Cat.

together with the prayers and liturgical forms; comp. his Proleg.

XXXVII.-XLI. B�ckel in his Bekenntniss-Shriften der evang. Reform.

Kirche gives a German version of the larger Cat., 127-172. An English

translation was prepared by the Marian exiles, Geneva, 1556, and

reprinted in Dunlop's Confessions, II. 139-272).

Calvin had a hand in nearly all the French and Helvetic confessions of

his age. See Opera, IX. 693-772.

\*Albert Rilliet and Th�ophile Dufour: Le Cat�chisme fran�ais de Calvin

publi� en 1537, r�imprim� pour la premi�re fois d'apr�s un exemplaire

nouvellement retrouv�, et suivi de la plus ancienne Confession de Foi

de l'�glise de Gen�ve (avec un notice sur le premier s�jour de Calvin �

Gen�ve, par Albert Rilliet, et une notice bibliographique sur le

Cat�chisme et la Confession de Foi de Calvin, par Th�ophile Dufour),

Gen�ve (H. Georg.), and Paris (Fischbacher), 1878, 16�. pp. cclxxxviii.

and 146; reprinted in Opera, XXII.

Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, I. 467 sqq. St�helin, I. 124 sqq.

Kampschulte, I. 284 sqq. Merle D'Aubign�, VI. 328-357.

Geneva needed first of all a strong moral government on the doctrinal

basis of the evangelical Reformation. The Genevese were a

light-hearted, joyous people, fond of public amusements, dancing,

singing, masquerades, and revelries. Reckless gambling, drunkenness,

adultery, blasphemy, and all sorts of vice abounded. Prostitution was

sanctioned by the authority of the State and superintended by a woman

called the Reine du bordel. The people were ignorant. The priests had

taken no pains to instruct them and had set them a bad example. To

remedy these evils, a Confession of Faith and Discipline, and a popular

Catechism were prepared, the first by Farel as the senior pastor, with

the aid of Calvin; [476] the second by Calvin. Both were accepted and

approved by the Council in November, 1536. [477]

The Confession of Faith consists of twenty-one articles in which the

chief doctrines of the evangelical faith are briefly and clearly stated

for the comprehension of the people. It begins with the Word of God, as

the rule of faith and practice, and ends with the duty to the civil

magistracy. The doctrine of predestination and reprobation is omitted,

but it is clearly taught that man is saved by the free grace of God

without any merit (Art. 10). The necessity of discipline by admonition

and excommunication for the conversion of the sinner is asserted (Art.

19). This subject gave much trouble in Geneva and other Swiss churches.

The Confession prepared the way for fuller Reformed Confessions, as the

Gallican, the Belgic, and the Second Helvetic. It was printed and

distributed in April, 1537, and read every Sunday from the pulpits, to

prepare the citizens for its adoption. [478]

Calvin's Catechism, which preceded the Confession, is an extract from

his Institutes, but passed through several transformations. On his

return from Strassburg he re-wrote it on a larger scale, and arranged

it in questions and answers, or in the form of a dialogue between the

teacher and the pupil. It was used for a long time in Reformed Churches

and schools, and served a good purpose in promoting an intelligent

piety and virtue by systematic biblical instruction. It includes an

exposition of the Creed, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer. It is

much fuller than Luther's, but less adapted for children. Beza says

that it was translated into German, English, Scotch, Belgic, Spanish,

into Hebrew by E. Tremellius, and "most elegantly" into Greek by H.

Stephanus. It furnished the basis and material for a number of similar

works, especially the Anglican (Nowell's), the Palatinate (Heidelberg),

and the Westminster Catechisms, which gradually superseded it.

Calvin has been called "the father of popular education and the

inventor of free schools." [479] But he must share this honor with

Luther and Zwingli.

Besides the Confession and Catechism, the Reformed pastors (i.e. Farel,

Calvin, and Courault) presented to the Council a memorial concerning

the future organization and discipline of the Church of Geneva,

recommending frequent and solemn celebration of the Lord's Supper, at

least once a month, alternately in the three principal churches,

singing of Psalms, regular instruction of the youth, abolition of the

papal marriage laws, the maintenance of public order, and the exclusion

of unworthy communicants. [480] They regarded the apostolic custom of

excommunication as necessary for the protection of the purity of the

Church, but as it had been fearfully abused by the papal bishops, they

requested the Council to elect a number of reliable, godly, and

irreproachable citizens for the moral supervision of the different

districts, and the exercise of discipline, in connection with the

ministers, by private and public admonition, and, in case of stubborn

disobedience, by excommunication from the privileges of church

membership.

On Jan. 16, 1537, the Great Council of Two Hundred issued a series of

orders forbidding immoral habits, foolish songs, gambling, the

desecration of the Lord's Day, baptism by midwives, and directing that

the remaining idolatrous images should be burned; but nothing was said

about excommunication. [481] This subject became a bone of contention

between the pastors and citizens and the cause of the expulsion of the

Reformers. The election of syndics, Feb. 5, was favorable to them.

The ministers were incessantly active in preaching, catechising, and

visiting all classes of the people. Five sermons were preached every

Sunday, two every week day, and were well attended. The schools were

flourishing, and public morality was steadily rising. Saunier, in a

school oration, praised the goodly city of Geneva which now added to

her natural advantages of a magnificent site, a fertile country, a

lovely lake, fine streets and squares, the crowning glory of the pure

doctrine of the gospel. The magistrates showed a willingness to assist

in the maintenance of discipline. A gambler was placed in the pillory

with a chain around his neck. Three women were imprisoned for an

improper head-dress. Even Fran�ois Bonivard, the famous patriot and

prisoner of Chillon, was frequently warned on account of his

licentiousness. Every open manifestation of sympathy with popery by

carrying a rosary, or cherishing a sacred relic, or observing a saint's

day, was liable to punishment. The fame of Geneva went abroad and began

to attract students and refugees. Before the close of 1537 English

Protestants came to Geneva to, see Calvin and Farel." [482]

On July 29, 1537, the Council of the Two Hundred ordered all the

citizens, male and female, to assent to the Confession of Faith in the

Church of St. Peter. [483] It was done by a large number. On Nov. 12,

the Council even passed a measure to banish all who would not take the

oath. [484]

The Confession was thus to be made the law of Church and State. This is

the first instance of a formal pledge to a symbolical book by a whole

people.

It was a glaring inconsistency that those who had just shaken off the

yoke of popery as an intolerable burden, should subject their

conscience and intellect to a human creed; in other words, substitute

for the old Roman popery a modern Protestant popery. Of course, they

sincerely believed that they had the infallible Word of God on their

side; but they could not claim infallibility in its interpretation. The

same inconsistency and intolerance was repeated a hundred years later

on a much larger scale in the "Solemn League and Covenant" of the

Scotch Presbyterians and English Puritans against popery and prelacy,

and sanctioned in 1643 by the Westminster Assembly of Divines which

vainly attempted to prescribe a creed, a Church polity, and a directory

of worship for three nations. But in those days neither Protestants nor

Catholics had any proper conception of religious toleration, much less

of religious liberty, as an inalienable right of man. "The power of the

magistrates ends where that of conscience begins." God alone is the

Lord of conscience.

The Calvinistic churches of modem times still require subscription to

the Westminster standards, but only from the officers, and only in a

qualified sense, as to substance of doctrine; while the members are

admitted simply on profession of faith in Christ as their Lord and

Saviour. [485]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[476] Beza treats the Confession as a work of Calvin, but the

Strassburg editors defend the authorship of Farel. Opera, XXII. Suppl.

col. 11-18. Beza says (XXI. 126): "Tunc [i.e. after the disputation at

Lausanne, 1536] edita est a Calvino Christianae doctrinae quaedam

veluti formula, vixdum emergentie papatus sordibus Genevensi ecclesiae

accomodata. Addidit etiam Catechismum, non illum in quaestiones et

responsiones distributum, quem nunc habemus, sed alium multo breviorem

praecipua religionis capita complexum." But the Catechism appeared two

months before the Confession."lam vero confessionem non sine ratione

adjungendam curavimus." Calv., Opera, V. 319. Rilliet, l.c. p. IX.: "La

Conf. de Foy n'a paru que quelques mois plus tard." The Confession is

an extract from the Catechism, as the title says. Merle d'Aubign� (VI.

337) regards the confession as the joint work of Calvin and Farel.

[477] Annal., 206, "Nov. 10. La confession accept�e. Vers la m�me

�poque premi�re edition du cat�chisme."

[478] Reg. du Cons. 17 and 27 avril, 1537. It had been previously

examined and adopted in manuscript.

[479] Among others by George Bancroft, in his Lit. and Hist.

Miscellanies, p. 406: "Calvin was the father of popular education, the

inventor of the system of free schools."

[480] Memoire de Calvin et Farel sur l'organisation de l'�glise de

Gen�ve. In the Registers of the Council, it is called "les articles

donn�s par MeG. Farel et les aultres predicans." The document was

recently brought to light by Gaberel (Histoire de l'�glise de Gen�ve,

1858, Tom. I. 102), reprinted in Opera, vol. X. Part I. 5-14. A summary

is given by Merle d'Aubign�, VI. 340 sqq.

[481] Annal. Calv. 206 sq.

[482] Bullinger's letter to Farel and Calvin, Nov. 1, 1537 (in the

Simler collection of Z�rich), and in Op. X., Pt. I. 128, also in

Herminjard, IV. 309. Bullinger recommends three worthy English students

of the Bible, "Eliott, Buttler, and Partridge," who had spent some time

in Z�rich. Bullinger had made the acquaintance of Farel at the

disputation in Bern, January, 1528, and of Calvin in Basel, February,

1536.

[483] Annal. 213: "De la confession: que l'on donne ordre faire que

tous les dizenniers ameneront leurs gens dizenne par dizzenne en

l'�glise S. Pierre et la leur seront leuz les articles touchant la

confession en dieu et seront interrogu�s s'ils veulent cela tenir;

aussi sera faict le serment de fidelit��la ville." A dizennier is a

tithingman, or headborough.

[484] Annal. 216 from Reg. du Cons. Tom. 31, fol. 90. But the order

could not be executed. Not one from the rue des Allemands would

subscribe to the Confession. Even Saunier was opposed to the imposition

of a personal pledge.

[485] The Congregational or Independent and Baptist churches, however,

while they disown the authority of general confessions, and hold to the

voluntary principle, usually have local or congregational creeds and

covenants which must be assented to by all applicants for membership.

In this respect the Presbyterian churches are more liberal.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 84. Expulsion of the Reformers. 1538.

Calvin's correspondence from 1537 to 1538, in Op. vol. X., Pt. II. 137

sqq. Herminjard, vols. IV. and V.--Annal. Calv., Op. XXI., fol.

215-235.

Henry, I. ch. IX.--Dyer, 78sqq.--St�helin, I. 151 sqq.--Kampschulte, I.

296-319. Merle D'Aubign�, bk. XI. chs. XI.-XIV. (vol. VI. 469 sqq.).

C. A. Cornelius: Die Verbannung Calvins aus Genf. i. J. 1538. M�nchen,

1886.

The submission of the people of Geneva to such a severe system of

discipline was only temporary. Many had never sworn to the Confession,

notwithstanding the threat of punishment, and among them were the most

influential citizens of the republic; [486] others declared that they

had been compelled to perjure themselves. The impossibility of

enforcing the law brought the Council into contempt. Ami Porral, the

leader of the clerical party in the Council, was charged with arbitrary

conduct and disregard of the rights of the people. The Patriots and

Libertines who had hailed the Reformation in the interest of political

independence from the yoke of Savoy and of the bishop, had no idea of

becoming slaves of Farel, and were jealous of the influence of

foreigners. An intrigue to annex Geneva to the kingdom of France

increased the suspicion. The Patriots organized themselves as a

political party and labored to overthrow the clerical r�gime. They were

aided in part by Bern, which was opposed to the tenet of

excommunication and to the radicalism of the Reformers.

There was another cause of dissatisfaction even among the more

moderate, which brought on the crisis. Farel in his iconoclastic zeal

had, before the arrival of Calvin, abolished all holidays except

Sunday, the baptismal fonts, and the unleavened bread in the communion,

all of which were retained by the Reformed Church in Bern. [487] A

synod of Lausanne, under the influence of Bern, recommended the

restoration of the old Bernese customs, as they were called. The

Council enforced this decision. Calvin himself regarded such matters as

in themselves indifferent, but would not forsake his colleagues.

Stormy scenes took place in the general assembly of citizens, Nov. 15,

1537. In the popular elections on Feb. 3, 1538, the anti-clerical party

succeeded in the election of four syndics and a majority of the

Council. [488]

The new rulers proceeded with caution. They appointed new preachers for

the country, which was much needed. They prohibited indecent songs and

broils in the streets, and going out at night after nine. They took

Bern for their model. They enforced the decision of the Council of

Lausanne concerning the Church festivals and baptismal fonts.

But the preachers were determined to die rather than to yield an inch.

They continued to thunder against the popular vices, and censured the

Council for want of energy in suppressing them. The result was that

they were warned not to meddle in politics (March 12). [489] Courauld,

who surpassed even Farel in vehemence, was forbidden to preach, but

ascended the pulpit again, April 7, denounced Geneva and its citizens

in a rude and insulting manner, [490] was imprisoned, and six days

afterwards banished in spite of the energetic protests of Calvin and

Farel. The old man retired to Thonon, on the lake of Geneva, was

elected minister at Orbe, and died there Oct. 4 in the same year.

Calvin and Farel were emboldened by this harsh treatment of their

colleague. They attacked the Council from the pulpit. Even Calvin went

so far as to denounce it as the Devil's Council. Libels were circulated

against the preachers. They often heard the cry late in the evening,

"To the Rhone with the traitors," and in the night they were disturbed

by violent knocks at the door of their dwelling.

They were ordered to celebrate the approaching Easter communion after

the Bernese rite, but they refused to do so in the prevailing state of

debauchery and insubordination. The Council could find no supplies. On

Easter Sunday, April 21, Calvin, after all, ascended the pulpit of St.

Peter's; Farel, the pulpit of St. Gervais. They preached before large

audiences, but declared that they could not administer the communion to

the rebellious city, lest the sacrament be desecrated. And indeed,

under existing circumstances, the celebration of the love-feast of the

Saviour would have been a solemn mockery. Many hearers were armed, drew

their swords, and drowned the voice of the preachers, who left the

church and went home under the protection of their friends. Calvin

preached also in the evening in the Church of St. Francis at Rive in

the lower part of the city, and was threatened with violence.

The small Council met after the morning service in great commotion and

summoned the general Council. On the next two days, April 22 and 23,

the great Council of the Two Hundred assembled in the cloisters of St.

Peter's, deposed Farel and Calvin, without a trial, and ordered them to

leave the city within three days. [491]

They received the news with great composure. "Very well," said Calvin,

"it is better to serve God than man. If we had sought to please men, we

should have been badly rewarded, but we serve a higher Master, who will

not withhold from us his reward." [492] Calvin even rejoiced at the

result more than seemed proper.

The people celebrated the downfall of the clerical r�gime with public

rejoicings. The decrees of the synod of Lausanne were published by

sound of trumpets. The baptismal fonts were re-erected, and the

communion administered on the following Sunday with unleavened bread.

The deposed ministers went to Bern, but found little sympathy. They

proceeded to Z�rich, where a general synod was held, and were kindly

received. They admitted that they had been too rigid, and consented to

the restoration of the baptismal fonts, the unleavened bread (provided

the bread was broken), and the four Church festivals observed in Bern;

but they insisted on the introduction of discipline, the division of

the Church into parishes, the more frequent administration of the

communion, the singing of Psalms in public worship, and the exercise of

discipline by joint committees of laymen and ministers. [493]

Bullinger undertook to advocate this compromise before Bern and Geneva.

But the Genevese confirmed in general assembly the sentence of

banishment, May 26.

With gloomy prospects for the future, yet trusting in God, who orders

all things well, the exiled ministers travelled on horseback in stormy

weather to Basel. In crossing a torrent swollen by the rains they were

nearly swept away. In Basel they were warmly received by sympathizing

friends, especially by Grynaeus. Here they determined to wait for the

call of Providence. Farel, after a few weeks, in July, received and

accepted a call to Neuch�tel, his former seat of labor, on condition

that he should have freedom to introduce his system of discipline.

Calvin was induced, two months later, to leave Basel for Strassburg.

It was during this crisis that Calvin's friend and travelling

companion, Louis du Tillet, who seems to have been of a mild and

peaceable disposition, lost faith in the success of the Reformation. He

left Geneva in August, 1537, for Strassburg and Paris, and returned to

the Roman Church. He had relations in high standing who influenced him.

His brother, Jean du Tillet, was the famous registrar of the Parliament

of Paris; another brother became bishop of Sainte-Brieux, afterwards of

Meaux. [494] He explained to Calvin his conscientious scruples and

reasons for the change. Calvin regarded them as insufficient, and

warned him earnestly, but kindly and courteously. The separation was

very painful to both, but was relieved by mutual regard. Du Tillet even

offered to aid Calvin in his distressed condition after his expulsion,

but Calvin gratefully declined, writing from Strassburg, Oct. 20, 1538:

"You have made me an offer for which I cannot sufficiently thank you;

neither am I so rude and unmannerly as not to feel the unmerited

kindness so deeply, that even in declining to accept it, I can never

adequately express the obligation that I owe to you." As to their

difference of opinion, he appeals to the judgment of God to decide who

are the true schismatics, and concludes the letter with the prayer:

"May our Lord uphold and keep you in his holy protection, so directing

you that you decline not from his way." [495]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[486] According to the testimony of Claude Rozet, the secretary of

state. He himself had not sworn the Confession, although he had read it

publicly and taken the oath of the citizens in St. Peter's, July 29,

1537.

[487] Beza, in Calvin's Opera, XXI. 128.

[488] The new syndics, Claude Richardet, Jean Philippe, Jean Lullin,

and Ami de Chapeaurouge, were pronounced enemies of Farel and Viret.

Ami Porral was not re-elected. Grynaeus of Basel wrote several letters

of comfort and encouragement to Farel and Calvin, Feb. 13, March 4,

March 12, 1538. In Herminjard, IV. 361, 379, 401.

[489] Ann. 222, "de point se mesler du magistrat."

[490] He compared the state of Geneva with the kingdom of frogs, and

the Genevese with rats. Merle d'Aubign�, VI. 455.

[491] The same Council deposed Claude Rozet, the secretary of state,

who, in his official capacity, had recorded the oath of the people to

the Confession of Faith, July 29, 1537. Registers of April 23, 1538.

Rozet, Chron. MS. de Gen�ve, Bk. IV. ch. 18 (quoted by Merle d'Aubign�,

VI. 485).

[492] Beza, Rozet, and the Registers all report this answer with slight

variations. Farel's answer to the messenger was: "Well and good; it is

from God."

[493] See the 14 Articles drawn up by Calvin and Farel, in Henry, I.

Beilage, 8; in Op. X., Part II. 190-192, and in Herminjard, V. 3-6.

[494] Herminjard, V. 107 (note 11); and p. 163.

[495] See the correspondence in Herminjard, IV. 354-359 and 384-400; V.

103-109; 161, 162; 186-200. Du Tillet writes under his nom seigneurial

De Haultmont to Charles d'Espeville (Calvin). His last letter is dated

Paris, Dec. 1, 1538, and closes with the desire to remain, always his

friend and brother in Christ." There is also an answer of Bucer to Du

Tillet from Strassburg, Oct. 8, 1539 (in Herminjard, VI. 61-70), in

which he refutes four objections which Du Tillet had made against the

Protestants, viz.: 1) that they seceded from the Church of Christ; 2)

that they rejected good customs and observances of the Church; 3) that

they spoiled the goods of the Church; 4) that they denied many true

dogmas and introduced false dogmas.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XI.

CALVIN IN GERMANY. FROM 1538-1541.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 85. Calvin in Strassburg.

I. Calvin's correspondence from 1538-1541 in Opera, vols. X. and XI.;

Herminjard, Vols. V. and VI.; Bonnet-Constable, Vol. I. 63 sqq. Beza:

Vita Calv., in Op. XXI. 128 sq.--Ann. Calv., Op. XXI. 226-285. Contains

extracts from the Archives du chapitre de St. Thomas de Strasbourg.

II. Alf. Erichson: L'�glise fran�aise de Strasbourg au XVIe si�cle,

d'apr�s des documents in�dits. Strasb. 1885. Comp. also his other works

on the History of the Reformation in the Alsace.--C. A. Cornelius: Die

R�ckkehr Calvin's nach Genf. M�nchen, 1889.--E. Doumergue (Prof. of the

Prot. Faculty of Montauban): Essai sur l'histoire du Culte R�form�

principalement au XIXe Si�cle. Paris, 1890. Ch. I., Calvin �

Strasbourg, treats of the worship in the first French Reformed Church,

the model of the churches of France.--Eduard Stricker: Johannes Calvin

als erster Pfarrer der reformirten Gemeinde zu Strassburg. Nach

urkundlichen Quellen. Strassburg (Heitz & M�ndel), 1890 (65 pp.). In

commemoration of the centenary of the church edifice of the French

Reformed congregation (built in 1790) by its present pastor.

III. Henry, I. ch. X.--St�helin, I. 168-283.--Kampschulte, I.

320-368.--Merle D'Aubign�, bk. XI. chs. XV.-XVII. (vol. VI. 543-609).

Calvin felt so discouraged by his recent experience that he was

disinclined to assume another public office, and Conrault approved of

this purpose. He therefore refused the first invitation of Bucer to

come to Strassburg, the more so as his friend Farel was not included.

But he yielded at last to repeated solicitations, mindful of the

example of the prophet Jonah. Farel gave his hearty assent.

Strassburg [496] was since 1254 a free imperial city of Germany, famous

for one of the finest Gothic cathedrals, large commerce, and literary

enterprise. Some of the first editions of the Bible were printed there.

By its geographical situation, a few miles west of the Upper Rhine, it

formed a connecting link between Germany, France, and Switzerland, as

also between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism. It offered a hospitable home

to a steady flow of persecuted Protestants from France, who called

Strassburg the New Jerusalem. The citizens had accepted the Reformation

in 1523 in the spirit of evangelical union between the two leading

types of Protestantism. Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Niger, Matthias Zell,

Sturm, and others, labored there harmoniously together. Strassburg was

the Wittenberg of South-western Germany, and in friendly alliance with

Z�rich and Geneva.

Martin Bucer, the chief Reformer of the city, was the embodiment of a

generous and comprehensive catholicity, and gave it expression in the

Tetrapolitan Confession, which was presented at the diet of Augsburg in

1530. [497] He afterwards brought about, in the same irenic spirit, the

Wittenberg Concordia (1536), which was to harmonize the Lutheran and

Zwinglian theories on the Lord's Supper, but conceded too much to

Luther (even the participation of the body and blood of Christ by

unworthy communicants), and therefore was rejected by Bullinger and the

Swiss Churches. He wrote to Bern in June, 1540, that next to Wittenberg

no city in Germany was so friendly to the gospel and so large-hearted

in spirit as Strassburg. He ended his labors in the Anglican Church as

professor of theology in the University of Cambridge in 1551. Six years

after his death his body was dug up, chained upright to a stake and

burned, under Queen Mary; but his tomb was rebuilt and his memory

honorably restored under Queen Elizabeth. His colleague Fagius shared

the same fate.

The Z�richers, in a letter to Calvin, call Strassburg "the Antioch of

the Reformation;" Capito, "the refuge of exiled brethren;" the Roman

Catholic historian, Florimond de Raemond, "the retreat and rendezvous

of Lutherans and Zwinglians under the control of Bucer, and the

receptacle of those that were banished from France." [498] Among the

distinguished early refugees from France were Francis Lambert, Farel,

Le F�vre, Roussel, and Michel d'Arande. Unfortunately, Strassburg did

not long occupy this noble position, but became a battlefield of bitter

sectarian strife and, for some time, the home of a narrow Lutheran

orthodoxy. The city was conquered by Louis XIV. and annexed to Roman

Catholic France in 1681, to the detriment of her Protestant character,

but was reconquered by Emperor William I. and incorporated with united

Germany as the capital of Alsace and Lorraine in 1870. The university

was newly organized and better equipped than ever before. [499]

Calvin arrived at Strassburg in the first days of September, 1538.

[500] He spent there three years in useful labors. He was received with

open arms by Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Sturm, and Niger, the leading men in

the Church, and appointed by the Council professor of theology, with a

moderate salary. He soon felt at home, and in the next summer bought

the citizenship, and joined the guild of the tailors. [501]

The sojourn of Calvin in this city was a fruitful episode in his life,

and an education for more successful work in Geneva. His views were

enlarged and deepened. He gained valuable experience. He came in

contact with the Lutheran Church and its leaders. He learned to

understand and appreciate them, but was unfavorably impressed with the

want of discipline and the slavish dependence of the clergy upon the

secular rulers. He labored indefatigably and successfully as professor,

pastor, and author. He informed Farel (April 20, 1539) that, when the

messenger called for copy of his book (the second edition of the

Institutes), he had to read fifty pages, then to teach and to preach,

to write four letters, to adjust some quarrels, and was interrupted by

visitors more than ten times. [502]

It is in the fitness of things that three learned professors of the

University of Strassburg, who lived during the French and German

r�gime, and were equally at home in the language and theology of both

nations, should give to the world the last and best edition of Calvin's

works.

Calvin's economic condition during these three years was very humble.

It is a shame for the congregation and the city government that they

allowed such a man to struggle for his daily bread. For the first five

months he received no pay at all, only free board in the house of a

liberal friend. His countrymen were poor, but might have done

something. He informed Farel, in April, 1539, that of his many friends

in France, not one had offered him a copper, except Louis Du Tillet,

who hoped to induce him to return. Hence he declined. [503] The city

paid him a very meagre salary of fifty-two guilders (about two hundred

marks) for his professorial duties from May, 1539. [504] His books were

not profitable. When the Swiss heard of his embarrassment, they wished

to come to his aid, and Fabri sent ten ducats to Farel for Calvin.

[505] But he preferred to sell his greatest treasure--the

library--which he had left in Geneva, and to take students as boarders

(pensionnaires). He trusted to God for the future. [506]

With all his poverty he was happy in his independence, the society of

congenial friends, and his large field of usefulness.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[496] Or Strasbourg in French. Argentoratum was a Roman military

station in the time of Augustus.

[497] See vol. VI. 571 and 718.

[498] "C'�tait le r�ceptacle des bannis de la France." Hist. de la

naissance de l'her�sie, p. 838.

[499] It will take some time before the irritating question of language

and nationality can be settled. When last in Strassburg, I asked,

first, a shopkeeper whether the people speak more French or German, and

received the prompt and emphatic answer: "On parle toujours fran�ais

�Strasbourg." The next person, in answer to the same question, replied:

"Man spricht mehr deutsch." At last, a market-woman told the truth:

"Man spricht dietsch." The Alsatian dialect prevails at home, the

French in society, the high German in the university, among the

government officials and soldiers.

[500] Not at the end of September, as St�helin has it. See Stricker, p.

11, note, where he shows that Calvin preached his first sermon at

Strassburg on the 8th of September.

[501] July 30, 1539. Some historians err in stating that the

citizenship was presented to him. See Stricker, 44, and Annal. XXI.

fol. 250: "Uff den 30 tag Julij Anno 39 ist Johannes Calvinus uff unser

Herren der statt Straszburg Saal erschinnen, und sich angeben lut der

Ordnung und will dienen mit den schnydern."

[502] Herminjard, V. 286 sq.; Opera, X., Pars II. 337.

[503] "Cum innumeros aliquando amicos in Gallia habuerim, nemo fuit qui

assent mihi obtulerit; et tamen si fecissent, poterant frui gratuita

beneficentiae jactantia: nihil enim illis constitisset offerre quod

acceptassem. Exciderat mihi Ludovicus [Du Tillet]; ille unus fuit qui

obtulit; sed ipse quoque suam largitionem nimis magno venditabat:

siquidem me tantum non ad recantandum hortabatur." Herminjard, V. 291

sq. See the letter of Du Tillet from Paris, Oct. 20, 1538, in which he

offers him to furnish "assez �toute vostre necessit�" (ibid. p. 107).

[504] May 1, 1539: "Joannes Calvinus so ein gel�hrter frommer Gesell

sein soll und zu Zeiten auch in Theologia lese, zudem auch zu den

Reuwern franz�sisch predige, haben die Herren ... ist beschlossen dasz

man demselben nuhn f�rter ein Jar lang die 52 fl. alsz ein zuhelffer

geben und soll prima Maij angehen." From the Thomas-Archiv, in Annal.

fol. 246.

[505] "Decem coronatos." Libertet (Christophe Fabri) to Farel, May 8,

1539, in Herminjard, V. 307.

[506] "It is very agreeable to me," he wrote to Farel, who had

communicated to his colleagues Calvin's wants, "I confess, that my

brethren entertain such a regard for me, that they are ready to supply

my wants from their own means. It could not be otherwise than that I

must be greatly delighted with such a testimony of their love (quin

tali amoris testimonio delecter). Nevertheless, I have determined to

abstain from putting both your kindness and theirs in requisition,

unless a greater necessity shall compel me. Wendelin [Wendelin Rihel],

the printer, to whom I intrusted my book [the second edition of the

Institutio] to be printed, will provide me with as much as will be

sufficient for any extraordinary expenses. From my books which yet

remain at Geneva, there will be enough to satisfy my landlord till next

winter. As to the future, the Lord will provide." (Herminjard, l.c.)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 86. The Church of the Strangers in Strassburg.

Calvin combined the offices of pastor and professor of theology in

Strassburg, as he had done in Geneva. The former activity kept him in

contact with his French countrymen; the latter extended his influence

among the scholars in Germany.

He organized the first Protestant congregation of French refugees,

which served as a model for the Reformed Churches of Geneva and France.

The number of refugees amounted at that time to about four hundred.

[507] Most of them belonged to the "little French Church." [508] His

first sermon was delivered in the Church of St. Nicholas, and attracted

a large crowd of Frenchmen and Germans. [509] He preached four times a

week (twice on Sunday), and held Bible classes. He trained deacons to

assist him, especially in the care of the poor, whom he had much at

heart. The names of the first two were Nicholas Parent, who afterwards

became pastor at Neuch�tel, and Claude de Fer or F�ray (Claudius

Feraeus), a French Hellenist, who had fled to Strassburg, taught Greek,

and died of the pestilence in 1541, to the great grief of Calvin.

He introduced his favorite discipline, and as he was not interfered

with by the magistracy he had better success than at Geneva during his

first sojourn. "No house," he says, "no society, can exist without

order and discipline, much less the Church." He laid as much stress

upon it as Luther did upon doctrine, and he regarded it as the best

safeguard of sound doctrine and Christian life. He excluded a student

who had neglected public worship for a month and fallen into gross

immorality, from the communion table, and would not admit him till he

professed repentance. [510]

Not a few of the younger members, however, objected to excommunication

as a popish institution. But he distinguished between the yoke of

Christ and the tyranny of the pope. He persevered and succeeded. "I

have conflicts," he wrote to Farel, "severe conflicts, but they are a

good school for me."

He converted many Anabaptists, who were wisely tolerated in the

territory of Strassburg, and brought to him from the city and country

their children for baptism. He was consulted by the magistrates on all

important questions touching religion. He conscientiously attended to

pastoral care, and took a kindly interest in every member of his flock.

In this way he built up in a short time a prosperous church, which

commanded the respect and admiration of the community of Strassburg.

[511]

Unfortunately, this Church of the Strangers lasted only about

twenty-five years, and was extinguished by the flames of sectarian

bigotry, though not till after many copies had been made from it as a

model. An exclusive Lutheranism, under the lead of Marbach, obtained

the ascendency in Strassburg, and treated the Calvinistic Christians as

dangerous heretics. When Calvin passed through the city on his way to

Frankfort, in August, 1556, he was indeed honorably received by John

Sturm and the students, who respectfully rose to their feet in his

presence, but he was not allowed to preach to his own congregation,

because he did not believe in the dogma of consubstantiation. A few

years later the Reformed worship was altogether forbidden by order of

the Council, Aug. 19, 1563. [512]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[507] A census of Strassburg, taken Oct. 18, 1563, enumerates one

hundred Frenchmen who were citizens, thirty-five who were not citizens,

and sixteen soldiers (in all 161 men), without including wives,

children, and servants. From this Stricker (p. 6) infers that the

foreign population numbered four hundred souls. Doumergue (l.c. p. 3)

counts from five hundred to six hundred. Specklin (1536-1589), the

author of a chronicle of Strassburg (edited by Rud. Reuss, Strassb.

1890), gives a much larger number, namely, fifteen hundred; but he is

not very accurate, and must be corrected by the official census.

[508] "Ecclesiola Gallicana," as Calvin calls it.

[509] Afterwards he preached in the Klosterkirche der Reuerinnen, now

called the Magdalenen Kirche.

[510] Calvin to Farel, in Herminjard, V. 291.

[511] Kampschulte, I. 324, thus sums up Calvin's pastoral labors in

Strassburg: Strassburg hatte in Kurzem eine bl�hende wohlgeordnete

franz�sische Fl�chtlingsgemeinde mit Predigt und Bibelstunden, mit

regelm�ssiger Abendmahlsfeier und Psalmengesang, insbesondere aber mit

einer strenge gehandhabten Disciplin, und nicht ohne Staunen erz�hlten

die deutschen Pastoren bald einander von den Einrichtungen und dem

merkw�rdigen Eifer der neuen Emigrantenkirche in Strassburg."

[512] Stricker, pp. 11, 12, 64; Erichson, p. 65; Doumergue, p. 4;

Calvin's letter to Bullinger, Sept. 12, 1563 (Opera, X. 151). Under the

French rule the Reformed Church was reorganized in Strassburg.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 87. The Liturgy of Calvin.

I. La forme des prieres et chantzs ecclesiastiques, avec la maniere

d'administrer les sacremens et consacrer le marriage, selon la coutume

de l'Eglise ancienne, a.d. 1542. In Opera, VI. 161-210 (from a copy at

Stuttgart; the title is given in the old spelling without accents).

Later editions (1543, 1545, 1562, etc.) add: "la visitation des

malades," and "comme on l'observe � Gen�ve." An earlier edition of

eighteen Psalms appeared at Strassburg, 1539. (See Douen, Cl�ment

Marot, I. 300 sqq.) An edition of the liturgy with the Psalms was

printed at Strassburg, Feb. 15, 1542. (See Douen, l.c. 305, and 342

sqq.) A copy of an enlarged Strassburg ed. of 1545, entitled La forme

des prieres et chantzs ecclesiastiques, was preserved in the Public

Library at Strassburg till Aug. 24, 1870, when it was burnt at the

siege of the city in the Franco-German War (Douen, I. 451 sq.).

II. Ch. d'H�ricault: Ouvres de Marot. Paris, 1867.--Felix Bovet:

Histoire du psautier des �glises r�form�es. Neuch�tel, 1872.--O. Douen:

Cl�ment Marot et le Psautier Huguenot. �tude historique, litt�raire,

musicale et bibliographique; contenant les m�lodies primitives des

Psaumes, etc. Paris (�'imprimerie national), 1878 sq. 2 vols. royal

8vo. A magnificent work published at the expense of the French Republic

on the recommendation of the Institute. The second volume contains the

harmonies of Goudimel.

Farel published at Neuch�tel in 1533, and introduced at Geneva in 1537,

the first French Reformed liturgy, which includes, in the regular

Sunday service, a general prayer, the Lord's Prayer (before sermon),

the Decalogue, confession of sins, repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the

Apostles' Creed, a final exhortation and benediction. [513] It

resembled the German liturgy of Bern, which was published in 1529, and

which Calvin caused to be translated into French by his friend Morelet.

[514] Of Farel's liturgy only the form of marriage survived. The rest

was reconstructed and improved by Calvin in the liturgy which he first

introduced in Strassburg, and with some modifications in Geneva after

his return.

Calvin's liturgy was published twice in 1542. It was introduced at

Lausanne in the same year, and gradually passed into other Reformed

Churches.

Calvin built his form of worship on the foundation of Zwingli and

Farel, and the services already in use in the Swiss Reformed Churches.

Like his predecessors, he had no sympathy whatever with the Roman

Catholic ceremonialism, which was overloaded with unscriptural

traditions and superstitions. We may add that he had no taste for the

artistic, symbolical, and ornamental features in worship. He rejected

the mass, all the sacraments, except two, the saints' days, nearly all

church festivals, except Sunday, images, relics, processions, and the

whole pomp and circumstance of a gaudy worship which appeals to the

senses and imagination rather than the intellect and the conscience,

and tends to distract the mind with the outward show instead of

concentrating it upon the contemplation of the saving truth of the

gospel.

He substituted in its place that simple and spiritual mode of worship

which is well adapted for intelligent devotion, if it be animated by

the quickening presence and power of the Spirit of God, but becomes

jejune, barren, cold, and chilly if that power is waiting. He made the

sermon the central part of worship, and substituted instruction and

edification in the vernacular for the reading of the mass in Latin. He

magnified the pulpit, as the throne of the preacher, above the altar of

the sacrificing priest. He opened the inexhaustible fountain of free

prayer in public worship, with its endless possibilities of application

to varying circumstances and wants; he restored to the Church, like

Luther, the inestimable blessing of congregational singing, which is

the true popular liturgy, and more effective than the reading of

written forms of prayer.

The order of public worship in Calvin's congregation at Strassburg was

as follows: --

The service began with an invocation, [515] a confession of sin and a

brief absolution. [516] hen followed reading of the Scriptures,

singing, and a free prayer. The whole congregation, male and female,

joined in chanting the Psalms, and thus took an active part in public

worship, while formerly they were but passive listeners or spectators.

This was in accordance with the Protestant doctrine of the general

priesthood of believers. [517] The sermon came next, and after it a

long general prayer and the Lord's Prayer. The service closed with

singing and the benediction. [518]

The same order is substantially observed in the French Reformed

Churches. Calvin prepared also liturgical forms for baptism and the

holy communion. A form for marriage and the visitation of the sick had

been previously composed by Farel. The combination of the liturgical

and extemporaneous features continue in the Reformed Churches of the

Continent. In the Presbyterian churches of Scotland and most of the

Dissenting churches of England, and their descendants in America, the

liturgical element was gradually ruled out by free prayer; while the

Anglican Church pursued the opposite course.

Baptism was always performed before the congregation at the close of

the public service, and in the simplest manner, according to the

institution of Christ; without the traditional ceremony of exorcism,

and the use of salt, spittle, and burning candles, because these are

not commanded in the Scriptures, nourish superstition, and divert the

attention from the spiritual substance of the ordinance to outward

forms. Calvin regarded immersion as the primitive form of baptism, but

pouring and sprinkling as equally valid. [519]

The communion was celebrated once a month in a simple but very solemn

manner by the whole congregation. Calvin required the communicants to

give him previous notice of their intention, that they might receive

instruction, warning, or comfort, according to their need. Unworthy

applicants were excluded.

The introduction of the Psalter in the vernacular was a most important

feature, and the beginning of a long and heroic chapter in the history

of worship and Christian life. The Psalter occupies the same important

place in the Reformed Church as the hymnal in the Lutheran. It was the

source of comfort and strength to the Huguenot Church of the Desert,

and to the Presbyterian Covenanters of Scotland, in the days of bitter

trial and persecution. Calvin, himself prepared metrical versions of

Psalms 25, 36, 43, 46, [520] 91, 113, 120, 138, 142, together with a

metrical version of the Song of Simeon and the Ten Commandments. [521]

He afterwards used the superior version of Cl�ment Marot, the greatest

French poet of that age, who was the poet of the court, and the

psalmist of the Church (1497-1544). Calvin met him first at the court

of the Duchess of Ferrara (1536), whither he had fled, and afterwards

at Geneva (1542), where he encouraged him to continue his metrical

translation of the Psalms. Marot's Psalter first appeared at Paris,

1541, and contained thirty Psalms, together with metrical versions of

the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the Creed, and the

Decalogue. Several editions, with fifty Psalms, were printed at Geneva

in 1543, one at Strassburg in 1545. Later editions were enlarged with

the translations of Beza. The popularity and usefulness of his and

Beza's Psalter were greatly enhanced by the rich melodies of Claude

Goudimel (1510-1572), who joined the Reformed Church in 1562, and died

a martyr at Lyons in the night of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. He

devoted his musical genius to the Reformation. His tunes are based in

part on popular songs, and breathe the simple and earnest spirit of the

Reformed cultus. Some of them have found a place among the chorals of

the Lutheran Church.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[513] Republished by Baum at Strassburg, 1859. Douen, l.c. I. 346.

[514] In a letter to Gaspard Megander, an influential minister at Bern

(probably from Feb. 20, 1537), Calvin writes: "Libellum tuum

ceremonialem a Mauro [Maurus Musaeus, Morelet de Museau], rogatu

nostro, versum, cum nostro contulimus, a quo nihil penitus nisi

brevitate differt." Herminjard (vol. IV. 191) adds the following note:

"La liturgie usit�e dans l'�glise genevoise �tait, selon toutes les

vraisemblances, celle de Farel, publi�e �Neuch�tel, le 29 ao�t 1533,

sous le titre suivant: 'La Mani�re et Fasson qu'on tient en baillant le

sainct baptesme ... �s lieux que Dieu de sa gr�ce a visites.' Nous

avons constat�que la liturgie bernoise offre les plus grands rapports

avec 'La Mani�re et Fasson,' et qu'elle en diff�re seulement par la

bri�vet�."

[515] "Nostre aide soit au nom de Dieu, qui a faict le Ciel et la

terre. Amen." Opera, VI. 173.

[516] This confession is still in use and may be favorably compared

with the confession in the Anglican liturgy. It is as follows (in

modern spelling):-- "Mes fr�res, qu'un chacun de nous se pr�sente

devant la face du Seigneur, avec confession de ses fautes et p�ch�s,

suivant de son coeur mea paroles. "Seigneur Dieu, P�re �ternal et

tout-puissant, nous confessons [et reconnaissons] sans feintise, devant

ta Sainte Majest�, que nous sommes pauvres p�cheurs, con�us et n�s en

iniquit�et corruption, enclins �mal faire, inutiles �tout bien, et que

par notre vice, nous transgressons sans fin et sans cesse tes saints

commandements. En quoi faisant, nous acqu�rons, par ton juste jugement,

ruine et perdition sur nous. "Toutefois, Seigneur, nous avons d�plaisir

en nous-m�mes, de t'avoir offens�, et condamnons nous et nos vices,

avec vraie repentance, d�sirant que to gr�ce [et aide] subviennent

�notre calamit�. "Veuille donc avoir piti�de nous, Dieu et P�re tr�s

b�nin, et plein de mis�ricorde, au nom de ton Fils J�sus-Christ, notre

Seigneur; effa�ant donc nos vices et macules, �largis nous et augmente

de jour en jour les gr�ces de ton Saint-Esprit, afin que, reconnaissant

de tout notre coeur notre injustice, nous soyons touches de d�plaisir,

qui engendre droite p�nitence en nous: laquelle nous mortifiant �tous

p�ch�s produise en nous fruits de justice et innocence qui te soient

agr�ables par ice-lui Jesus-Christ. Amen." After this confession the

Strassburg Liturgy adds a form of absolution, which was afterwards

omitted:-- "Ici, dit le ministre quelques paroles de l'�criture pour

consoler les consciences, et fait l'absolution en cette mani�re: "Un

chacunde vous se reconnaisse vraiment p�cheur, s'humiliant devant Dieu,

et croie que le Pare c�leste lui veut �tre propice en J�sus-Christ. A

tous ceux qui, en cette mani�re se repentent, et cherchent J�sus-Christ

pour leur salut, je d�nonce l'absolution au nom du P�re, du Fils, et du

Saint-Esprit. Amen."

[517] In this respect Calvin followed the example of the Lutheran

churches. G�rard Roussel, who was one of the earliest refugees at

Strassburg, reported to Bri�onnet, bishop of Meaux, that the singing of

Psalms, translated from the Hebrew, was there a prominent feature of

worship, and that "le chant des femmes, se m�lant �celui des hommes,

produit un effet ravissant." Herminjard, I. 404-408. In another letter,

he speaks also of the congregational chanting of the Apostles' Creed

and the Kyrie Eleison at the communion. Ibid. I. 411-413. Doumergue,

pp. 8, 9.

[518] An interesting description of the Reformed worship at Strassburg,

by a French student in 1545, was first published in 1885 by Erichson,

p. 7, and is given by Doumergue, l.c. p. 15 sq. He speaks of daily

preaching and chanting of Psalms by the whole congregation ("tant

homine que femme avec un bel accord") from a tune book (un livre de

musique), which each member had in his hand.

[519] He says, Instit. IV. ch. XV. Par. 19: "Whether the person who is

baptized be wholly immersed, and whether thrice or once, or whether

water be only poured or sprinkled upon him, is of no importance;

churches ought to be left at liberty in this respect, to act according

to the difference of countries. The very word baptize, however,

signifies to immerse; and it is certain that immersion was the practice

of the ancient Church."

[520] The same Psalm furnished the key-note to Luther's immortal hymn,

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." Calvin's version begins:-- " Nostre

Dieu est ferme appuy, Vertue, fortresse et seur confort, Auquel aurons

en notre ennuy, Pr�sent r�fuge et tr�s bon port."

[521] They were printed at Strassburg, 1539, and republished, together

with an original hymn (Salutation � Jesus-Christ), from an edition of

1545, in Opera, VI. 212-224.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 88. Calvin as Theological Teacher and Author.

The Reformers of Strassburg, aided by leading laymen, as Jacob Sturm

and John Sturm, provided for better elementary and higher education,

and founded schools which attracted pupils from France as early as

1525. G�rard Roussel, one of the earliest of the refugees, speaks very

highly of them in a letter to the bishop of Meaux. [522] A Protestant

college (gymnasium), with a theological department, was established

March 22, 1538, and placed under the direction of John Sturm, one of

the ablest pedagogues of his times. It was the nucleus of a university

which continued German down to the French Revolution, was then half

Frenchified, and is now again German in language and methods of

teaching. The first teachers in that college were Bucer for the New

Testament, Capito for the Old, Hedio for history and theology, Herlin

for mathematics, and Jacob Bedrot or Pedrotus for Greek. [523] A

converted Jew taught Hebrew.

Calvin was appointed assistant professor of theology in January, 1539.

[524] He lectured on the Gospel of John, the Epistle to the Romans, and

other books of the Bible. Many students came from Switzerland and

France to hear him, who afterwards returned as evangelists. He speaks

of several students in his correspondence with satisfaction. In some

cases he was disappointed. He presided over public disputations. He

refuted in 1539 a certain Robertus Moshamus, Dean of Passau, in a

disputation on the merits of good works, and achieved a signal victory

to the great delight of the scholars of the city. [525]

But he had also an unpleasant dispute with that worthless theological

turncoat, Peter Caroli, who appeared at Strassburg in October, 1539, as

a troubler in Israel, as he had done before at Lausanne, and sought to

prejudice even Bucer and Capito against Calvin on the subject of the

Trinity. [526]

With all his professional duties he found leisure for important

literary work, which had been interrupted at Geneva. He prepared a

thorough revision of his Institutes, which superseded the first, and a

commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which opened the series of his

invaluable exegetical works. Both were published at Strassburg by the

famous printer Wendelin Rihel in 1539. He had been preceded, in the

commentary on Romans, by Melanchthon, Bucer, Bullinger, but he easily

surpassed them all. He also wrote, in French, a popular treatise on the

Lord's Supper, in which he pointed out a via media between the realism

of Luther and the spiritualism of Zwingli. Both parties, he says

towards the close, have failed and departed from the truth in their

passionate zeal, but this should not blind us to the great benefits

which God through Luther and Zwingli has bestowed upon mankind. If we

are not ungrateful and forgetful of what we owe to them, we shall be

well able to pardon that and much more, without blaming them. We must

hope for a reconciliation of the two parties.

At the Diet of Regensburg in 1541 he had, with the other Protestant

delegates, to subscribe the Augsburg Confession. He could do so

honestly, understanding it, as he said expressly, in the sense of the

author who, in the year before, had published a revised edition with an

important change in the 10th Article (on the doctrine of the Lord's

Supper). [527]

Of his masterly answer to Sadolet we shall speak separately.

His many letters from that period prove his constant and faithful

attention to the duties of friendship. In his letters to Farel he pours

out his heart, and makes him partaker of his troubles and joys, and

familiar with public events and private affairs even to little details.

Farel could not stand a long separation and paid him two brief visits

in 1539 and 1540.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[522] Herminjard, I. 407; also Farel in a letter of June 4, 1526, to

Myconius, ibid. 433 sq. On the schools in Strassburg see Roehrich,

Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass, I. 253, 261-264; A. G. Strobel,

Histoire du Gymnase protestant de Strasbourg, Strasb. 1838; Charles

Schmidt, La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm, Strasb. 1855 (quoted by

Herminjard); and R. Z�pffel, Johann Sturm, der erste Rektor der

Strassburger Akademie, Strassburg, 1887.

[523] Pedrotus (Padrut), whose name often occurs in Calvin's letters,

was a native of Pludenz in Vorarlberg, and famous as editor and

expounder of ancient classics, hence also called Jacobus Graecus.

Capito recommended him very highly in a letter to Blaarer, Nov. 26,

1625, in Herminjard, I. 440, note 16. He died of the pestilence at

Strassburg, 1541.

[524] Calvin to Farel, January, 1539 (Herminjard, V. 230): "Nuper ad

publicam professionem invitus a Capitone protractus sum. Ita quotidie

aut lego aut concionor." He preached four times, and lectured three

times. The salary of 52 guilders for one year was to commence the first

of May. It is mentioned in Annal. 246, by Herminjard, V. 231, note 19,

and by Stricker, 22.

[525] He defeated him again at Worms in the presence of Melanchthon.

Jacob Sturm, Antipappi, as quoted in Herminjard, VII. 20, note 6.

[526] "Ter desertor, ter transfuga, ter proditor utriusque partes," he

is called by Calvin. See on this unimportant episode Stricker, pp.

30-39.

[527] Calvin's letter to Martin Schalling, a minister at Regensburg,

March, 1557, in Opera, XVI. 430: "Nec vero Augustanam Confessionem

repudio, cui pridem volens ac libens subscripsi sicut eam autor ipse

interpretatus est." His colleagues, Bucer and Capito, understood the

Augsburg Confession in the same irenic spirit.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 89. Calvin at the Colloquies of Frankfurt, Worms, and Regensburg.

Calvin: Letters from Worms, Regensburg, and Strassburg, in Opera, XI.,

and Herminjard, vols. VI. and VII. His report on the Diet at Regensburg

(Les Actes de la journ�e imp�riale en la cit� de Regenspourg), in

Opera, V. 509-684.--Melanchthon: Report on the Colloquy at Worms, in

Latin, and the Acts of the Colloquy at Regensburg, in German, 1542.

See his Epistolae, ed. Bretschneider, IV. 33-78, and pp. 728

sqq.--Sturm: Antipappus.--Sleidan: De Statu Eccles. et Reipublicae

Carolo V. Caesare, Lib. XIII.

Henry, Vol. I. ch. XVII.--Dyer, pp. 105 sqq.--St�helin, I. 229-254.

Kampschulte, I. 328-342.--Stricker, pp. 27 sqq.--Ludwig Pastor (Rom.

Cath.): Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen w�hrend der Regierung

Karls V. Aus den Quellen dargestellt. Freiburg-i.-B., 1879 (507 pp.).

He notices Calvin's influence, pp. 194, 196, 212, 230, 245, 258, 266,

484, but apparently without having read his correspondence, which is

one of the chief sources; he only refers to Kampschulte.

Calvin was employed, with Bucer, Capito, and Sturm, as one of the

commissioners of the city and Church of Strassburg, on several public

colloquies, which were held during his sojourn in Germany for the

healing of the split caused by the Reformation. The emperor Charles V.

was anxious, from political motives, to reconcile the Protestant

princes to the Roman Church, and to secure their aid against the Turks.

The leading theological spirits in these conferences were Melanchthon

on the Lutheran, and Julius Pflug on the Roman Catholic side. They

aimed to secure the reunion of the Church by mutual concessions on

minor differences of doctrine and discipline. But the conferences

shared the fate of all compromises. Luther and Calvin would not yield

an inch to the pope, while the extreme men of the papal party, like

Eck, were as unwilling to make any concession to Protestantism. A

fuller account belongs to the ecclesiastical history of Germany.

Calvin, being a foreigner and a Frenchman, ignorant of the German

language, acted a subordinate part, though he commanded the respect of

both parties for his ability and learning, in which he was not inferior

to any. Having no faith in compromises, or in the sincerity of the

emperor, he helped to defeat rather than to promote the pacific object

of these conferences. He favored an alliance between the Lutheran

princes of the Smalkaldian League with Francis I., who, as the rival of

Charles V., was inclined to such an alliance. He was encouraged in this

line of policy by Queen Marguerite, who corresponded with him at that

time through his friend Sleidan, the statesman and historian. [528] He

did succeed in securing, after repeated efforts, a petition of the

Lutheran princes assembled at Regensburg to the French king in behalf

of the persecuted Protestants in France (May 23, 1541). [529] But he

had no more confidence in Francis I. than in Charles V. "The king," he

wrote to Farel (September, 1540), "and the emperor, while contending in

cruel persecution of the godly, both endeavor to gain the favor of the

Roman idol." [530] He placed his trust in God, and in a close alliance

of the Lutheran princes among themselves and with the Protestants in

France and Switzerland.

He was a shrewd observer of the religious and political movements, and

judged correctly of the situation and the principal actors. Nothing

escaped his attention. He kept Farel at Neuch�tel informed even about

minor incidents.

Calvin attended the first colloquy at Frankfurt in February, 1539, in a

private capacity, for the purpose of making the personal acquaintance

of Melanchthon and pleading the cause of his persecuted brethren in

France, whom he had more at heart than German politics.

The Colloquy was prorogued to Hagenau in June, 1540, but did not get

over the preliminaries.

A more important Colloquy was held at Worms in November of the same

year. In that ancient city Luther had made his ever memorable

declaration in favor of the liberty of conscience, which in spite of

the pope's protest had become an irrepressible power. Calvin appeared

at this time in the capacity of a commissioner both of Strassburg and

the dukes of L�neburg. He went reluctantly, being just then in ill

health and feeling unequal to the task. But he gathered strength on the

spot, and braced up the courage of Melanchthon who, as the spokesman of

the Lutheran theologians, showed less disposition to yield than on

former occasions. He took a prominent part in the discussion. He

defeated Dean Robert Mosham of Passau in a second disputation, and

earned on that occasion from Melanchthon, and the Lutheran theologians

who were present, the distinctive title "the Theologian" by eminence.

[531]

He also wrote at Worms, for his private solace, not for publication, an

epic poem in sixty-one distichs (one hundred and twenty-two lines),

which celebrates the triumph of Christ and the defeat of his enemies

(Eck, Cochlaeus, Nausea, Pelargus) after their apparent and temporary

victory. [532] He was not a poetic genius, but by study he made up the

defects of nature. [533]

The Colloquy of Worms, after having hardly begun, was broken off in

January, 1541, to be resumed at the approaching Diet of Regensburg

(Ratisbon) in presence of the emperor on his return.

The Diet at Regensburg was opened April 5, 1541. Calvin appeared again

as a delegate of Strassburg and at the special request of Melanchthon,

but reluctantly and with little hope of success. He felt that he was

ill suited for such work, and would only waste time. [534] After long

and vexatious delays in the arrival of the deputies, the theological

Colloquy was opened and conducted on the Roman Catholic side by Dr.

John Eck, professor at Ingolstadt (who had disputed with Luther at

Leipzig and promulgated the papal bull of excommunication), Julius

Pflug, canon of Mainz (afterwards bishop of Naumburg), and John

Gropper, canon and professor of canon law at Cologne; on the Protestant

side by Melanchthon of Wittenberg, Bucer of Strassburg, and Pistorius

of Nidda in Hesse. Granvella presided in the name of the emperor;

Cardinal Contarini, an enlightened and well-disposed prelate, who was

inclined to evangelical views and favored a moderate reformation, acted

as legate of Pope Paul III., who sent, however, at the same time the

intolerant Bishop Morone as a special nuncio. Calvin could see no

difference between the two legates, except that Morone would like to

subdue the Protestants with bloodshed, Contarini without bloodshed. He

was urged to seek an interview with Contarini, but refused. He speaks

favorably of Pflug and Gropper, but contemptuously of Eck, the

stentorian mouthpiece of the papal party, whom he regarded as an

impudent babbler and vain sophist. [535] The French king was

represented by Du Veil, whom Calvin calls a "busy blockhead." There

were present also a good many bishops, the princes of the German

States, and delegates of the imperial cities. The emperor, in an

earnest speech, exhorted the divines, through an interpreter, to lay

aside private feelings and to study only the truth, the glory of God,

the good of the Church, and the peace of the empire.

The Colloquy passed slightly over the doctrines of original sin and the

slavery of the will, where the Protestants were protected by the

authority of St. Augustin. The Catholics agreed to the evangelical view

of justification by faith (without the Lutheran sola), and conceded the

eucharistic cup to the laity, but the parties split on the doctrine of

the power of the Church and the real presence. Calvin was especially

consulted on the last point, and gave a decided judgment in Latin

against transubstantiation, which he rejected as a scholastic fiction,

and against the adoration of the wafer which he declared to be

idolatrous. [536] He was displeased with the submissiveness of

Melanchthon and Bucer, although he did not doubt the sincerity of their

motives. He loved truth and consistency more than peace and unity.

"Philip," he wrote to Farel (May 12, 1541), [537] "and Bucer have drawn

up ambiguous and varnished formulas concerning transubstantiation, to

try whether they could satisfy the opposite party by giving them

nothing. [538] I cannot agree to this device, although they have

reasonable grounds for doing so; for they hope that in a short time

they would begin to see more clearly if the matter of doctrine be left

open; therefore they rather wish to skip over it, and do not dread that

equivocation (flexiloquation) than which nothing can be more hurtful. I

can assure you, however, that both are animated with the best

intentions, and have no other object in view than to promote the

kingdom of Christ; only in their method of proceeding they accommodate

themselves too much to the times .... These things I deplore in private

to yourself, my dear Farel; see, therefore, that they are not made

public. One thing I am thankful for, that there is no one who is

fighting now more earnestly against the wafer-god, [539] as he calls

it, than Brentz." [540] All the negotiations failed at last by the

combined opposition of the extreme men of both parties. [541]

The emperor closed the Diet on the 28th of July, and promised to use

his influence with the pope to convene a General Council for the

settlement of the theological questions. [542]

Calvin had left Regensburg as soon as he found a chance, about the

middle of June, much to the regret of Bucer and Melanchthon, who wished

to retain him. [543]

His sojourn there was embittered by the ravages of the pestilence in

Strassburg, which carried away his beloved deacon, Claude F�ray

(Feraeus), his friends Bedrotus and Capito, one of his boarders, Louis

de Richebourg (Claude's pupil), and the sons of Oecolampadius, Zwingli,

and Hedio. He was thrown into a state of extreme anxiety and

depression, which he revealed to Farel in a melancholy letter of March

29, 1541. [544] "My dear friend Claude, whom I singularly esteemed," he

writes, "has been carried off by the plague. Louis (de Richebourg)

followed three days afterwards. My house was in a state of sad

desolation. My brother (Antoine) had gone with Charles (de Richebourg)

to a neighboring village; my wife had betaken herself to my brother's;

and the youngest of Claude's scholars [probably Malherbe of Normandy]

is lying sick in bed. To the bitterness of grief there was added a very

anxious concern for those who survived. Day and night my wife is

constantly present to my thoughts, in need of advice, seeing that she

is deprived of her husband. [545] ... These events have produced in me

so much sadness that it seems as if they would utterly upset the mind

and depress the spirit. You cannot believe the grief which consumes me

on account of the death of my dear friend Claude." Then he pays a

touching tribute to F�ray, who had lived in his house and stuck closer

to him than a brother. But the most precious fruit of this sore

affliction is his letter of comfort to the distressed father of Louis

de Richebourg, which we shall quote in another connection. [546]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[528] Herminjard, VII, 198 sqq.; Opera, XI. 62 sqq.

[529] Herminjard, VII. 126-128; Opera, XI. Ep. 311, p. 220. Comp. Epp.

302, 307, 309. Calvin was not satisfied with the success."Quantum ad

fratres attinet," he wrote to Farel (July 6, 1541), "qui ob evangelium

laborant, non feci quod volui." Melanchthon incurred the displeasure of

the emperor for favoring the French Protestants. Herminjard, VII. 179,

note 16.

[530] "Nihil hic novi audimus, nisi quod Rex et Caesar, certatim in

pios saeviendo, idolum Romanum sibi demereri student." Herminjard, VI.

316, comp. note 8.

[531] Beza (Opera, vol. XXI. 130): "Calvinus ... Domino Philippo

Melanchthoni et Gaspari Crucigero beatae memoriae imprimis gratus, adeo

ut eum ille saepe 'Theologum' cognominaverit, hic vero privatum de

coena cum eo colloquium habuerit eiusque cognitam sententiam diserte

comprobarit." The Report of the Strassburger Kirchenordnung, II. 140,

as quoted by Stricker (p. 28, note), says: "Auff welchem Colloquio auch

Philippus [Melanchthon], Cruciger und andere furneme Theologi

Kundtschafft mit Calvino gemacht, dass sie ihn, per Excellentiam, 'den

Theologum' genannt." Papire Masson (in Vita Calv., as quoted by

Herminjard, VII. 26): "Wormatiam missus a civibus excercuit excellentis

ingenii vires tanto applausu theologorum Germania, ut judicio

Melanchthonis et reliquorum si ngulari privilegio Theologicognomen

adeptus sit." A theologian in that eminently theological age meant a

great deal more than a doctor of divinity nowadays.

[532] Epinicion ad Christum, in Opera, V. 423-428. Dyer (p. 106),

Kampschulte (I. 333), Henry (I. ch. XVIII), and even Merle d'Aubign�

(VII. 23), were mistaken in calling this Song of Victory the only poem

of Calvin (I. 333). He wrote also metrical versions of a number of

Psalms, and a lyric hymn to Christ. See Opera, VI. 212-224.

[533] As he says himself in the concluding lines:-- "Quod natura negat,

studii pius efficit ardor, Ut coner laudes, Christe, sonare tuas." He

gave the manuscript to a few friends, but did not permit it to be

printed till the court of Toulouse, four years afterwards, put the poem

in the list of forbidden books, and caused many inquiries after it.

Otherwise he would have allowed it to be forgotten. See his preface in

Opera, V. 422.

[534] "Invitissimus," he wrote to Farel (Feb. 19, 1541, in Herminjard,

VII. 26), "Ratisponam trahor: tum quia ipsam profectionem mihi

molestissimam prospicio fore: tum quod valde timeo ne diuturna mora

futura sit, ut solent saepe numero comitia ad decimum mensem producere:

tum quod minime idoneus mihi ad tales actiones videor, quidquid alii

judicent. Sed Deum sequar, qui novit cur mihi hanc necessitatem

imponat."

[535] See his judgment of these persons in the letter to Farel, April

24, 1541, in Herminjard, VII. 89. Of Eck he says: "Nemini dubium est

quin Davus ille [referring to the impudent slave in the ancient drama]

sua importunitate sit omnia turbaturus." In a letter of May 12 he

reports that Eck was struck by apoplexy (May 10), but recovered,

adding: "Nondum meretur mundus ista bestia liberari." (Herminjard, VII.

116 sq.) Eck died Feb. 16, 1543. Franz Burckhard, the Saxon Chancellor,

gave, in a letter to Pontanus, April 22, 1541, a similar estimate of

Pflug, Gropper, and Eck, and calls the last an "ebrius sophista, qui

pluris facit Bacchum quam ullam religionem " (Mel. Epist. IV. 185).

Mosellanus described Eck, as he appeared at the disputation in Leipzig,

as "a big-bodied, broad-shouldered, stout-hearted, and impudent man,

who looked more like a town-crier than a theologian." Melanchthon

thought that "no pious person could listen without disgust to the

sophisms and vain subtleties of that talking mountebank."

[536] Calvin to Farel. May 11, 1541, in Herminjard, VII. 111 sq.

[537] Herminjard, VII. 115.

[538] These formulas are printed in Melanchthon's Epistolae, IV.

262-264.

[539] Or, in-breaded God, impanatus Deus.

[540] The leading Lutheran divine of W�rttemberg, who attended the

Colloquy.

[541] The popular wit described the failure of the Colloquy in the

line: "Sie pfl�gen (Pflug, Plough), eggen (Eck), graben (Grobber),

putzen (Bucer or Butzer), und backen (Pistorius, whose German name was

Becker), und richten nichts aus." Corp. Reform. IV. 335.

[542] Calvin wrote to Viret from Strassburg, Aug. 13, 1541 (Herminjard,

VII. 218) "Finis comitiorum talis fuit qualem ego fore semper divinavi.

Tota enim pacificationis actio in fumum abiit, cum ad concilium

universale rejecta est, vel saltem nationale, si illud brevi obtineri

nequeat. Quid enim hoc aliud est quam frustrari?"

[543] Letter to Farel from Strassburg, early in July, 1541, in

Herminjard, VII. 176. He gives in this letter an account of the later

disputes at Regensburg on confession and absolution, the invocation of

saints, and the primacy of the pope.

[544] Herminjard, VII. 65 sqq.; Opera, XI. 174 sqq.

[545] "Mihi dies ac noctes animo obversatur uxor, consilii inops, quia

capite suo caret.'

[546] See below, Par. 92, p. 421.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 90. Calvin and Melanchthon.

The correspondence between Calvin (14 letters) and Melanchthon (8

letters), and several letters of Calvin to Farel from Strassburg and

Regensburg.

Henry, Vol. I. chs. XII. and XVII,--St�helin, I. 237-254.--Merle

D'Aubign�, bk. XI. ch. XIX. (vol. VII. 18-22, in Cates' translation).

One of the important advantages which his sojourn at Strassburg brought

to Calvin and to the evangelical Church was his friendship with

Melanchthon. It has a typical significance for the relationship of the

Lutheran and Reformed Confessions, and therefore deserves special

consideration.

They became first acquainted by correspondence through Bucer in

October, 1538. Melanchthon brought Calvin at once into a friendly

contact with Luther, who read with great pleasure Calvin's answer to

Sadolet (perhaps also his Institutes), and sent his salutations to him

at Strassburg. [547]

Luther never saw Calvin, and probably knew little or nothing of the

Reformation in Geneva. His own work was then nearly finished, and he

was longing for rest. It is very fortunate, however, that while his

mind was incurably poisoned against Zwingli and Z�rich, he never came

into hostile conflict with Calvin and Geneva, but sent him before his

departure a fraternal greeting from a respectful distance. His conduct

foreshadows the attitude of the Lutheran Church and theology towards

Calvin, who had the highest regard for Luther, and enjoyed in turn the

esteem of Lutheran divines in proportion as he was known.

Melanchthon was twelve years older than Calvin, as Luther was thirteen

years older than Melanchthon. Calvin, therefore, might have sustained

to Melanchthon the relation of a pupil to a teacher. He sought his

friendship, and he always treated him with reverential affection. [548]

In the dedication of his commentary on Daniel, he describes Melanchthon

as "a man who, on account of his incomparable skill in the most

excellent branches of knowledge, his piety, and other virtues, is

worthy of the admiration of all ages." But while Melanchthon was under

the overawing influence of the personality of Luther, the Reformer of

Geneva was quite independent of Melanchthon, and so far could meet him

on equal terms. Melanchthon, in sincere humility and utter freedom from

jealousy, even acknowledged the superiority of his younger friend as a

theologian and disciplinarian, and called him emphatically "the

theologian."

They had many points of contact. Both were men of uncommon precocity;

both excelled, above their contemporaries, in humanistic culture and

polished style; both devoted all their learning to the renovation of

the Church; they were equally conscientious and unselfish; they agreed

in the root of their piety, and in all essential doctrines; they

deplored the divisions in the Protestant ranks, and heartily desired

unity and harmony consistent with truth.

But they were differently constituted. Melanchthon was modest, gentle,

sensitive, feminine, irenic, elastic, temporizing, always open to new

light; Calvin, though by nature as modest, bashful, and irritable, was

in principle and conviction firm, unyielding, fearless of consequences,

and opposed to all compromises. They differed also on minor points of

doctrine and discipline. Melanchthon, from a conscientious love of

truth and peace, and from regard for the demands of practical common

sense, had independently changed his views on two important doctrines.

He abandoned the Lutheran dogma of a corporal and ubiquitous presence

in the eucharist, and approached the theory of Calvin; and he

substituted for his earlier fatalistic view of a divine foreordination

of evil as well as good the synergistic scheme which ascribes

conversion to the co-operation of three causes: the Spirit of God, the

Word of God, and the will of man. He conceded to man the freedom of

either accepting or rejecting the Gospel salvation, yet without giving

any merit to him for accepting the free gift; and on this point he

dissented from Calvin's more rigorous and logical system. [549]

The sincere and lasting friendship of these two great and good men is

therefore all the more remarkable and valuable as a testimony that a

deep spiritual union and harmony may co-exist with theological

differences. [550]

Calvin and Melanchthon met at Frankfurt, Worms, and Regensburg under

trying circumstances. Melanchthon felt discouraged about the prospects

of Protestantism. He deplored the confusion which followed the

abolition of the episcopal supervision, the want of discipline, the

rapacity of the princes, the bigotry of the theologians. He had allowed

himself, with Luther and Bucer, to give his conditional assent to the

scandalous bigamy of Philip of Hesse (May, 1540), which was the darkest

blot in the history of the German Reformation, and worse than the

successive polygamy of Henry VIII. His conscience was so much troubled

about his own weakness that, at Weimar, on his way to the Colloquies at

Hagenau and Worms, he was brought to the brink of the grave, and would

have died if Luther had not prayed him out of the jaws of the king of

terrors. What a contrast between Melanchthon at Worms in 1540, and

Luther at Worms in 1521! At the Diet of Regensburg, in 1541, he felt no

better. His son was sick, and he dreamed that he had died. He read

disaster and war in the stars. His letters to intimate friends are full

of grief and anxious forebodings. "I am devoured by a desire for a

better life," he wrote to one of them. He was oppressed by a sense of

the responsibility that rested upon him as the spokesman and leader of

the Reformation in the declining years of Luther, who had been formerly

his inspiration and strength. It is natural that in this condition of

mind he looked for a new support, and this he found in Calvin. We can

thus easily understand his wish to die in his arms. But Calvin himself,

though more calm and composed in regard to public affairs, was, as we

have seen, deeply distressed at Regensburg by news of the ravages of

the pestilence among his friends at Strassburg, besides being harassed

by multiplying petitions to return to Geneva. These troubles and

afflictions brought their hearts nearer to each other.

In their first personal interview at Frankfurt on the Main, in

February, 1539, they at once became intimate, and freely discussed the

burning questions of the day, relating to doctrine, discipline, and

worship. [551]

As to doctrine, Calvin had previously sent to Melanchthon a summary, in

twelve articles, on the crucial topic of the real presence. To these

Melanchthon assented without dispute, [552] but confessed that he had

no hope of satisfying those who obstinately insisted on a more gross

and palpable presence. [553] Yet he was anxious that the present

agreement, such as it was, might be cherished until at length the Lord

shall lead both sides into the unity of his own truth. This is no doubt

the reason why he himself refrained from such a full and unequivocal

public expression of his own view as might lead to a rupture in the

Lutheran Church. He went as far as he deemed it prudent by modifying

the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession, and omitting the

anti-Zwinglian clause (1540).

As to ecclesiastical discipline, Melanchthon deplored the want of it in

Germany, but could see no prospect of improvement, till the people

would learn to distinguish the yoke of Christ from the papal tyranny.

As to worship, Calvin frankly expressed his objection to many

ceremonies, which seemed to him to border too closely on Judaism. [554]

He was opposed to chanting in Latin, to pictures and candles in

churches, to exorcism in baptism, and the like. Melanchthon was

reluctant to discuss this point, but admitted that there was an excess

of trifling or unnecessary Roman Catholic rites retained in deference

to the judgment of the Canonists, and expressed the hope that some of

them would be abandoned by degrees.

After the Colloquy at Regensburg the two Reformers saw each other no

more, but continued to correspond as far as their time and multiplicity

of duties would permit. The correspondence of friendship is apt to

diminish with the increase of age and cares. Several letters are

preserved, and are most creditable to both parties. [555]

The first letter of Calvin after that Colloquy, is dated Feb. 16, 1543,

and is a lengthy answer to a message from Melanchthon. [556]

"You see," he writes, "to what a lazy fellow you have intrusted your

letter. It was full four months before he delivered it to me, and then

crushed and rumpled with much rough usage. But although it has reached

me somewhat late, I set a great value upon the acquisition .... Would,

indeed, as you observe, that we could oftener converse together were it

only by letters. To you that would be no advantage; but to me, nothing

in this world could be more desirable than to take solace in the mild

and gentle spirit of your correspondence. You can scarce believe with

what a load of business I am here burdened and incessantly hurried

along; but in the midst of these distractions there are two things

which most of all annoy me. My chief regret is, that there does not

appear to be the amount of fruit that one may reasonably expect from

the labor bestowed; the other is, because I am so far removed from

yourself and a few others, and therefore am deprived of that sort of

comfort and consolation which would prove a special help to me.

"But since we cannot have even so much at our own choice, that each at

his own discretion might pick out the corner of the vineyard where he

might serve Christ, we must remain at that post which He Himself has

allotted to each. This comfort we have at least, of which no far

distant separation can deprive us,--I mean, that resting content with

this fellowship which Christ has consecrated with his own blood, and

has also confirmed and sealed by his blessed Spirit in our

hearts,--while we live on the earth, we may cheer each other with that

blessed hope to which your letter calls us that in heaven above we

shall dwell forever where we shall rejoice in love and in continuance

of our friendship." [557]

There can be no nobler expression of Christian friendship.

In the same letter Calvin informs Melanchthon that he had dedicated to

him his "Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine on the Slavery and

Deliverance of the Human Will against the Calumnies of Albert Pighius,"

which he had urged Calvin to write, and which appeared in February,

1543. [558] After some modest account of his labors in Geneva, and

judicious reflections on the condition of the Church in Germany, he

thus concludes: --

"Adieu, O man of most eminent accomplishments, and ever to be

remembered by me and honored in the Lord! May the Lord long preserve

you in safety to the glory of his name and the edification of the

Church. I wonder what can be the reason why you keep your Daniel a

sealed book at home. [559] Neither can I suffer myself quietly, without

remonstrance, to be deprived of the benefit of its perusal. I beg you

to salute Dr. Martin reverently in my name. We have here with us at

present Bernardino of Siena, an eminent and excellent man, who has

occasioned no little stir in Italy by his secession. He has requested

me that I would greet you in his name. Once more adieu, along with your

family, whom may the Lord continually preserve."

On the 11th of May following, Melanchthon thanked Calvin for the

dedication, saying: [560] I am much affected by your kindness, and I

thank you that you have been pleased to give evidence of your love for

me to all the world, by placing my name at the beginning of your

remarkable book, where all the world will see it." He gives due praise

to the force and eloquence with which he refuted Pighius, and,

confessing his own inferiority as a writer, encourages him to continue

to exercise his splendid talents for the edification and encouragement

of the Church. Yet, while inferior as a logician and polemic, he, after

all, had a deeper insight into the mystery of predestination and free

will, although unable to solve it. He gently hints to his friend that

he looked too much to one side of the problem of divine sovereignty and

human liberty, and says in substance: --

"As regards the question treated in your book, the question of

predestination, I had in T�bingen a learned friend, Franciscus

Stadianus, who used to say, I hold both to be true that all things

happen according to divine foreordination, and yet according to their

own laws, although he could not harmonize the two. I maintain the

proposition that God is not the author of sin, and therefore cannot

will it. David was by his own will carried into transgression. [561] He

might have retained the Holy Spirit. In this conflict there is some

margin for free will .... Let us accuse our own will if we fall, and

not find the cause in God. He will help and aid those who fight in

earnest. Movnon qevlhson, says Basilius, kai; qeo;" proapanta'. God

promises and gives help to those who are willing to receive it. So says

the Word of God, and in this let us abide. I am far from prescribing to

you, the most learned and experienced man in all things that belong to

piety. I know that in general you agree with my view. I only suggest

that this mode of expression is better adapted for practical use."

[562]

In a letter to Camerarius, 1552, Melanchthon expresses his

dissatisfaction with the manner in which Calvin emphasized the doctrine

of predestination, and attempted to force the Swiss churches to accept

it in the Consensus Genevensis. [563]

Calvin made another attempt in 1554 to gain him to his view, but in

vain. [564] On one point, however, he could agree to a certain

modification; for he laid stress on the spontaneity of the will, and

rejected Luther's paradoxes, and his comparison of the natural man to a

dead statue.

It is greatly to the credit of Calvin that, notwithstanding his

sensitiveness and intolerance against the opponents of his favorite

dogma, he respected the judgment of the most eminent Lutheran divine,

and gave signal proof of it by publishing a French translation of the

improved edition of Melanchthon's Theological Commonplaces in 1546,

with a commendatory preface of his own, [565] in which he says that the

book was a brief summary of all things necessary for a Christian to

know on the way of salvation, stated in the simplest manner by the

profoundly learned author. He does not conceal the difference of views

on the subject of free will, and says that Melanchthon seems to concede

to man some share in his salvation; yet in such a manner that God's

grace is not in any way diminished, and no ground is left to us for

boasting.

This is the only example of a Reformer republishing and recommending

the work of another Reformer, which was the only formidable rival of

his own chief work on the same subject (the Institutes), and differed

from it in several points. [566]

The revival of the unfortunate eucharistic controversy by Luther in

1545, and the equally unfortunate controversy caused by the imperial

Interim in 1548, tried the friendship of the Reformers to the

uttermost. Calvin respectfully, yet frankly, expressed his regret at

the indecision and want of courage displayed by Melanchthon from fear

of Luther and love of peace.

When Luther came out a year before his death with his most violent and

abusive book against the "Sacramentarians," [567] which deeply grieved

Melanchthon and roused the just indignation of the Zwinglians, Calvin

wrote to Melanchthon (June 28, 1545): [568] --

"Would that the fellow-feeling which enables me to condole with you,

and to sympathize in your heaviness, might also impart the power in

some degree at least to lighten your sorrow. If the matter stands as

the Z�richers say it does, then they have just occasion for their

writing .... Your Pericles allows himself to be carried beyond all

bounds with his love of thunder, especially seeing that his own cause

is by no means the better of the two .... We all of us acknowledge that

we are much indebted to him. But in the Church we always must be upon

our guard, lest we pay too great a deference to men. It is all over

with her when a single individual has more authority than all the rest

.... Where there is so much division and separation as we now see, it

is indeed no easy matter to still the troubled waters, and bring about

composure .... You will say he [Luther] has a vehement disposition and

ungovernable impetuosity; as if that very vehemence did not break forth

with all the greater violence when all show themselves alike indulgent

to him, and allow him to have his way unquestioned. If this specimen of

overbearing tyranny has sprung forth already as the early blossom in

the springtide of a reviving Church, what must we expect in a short

time, when affairs have fallen into a far worse condition? Let us,

therefore, bewail the calamity of the Church and not devour our grief

in silence, but venture boldly to groan for freedom .... You have

studiously endeavored, by your kindly method of instruction, to recall

the minds of men from strife and contention. I applaud your prudence

and moderation. But while you dread, as you would some hidden rock, to

meddle with this question from fear of giving offence, you are leaving

in perplexity and suspense very many persons who require from you

somewhat of a more certain sound, on which they can repose .... Perhaps

it is now the will of God to open the way for a full and satisfactory

declaration of your own mind, that those who look up to your authority

may not be brought to a stand, and kept in a state of perpetual doubt

and hesitation ....

"In the mean time let us run the race set before us with deliberate

courage. I return you very many thanks for your reply, and for the

extraordinary kindness which Claude assures me had been shown to him by

you. [569] I can form a conjecture what you would have been to myself,

from your having given so kind and courteous a reception to my friend.

I do not cease to offer my chief thanks to God, who has vouchsafed to

us that agreement in opinion upon the whole of that question [on the

real presence]; for although there is a slight difference in certain

particulars, we are very well agreed upon the general question itself."

When after the defeat of the Protestants in the Smalkaldian War,

Melanchthon accepted the Leipzig Interim with the humiliating condition

of conformity to the Roman ritual, which the German emperor imposed

upon them, Calvin was still more dissatisfied with his old friend. He

sided, in this case, with the Lutheran non-conformists who, under the

lead of Matthias Flacius, resisted the Interim, and were put under the

ban of the empire. He wrote to Melanchthon, June 18, 1550, the

following letter of remonstrance: [570] --

"The ancient satirist [Juvenal, I. 79] once said, --

'Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum.'

"It is at present far otherwise with me. So little does my present

grief aid me in speaking, that it rather renders me almost entirely

speechless .... I would have you suppose me to be groaning rather than

speaking. It is too well known, from their mocking and jests, how much

the enemies of Christ were rejoicing over your contests with the

theologians of Magdeburg. [571] ... If no blame attaches to you in this

matter, my dear Philip, it would be but the dictate of prudence and

justice to devise means of curing, or at least mitigating, the evil.

Yet, forgive me if I do not consider you altogether free from blame

.... In openly admonishing you, I am discharging the duty of a true

friend; and if I employ a little more severity than usual, do not think

that it is owing to any diminution of my old affection and esteem for

you .... I know that nothing gives you greater pleasure than open

candor .... This is the sum of your defence: that, provided purity of

doctrine be retained, externals should not be pertinaciously contended

for .... But you extend the distinction of non-essentials too far. You

are aware that the Papists have corrupted the worship of God in a

thousand ways. Several of those things which you consider indifferent

are obviously repugnant to the Word of God .... You ought not to have

made such large concessions to the Papists .... At the time when

circumcision was yet lawful, do you not see that Paul, because crafty

and malicious fowlers were laying snares for the liberty of believers,

pertinaciously refused to concede to them a ceremony at the first

instituted by God? He boasts that he did not yield to them,--no, not

for an hour,--that the truth of God might remain intact among the

Gentiles (Gal. 2:5) .... I remind you of what I once said to you, that

we consider our ink too precious if we hesitate to bear testimony in

writing to those things which so many of the flock are daily sealing

with their blood .... The trepidation of a general is more dishonorable

than the flight of a whole herd of private soldiers .... You alone, by

only giving way a little, will cause more complaints and sighs than

would a hundred ordinary individuals by open desertion. And, although I

am fully persuaded that the fear of death never compelled you in the

very least to swerve from the right path, yet I am apprehensive that it

is just possible that another species of fear may have proved too much

for your courage. For I know how much you are horrified at the charge

of rude severity. But we should remember that reputation must not be

accounted by the servants of Christ as of more value than life. We are

no better than Paul was, who remained fearlessly on his way through

'evil and good report.' ... You know why I am so vehement. I had rather

die with you a hundred times than see you survive the doctrines

surrendered by you ....

"Pardon me for loading your breast with these miserable though

ineffectual groans. Adieu, most illustrious sir, and ever worthy of my

hearty regard. May the Lord continue to guide you by his Spirit, and

sustain you by his might. May his protection guard you. Amen."

We have here a repetition of the scene between Paul and Peter at

Antioch, concerning the rite of circumcision; and while we admire the

frankness and boldness of Paul and Calvin in rebuking an elder brother,

and standing up for principle, we must also admire the meekness and

humility of Peter and Melanchthon in bearing the censure.

Melanchthon himself, after a brief interruption, reopened the

correspondence in the old friendly spirit, during the disturbances of

war between Elector Maurice and the Emperor Charles, which made an end

of the controversy about the Adiaphora.

"How often," wrote Melanchthon, Oct. 1, 1552, [572] "would I have

written to you, reverend sir and dearest brother, if I could find more

trustworthy letter-carriers. For I would like to converse with you

about many most important matters, because I esteem your judgment very

highly and know the candor and purity of your soul. [573] I am now

living as in a wasp's nest; [574] but perhaps I shall soon be called

from this mortal life to a brighter companionship in heaven. If I live

longer, I have to expect new exiles; if so, I am determined to turn to

you. The studies are now broken up by pestilence and war. How often do

I mourn and sigh over the causes of this fury among princes."

In a lengthy and interesting answer Calvin says: [575] "Nothing could

have come to me more seasonably at this time than your letter, which I

received two months after its despatch." [576] He assures him that it

was no little consolation to him in his sore trials at Geneva to be

assured of the continuance of his affection, which, he was told, had

been interrupted by the letter of remonstrance above referred to. "I

have learned the more gladly that our friendship remains safe, which

assuredly, as it grew out of a heartfelt love of piety, ought to remain

forever sacred and inviolable."

In the unfortunate affair of Servetus, Melanchthon fully approved

Calvin's conduct (1554). [577] But during the eucharistic controversy

excited by Westphal, he kept an ominous silence, which produced a

coolness between them. In a letter of Aug. 3, 1557, Calvin complains

that for three years he had not heard from him, but expresses

satisfaction that he still entertained the same affection, and closes

with the wish that he maybe permitted "to enjoy on earth a most

delightful interview with you, and feel some alleviation of my grief by

deploring along with you the evils which we cannot remedy." [578]

That wish was not granted. In a letter of Nov. 19, 1558, [579] he gives

him, while still suffering from a quartan ague, a minute account of his

malady, of the remedies of the doctors, of the formidable coalition of

the kings of France and Spain against Geneva, and concludes with these

words:

"Let us cultivate with sincerity a fraternal affection towards each

other, the ties of which no wiles of the devil shall ever burst asunder

.... By no slight shall my mind ever be alienated from that holy

friendship and respect which I have vowed to you .... Farewell, most

illustrious light and distinguished doctor of the Church. May the Lord

always govern you by his Spirit, preserve you long in safety, increase

your store of blessings. In your tum, diligently commend us to the

protection of God, as you see us exposed to the jaws of the wolf. My

colleagues and an innumerable crowd of pious men salute you."

On the 19th of April, 1560, Melanchthon was delivered from "the fury of

the theologians" and all his troubles. A year after his death Calvin,

who had to fight the battle of faith four years longer, during the

renewed fury of the eucharistic controversy with the fanatical

Heshusius, addressed this touching appeal to his sainted friend in

heaven: --

"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 shall be

gathered with thee to that blessed rest. A hundred times, when worn out

with labors and oppressed with so many troubles, didst thou repose thy

head familiarly on my breast and say, 'Would that I could die in this

bosom!' Since then I have a thousand times wished that it had been

granted to us to live together; for certainly thou wouldst thus have

had more courage for the inevitable contest, and been stronger to

despise envy, and to count as nothing all accusations. In this manner,

also, the malice of many would have been restrained who, from thy

gentleness which they call weakness, gathered audacity for their

attacks." [580]

Who, in view of this friendship which was stronger than death, can

charge Calvin with want of heart and tender affection?

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[547] In a letter to Bucer, Oct. 14, 1539: "Salutabis Dn. Joannem

Sturmium et Joannem Calvinum reverenter, quorum libellos cum singulari

voluptate legi. Sadoleto optarem ut crederet Deum esse creatorem

hominum extra Italiam." De Wette, V. 211; and Herminjard, VI. 73 (comp.

note 6). Calvin refers to this compliment in a letter to Farel, Nov.

20, 1539 (in Herminjard, VI. 130). He also quotes, from a lost letter

of Melanchthon, the words: "Lutherus et Pomeranus [Bugenhagen] Calvinum

et Sturmium jusserunt salutari. Calvinus magnam gratiam iniit." (Ibid.

p. 131.) Luther is reported to have expressed also a favorable judgment

on Calvin's tract on the Lord's Supper, published at Strassburg, 1541,

in French. See vol. VI. 660.

[548] In a letter of 11 Cal. Maii, 1544 (Opera, XI. 698), he addresses

him as "ornatissime vir, fidelissime Christi minister, et amice mihi

semper honorande. Dominus te semper spiritu suo regat, diuque nobis et

ecclesiae suae incolumem conservet."

[549] On these changes see the biographies of Melanchthon by Galle,

Carl Schmidt, and Herrlinger; Gieseler's Church History; and Schaff's

Creeds of Christendom, I. 261 sqq.

[550] Merle d'Aubign� (VII. 19) thinks that "esteem was uppermost in

Melanchthon, and affection in Calvin;" that "on the one side the

friendship was founded more on reflection (r�fl�chi), on the other it

was more spontaneous;" but "on both sides it was the product of their

noble and beautiful qualities."

[551] Calvin wrote to Farel, after his return to Strassburg, at the end

of March, 1539: "Cum Philippo fuit mihi multis de rebus colloquium."

[552] "Sine controversia ipse assentitur." Calvin adds: "de ipso (Mel.)

nihil dubita, quin penitus nobiscum sentiat." Herminjard, V. 269. In a

previous letter to Farel, October, 1538 (in Herminjard, V. 146 and note

24), he informed Farel that he had sent twelve articles of agreement

with a letter to Melanchthon from Strassburg. The articles are lost,

but may yet be recovered.

[553] "Sed fatetur, esse in illa parte nonnullos qui crassius aliquid

requirant: atque id tanta pervicacia, ne dicam tyrannide, ut diu in

periculo fuerit, quod eum videbant a suo sensu nonnihil alienum."

Herminjard, V. 269. Those men who outluthered Luther, were not

satisfied with the words of institution, simpliciter, but demanded such

scholastic terms as substantialiter, essentialiter, corporaliter,

quantitative, ubiquitaliter, carnaliter. When Matthaeus Zell, preacher

in the Minster at Strassburg, told Melanchthon (in 1536) that he

abhorred these terms as diabolical additions, Melanchthon assented. See

Roehrich Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evang. Kirche des

Elsasses, III. 133, as quoted by St�helin, I. 169.

[554] Letter to Farel, April, 1539 (Herminjard, V. 292): "Nuper

Philippo in faciem non dissimulavi, quin mihi admodum illa ceremoniarum

copia displiceret. Videri enim mihi formam quam tenent non procul esse

a Judaismo."

[555] In Calvin's Opera there are fourteen letters of his to

Melanchthon.

[556] Letters of John Calvin by Dr. Jules Bonnet, translated from the

original Latin and French by Constable, vol. I. 349. In Calvin's Opera,

XI. 515. The original copy is in Simler's Collection in the City

Library of Z�rich.

[557] "Hoc saltem nobis nullo regionum longinquitas eripiet, quin hac

conjunctione, quam Christus sanguine suo consecratam Spiritu quoque suo

in cordibus nostris sanxit, contenti, dum vivimus in terra sustineamur

beato illa spe, ad quam nos literae tum revocant:in coelis nos simul

perpetuo victuros, ubi amore amicitiaque nostra fruemur."

[558] "Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrina de servitute et

liberations humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Pighii

Campensis. Opera, VI. 225-404.

[559] Melanchthon's Commentary on Daniel appeared in the same year at

Wittenberg and Leipzig.

[560] Opera, vol. XI. 539-542. Also in Corp. Reform. V. 107.

[561] This is a direct contradiction to the assertion in the first

edition of his Loci (1521), and his commentary on the Romans (1524),

that God does all things not permissive, but potenter, and that he

foreordained and wrought the adultery of David, and the treason of

Judas, as well as the vocation of Paul. He so understood the Epistle to

the Romans. In December, 1525, Luther expressed the same views in his

book against Erasmus, which he never recalled, but pronounced one of

his best books (1537).

[562] "Ad usum accommodata."

[563] Mel. Opera, in the Corpus Reformatorum, VII. 390.

[564] Opera, XV. 215-217. Dated 6 Calendas Septembris.

[565] The preface is reprinted in his Opera, vol. IX. 847-850.

[566] Henry justly remarks (I. 376): "So free were these rare men of

ambition, love of glory, and littleness of spirit, that they thought of

nothing but the salvation of the world. Calvin wanted France to love

Melanchthon as much as he did, and to be converted to Christ through

him." Comp. St�helin, I. 244.

[567] His "Short Confession on the Lord's Supper." See this History,

vol. VI. 654 sqq.

[568] Bonnet-Constable, I. 442-444; Opera, XII. 98-100.

[569] Claude de Senarcleus, a friend of Calvin, returned from

Wittenberg with an album full of pious inscriptions of leading Lutheran

divines, which is preserved in the Town Library of Geneva. Bonnet, l.c.

I. 444.

[570] Opera, XIII. 593 sqq.

[571] The zealous Lutherans at Magdeburg which stood out a long siege

by the army of the Elector Maurice.

[572] Opera, XIV. 368; Corp. Ref., VII. 1085.

[573] "Quia et judicium tuum magni facio,et scio integritatem animi et

candorem in te summum esse."

[574] hosper onos en sphekiais.

[575] Bonnet-Constable, II. Opera, XIV. 416-418.

[576] Nowadays a letter from Wittenberg will reach Geneva in less than

two days.

[577] See below, � 139, pp. 706 sqq.

[578] Opera, XVI. 556-558.

[579] Opera, XVII. 384-386.

[580] Opera, IX. 461.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 91. Calvin and Sadolet. The Vindication of the Reformation.

Sadoleti: Epistola ad Genevenses (Cal. Apr., i.e. March 18,

1539).--Calvini: Responsio ad Sadoletum (Sept. 1, 1539), Argentorati

ap. Wendelinum Richelium excusa. In Calv. Opera, vol. V. 385-416.

Calvin translated it into French, 1540 (republished at Geneva, 1860).

English translation of both by Henry Beveridge in John Calvin's Tracts

relate to the Reformation, Edinburgh (Calvin Translation Society),

1844, pp. 3-68.--Beza, Vita C., Opera, XXI. 129.

Henry, Vol. I. ch. XI.--Dyer, 102 sq.--St�helin, I.

291-304.--Kampschulte, I. 354 sq. (only a brief but important

notice).--Merle D'Aubign�, bk. XI. ch. XVI., and vol. VI. 570-594.

"Another evil, of a more dangerous kind, arose in the year 1539, and

was at once extinguished by the diligence of Calvin. The bishop of

Carpentras, at that time, was James Sadolet, a man of great eloquence,

but he perverted it chiefly in suppressing the light of truth. He had

been appointed a cardinal for no other reason than in order that his

moral respectability might serve to put a kind of gloss on false

religion. Observing his opportunity in the circumstances which had

occurred, and thinking that he would easily ensnare the flock when

deprived of its distinguished pastors, he sent, under the pretext of

neighborhood (for the city of Carpentras is in Dauphiny, which again

bounds on Savoy), a letter to his so-styled 'most Beloved Senate,

Council, and People of Geneva,' omitting nothing which might tend to

bring them both into the lap of the Romish Harlot, [581] There was

nobody at that time in Geneva capable of writing an answer, and it is,

therefore, not unlikely, that, had the letter not been written in a

foreign tongue (Latin), it would, in the existing state of affairs,

have done great mischief to the city. But Calvin, having read it at

Strasbourg, forgot all his injuries, and forthwith answered it with so

much truth and eloquence, that Sadolet immediately gave up the whole

affair as desperate."

This is Beza's account of that important and interesting controversy

which occurred in the German period of Calvin's life, and left a

permanent impression on history.

The interregnum in Geneva furnished an excellent opportunity for Pierre

de la Baume, who had been made a cardinal, to recover his lost

bishopric. In this respect he only followed the example of dispossessed

princes. He brought about, with the help of the pope, a consultation of

the bishops of the neighboring dioceses of Lyons, Vienne, Lausanne,

Besan�on, Turin, Langres, and Carpentras. The meeting was held at Lyons

under the presidency of the cardinal of Tournon, then archbishop of

Lyons, and known as a bigoted persecutor of the Waldenses. Jean

Philippe, the chief author of the banishment of Calvin, aided in the

scheme. The bishop of Carpentras, a town on the borders of Savoy, was

selected for the execution. A better choice could not have been made.

Jacopo Sadoleto (born at Modena, 1477, died at Rome, 1547) was one of

the secretaries of Pope Leo X., bishop of Carpentras in Dauphiny since

1517, secretary of Clement VII. in 1523, a cardinal since 1536. He was

frequently employed in diplomatic peace negotiations between the pope,

the king of France, and the emperor of Germany. He had a high

reputation as a scholar, a poet, and a gentleman of irreproachable

character and devout piety. He best represents the Italian Renaissance

in its leaning towards a moderate semi-evangelical reform within the

Catholic Church. He was an admirer of Erasmus and Melanchthon, and one

of the founders of the Oratory at Rome for purposes of mutual

edification. He acted, like Contarini, as a mediator between the Roman

and Protestant parties, but did not please either. In his commentary on

the Epistle to the Romans, he expressed opinions on divine grace and

free-will which gave offence in Rome and in Spain. His colleague,

Cardinal Bembo, warned him against the study of St. Paul, lest it might

spoil his classical style. Sadolet prevented the spread of Calvinism in

his diocese, but was opposed to violent persecution. He kindly received

the fugitive Waldenses after the terrible massacre of M�rindol and

Cabri�res, in 1545, and besought the clemency of Francis I. in their

behalf. He was grieved and disgusted with the nepotism of Pope Paul

III., and declined the appointment to preside over the Council of Trent

as papal delegate, on the score of extreme poverty.

This highly respectable dignitary of the papal hierarchy made a very

able and earnest effort to win back the orphan Church of Geneva to the

sheepfold of Rome. He thereby came involuntarily into a literary

conflict with Calvin, in which he was utterly defeated. Fresh from a

visit to the pope, he addressed a letter of some twenty or more octavo

pages "to his dearly beloved Brethren, the Magistrates, Senate, and

Citizens of Geneva." It is written in elegant Latin, and with

persuasive eloquence, of which he was a consummate master.

He assumes the air of authority as a cardinal and papal legate, and

begins with an apostolic greeting: "Very dear Brethren in

Christ,--Peace to you and with us, that is, with the Catholic Church,

the mother of all, both of us and you, love and concord from God, the

Father Almighty, and from his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, together with

the Holy Spirit, perfect Unity in Trinity; to whom be praise and

dominion for ever and ever." He flatters the Genevese by praising their

noble city, the order and form of their republic, the worth of their

citizens, and especially their "hospitality to strangers and

foreigners," but he casts suspicion on the character and motives of the

Reformers. This uncharitable and ungentlemanly reflection mars the

beauty and dignity of his address, and weakened its effect upon the

citizens of Geneva who, whatever were their religious views, had no

doubt about the honesty and earnestness of Farel, Viret, and Calvin.

After this introduction Sadolet gives a very plausible exposition of

the principle of the Catholic doctrines, but ignores the Bible. He

admits that man is saved by faith alone, but adds the necessity of good

works. He then asks the Genevese to decide, "Whether it be more

expedient for their salvation to believe and follow what the Catholic

Church has approved with general consent for more than fifteen hundred

years, or innovations introduced within these twenty-five years by

crafty men." He then adduces the stock arguments of antiquity,

universality, unity, and inerrancy, while the Protestants were already

broken up into warring sects a manifest indication of falsehood. For

"truth," he says, "is always one, while error is varied and multiform;

that which is straight is simple, that which is crooked has many turns.

Can any one who confesses Christ, fail to perceive that such teaching

of the holy Church is the proper work of Satan, and not of God? What

does God demand of us? What does Christ enjoin? That we be all one in

him."

He closes with an earnest exhortation, and assures the Genevese:

"Whatever I possibly can do, although it is very little, still if I

have in me any talent, skill, authority, industry, I offer them all to

you and your interests, and will regard it as a great favor to myself

should you be able to reap any fruit and advantage from my labor and

assistance in things human and divine."

The Council of Geneva politely acknowledged the receipt of the

cardinal's letter with thanks for the compliments paid to the Genevese,

and promised a full reply in due time. This was March 27. On the next

day a number of citizens, under the lead of Fran�ois Chamois, entered a

protest against the ordinance by which the Confession of Faith had been

adopted, July 29, 1537, and asked to be released from the oath. The

Romanists took courage. No one could be found in Geneva who was able to

answer the cardinal's letter, and silence might be construed into

consent.

Calvin received a copy of the appeal through Sulzer, a minister of

Bern, wrote an answer of more than twice its length in six days, and

despatched it to Geneva in time to neutralize the mischief (Sept. 1).

Though not mentioned by name, he was indirectly assailed by the

cardinal as the chief among those who had been denounced as misleaders

and disturbers of the peace of Geneva. He therefore felt it his duty to

take up the pen in defence of the Reformation.

He begins by paying a just tribute to the cardinal for his excellent

learning and admirable eloquence, which raised him to a place among the

first scholars of the age. Nor did he impeach his motives. "I will give

you credit," he says, "for having written to the Genevese with the

purest intention as becomes one of your learning, prudence, and

gravity, and for having in good faith advised them to the course which

you believed to be to their interest and safety." He was, therefore,

reluctant to oppose him, and he did so only under an imperative sense

of duty. We let him speak for himself. [582]

"I profess to be one of those whom, with so much enmity, you assail and

stigmatize. For though religion was already established, and the form

of the Church corrected, before I was invited to Geneva, yet having not

only approved by my suffrage, but studied as much as in me lay to

preserve and confirm what had been done by Viret and Farel, I cannot

separate my case from theirs. Still, if you had attacked me in my

private character, I could easily have forgiven the attack in

consideration of your learning, and in honor of letters. But when I see

that my ministry, which I feel assured is supported and sanctioned by a

call from God, is wounded through my side, it would be perfidy, not

patience, were I here to be silent and connive.

"In that Church I have held the office, first of Doctor, and then of

Pastor. In my own right I maintain that, in undertaking these offices,

I had a legitimate vocation. How faithfully and religiously I have

performed them, there is no occasion for now showing at length.

Perspicuity, erudition, prudence, ability, or even industry, I will not

claim for myself, but that I certainly labored with the sincerity which

became me in the work of the Lord, I can in conscience appeal to

Christ, my Judge, and all his angels, while all good men bear clear

testimony in my favor. This ministry, therefore, when it shall appear

to have been of God (as it certainly shall appear after the cause has

been heard), were I in silence to allow you to tear and defame, who

would not condemn such silence as treachery ? Every person, therefore,

now sees that the strongest obligations of duty--obligations which I

cannot evade--constrain me to meet your accusations, if I would not

with manifest perfidy desert and betray a cause with which the Lord has

intrusted me. For though I am for the present relieved of the charge of

the Church of Geneva, that circumstance ought not to prevent me from

embracing it with paternal affection--God, when he gave it to me in

charge, having bound me to be faithful forever."

He repels with modest dignity the frivolous charge of having embraced

the cause of the Reformation from disappointed ambition.

"I am unwilling to speak of myself, but since you do not permit me to

be altogether silent, I will say what I can consistently with modesty.

Had I wished to consult my own interest, I would never have left your

party. I will not, indeed, boast that there the road to preferment had

been easy to me. I never desired it, and I could never bring my mind to

catch at it; although I certainly know not a few of my own age who have

crept up to some eminence--among them some whom I might have equalled,

and others outstripped. This only I will be contented to say, it would

not have been difficult for me to reach the summit of my wishes, viz.,

the enjoyment of literary ease with something of a free and honorable

station. Therefore, I have no fear that any one not possessed of

shameless effrontery will object to me, that out of the kingdom of the

pope I sought for any personal advantage which was not there ready to

my hand."

The Reformer follows the cardinal's letter step by step, and defeats

him at every point. He answers his assertions with facts and arguments.

He destroys, like a cobweb, his beautiful picture of an ideal

Catholicism by a description of the actual papacy of those days, with

its abuses and corruptions, which were the real cause of the

Reformation. He gives a very dark account, indeed, but it is fully

confirmed by what is authentically known of the lives of such popes as

Alexander VI. and Leo X., by the invectives of Savonarola, by the

observations of Erasmus and Luther on their experience in Rome, by such

impartial witnesses as Machiavelli, who says that religion was almost

destroyed in Italy owing to the bad example set by the popes, and even

by the testimony of an exceptionally good and pious pope, Adrian VI.,

who, with all his abhorrence of the Lutheran heresy, officially

confessed the absolute necessity of a moral reform in the head and

members of the hierarchy.

"We deny not," says Calvin, "that those over whom you preside are

churches of Christ, but we maintain that the Roman pontiff, with his

whole herd of pseudo-bishops, who have seized upon the pastor's office,

are ravening wolves, whose only study has hitherto been to scatter and

trample upon the kingdom of Christ, filling it with ruin and

devastation. Nor are we the first to make the complaint. With what

vehemence does Bernard thunder against Eugenius and all the bishops of

his own age? Yet how much more tolerable was its condition than now?

"For iniquity has reached its height, and now those shadowy prelates,

by whom you think the Church stands or perishes, and by whom we say

that she has been cruelly torn and mutilated, and brought to the very

brink of destruction, can bear neither their vices nor the cure of

them. Destroyed the Church would have been, had not God, with singular

goodness, prevented. For in all places where the tyranny of the Roman

pontiff prevails, you scarcely see as many stray and tattered vestiges

as will enable you to perceive that these Churches he half buried. Nor

should you think this absurd, since Paul tells you that Antichrist

would have his seat in no other place than in the midst of God's

sanctuary (2 Thess. 2:4) ....

"But whatever the character of the men, still, you say, it is written,

'What they tell you, do.' No doubt, if they sit in the chair of Moses.

But when, from the chair of verity, they intoxicate the people with

folly, it is written, 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees' (Matt.

12:6) ....

"Let your pontiff boast as he may of the succession of Peter: even if

he should make good his title to it, he will establish nothing more

than that obedience is due to him from the Christian people so long as

he himself maintains his fidelity to Christ, and does not deviate from

the purity of the gospel ... . A prophet should be judged by the

congregation (1 Cor. 14:29). Whoever exempts himself from this must

first expunge his name from the list of the prophets ....

"As to your assertion, that our only aim in shaking off this tyrannical

yoke was to set ourselves free for unbridled licentiousness after (so

help us!) casting away all thoughts of future life, let judgment be

given after comparing our conduct with yours. We abound, indeed, in

numerous faults; too often do we sin and fall. Still, though truth

would, modesty will not, permit me to boast how far we excel you in

every respect, unless, perchance, you except Rome, that famous abode of

sanctity, which having burst asunder the cords of pure discipline, and

trodden all honor under foot, has so overflowed with all kinds of

iniquity, that scarcely anything so abominable has ever been before."

At the close of his letter, Sadolet had cited the Reformers as

criminals before the judgment-seat of God, in an imaginary confession

to the effect that they had been actuated by base motives of pride and

disappointed ambition in their assaults upon the holy Church and the

vicegerent of Christ, and become guilty of "great seditions and

schisms."

Calvin takes up the challenge by a counter-confession, which introduces

us into the very heart of the great religious struggle of the sixteenth

century, and is perhaps the ablest vindication of the Reformation to be

found in the controversial literature of that time. He puts that

movement on the ground of the Word of God against the commandments of

men, and justifies it by the protests of the Hebrew prophets against

the corruptions of the Levitical priesthood, and Christ's fearful

denunciations of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who nailed the Saviour to

the cross. The same confession contains also an incidental account of

the spiritual experience and conversion of the author, who speaks for

himself as well as his colleagues. We give it in full.

"Consider now what serious answer you are to make for yourself and your

party. Our cause, as it is supported by the truth of God, will be at no

loss for a complete defence. I am not speaking of our persons; their

safety will be found not in defence, but in humble confession and

suppliant deprecation. But in so far as our ministry is concerned,

there is none of us who will not be able thus to speak: --

" 'O Lord, I have, indeed, experienced how difficult and grievous it

was to bear the invidious accusations with which I was harassed on the

earth; but with the same confidence with which I then appealed to Thy

tribunal, I now appear before Thee, because I know that in Thy judgment

truth always reigns--that truth by whose assurance supported I first

ventured to attempt--with whose assistance provided I was able to

accomplish whatever I have achieved in Thy Church.

" 'They charged me with two of the worst of crimes--heresy and schism.

And the heresy was, that I dared to protest against dogmas which they

received. But what could I have done? I heard from Thy mouth that there

was no other light of truth which could direct our souls into the way

of life, than that which was kindled by Thy Word. I heard that whatever

human minds of themselves conceive concerning Thy Majesty, the worship

of Thy Deity, and the mysteries of Thy religion, was vanity. I heard

that their introducing into the Church instead of Thy Word, doctrines

sprung from the human brain, was sacrilegious presumption.

" 'But when I turned my eyes towards men, I saw very different

principles prevailing. Those who were regarded as the leaders of faith,

neither understood Thy Word, nor greatly cared for it. They only drove

unhappy people to and fro with strange doctrines, and deluded them with

I know not what follies. Among the people themselves, the highest

veneration paid to Thy Word was to revere it at a distance, as a thing

inaccessible, and abstain from all investigation of it.

" 'Owing to this supine state of the pastors, and this stupidity of the

people, every place was filled with pernicious errors, falsehoods, and

superstition. They, indeed, called Thee the only God, but it was while

transferring to others the glory which thou hast claimed for Thy

Majesty. They figured and had for themselves as many gods as they had

saints, whom they chose to worship. Thy Christ was indeed worshipped as

God, and retained the name of Saviour; but where He ought to have been

honored, He was left almost without honor. For, spoiled of His own

virtue, He passed unnoticed among the crowd of saints, like one of the

meanest of them. There was none who duly 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 upon it--none who trusted in His

righteousness only. That confident hope of salvation which is both

enjoined by Thy Word, and founded upon it, had almost vanished. Nay, it

was received as a kind of oracle, that it was foolish arrogance, and,

as they termed it, presumption for any one trusting to Thy goodness,

and the righteousness of Thy Son, to entertain a sure and unfaltering

hope of salvation.

" 'Not a few profane opinions plucked up by the roots the first

principles of that doctrine which Thou hast delivered to us in Thy

Word. The true meaning of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, also, was

corrupted by numerous falsehoods. And then, when all, with no small

insult to Thy mercy, put confidence in good works, when by good works

they strove to merit Thy favor, to procure justification, to expiate

their sins, and make satisfaction to Thee (each of these things

obliterating and making void the virtue of Christ's cross), they were

yet altogether ignorant wherein good works consisted. For, just as if

they were not at all instructed in righteousness by Thy law, they had

fabricated for themselves many useless frivolities, as a means of

procuring Thy favor, and on these they so plumed themselves, that, in

comparison of them, they almost contemned the standard of true

righteousness which Thy law recommended,--to such a degree had human

desires, after usurping the ascendancy, derogated, if not from the

belief, at least from the authority, of Thy precepts therein contained.

" 'That I might perceive these things, Thou, O Lord, didst shine upon

me with the brightness of Thy Spirit; that I might comprehend how

impious and noxious they were, Thou didst bear before me the torch of

Thy Word; that I might abominate them as they deserved, Thou didst

stimulate my soul.

" 'But in rendering an account of my doctrine, Thou seest (what my own

conscience declares) that it was not my intention to stray beyond those

limits which I saw had been fixed by all Thy servants. Whatever I felt

assured that I had learned from Thy mouth, I desired to dispense

faithfully to the Church. Assuredly, the thing at which I chiefly

aimed, and for which I most diligently labored, was, that the glory of

Thy goodness and justice, after dispersing the mists by which it was

formerly obscured, might shine forth conspicuous, that the virtue and

blessings of Thy Christ (all glosses being wiped away) might be fully

displayed. For I thought it impious to leave in obscurity things which

we were born to ponder and meditate. Nor did I think that truths, whose

magnitude no language can express, were to be maliciously or falsely

declared.

" 'I hesitated not to dwell at greater length on topics on which the

salvation of my hearers depended. For the oracle could never deceive

which declares (John 17:3): "This is eternal life to know Thee the only

true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent."

" 'As to the charge of forsaking the Church, which they were wont to

bring against me, there is nothing of which my conscience accuses me,

unless, indeed, he is to be considered a deserter, who, seeing the

soldiers routed and scattered, and abandoning the ranks, raises the

leader's standard, and recalls them to their posts. For thus, O Lord,

were all thy servants dispersed, so that they could not, by any

possibility, hear the command, but had almost forgotten their leader,

and their service, and their military oath. In order to bring them

together, when thus scattered, I raised not a foreign standard, but

that noble banner of Thine which we must follow, if we would be classed

among Thy people. Then I was assailed by those who, when they ought to

have kept others in their ranks, had led them astray, and when I

determined not to desist, opposed me with violence. On this grievous

tumults arose, and the contest blazed and issued in disruption.

" 'With whom the blame rests it is for Thee, O Lord, to decide. Always,

both by word and deed, have I protested how eager I was for unity.

Mine, however, was a unity of the Church, which should begin with Thee

and end in Thee. For as oft as Thou didst recommend to us peace and

concord, Thou, at the same time, didst show that Thou wert the only

bond for preserving it.

" 'But if I desired to be at peace with those who boasted of being the

heads of the Church and pillars of faith, I believed to purchase it

with the denial of Thy truth. I thought that anything was to be endured

sooner than stoop to such nefarious compact. For Thy Anointed Himself

hath declared, that though heaven and earth should be confounded, yet

Thy Word must endure forever (Matt. 24:35).

" 'Nor did I think that I dissented from Thy Church because I was at

war with those leaders; for Thou hast forewarned me, both by Thy Son,

and by the apostles, that that place would be occupied by persons to

whom I ought by no means to consent. Christ had predicted not of

strangers, but of men who should give themselves out for pastors, that

they would be ravenous wolves and false prophets, and had, at the same

time, cautioned me to beware of them. Where Christ ordered me to

beware, was I to lend my aid? And the apostles declared that there

would be no enemies of Thy Church more pestilential than those from

within who should conceal themselves under the title of pastors (Matt.

7:15; Acts 20:29; 2 Pet. 2:1; 1 John 2:18).

" 'Why should I have hesitated to separate myself from persons whom

they forewarned me to hold as enemies? I had before my eyes the

examples of Thy prophets, who I saw had a similar contest with the

priests and false prophets of their day, though these were undoubtedly

the rulers of the Church among the Israelitish people. But Thy prophets

are not regarded as schismatics, because, when they wished to revive

religion, which had fallen into decay, they desisted not, although

opposed with the utmost violence. They still remained in the unity of

the Church, though they were doomed to perdition by wicked priests, and

deemed unworthy of a place among men, not to say saints.

" 'Confirmed by their example, I, too, persisted. Though denounced as a

deserter of the Church, and threatened, I was in no respect deterred or

induced to proceed less firmly and boldly in opposing those, who, in

the character of pastors, wasted Thy Church with a more than impious

tyranny. My conscience told me how strong the zeal was with which I

burned for the unity of Thy Church, provided Thy truth were made the

bond of concord. As the commotions which followed were not excited by

me, so there is no ground for imputing them to me. Thou, O Lord,

knowest, and the fact itself has testified to men, that the only thing

I asked was, that all controversies should be decided by Thy Word, that

thus both parties might unite with one mind to establish Thy kingdom;

and I declined not to restore peace to the Church at the expense of my

head, if I were found to have been unnecessarily the cause of tumult.

" 'But what did our opponents? Did they not instantly, and like madmen

fly to fires, swords, and gibbets? Did they not decide that their only

security, was in arms and cruelty? Did they not instigate all ranks to

the same fury? Did they not spurn at all methods of pacification? To

this it is owing that a matter, which might at one time have been

settled amicably, has blazed into such a contest. But although, amidst

the great confusion, the judgments of men were various, I am freed from

all fear, now that we stand at Thy tribunal, where equity, combined

with truth, cannot but decide in favor of innocence.'

"Such, Sadolet, is our pleading, not the fictitious one which you, in

order to aggravate our case, were pleased to devise, but that the

perfect truth of which is known to the good even now, and will be made

manifest to all creatures on that day. Nor will those who, instructed

by our preaching, have adhered to our cause, be at loss what to say for

themselves, since each will be ready with this defence: --

" 'I, O Lord, as I had been educated from a boy, always professed the

Christian faith. But at first I had no other reason for my faith than

that which then everywhere prevailed. Thy Word, which ought to have

shone on all Thy people like a lamp, was taken away, or at least

suppressed as to us. And lest any one should long for greater light, an

idea had been instilled into the minds of all, that the investigation

of that hidden celestial philosophy was better delegated to a few, whom

the others might consult as oracles--that the highest knowledge

befitting plebeian minds was to subdue themselves into obedience to the

Church. Then, the rudiments in which I had been instructed were of a

kind which could neither properly train me to the legitimate worship of

Thy Deity, nor pave the way for me to a sure hope of salvation, nor

train me aright for the duties of the Christian life. I had learned,

indeed, to worship Thee only as my God, but as the true method of

worshipping was altogether unknown to me, I stumbled at the very

threshold. I believed, as I had been taught, that I was redeemed by the

death of Thy Son from the liability to eternal death, but the

redemption I thought of was one whose virtue could never reach me. I

anticipated a future resurrection, but hated to think of it, as being

an event most dreadful. And this feeling not only had dominion over me

in private, but was derived from the doctrine which was then uniformly

delivered to the people by their Christian teachers.

" 'They, indeed, preached of Thy clemency towards men, but confined it

to those who should show themselves deserving of it. They, moreover,

placed this desert in the righteousness of works, so that he only was

received into Thy favor who reconciled himself to Thee by works. Nor,

meanwhile, did they disguise the fact that we are miserable sinners,

that we often fall through infirmity of the flesh, and that to all,

therefore, Thy mercy behoved to be the common haven of salvation; but

the method of obtaining it, which they pointed out, was by making

satisfaction to Thee for offences. Then the satisfaction enjoined was,

first, after confessing all our sins to a priest, suppliantly to ask

pardon and absolution; and, secondly, by good to efface from Thy

remembrance our bad actions. Lastly, in order to supply what was still

wanting, we were to add sacrifices and solemn expiations. Then, because

Thou wert a stern judge and strict avenger of iniquity, they showed how

dreadful Thy presence must be. Hence they bade us flee first to the

saints, that by their intercession Thou mightest be rendered exorable

and propitious to us.

" 'When, however, I had performed all these things, 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,

extreme terror seized me--terror which no expiations or satisfactions

could cure. And the more closely I examined myself, the sharper the

stings with which my conscience was pricked, so that the only solace

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 original purity.

" 'Offended by the novelty, I lent an unwilling ear, and at first, I

confess, strenuously and passionately resisted; for (such is the

firmness or effrontery with which it is natural to men to persist in

the course which they have once undertaken) it was with the greatest

difficulty I was induced to confess that I had all my life long been in

ignorance and error. One thing, in particular, made me averse to those

new teachers, viz. reverence for the Church.

" 'But when once I opened my ears, and allowed myself to be taught, I

perceived that this fear of derogating from the majesty of the Church

was groundless. For they reminded me how great the difference is

between schism from the Church, and studying to correct the faults by

which the Church herself was contaminated. They spoke nobly of the

Church, and showed the greatest desire to cultivate unity. And lest it

should seem they quibbled on the term Church, they showed it was no new

thing for Antichrists to preside there in place of pastors. Of this

they produced not a few examples, from which it appeared they aimed at

nothing but the edification of the Church, and in that respect were

similarly circumstanced with many of Christ's servants whom we

ourselves included in the catalogue of saints.

" 'For inveighing more freely against the Roman Pontiff, who was

reverenced as the Vicegerent of Christ, the Successor of Peter, and the

Head of the Church, they excused themselves thus: Such titles as those

are empty bugbears, by which the eyes of the pious ought not to be so

blinded as not to venture to look at them and sift the reality. It was

when the world was plunged in ignorance and sloth, as in a deep sleep,

that the pope had risen to such an eminence; certainly neither

appointed head of the Church by the Word of God, nor ordained by a

legitimate act of the Church, but of his own accord, self-elected.

Moreover, the tyranny which he let loose against the people of God was

not to be endured, if we wished to have the kingdom of Christ amongst

us in safety.

" 'And they wanted not most powerful arguments to confirm all their

positions. First, they clearly disposed of everything that was then

commonly adduced to establish the primacy of the pope. When they had

taken away all these props, they also, by the Word of God, tumbled him

from his lofty height. On the whole, they make it clear and palpable,

to learned and unlearned, that the true order of the Church had then

perished,--that the keys under which the discipline of the Church is

comprehended had been altered very much for the worse; that Christian

liberty had fallen,--in short, that the kingdom of Christ was

prostrated when this primacy was reared up. They told me, moreover, as

a means of pricking my conscience, that I could not safely connive at

these things as if they concerned me not; that so far art Thou from

patronizing any voluntary error, that even he who is led astray by mere

ignorance does not err with impunity. This they proved by the testimony

of Thy Son (Matt. 15:14): "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall

into the ditch."

" 'My mind being now prepared for serious attention, I at length

perceived, as if light had broken in upon me, in what a stye of error I

had wallowed, and how much pollution and impurity I had thereby

contracted. Being exceedingly alarmed at the misery into which I had

fallen, and much more at that which threatened me in the view of

eternal death, I, as in duty bound, made it my first business to betake

myself to Thy way, condemning my past life, not without 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 Thy

wondrous goodness, Thou hast at last delivered me.'

"Now, Sadolet, if you please, compare this pleading with that which you

have put into the mouth of your plebeian. It will be strange if you

hesitate which of the two you ought to prefer. For the safety of that

man hangs by a thread whose defence turns wholly on this--that he has

constantly adhered to the religion handed down to him from his

forefathers. At this rate, Jews and Turks and Saracens would escape the

judgment of God.

"Away, then, with this vain quibbling at a tribunal which will be

erected, not to approve the authority of man, but to condemn all flesh

of vanity and falsehood, and vindicate the truth of God only."

Calvin descends to repel with just indignation the groundless charge of

avarice and greed which Sadolet was not ashamed to cast upon the

Reformers, who might have easily reached the dignity and wealth of

bishops and cardinals, but who preferred to live and die in poverty for

the sake of their sacred convictions.

"Would not," he asked, "the shortest road to riches and honors have

been to accept the terms which were offered at the very first? How much

would your pontiff then have paid to many for their silence? How much

would he pay for it even at the present day? If they were actuated in

the least degree by avarice, why do they cut off all hope of improving

their fortune, and prefer to be thus perpetually wretched, rather than

enrich themselves without difficulty and in a moment?

"But ambition, forsooth, withholds them! What ground you had for this

other insinuation I see not, since those who first engaged in this

cause could expect nothing else than to be spurned by the whole world,

and those who afterwards adhered to it, exposed themselves knowingly

and willingly to endless insults and revilings from every quarter."

He then answers to "the most serious charge of all:" that the Reformers

had "dismembered the Spouse of Christ," while in fact they attempted,

to present her as a chaste virgin of Christ," and, "seeing her polluted

by base seducers, to recall her to conjugal fidelity," after having

been defiled by the idolatry of image-worship and numberless

superstitions. Peace and unity can only be found in Christ and his

truth. He concludes with the wish: --

"May the Lord grant, Sadolet, that you and all 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 one

soul."

Such is a summary of that remarkable Answer--a masterpiece of dignified

and gentlemanly theological controversy. There is scarcely a parallel

to it in the literature of that age, which teems with uncharitable

abuse and coarse invective. Melanchthon might have equalled it in

courtesy and good taste, but not in adroitness and force. No wonder

that the old lion of Wittenberg was delighted with this triumphant

vindication of the evangelical Reformation by a young Frenchman, who

was to carry on the conflict which he himself had begun twenty years

before by his Theses and his heroic stand at the Diet of Worms. "This

answer," said Luther to Cruciger, who had met Calvin at the Colloquies

in Worms and Regensburg, "has hand and foot, and I rejoice that God

raises up men who will give the last blow to popery, and finish the war

against Antichrist which I began." [583]

The Answer made a deep and lasting impression. It was widely

circulated, with Sadolet's Letter, in manuscript, printed in Latin,

first at Strassburg, translated into French, and published in both

languages by the Council of Geneva at the expense of the city (1540).

The prelates who had met at Lyons lost courage; the papal party in

Geneva gave up all hope of restoring the mass. Three years afterwards

Cardinal Pierre de la Baume died--the last bishop of Geneva.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[581] "In Romanae illius meretricis gremium," a frequent polemical

designation of the Roman Church, derived from a misinterpretation of

the apocalyptic harlot which means heathen Rome (Rev. 17:5).

[582] In the following extracts I make use of the translation of Henry

Beveridge, with a few slight changes.

[583] See vol. VI, 659. Kampschulte's impartial judgment on the Answer

to Sadolet is worth quoting (I. 354): "Es ist in Wahrheit eine der

gl�nzendsten Streitschriften, die je aus seiner Feder geflossen, und

auch wer seine Anschauungen nicht theilt, wird ihm in diesem Streite

die Palme zuerkennen m�ssen .... Er entwickelt in der Vortheidigung des

neuen Glaubenssystems eine Kraft der Rede, eine Gewandtheit der

Beweisf�hrung und eine F�lle der Gedanken, welche die rhetorischen,

sentimentalen, oft auch inhaltsarmen Phrasen des Gegners um so mehr in

ihrer Schw�che zeigen. Den Glanzpunkt der Schrift Calvin's bildet aber

vielleicht seine eigene Vertheidigung. Mit Recht durfte er den

versteckten Angriffen des Cardinals gegen�ber auf sein vergangenes

Leben hinweisen, um den Beweis zu liefern, dass nicht die Aussicht auf

irdischen Gewinn oder �ussere Ehren, sondern seine ernste Ueberzeugung

seine Schritte geleitet, dass er erst nach schweren K�mpfen von der

katholischen Kirche sich losgesagt. Diese Schrift war es, welche auch

Luther's Herz f�r den w�lschen Rivalen erw�rmte. Damals konnte

Melanchthon nach Strassburg melden, dass Calvin in Wittenberg 'hoch in

Gnaden stehe.' "

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 92. Calvin's Marriage and Home Life.

Calvin's Letters to Farel and Viret quoted below.

Jules Bonnet: Idelette de Bure, femme de Calvin. In the "Bulletin de la

Soci�t� de l'histoire du protestantisme fran�ais." Quatri�me ann�e.

Paris, 1856. pp. 636-646.--D. Lenoir, ibid. 1860. p. 26. (A brief

note.)

Henry, I. 407 sqq.--Dyer, 99 sqq.--St�helin, I. 272 sqq.--Merle

d'Aubign�, bk. XI. ch. XVII, (vol. VI. 601-608).--Stricker, l.c. 42-50.

(Kampschulte is silent on this topic.)

The most important event in Calvin's private life during his sojourn in

Germany was his marriage, which took place early in August, 1540. [584]

He expresses his views on marriage in his comments on Ephesians

5:28-33. "It is a thing against nature," he remarks, "that any one

should not love his wife, for God has ordained marriage in order that

two may be made one person--a result which, certainly, no other

alliance can bring about. When Moses says that a man shall leave father

and mother and cleave unto his wife, he shows that a man ought to

prefer marriage to every other union, as being the holiest of all. It

reflects our union with Christ, who infuses his very life unto us; for

we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. This is a great

mystery, the dignity of which cannot be expressed in words."

He himself was in no hurry to get married, and put it off till he was

over thirty. He rather boasted that people could not charge him with

having assailed Rome, as the Greeks besieged Troy, for the sake of a

woman. What led him first to think of it, was the sense of loneliness

and the need of proper care, that he might be able the better to serve

the Church. He had a housekeeper, with her son, a woman of violent

temper who sorely tried his patience. At one time she abused his

brother so violently that he left the house, and then she ran away,

leaving her son behind. The disturbance made him sick. [585]

He was often urged by his friend Farel (who himself found no time to

think of marrying till his old age), and by Bucer, to take a wife, that

he might enjoy the comforts of a well-ordered home. He first mentions

the subject in a letter to Farel, from Strassburg, May 19, 1539, in

which he says: "I am none of those insane lovers who, when once smitten

with the fine figure of a woman, embrace also her faults. This only is

the beauty which allures me, if she be chaste, obliging, not

fastidious, economical, patient, and careful for my health. [586]

Therefore, if you think well of it, set out immediately, lest some one

else [Bucer?] gets the start of you. But if you think otherwise we will

let it pass." It seems Farel could not find a person that combined all

these qualities, and the matter was dropped for several months.

In Feb. 6, 1540, Calvin, in a letter to the same friend, touched again

upon the subject of matrimony, but only incidentally, as if it were a

subordinate matter. After informing him about his trouble with Caroli,

his discussion with Hermann, an Anabaptist, the good understanding of

Charles V. and Francis I., and the alarm of the Protestant princes of

Germany, he goes on to say: "Nevertheless, in the midst of such

commotions as these, I am so much at my ease as to have the audacity to

think of taking a wife. A certain damsel of noble rank has been

proposed to me, [587] and with a fortune above my condition. Two

considerations deterred me from that connection--because she did not

understand our language, and because I feared she might be too mindful

of her family and education." [588]

He sent his brother for another lady, who was highly recommended to

him. He expected to get married March 10, and invited Farel to

celebrate the wedding. But this project also failed, and he thought of

abandoning all further attempts.

At last he married a member of his congregation, Idelette de Bure, the

widow of Jean Stordeur (or Storder) of Li�ge, [589] a prominent

Anabaptist whom he had converted to the orthodox faith, [590] and who

had died of the pestilence in the previous February. She was probably

the daughter of Lambert de Bure who, with six of his fellow-citizens,

had been deprived of his property and banished forever, after having

been legally convicted of heresy in 1533. [591] She was the mother of

several children, poor, and in feeble health. She lived in retirement,

devoted to the education of her children, and enjoyed the esteem of her

friends for her good qualities of head and heart. Calvin visited her

frequently as pastor, and was attracted by her quiet, modest, gentle

character. He found in her what he desired--firm faith, devoted love,

and domestic helpfulness. He calls her "the excellent companion of my

life," "the ever-faithful assistant of my ministry," and a "rare

woman." [592] Beza speaks of her as "a grave and honorable lady." [593]

Calvin lived in happy wedlock, but only for nine years. His wife was

taken from him at Geneva, after a protracted illness, early in April,

1549. He felt the loss very deeply, and found comfort only in his work.

He turned from the coffin to his study table, and resumed the duties of

his office with quiet resignation and conscientious fidelity as if

nothing had happened. He remained a widower the remaining fifteen years

of his life. "My wife, a woman of rare qualities," he wrote, "died a

year and a half ago, and I have now willingly chosen to lead a solitary

life."

We know much less of Calvin's domestic life than of Luther's. He was

always reticent concerning himself and his private affairs, while

Luther was very frank and demonstrative. In selecting their wives

neither of the Reformers had any regard to the charms of beauty and

wealth which attract most lovers, nor even to intellectual endowment;

they looked only to moral worth and domestic virtue. Luther married at

the age of forty-one, Calvin at the age of thirty-one. Luther married a

Catholic ex-nun, after having vainly recommended her to his friend

Amsdorf, whom she proudly refused, looking to higher distinction. He

married her under a sudden impulse, to the consternation of his

friends, in the midst of the disturbances of the Peasants' War, that he

might please his father, tease the pope, and vex the devil. Calvin

married, like Zwingli, a Protestant widow with several children; he

married from esteem rather than affection, after due reflection and the

solicitation of friends.

Katherine Luther cut a prominent figure in her husband's personal

history and correspondence, and survived him several years, which she

spent in poverty and affliction. Idelette de Bure lived in modest

retirement, and died in peace fifteen years before Calvin. Luther

submitted as "a willing servant" to the rule of his "Lord Kathe," but

he loved her dearly, played with his children in childlike simplicity,

addressed to her his last letters, and expressed his estimate of

domestic happiness in the beautiful sentence: "The greatest gift of God

to man is a pious, kindly, God-fearing, domestic wife." [594]

Luther's home life was enlivened and cheered by humor, poetry, and

song; Calvin's was sober, quiet, controlled by the fear of God, and

regulated by a sense of duty, but none the less happy. Nothing can be

more unjust than the charge that Calvin was cold and unsympathetic.

[595]

His whole correspondence proves the reverse. His letters on the death

of his wife to his dearest friends reveal a deep fountain of tenderness

and affection. To Farel he wrote, April 2, 1549:-- [596]

"Intelligence of my wife's death has perhaps reached you before now. I

do what I can to keep myself from being overwhelmed with grief. My

friends also leave nothing undone that may administer relief to my

mental suffering. When your brother left, her life was all but

despaired of. When the brethren were assembled on Tuesday, they thought

it best that we should join together in prayer. This was done. When

Abel, in the name of the rest, exhorted her to faith and patience, she

briefly (for she was now greatly worn) stated her frame of mind. I

afterwards added an exhortation, which seemed to me appropriate to the

occasion. And then, as she had made no allusion to her children, I,

fearing that, restrained by modesty, she might be feeling an anxiety

concerning them, which would cause her greater suffering than the

disease itself, declared in the presence of the brethren, that I should

henceforth care for them as if they were my own. She replied, 'I have

already committed them to the Lord.' When I replied, that that was not

to hinder me from doing my duty, she immediately answered, 'If the Lord

shall care for them, I know they will be commended to you.' Her

magnanimity was so great, that she seemed to have already left the

world. About the sixth hour of the day, on which she yielded up her

soul to the Lord, our brother Bourgouin addressed some pious words to

her, and while he wag doing so, she spoke aloud, so that all saw that

her heart was raised far above the world. For these were her words: 'O

glorious resurrection! O God of Abraham, and of all our fathers, in

thee have the faithful trusted during so many past ages, and none of

them have trusted in vain. I also will hope.' These short sentences

were rather ejaculated than distinctly spoken. This did not come from

the suggestion of others, but from her own reflections, so that she

made it obvious in few words what were her own meditations. I had to go

out at six o'clock. Having been removed to another apartment after

seven, she immediately began to decline. When she felt her voice

suddenly failing her she said: 'Let us pray; let us pray. All pray for

me.' I had now returned. She was unable to speak, and her mind seemed

to be troubled. I, having spoken a few words about the love of Christ,

the hope of eternal life, concerning our married life, and her

departure, engaged in prayer. In full possession of her mind, she both

heard the prayer, and attended to it. Before eight she expired, so

calmly, that those present could scarcely distinguish between her life

and her death. I at present control my sorrow so that my duties may not

be interfered with. But in the meanwhile the Lord has sent other trials

upon me, Adieu, brother, and very 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. Salute all the

brethren and your whole family.

To Viret he wrote a few days later, April 7, 1549, as follows: --

"Although the death of my wife has been exceedingly painful to me, yet

I subdue my grief as well as I can. Friends, also, are earnest in their

duty to me. It might be wished, indeed, that they could profit me and

themselves more; yet one can scarcely say how much I am supported by

their attentions. But you know well enough how tender, or rather soft,

my mind is. Had not a powerful self-control, therefore, been vouchsafed

to me, I could not have borne up so long. And truly 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 not only have been the

willing sharer of my exile and poverty, but even of my death. [597]

During her life she was the faithful helper of my ministry.

"From her I never experienced the slightest hindrance. She was never

troublesome to me throughout the entire course of her illness; she was

more anxious about her children than about herself. As I feared these

private cares might annoy her to no purpose, I took occasion, on the

third day before her death to mention that I would not fail in

discharging my duty to her children. Taking up the matter immediately,

she said, 'I have already committed them to God.' When I said that that

was not to prevent me from caring for them, she replied, 'I know you

will not neglect what you know has been committed to God.' Lately,

also, when a certain woman insisted that she should talk with me

regarding these matters, I, for the first time, heard her give the

following brief answer: 'Assuredly the principal thing is that they

live a pious and holy life. My husband is not to be urged to instruct

them in religious knowledge and in the fear of God. If they be pious, I

am sure he will gladly be a father to them; but if not, they do not

deserve that I should ask for aught in their behalf.' This nobleness of

mind will weigh more with me than a hundred recommendations. Many

thanks for your friendly consolation.

"Adieu, most excellent and honest brother. May the Lord Jesus watch

over and direct yourself and your wife. Present my best wishes to her

and to the brethren."

In reply to this letter, Viret wrote to Calvin, April 10, 1549: --

"Wonderfully and incredibly have I been refreshed, not by empty rumors

alone, but especially by numerous messengers who have informed me how

you, with a heart so broken and lacerated, have attended to all your

duties even better than hitherto, ... and that, above all, at a time

when grief was so fresh, and on that account all the more severe, might

have prostrated your mind. Go on then as you have begun, ... and I pray

God most earnestly, that you may be enabled to do so, and that you may

receive daily greater comfort and be strengthened more and more."

Calvin's character shines in the same favorable light at the loss of

his only son who died in infancy (1542). He thanked Viret and his wife

(he always sends greetings to Viret's wife and daughter) for their

tender sympathy with him in this bereavement, stating that Idelette

would write herself also but for her grief. "The Lord," he says, "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." [598] He found

compensation for his want of offspring in the multitude of his

spiritual children. "God has given me a little son, and taken him away;

but I have myriads of children in the whole Christian world." [599]

Of Calvin's deep sympathy with his friends in domestic affliction we

have a most striking testimony in a private letter which was never

intended for publication. It is the best proof of his extraordinary

fidelity as a pastor. While he was in attendance at Ratisbon, the

pestilence carried away, among other friends, Louis de Richebourg, who

together with his older brother, Charles, lived in his house at

Strassburg as a student and pensionnaire, under the tutorship of Claude

F�ray, Calvin's dearly beloved assistant. On hearing the sad

intelligence, early in April, 1541, he wrote to his father--a gentleman

from Normandy, probably the lord of the village de Richebourg between

Rouen and Beauvais, but otherwise unknown to us--a long letter of

condolence and comfort, from which we give the following extracts:

[600] --

"Ratisbon (Month of April), 1541.

"When I first received the intelligence of the death of Claude and of

your son Louis, I was so utterly overpowered (tout esperdu et confus en

mon esprit) that for many days I was fit for nothing but to weep; and

although I was somehow upheld before the Lord by those aids wherewith

He sustains our souls in affliction, yet among men I was almost a

nonentity; so far at least as regards my discharge of duty, I appeared

to myself quite as unfit for it as if I had been half dead (un homme

demi-mort). On the one hand, I was sadly grieved that a most excellent

and faithful friend [Claude F�ray] had been snatched away from me--a

friend with whom I was so familiar, that none could be more closely

united than we were; on the other hand, there arose another cause of

grief, when I saw the young man, your son, taken away in the very

flower of his age, a youth of most excellent promise, whom I loved as a

son, because, on his part, he showed that respectful affection toward

me as he would to another father.

"To this grievous sorrow was still added the heavy and distressing

anxiety we experienced about those whom the Lord had spared to us. I

heard that the whole household were scattered here and there. The

danger of Malherbe [601] caused me very great misery, as well as the

cause of it, and warned me also as to the rest. I considered that it

could not be otherwise but that my wife must be very much dismayed.

Your Charles, [602] I assure you, was continually recurring to my

thoughts; for in proportion as he was endowed with that goodness of

disposition which had always appeared in him towards his brother as

well as his preceptor, it never occurred to me to doubt but that he

would be steeped in sorrow and soaked in tears. One single

consideration somewhat relieved me, that he had my brother along with

him, who, I hoped, would prove no small comfort in this calamity; even

that, however, I could not reckon upon, when at the same time I

recollected that both were in jeopardy, and neither of them were yet

beyond the reach of danger. Thus, until the letter arrived which

informed me that Malherbe was out of danger, and that Charles and my

brother, together with my wife and the others, were safe, [603] I would

have been all but utterly cast down, unless, as I have already

mentioned, my heart was refreshed in prayer and private meditations,

which are suggested by His Word ....

"The son whom the Lord had lent you for a season, He has taken away.

There is no ground, therefore, for those silly and wicked complaints of

foolish men: O blind death! O hard fate! O implacable daughters of

Destiny! O cruel fortune! The Lord who had lodged him here for a

season, at this stage of his career has called him away. What the Lord

has done, we must, at the same time, consider has not been done rashly,

nor by chance, neither from having been impelled from without, but by

that determinate counsel, whereby He not only foresees, decrees, and

executes nothing but what is just and upright in itself, but also

nothing but what is good and wholesome for us. Where justice and good

judgment reign paramount, there it is impious to remonstrate. When,

however, our advantage is bound up with that goodness, how great would

be the degree of ingratitude not to acquiesce, with a calm and

well-ordered temper of mind, in whatever is the wish of our Father ....

"It is God who has sought back from you your son, whom He had committed

to you to be educated, on the condition that he might always be His

own. And, therefore, He took him away, because it was both of advantage

to him to leave this world, and by this bereavement to humble you, or

to make trial of your patience. If you do not understand the advantage

of this, without delay, first of all, setting aside every other object

of consideration, ask of God that He may show you. Should it be His

will to exercise you still farther, by concealing it from you, submit

to that will, that you may become wiser than the weakness of thine own

understanding can ever attain to.

"In what regards your son, if you bethink yourself how difficult it is,

in this most deplorable age to maintain an upright course through life,

you will judge him to be blessed, who, before encountering so many

coming dangers which already were hovering over him, and to be

encountered in his day and generation, was so early delivered from them

all. He is like one who has set sail upon a stormy and tempestuous sea,

and before he has been carried out into the deeps, gets in safety to

the secure haven. Nor, indeed, is long life to be reckoned so great a

benefit of God, that we can lose anything, when separated only for the

space of a few years, we are introduced to a life which is far better.

Now, certainly, because the Lord Himself, who is the Father of us all,

had willed that Louis should be put among the children as a son of His

adoption, He bestowed this benefit upon you, out of the multitude of

His mercies, that you might reap the excellent fruit of your careful

education before his death; whence also you might know your interest in

the blessings that belonged to you, 'I will be thy God, and the God of

thy seed.'

"From his earliest boyhood, so far as his years allowed, Louis was

grounded in the best studies, and had already made such a competent

proficiency and progress, that we entertained great hope of him for the

future. His manners and behavior had met with the approval of all good

men. If at any time he fell into error, he not only patiently suffered

the word of admonition, but also that of reproof, and proved himself

teachable and obedient, and willing to hearken to advice ... That,

however, which we rate most highly in him was, that he had imbibed so

largely the principles of piety, that he had not merely a correct and

true understanding of religion, but had also been faithfully imbued

with the unfeigned fear and reverence of God.

"This exceeding kindness of God toward your offspring ought with good

reason to prevail more effectually with you in soothing the bitterness

of death, than death itself have power to inflict grief upon you.

"With reference to my own feelings, if your sons had never come hither

at all, I should never have been grieved on account of the death of

Claude and Louis. Never, however, shall this most crushing sorrow,

which I suffer on account of both, so overcome me, as to reflect with

grief upon that day on which they were driven hither by the hand of God

to us, rather than led by any settled purpose of their own, when that

friendship commenced which has not only continued undiminished to the

last, but which, from day to day, was rather increased and confirmed.

Whatever, therefore, may have been the kind or model of education they

were in search of, I rejoice that they lived under the same roof with

me. And since it was appointed them to die, I rejoice also that they

died under my roof, where they rendered back their souls to God more

composedly, and in greater circumstances of quiet, than if they had

happened to die in those places where they would have experienced

greater annoyance from the importunity of those by whom they ought to

have been assisted, than from death itself. On the contrary, it was in

the midst of pious exhortations, and while calling upon the name of the

Lord, that these sainted spirits fled from the communion of their

brethren here to the bosom of Christ. Nor would I desire now to be free

from all sorrow at the cost of never having known them. Their memory

will ever be sacred to me to the end of my days, and I am persuaded

that it will also be sweet and comforting.

"But what advantage, you will say, is it to me to have had a son of so

much promise, since he has been torn away from me in the first flower

of his youth? As if, forsooth, Christ had not merited, by His death,

the supreme dominion over the living and the dead! And if we belong to

Him (as we ought), why may He not exercise over us the power of life

and of death? However brief, therefore, either in your opinion or in

mine, the life of your son may have been, it ought to satisfy us that

he has finished the course which the Lord had marked out for him.

"Moreover, we may not reckon him to have perished in the flower of his

age, who had grown ripe in the sight of the Lord. For I consider all to

have arrived at maturity who are summoned away by death; unless,

perhaps, one would contend with Him, as if He can snatch away any one

before his time. This, indeed, holds true of every one; but in regard

to Louis, it is yet more certain on another and more peculiar ground.

For he had arrived at that age, when, by true evidences, he could prove

himself a member of the body of Christ: having put forth this fruit, he

was taken from us and transplanted. Yes, instead of this transient and

vanishing shadow of life, he has regained the real immortality of

being.

"Nor can you consider yourself to have lost him, whom you will recover

in the blessed resurrection in the kingdom of God. For they had both so

lived and so died, that I cannot doubt but they are now with the Lord.

Let us, therefore, press forward toward this goal which they have

reached. There can be no doubt but that Christ will bind together both

them and us in the same inseparable society, in that incomparable

participation of His own glory. Beware, therefore, that you do not

lament your son as lost, whom you acknowledge to be preserved by the

Lord, that he may remain yours forever, who, at the pleasure of His own

will, lent him to you only for a season ....

"Neither do I insist upon your laying aside all grief. Nor, in the

school of Christ, do we learn any such philosophy as requires us to put

off that common humanity with which God has endowed us, that, being

men, we should be tamed into stones. [604] These considerations reach

only so far as this, that you do set bounds, and, as it were, temper

even your most reasonable sadness, that, having shed those tears which

were due to nature and to fatherly affection, you by no means give way

to senseless wailing. Nor do I by any means interfere because I am

distrustful of your prudence, firmness, or high-mindedness; but only

lest I might here be wanting, and come short in my duty to you.

"Moreover, I have requested Melanchthon and Bucer that they would also

add their letters to mine, because I entertained the hope that it would

not be unacceptable that they too should afford some evidence of their

good-will toward you.

"Adieu, most distinguished sir, and my much-respected in the Lord. May

Christ the Lord keep you and your family, and direct you all with His

own Spirit, until you may arrive where Louis and Claude have gone

before."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[584] The precise day is not known. Before Aug. 17 he was a married

man, and received congratulations and greetings to his wife from

Libertet (Opera, XI. Ep. 234, fol. 77). Merle d'Aubign� wrongly puts

his marriage at the end of August; Bonnet and St�helin, in September.

[585] He tells the story to Farel, September, 1540, shortly after his

marriage. Opera, XI. Ep. 238 (fol. 83 sq.), and Herminjard, VI. 313.

[586] "Haec sola est quae me illectat pulchritudo, si pudica est, si

morigera, si non fastuosa, si parca, si patiens, si spes est de mea

valetudine fore solicitam." Herminjard, V. 314.

[587] Probably by Bucer. She was of a patrician family of Strassburg,

and her brother a great admirer of Calvin and anxious for the match.

[588] Herminjard, VI. 167 sq. It seems that the lady had no disposition

to learn French, and asked time for consideration.

[589] Not of "une petite ville de la Gueldre," as Bonnet states (l.c.,

p. 639). Beza calls him "Storder Leodinensis."

[590] Florimond de Raemond: "Calvin �pousa la veuve de Jean Lestordeur,

natif de Li�ge, de religion anabaptiste; il l'a chang�e �son opinion:

elle �tait appel�e Idelette de Bure."

[591] According to Lenoir of Li�ge, in "Bulletin," etc., 1860, p. 26.

[592] "Optima socio vitae;" "fida ministerii me iadjutrix" (letter to

Viret, April 7, 1549); "singularis exempli femina," etc.

[593] Vita Calv. (Opera, XXI. 130): "Viduam Idelletam nomine, gravem

honestamque feminam, Calvinus ex Buceri consilio uxorem duxit."

[594] "Die Welt hat nach Gottes Wort keinen lieblicheren Schatz auf

Erden, denn den heiligen Ehestand. Gottes h�chste Gabe ist ein fromm,

freundlich, gottesf�rchtig und h�uslich Gemahl haben, mit der du

friedlich lebest, der du darfst alle dein Gut, ja dein Leib und Leben

vertrauen, mit der du Kinderlein zeugest." See K�stlin, Luther's Leben,

p. 578, and Schaff, History of the Chr. Church, VI. �� 77 and 78, pp.

454 sqq.

[595] 95 "Calvin," says J. Bonnet, in his sketch of Idelette de Bure

(l.c., p. 637) "fut grand sans cesser d'�tre bon; il unit les qualit�s

du coeur aux dons du g�nie; il ressentit et il inspira les plus pures

amiti�s; il connut, enfin, les f�licita domestiques dans une union trop

courte, dont le myst�re, �demi r�v�l�par sa correspondance, r�pand un

jour m�lancolique et doux sur sa vie."--"There was in Calvin," says

Merle d'Aubign� (VI. 602) "a lofty intellect, a sublime genius, but

also that love of kindred, those affections of the heart, which

complete the great man."

[596] Opera, Ep. 1171 (fol. 228). The letter is wrongly dated April 11

by Henry and Bonnet (II. 203), who mistook 11 for Roman figures.

[597] Quae si quid accidisset durius, non exilii tantum ac inopiae

voluntaria comes, sed mortis quoque futura erat." Opera, VIII. Ep. 1173

(fol. 230).

[598] Aug. 19, 1542, at the close. Opera, XI. 430.

[599] "Dederat mihi Deus filiolum, abstulit; hoc quoque recenset

[Balduin or Baudouin, a jurisconsult] inter probra liberis me carere.

Atqui mihi filiorum sunt myriades in toto orbe Christiano." (Responsio

ad Balduini Convitia, Geneva, 1561.) Roman writers speak of the

sterility of his marriage as a reproach and judgment. Audin corrects

them, but adds (ch. XIX.) that Calvin "shed no tears" over the loss of

his son, and that "God did not permit him to become a father a second

time!" Bonnet asserts (l.c. 643) that Calvin had two other children, a

daughter and a son, who died likewise in infancy, and refers to a

letter of Calvin to Viret of 1544; but this is a mistake, for Calvin,

long after the death of his wife, speaks only of one infant son

(filiolus), and Colladon, in his biography, says (Opera, XXI. 61) that

Idelette de Bure had one son from him (elle eut un fils de lui).

[600] The letter was written in French and translated into Latin by

Beza in his edition of Calvini Epistolae, Genevae, 1575, p. 280 (under

the wrong date of 1540). See Opera, XI. 188 sqq.; Herminjard, VII.

66-73; Bonnet-Constable, I. 222-229. I have used Constable's

translation after comparing it with the French original. The concluding

part, however, is only extant in Beza's Latin version.

[601] Probably the youngest of F�ray's pupils, a native of Normandy.

Herminjard, VII. 55, note 6.

[602] The older son of M. de Richebourg.

[603] "Charles et mon fr�r�, avec ma femme et les autres se portoyent

bien." This explains why Calvin did not hurry back to Strassburg

earlier than he did.

[604] "Neque hanc philosophiam discimus in schola Christi, ut eam quam

nobis indidit humanitatem exuendo, ex hominibus lapides fiamus." This

shows how far Calvin was from heathen stoicism.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XII.

CALVIN'S SECOND SOJOURN AND LABORS AT GENEVA. 1541-1564.

The sources on this and the following chapters in � 81, p. 347.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 93. The State of Geneva after the expulsion of the Reformers.

I. The correspondence in Opera, vols. X. and XI., and Herminjard, Vols.

V., VI., and VII.--Annal. Calv, XXI. 235-282.--The Chronicles of Roset

and Bonivard; the histories of Spon, Gaberel, Roget, etc.

II. Henry, I. ch. XIX.--St�helin, I. 283-299.--Dyer,

113-123.--Kampschulte, I. 342 sqq.--Merle D'Aubign�, bk. XI. chs.

XVIII. (vol. VI. 610 sqq.) and XIX. (vol. VII. 1 sqq.).

C. A. Cornelius (Cath.): Die R�ckkehr Calvins nach Genf. M�nchen, 1889.

Continuation of his essay, Die Verbannung Calvins aus Genf. M�nchen,

1886. Both in the Transactions of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

The answer to Sadolet was one of the means of saving Geneva from the

grasp of popery, and endearing Calvin to the friends of freedom. But

there were other causes which demanded his recall. Internal

disturbances followed his expulsion, and brought the little republic to

the brink of ruin.

Calvin was right in predicting a short r�gime to his enemies. In less

than a year they were demoralized and split up into factions. In the

place of the expelled Reformers, two native preachers and two from Bern

were elected on the basis of the Bernese customs, but they were below

mediocrity, and not fit for the crisis. The supremacy of the State was

guarded. Foreigners who could not show a good practical reason for

their residence were banished; among them, even Saunier and Cordier,

the rectors of the schools who faithfully adhered to the Reformers.

There were three main parties in Geneva, with subdivisions.

1. The government party was controlled by the syndics of 1538 and other

enemies of the Reformers. They were called Articulants or, by a popular

nickname, Artichauds, [605] from the twenty-one articles of a treaty

with Bern, which had been negotiated and signed by three counsellors

and deputies of the city--Ami de Chapeaurouge, Jean Lullin, and

Monathon. The government subjected the Church to the State, and was

protected by Bern, but unable to maintain order. Tumults and riots

multiplied in the streets; the schools were ruined by the expulsion of

the best teachers; the pulpit lost its power; the new preachers became

objects of contempt or pity; pastoral care was neglected; vice and

immorality increased; the old licentiousness and frivolities, dancing,

gambling, drunkenness, masquerades, indecent songs, adulteries,

reappeared; persons went naked through the streets to the sound of

drums and fifes.

Moreover, the treaty with Bern, when it became known, was very

unpopular because it conceded to Bern the rights of sovereignty. The

Council of Two Hundred would not submit to it because it sacrificed

their liberties and good customs. But the judges of Bern decided that

the Genevese must sign the treaty and pay the costs. This created a

great commotion. The people cried "treason," and demanded the arrest of

the three deputies who had been outwitted by the diplomacy of Bern, but

they made their escape; whereupon they were condemned to death as

forgers and rebels. The discontent extended to the pastors who had been

elected in the place of Farel and Calvin.

Within two years after the banishment of the Reformers, the four

syndics who had decreed it came to grief. Jean Philippe, the

captain-general of the city and most influential leader of the

Artichauds, but a man of violent passions, was beheaded for homicide,

and as a mover of sedition, June 10, 1540. Two others, Chapeaurouge and

Lullin, were condemned to death as forgers and rebels; the fourth,

Richardet, died in consequence of an injury which he received in the

attempt to escape justice. Such a series of misfortunes was considered

a nemesis of Providence, and gave the death-blow to the anti-reform

party.

2. The party of the Roman Catholics raised its head after the expulsion

of the Reformers, and received for a short time great encouragement

from the banished bishop Pierre de la Baume, whom Paul III. had made a

cardinal, and from the Letter of Cardinal Sadolet. A number of priests

and monks returned from France and Savoy, but the Answer of Calvin

destroyed all the hopes and prospects of the Romanists, and the

government showed them no favor.

3. The third party was friendly to the Reformers. It reaped all the

benefit of the blunders and misfortunes of the other two parties, and

turned them to the best account. Its members were called by their

opponents Guillermains, after Master Guillaume (Farel). They were led

by Perrin, Porral, Pertemps, and Sept. They were united, most active,

and had a definite end in view--the restoration of the Reformation.

They kept up a correspondence with the banished Reformers, especially

with Farel in Neuch�tel, who counselled and encouraged them. They were

suspected of French sympathies and want of patriotism, but retorted by

charging the government with subserviency to Bern. They were inclined

to extreme measures. Calvin exhorted them to be patient, moderate, and

forgiving.

As the Artichauds declined, the Guillermains increased in power over

the people. The vacant posts of the late syndics were filled from their

ranks. The new magistrates assumed a bold tone of independence towards

Bern, and insisted on the old franchises of Geneva. It is curious that

they were encouraged by a letter of the Emperor Charles V., who thus

unwittingly aided the cause of Calvin. [606]

The way was now prepared for the recall of Calvin. The best people of

Geneva looked to him as the saviour of their city. His name meant

order, peace, reform in Church and State.

Even the Artichauds, overpowered by public opinion, proposed in a

general assembly of citizens, June 17, 1540, the resolution to restore

the former status, and spoke loudly against popery. Two of the new

preachers, Marcourt and Morland, resigned Aug. 10, and returned to

Bern. The other two, Henri de la Mare and Jacques Bernard, humbly

besought the favor of Calvin, and begged him to return. A remarkable

tribute from his rivals and enemies. [607]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[605] Dyer, p. 113, miscalls them Artichokes, because, as he fancies,

they took "this plant for their device."

[606] "Es macht einen eigenth�mlichen Eindruck," says Kampschulte (I.

365), "Karl V. hier f�r den Sieg eines Mannes mith�tig zu sehen, dessen

Wirksamkeit, wie kaum eine andere, dazu beigetragen hat, die Grundlagen

seiner Macht zu untergraben."

[607] Bernard wrote a letter to Calvin, Feb. 6, 1541 (Herminjard, VII.

23), in which he says: "Veni ergo, venerande mi pater in Christo:

noster es perfecto. Te enim nobis donavit Dominus Deus. Suspirant etiam

post te omnes ...Faxit Dominus Jesus, ut velox adventus tuus sit ad

nos! Vale, ecclesiaeque digneris succurrere nostrae. Alioqui requiret

de manu tua sanguinem nostrum Dominus Deus. Dedit enim te speculatorem

domui Israel quae apud nos est." Calvin answered, March 1, 1541, that

he was very reluctant to return to Geneva, but would obey the voice of

the Church. Herminjard, VII. 38-40.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 94. Calvin's Recall to Geneva.

Literature in � 93, especially the Correspondence and Registers.

Calvin did not forget Geneva. He proved his interest in her welfare by

his Answer to Sadolet. But he had no inclination to return, and could

only be induced to do so by unmistakable indications of the will of

Providence.

He had found a place of great usefulness in a city where he could act

as mediator between Germany and France, and benefit both countries; his

Sunday services were crowded; his theological lectures attracted

students from France and other countries; he had married a faithful

wife, and enjoyed a peaceful home. The government of Strassburg

appreciated him more and more, and his colleagues wished to retain him.

Melanchthon thought he could spare him less at the Colloquies of Worms

and Ratisbon than anybody else. Looking to Geneva he could, from past

experience, expect nothing but severe and hard trials. "There is no

place in the world," he wrote to Viret, "which I fear more; not because

I hate it, but because I feel unequal to the difficulties which await

me there." [608] He called it an abyss from which he shrank back much

more now than he had done in 1536. Indeed, he was not mistaken in his

fears, for his subsequent life was an unbroken struggle. We need not

wonder then that he refused call upon call, and requested Farel and

Viret to desist from their efforts to allure him away. [609]

At the same time, he was determined to obey the will of God as soon as

it would be made clear to him by unmistakable indications of

Providence. "When I remember," he wrote to Farel, "that in this matter

I am not my own master, I present my heart as a sacrifice and offer it

up to the Lord." [610] A very characteristic sentence, which reveals

the soul of his piety. A seal of Calvin bears this motto, and the

emblem is a hand presenting a heart to God. Seventeen years later, when

he looked back upon that critical period of his life, he expressed the

same view. "Although the welfare of that Church," he says, "was so dear

to me, that I could without difficulty sacrifice my life for it; yet my

timidity presented to me many reasons of excuse for declining to take

such a heavy burden on my shoulders. But the sense of duty prevailed,

and led me to return to the flock from which I had been snatched away.

I did this with sadness, tears, and great anxiety and distress of mind,

the Lord being my witness, and many pious persons who would gladly have

spared me that pain, if not the same fear had shut their mouth." [611]

He mentions especially Martin Bucer, "that excellent servant of

Christ," who threatened him with the example of Jonah; as Farel, on

Calvin's first visit to Geneva, had threatened him with the wrath of

God.

His friends in Geneva, the Council and the people, were convinced that

Calvin alone could save the city from anarchy, and they made every

effort to secure his return. His recall was first seriously discussed

in the Council early in 1539, again in February, 1540, and decided upon

Sept. 21, 1540. Preparatory steps were taken to secure the co-operation

of Bern, Basel, Z�rich, and Strassburg. On the 13th of October, Michel

Du Bois, an old friend of Calvin, was sent by the Large Council with a

letter to him, and directed to press the invitation by oral

representation. Without waiting for an answer, other petitions and

deputations were forwarded. On the 19th of October the Council of Two

Hundred resolved to use every effort for the attainment of that object.

Ami Perrin and Louis Dufour were sent (Oct. 21 and 22) as deputies,

with a herald, to Strassburg "to fetch Master Calvin." Twenty dollars

gold (�cus au soleil) were voted, on the 27th, for expenses. [612] The

Registres of that month are full of actions concerning the recall of

"the learned and pious Mr. Calvin." No more complete vindication of the

cause of the Reformers could be imagined.

Farel's aid was also solicited. With incomparable self-denial he

pardoned the ingratitude of the Genevese in not recalling him, and made

every exertion to secure the return of his younger friend, whom he had

first compelled by moral force to stop at Geneva. He bombarded him with

letters. He even travelled from Neuch�tel to Strassburg, and spent two

days there, pressing him in person and trying to persuade him, as well

as Capito and Bucer, of the absolute necessity of his return to Geneva,

which, in his opinion, was the most important spot in the world.

Dufour arrived at Strassburg in November, called upon the senate,

followed Calvin to Worms, where he was in attendance on the Colloquy,

and delivered the formal letter of invitation, dated Oct. 22, and

signed by the syndics and Council of Geneva. It concludes thus: "On

behalf of our Little, Great, and General Councils (all of which have

strongly urged us to take this step), we pray you very affectionately

that you will be pleased to come over to us, and to return to your

former post and ministry; and we hope that by God's help this course

will be a great advantage for the furtherance of the holy gospel,

seeing that our people very much desire you, and we will so deal with

you that you shall have reason to be satisfied." The letter was

fastened with a seal bearing the motto: "Post tenebras spero lucem."

Calvin was thus most urgently and most honorably recalled by the united

voice of the Council, the ministers, and the people of that city which

had unjustly banished him three years before.

He was moved to tears by these manifestations of regard and confidence,

and began to waver. But the deputies of Strassburg at Worms, under

secret instruction from their government, entered a strong protest

against his leaving. Bucer, Capito, Sturm, and Grynaeus, when asked for

advice, decided that Calvin was indispensable to Strassburg as the head

of the French Church which represented Protestant France; as a

theological teacher who attracted students from Germany, France, and

Italy, to send them back to their own countries as evangelists; and as

a helper in making the Church of Strassburg a seminary of ministers of

the gospel. No one besides Melanchthon could be compared with him.

Geneva was indeed an important post, and the gate to France and Italy,

but uncertain, and liable to be involved again in political

complications which might destroy the evangelical labors of Calvin. The

pastors and senators of Strassburg, urged by the churches of Z�rich and

Basel, came at last to the conclusion to consent to Calvin's return

after the Colloquy of Worms, but only for a season, hoping that he may

soon make their city his final home for the benefit of the whole

Church. [613]

Thus two cities, we might almost say, two nations, were contending for

the possession of "the Theologian." His whole future life, and a

considerable chapter of Church history, depended on the decision. Under

these circumstances he could make no definite promise, except that he

would pay a visit to Geneva after the close of the Colloquy, on

condition of getting the consent of Strassburg and Bern. He also

prescribed, like a victorious general, the terms of surrender, namely,

the restoration of Church discipline.

He had previously advised that Viret be called from Lausanne. This was

done in Dec. 31, 1540, with the permission of Bern, but only for half a

year. Viret arrived in Geneva Jan. 17, 1541. His persuasive sermons

were well attended, and the magistrates showed great reverence for the

Word of God; but he found so much and such difficult work in church and

school, in the hospital and the poorhouse, that he urged Calvin to come

soon, else he must withdraw or perish.

On the 1st of May, 1541, the General Council recalled, in due form, the

sentence of banishment of April 23, 1538, and solemnly declared that

every citizen considered Calvin, Farel, and Saunier to be honorable

men, and true servants of God. [614] On the 26th of May the senate sent

another pressing request to Strassburg, Z�rich, and Basel to aid Geneva

in securing the return of Calvin. [615]

It is astonishing what an amount of interest this question of Calvin's

return excited throughout Switzerland and Germany. It was generally

felt that the fate of Geneva depended on Calvin, and that the fate of

evangelical religion in France and Italy depended on Geneva. Letters

arrived from individuals and corporations. Farel continued to thunder,

and reproached the Strassburgers for keeping Calvin back. He was

indignant at Calvin's delay. "Will you wait," he wrote him, "till the

stones call thee?"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[608] March 1, 1541 (from Ulm on his journey to Ratisbon): "Non aliter

respondeo quam quod semper solitus sum: Nullum esse locum sub caelo

quem magis reformidem, non quia oderim, sed quoniam tot difficultates

illic mihi propositas video, quibus superandis sentio me longe esse

imparem. Quoties superiorum temporum subit recordatio, facere nequeo

quin toto pectore exhorrescam, si cogar me iterum antiquis illis

certaminibus objicere. Si mihi cum ecclesia illa tantum esset negocium,

animo essem quietiore; certe minus terrerer. Sed vicinos [allusion to

Bern] cogita, qui mihi olim tantum molestiae exhibuerunt." Opera, XI.

167; Herminjard, VII. 43.

[609] Dyer (p. 121) and Kampschulte (I. 370) suspect, without any

reason, that Calvin, in his repeated refusals, was influenced by the

unworthy motive to humble the pride of the Genevese. What more could

they do than bombard him with petitions and deputations? And this they

did months before he accepted the call.

[610] "Cor meum velut mactatum Domino in sacrificium offero." Oct. 24,

1540. Opera, XI. 100; Herminjard, VI. 339. Henry has appropriately

chosen this sentence as the motto for his biography.

[611] Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms (written in 1557), Opera,

XXXI. 27.

[612] Annal. 266 sqq.; Herminjard, VI. 331-335.

[613] See the letters signed by Capito, Hedio, Bucer, Sturm, Bedrotus,

Grynaeus (probably written by Bucer), October and November, 1540, in

Herminjard, VI. 335 and 356 sqq., and the letter of the Council of

Strassburg to the Council of Geneva, Sept. 1, 1541, vol. VII. 227.

[614] "Pour gens de bien et de Dieu." Annal. 278.

[615] See the letters of the Council of Geneva to the Pastors of Z�rich

in Opera, XI. 220 sqq., and in Herminjard, VII. 129 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 95. Calvin's Return to Geneva. 1541.

In the middle of June, Calvin left Regensburg, before the close of the

Colloquy, much to the regret of Melanchthon; and after attending to his

affairs in Strassburg, he set out for Switzerland. The Genevese sent

Eustace Vincent, a mounted herald, to escort him, and voted thirty-six

�cus for expenses (Aug. 26).

The Strassburgers requested him to retain his right of citizenship, and

the annual revenues of a prebend, which they had assigned him as the

salary of his theological professorship. "He gladly accepted," says

Beza, "the former mark of respect, but could never be induced to accept

the latter, since the care of riches occupied his mind the least of

anything."

Bucer, in the name of the pastors of Strassburg, gave him a letter to

the Syndics and Council of Geneva, Sept. 1, 1541, in which he says:

"Now he comes at last, Calvin, that elect and incomparable instrument

of God, to whom no other in our age may be compared, if at all there

can be the question of another alongside of him." He added that such a

highly favored man Strassburg could only spare for a season, on

condition of his certain return. [616] The Council of Strassburg wrote

to the Council of Geneva on the same day, expressing the hope that

Calvin may soon return to them for the benefit of the Church universal.

[617] The Senate of Geneva, in a letter of thanks (Sept. 17, 1541),

expressed the determination to keep Calvin permanently in their city,

where he could be as useful to the Church universal as at Strassburg.

[618]

Calvin visited his friends in Basel, who affectionately commended him

to Bern and Geneva (Sept. 4). [619] Bern was not very favorable to

Calvin and the clerical ascendency in Geneva, but gave him a

safe-conduct through her territory.

At Soleure (Solothurn) he learned that Farel was deposed, without a

trial, by the magistracy of Neuch�tel, because he had attacked a person

of rank from the pulpit for scandalous conduct. He, therefore, turned

from the direct route, and spent some days with his friend, trying to

relieve him of the difficulty. He did not succeed at once, but his

efforts were supported by Z�rich, Strassburg, Basel, and Bern; and the

seignory of Neuch�tel resolved to keep Farel, who continued to labor

there till his death. [620]

Calvin wrote to the Council of Geneva from Neuch�tel on Sept. 7,

explaining the reason of his delay. [621] The next day he proceeded to

Bern and delivered letters from Strassburg and Basel.

He was expected at Geneva on the 9th of September, but did not arrive,

it seems, before the 13th. He wished to avoid a noisy reception, for

which he had no taste. [622] But there is no doubt that his arrival

caused general rejoicing among the people. [623]

The Council provided for the Reformer a house and garden in the Rue des

Chanoines near St. Peter's Church, [624] and promised him (Oct. 4), in

consideration of his great learning and hospitality to strangers, a

fixed salary of fifty gold dollars, or five hundred florins, besides

twelve measures of wheat and two casks of wine. [625] It also voted him

a new suit of broadcloth, with furs for the winter. This provision was

liberal for those days, yet barely sufficient for the necessary

expenses of the Reformer and the claims on his hospitality. Hence the

Council made him occasional presents for extra services; but he

declined them whenever he could do without them. He lived in the

greatest simplicity compatible with his position. A pulpit in St.

Peter's was prepared for him upon a broad, low pillar, that the whole

congregation might more easily hear him.

The Council sent three horses and a carriage to bring Calvin's wife and

furniture. It took twenty-two days for the escort from Geneva to

Strassburg and back (from Sept. 17 to Oct. 8). [626]

On the 13th of September Calvin appeared before the Syndics and the

Council in the Town Hall, delivered the letters from the senators and

pastors of Strassburg and Basel, and apologized for his long delay. He

made no complaint and demanded no punishment of his enemies, but asked

for the appointment of a commission to prepare a written order of

church government and discipline. The Council complied with this

request, and resolved to retain him permanently, and to inform the

Senate of Strassburg of this intention. Six prominent laymen, four

members of the Little Council, two members of the Large

Council,--Pertemps, Perrin, Roset, Lambert, Goulaz, and Porral,--were

appointed to draw up the ecclesiastical ordinances in conference with

the ministers. [627]

On Sept. 16, Calvin wrote to Farel: "Thy wish is granted, I am held

fast here. May God give his blessing." [628]

He desired to retain Viret and to secure Farel as permanent

co-laborers; but in this he was disappointed--Viret being needed at

Lausanne, and Farel at Neuch�tel. By special permission of Bern,

however, Viret was allowed to remain with him till July of the next

year. His other colleagues were rather a hindrance than a help to him,

as "they had no zeal and very little learning, and could not be

trusted." Nearly the whole burden of reconstructing the Church of

Geneva rested on his shoulders. It was a formidable task.

Never was a man more loudly called by government and people, never did

a man more reluctantly accept the call, never did a man more faithfully

and effectively fulfil the duties of the call than John Calvin when, in

obedience to the voice of God, he settled a second time at Geneva to

live and to die at this post of duty.

"Of all men in the world," says one of his best biographers and

greatest admirers, [629] "Calvin is the one who most worked, wrote,

acted, and prayed for the cause which he had embraced. The coexistence

of the sovereignty of God and the freedom of man is assuredly a

mystery; but Calvin never supposed that because God did all, he

personally had nothing to do. He points out clearly the twofold action,

that of God and that of man. 'God,' said he, 'after freely bestowing

his grace on us, forthwith demands of us a reciprocal acknowledgment.

When he said to Abraham, "I am thy God," it was an offer of his free

goodness; but he adds at the same time what he required of him: "Walk

before me, and be thou perfect." This condition is tacitly annexed to

all the promises. They are to be to us as spurs, inciting us to promote

the glory of God.' And elsewhere he says, 'This doctrine ought to

create new vigor in all your members, so that you may be fit and alert,

with might and main, to follow the call of God.' " [630]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[616] The letter is in Latin with a French translation by Viret, Opera,

X. 271 Herminjard, VII. 231-233. "Venit tandem ad vos Calvinus, eximium

profecto el rarissimum, cui vix secundum, si tamen secundum ultum,

organum Christi hodie extat .... Venit ergo, dimissus ratione ea quam

noster senatus perscribit, ut nimirum redeat."

[617] Herminjard, VII. 227-230, in Latin and French.

[618] Herminjard, VII. 253-255; Opera, XI. 208.

[619] Opera, XI. 274.

[620] See the correspondence in Herminjard, VII. 242 sqq.

[621] Herminjard, VII. 239. The letter was received at Geneva, Sept.

12. See Herminjard's note 6 on p. 240.

[622] He says, in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms: "I have

no intention of showing myself, and making a noise in the world."

Kampschulte goes beyond the record when he asserts (I. 380, 381): "F�r

den Empfang eines F�rsten h�tte nicht mehr Theilnahme bewiesen werden

k�nnen .... Am 13tenSept. hielt er unter dem Jubel der Bev�lkerung

seinen feierlichen Einzug in Genf." Perhaps he followed here St�helin,

who says (I. 316): "Mit unglaublicher Begeisterung, wie im Triumphe,

wurde er von dem Folk und dem Magistrate empfangen." There is no record

of such a triumphant public entrance. See Beza and Colladon in the next

note. Roget and Merle d'Aubign� (VII. 62 sq.) deny the fact of a

popular ovation.

[623] Beza (XXI. 131): "Calvinus XIII. Septembris anno Domini MDXLI

Genevam regressus est, summa cum universi populi ac senatus inprimis

singulare Dei erga se beneficium serio tum agnoscentis

congratulatione." Colladon (XXI. 64): "Calvin fut tellement receu de

singuli�re affection par ce poure peuple recognoissant so faute, et qui

estoit affam�d'ouir son fidele Pasteur, qu'on ne cessa point qu'il ne

fut arrest�pour tousiours."

[624] It was the house of Sieur de Fresneville, between the house of

Bonivard, on the west, and that of Abb� de Bonmont, on the east, where

Calvin lived from 1543 till his death. But as this house was not ready

on his arrival, he lodged for a while in an adjoining house of the

abbot of Bonmont, which was rebuilt in 1708 (No. 13 Rue des Chanoines,

now called Rue de Calvin) and passed into the possession of Adrien

Naville, president of the Soci�t� �vang�lique. The second house (No.

11) remained a Reformed parsonage till 1700; in 1834 it was acquired by

the Roman Catholic clergy, who assigned it to the Sisters of Mercy of

Vincent de Paul, but it is now owned by the State. See Th. Heyer, De la

maison de Calvin, in the "M�moires d'Arch�ologie," IX. 391-408. I have

consulted Mr. Ed. Naville and Mr. Ed. Favre of Geneva, who confirmed

the above statements.

[625] "Cinq cens florins, douze coppes de froment et deux bossot de

vin." Annal. 284. Five hundred florins of Geneva were equivalent to

about four thousand francs at the present standard of value. This is

the estimate of Franklin and of Merle d'Aubign�, VII. 69. Galiffe

(Quelq. pages d'Hist. p. 89, as quoted by Kampschulte, I. 388, note 3)

estimates Calvin's annual income at 9 to 10,000 francs of our money

($2000). A syndic at that time received only 100, a counsellor 25

francs, according to the same authority.

[626] Herminjard, VII. 289, note: "On paya au voiturier, Emoz Daiz,

pour 22journ�es 7florins, 4sols."

[627] Reg. du Conseil, vol. XXXV. 324, quoted in Annal. 282, and by

Herminjard; Calvin's letter to Farel, Sept. 16, 1541, in Opera, XI.

281, and Herminjard, VII. 249-250.

[628] "Quod bene vertat Deus, hic retentus sum, ut volebas. Superest ut

Viretum quoque mecum retineam, quem a me avelli nullo modo patiar. Tuae

quoque omni unique fratrum partes me hic adjuvare, nisi vultis me

frustra excruciari, ac sine commodo esse miserrimum." Herminjard, VII.

249.

[629] Merle d'Aubign�, VII. 70.

[630] Comments on 2 Cor. 7:1; Gen. 17:1.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 96. The First Years after the Return.

Calvin entered at once upon his labors, and continued them without

interruption for twenty-three years--till his death, May 27, 1564.

The first years were full of care and trial, as he had anticipated. His

duties were more numerous and responsible than during his first

sojourn. Then he was supported by the older Farel; now he stood at the

head of the Church at Geneva, though yet a young man of thirty-two. He

had to reorganize the Church, to introduce a constitution and order of

worship, to preach, to teach, to settle controversies, to conciliate

contending parties, to provide for the instruction of youth, to give

advice even in purely secular affairs. No wonder that he often felt

discouraged and exhausted, but trust in God, and a sense of duty kept

him up.

Viret was of great service to him, but he was called back to Lausanne

in July, 1542. His other colleagues--Jacques Bernard, Henri de la Mare,

and Aim� Champereau--were men of inferior ability, and not reliable. In

1542 four new pastors were appointed,--Pierre Blanchet, Matthias de

Greneston, Louis Trappereau, and Philippe Ozias (or Ozeas). In 1544

Geneva had twelve pastors, six of them for the county Churches. Calvin

gradually trained a corps of enthusiastic evangelists. Farel and Viret

visited Geneva on important occasions. For his last years, he had a

most able and learned colleague in his friend Theodore Beza.

He pursued a wise and conciliatory course, which is all the more

creditable to him when we consider the stern severity of his character

and system. He showed a truly Christian forbearance to his former

enemies, and patience with the weakness of his colleagues. [631]

"I will endeavor," he wrote to Bucer, in a long letter, Oct. 15, 1541,

"to cultivate a good understanding and harmony with my neighbors, and

also brotherly kindness (if they will allow me), with as much fidelity

and diligence as I possibly can. So far as it depends on me, I shall

give no ground of offence to any one ... If in any way I do not answer

your expectation, you know that I am in your power, and subject to your

authority. Admonish me, chastise me, exercise towards me all the

authority of a father over his son. Pardon my haste ... I am entangled

in so many employments that I am almost beside myself." [632]

To Myconius of Basel he wrote, March 14, 1542:

"I value the public peace and concord so highly, that I lay restraint

upon myself; and this praise even the adversaries are compelled to

award to me. [633] This feeling prevails to such an extent, that, from

day to day, those who were once open enemies have become friends;

others I conciliate by courtesy, and I feel that I have been in some

measure successful, although not everywhere and on all occasions.

"On my arrival it was in my power to have disconcerted our enemies most

triumphantly, entering with full sail among the whole of that tribe who

had done the mischief. I have abstained; if I had liked, I could daily,

not merely with impunity, but with the approval of very many, have used

sharp reproof. I forbear; even with the most scrupulous care do I avoid

everything of the kind, lest even by some slight word I should appear

to persecute any individual, much less all of them at once. May the

Lord confirm me in this disposition of mind." [634]

He met at first with no opposition, but hearty co-operation among the

people. About a fortnight after his arrival he presented a formula of

the ecclesiastical order to the Small Council. Objection was made to

the monthly celebration of the Lord's Supper, instead of the custom of

celebrating it only four times a year. Calvin, who strongly favored

even a more frequent celebration, yielded his better judgment "in

consideration of the weakness of the times," and for the sake of

harmony. With this modification, the Small Council adopted the

constitution Oct. 27; the Large Council confirmed it Nov. 9; and the

general assembly of the citizens ratified it, by a very large majority,

in St. Peter's Church, the 20th of November, 1541. The small minority,

however, included some of the leading citizens who were opposed to

ecclesiastical discipline. The Articles, after the insertion of some

trifling amendments and additions, were definitely adopted by the three

Councils, Jan. 2, 1542. [635]

This was a great victory; for the ecclesiastical ordinances, which we

shall consider afterwards, laid a solid foundation for a strong and

well-regulated evangelical church.

Calvin preached at St. Peter's, Viret at St. Gervais. The first

services were of a penitential character, and their solemnity was

enhanced by the fearful ravages of the pestilence in the neighboring

cities. An extraordinary celebration of the holy communion on the first

Sunday in November, and a weekly day of humiliation and prayer were

appointed to invoke the mercy of God upon Geneva and the whole Church.

The second year after his return was very trying. The pestilence, which

in 1541 had been raging in Strassburg and all along the Rhine, crept

into Switzerland, diminishing the population of Basel and Z�rich, and

reached Geneva in the autumn, 1542. To the pestilence was added the

scourge of famine, as is often the case. The evil was aggravated by the

great influx of strangers who were attracted by Calvin's fame and

sought refuge from persecution under his shelter. The pest-house

outside of the city was crowded. Calvin and Pierre Blanchet offered

their services to the sick, while the rest of the ministers shrank

back. [636] The Council refused to let Calvin go, because the Church

could not spare him. [637] Blanchet risked his life, and fell a victim

to his philanthrophy in eight or nine months. Calvin, in a letter dated

October, 1542, gives the following account to Viret, who, in July, had

left for Lausanne: [638] --

"The pestilence also begins to rage here with greater violence, and few

who are at all affected by it escape its ravages. One of our colleagues

was to be set apart for attendance upon the sick. Because Peter

[Blanchet] offered himself all readily acquiesced. If anything happens

to him, I fear that I must take the risk upon myself, for, as you

observe, because we are debtors to one another, we must not be wanting

to those who, more than any others, stand in need of our ministry. And

yet it is not my opinion, that while we wish to provide for one portion

we are at liberty to neglect the body of the Church itself. But so long

as we are in this ministry, I do not see that any pretext will avail

us, if, through fear of infection, we are found wanting in the

discharge of our duty when there is most need of our assistance."

Farel, on a like occasion, visited the sick daily, rich and poor,

friend and foe, without distinction. [639] We must judge Calvin by his

spirit and motive. He had undoubtedly the spirit of a martyr, but felt

it his duty to obey the magistrates, and to spare his life till the

hour of necessity. We may refer to the example of Cyprian, who fled

during the Decian persecution, but died heroically as a martyr in the

Valerian persecution.

In 1545 Geneva was again visited by a pestilence, which some Swiss

soldiers brought from France. The horrors were aggravated by a

diabolical conspiracy of wicked persons, including some women,

connected with the pest-house, for spreading the plague by artificial

means, to gain spoils from the dead. The conspirators used the infected

linen of those who had died of the disease, and smeared the locks of

the houses with poison. A woman confessed, under torture, that she had

killed eighteen men by her infernal arts. The ravages were fearful;

Geneva was decimated; two thousand died out of a population of less

than twenty thousand. Seven men and twenty-one women were burned alive

for this offence. The physician of the lazaretto and two assistants

were quartered.

Calvin formed a modest estimate of his labors during the first years,

as may be seen from his letters. He wrote to Myconius, the first

minister of Basel, March 14, 1542: [640] --

"The present state of our affairs I can give you in a few words. For

the first month after resuming the ministry, I had so much to attend

to, and so many annoyances, that I was almost worn out; such a work of

labor and difficulty has it been to upbuild once more a fallen edifice

(collapsum edificium instaurare). Although certainly Viret had already

begun successfully to restore, yet, nevertheless, because he had

deferred the complete form of order and discipline until my arrival, it

had, as it were, to be commenced anew. When, having overcome this

labor, I believed that there would be breathing-time allowed me, lo!

new cares presented themselves, and those of a kind not much lighter

than the former. This, however, somewhat consoles and refreshes me,

that we do not labor altogether in vain, without some fruit appearing;

which, although it is not so plentiful as we could wish, yet neither is

it so scanty but that there does appear some change for the better.

There is a brighter prospect for the future if Viret can be left here

with me; on which account I am all the more desirous to express to you

my most thankful acknowledgment, because you share with me in my

anxiety that the Bernese may not call him away; and I earnestly pray,

for the sake of Christ, that you would do your utmost to bring that

about; for whenever the thought of his going away presents itself, I

faint and lose courage entirely ... Our other colleagues are rather a

hindrance than a help to us; they are rude and self-conceited, have no

zeal and less learning. But what is worst of all, I cannot trust them,

even although I very much wish that I could; for by many evidences they

show their estrangement from us, and give scarcely any indication of a

sincere and trustworthy disposition. I bear with them, however, or

rather I humor them, with the utmost lenity; a course from which I

shall not be induced to depart, even by their bad conduct. But if, in

the long run, the sore need a severer remedy, I shall do my utmost, and

shall see to it by every method I can think of, to avoid disturbing the

peace of the Church with our quarrels; for I dread the factions which

must always necessarily arise from the dissensions of ministers. On my

first arrival I might have driven them away had I wished to do so, and

that is also even now in my power. I shall never, however, repent the

degree of moderation which I have observed, since no one can justly

complain that I have been too severe. These things I mention to you in

a cursory way, that you may the more clearly perceive how wretched I

shall be if Viret is taken away from me."

A month later (April 17, 1542), he wrote to Myconius: [641] --

"In what concerns the private condition of this Church, I somehow,

along with Viret, sustain the burden of it. If he is taken away from

me, my situation will be more deplorable than I can describe to you,

and even should he remain, there is some hazard that very much may not

be obtained in the midst of so much secret animosity [between Geneva

and Bern]. But that I may not torment myself beforehand, the Lord will

see to it, and provide some one on whom I am compelled to cast this

care."

In February, 1543, he wrote to Melanchthon:

"As to our own affairs, there is much that I might write, but the sole

cause which imposes silence upon me is, that I could find no end. I

labor here and do my utmost, but succeed indifferently. Nevertheless,

all are astonished that my progress is so great in the midst of so many

impediments, the greater part of which arise from the ministers

themselves. This, however, is a great alleviation of my troubles, that

not only this Church, but also the whole neighborhood, derive some

benefit from my presence. Besides that, somewhat overflows from hence

upon France, and even spreads as far as Italy." [642]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[631] "Diese milde, vers�hnliche Haltug nach seiner R�ckkehr bildet

eines dersch�nsten Bl�tter in der Geschichte Calvin's." So says

Kampschulte (I. 390), but he unjustly diminishes the praise by adding:

"Noch h�her w�rde die Nachwelt sein Verdienst anschlagen, wenn er sich

selbst desselben weniger bewusst gewesen w�re." How could he be

unconscious of his intention? And he spoke of it not boastingly, but

modestly, like Paul.

[632] Herminjard, VII. 293; Opera, XI. 299; Bonnet-Constable, I. 269.

[633] "Tanti enim mihi est publica pax et concordia, ut manum mihi

injiciam: atque hanc laudem mihi adversarii ipsi tribuere coquntur."

[634] Herminjard, VII. 439; Bonnet-Constable, I. 291.

[635] Registers, Oct. 25 and 27, Nov. 9 and 20, 1541; and Jan. 2, 1542.

Opera, X. 15; XI. 379; XXI. 287, 289, 290. The R�gisters du Conseil of

Jan. 2, 1542 (vol. XXXV. f. 449), record as follows: "Ordonnances sus

l�glise: lesquelles hont est�pass�par petit grand et g�n�ral conseyl

touteffoys hont estes corrig�s, et avant quil soyent mys �limprymerie

Resoluz que en ung conseyl extraordinaire lesdictes ordonnances soyent

vehues [vues] affin que telle quest passe par le g�n�ral ne soyt

chang�." Annal., XXI. 289 sq.

[636] They said that they would rather go "au diable" than to the

pest-house.

[637] That Calvin offered himself is asserted not only by Beza (XXXI.

134), but also by Roset and Savion. See Bonnet, I. 334, note.

Castellio, who was not a minister, though he wished to become one, also

offered his services, but changed his mind when the lot fell on him.

[638] Bonnet-Constable, I. 334.

[639] Kirchhofer, Leben Farels, II. 33.

[640] Herminjard, VII. 437 sq.; Opera, XI. 376 sq.; Bonnet-Constable,

I. 289 sq.

[641] Herminjard, VII. 453; Opera, XI. 384; Bonnet-Constable, I. 297.

[642] Bonnet-Constable, I. 351; Opera, XI. 516. The last sentence, "as

far as Italy," is confirmed by a most grateful letter of evangelical

believers in Venice, Vicenza, and Treviso, "to the saints of the Church

of God in Geneva," dated Venice, 8 Id. December, 1542. See Opera, XI.

472-474.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 97. Survey of Calvin's Activity.

Calvin combined the offices of theological professor, preacher, pastor,

church-ruler, superintendent of schools, with the extra labors of

equal, yea, greater, importance, as author, correspondent, and leader

of the expanding movement of the Reformation in Western Europe. He was

involved in serious disciplinary and theological controversies with the

Libertines, Romanists, Pelagians, Antitrinitarians, and Lutherans. He

had no help except from one or more young men, whom he kept in his

house and employed as clerks. When unwell he dictated from his bed. He

had an amazing power for work notwithstanding his feeble health. When

interrupted in dictation, he could at once resume work at the point

where he left off. [643] He indulged in no recreation except a quarter

or half an hour's walk in his room or garden after meals, and an

occasional game of quoits or la clef with intimate friends. He allowed

himself very little sleep, and for at least ten years he took but one

meal a day, alleging his bad digestion. [644] No wonder that he

undermined his health, and suffered of headache, ague, dyspepsia, and

other bodily infirmities which terminated in a premature death.

Luther and Zwingli were as indefatigable workers as Calvin, but they

had an abundance of flesh and blood, and enjoyed better health. Luther

liked to play with his children, and to entertain his friends with his

humorous table-talk. Zwingli also found recreation in poetry and music,

and played on several instruments.

A few years before his death, Calvin was compelled to speak of his work

in self-defence against the calumnies of an ungrateful student and

amanuensis, Fran�ois Baudouin, a native of Arras, who ran away with

some of Calvin's papers, turned a Romanist, and publicly abused his

benefactor. "I will not," he says, "enumerate the pleasures,

conveniences, and riches I have renounced for Christ. I will only say

that, had I the disposition of Baudouin, it would not have been very

difficult for me to procure those things which he has always sought in

vain, and which he now but too greedily gloats upon. But let that pass.

Content with my humble fortune, my attention to frugality has prevented

me from being a burden to anybody. I remain tranquil in my station, and

have even given up a part of the moderate salary assigned to me,

instead of asking for any increase. I devote all my care, labor, and

study not only to the service of this Church, to which I am peculiarly

bound, but to the assistance of all the Churches by every means in my

power. I so discharge my office of a teacher, that no ambition may

appear in my extreme faithfulness and diligence. I devour numerous

griefs, and endure the rudeness of many; but my liberty is uncontrolled

by the power of any man. I do not indulge the great by flattery; I fear

not to give offence. No prosperity has hitherto inflated me; whilst I

have intrepidly borne the many severe storms by which I have been

tossed, till by the singular mercy of God I emerged from them. I live

affably with my equals, and endeavor faithfully to preserve my

friendships." [645]

Beza, his daily companion, thus describes "the ordinary labors" of

Calvin, as he calls them: "During the week he preached every alternate,

and lectured every third day; on Thursday he presided in the meetings

of Presbytery (Consistory); and on Friday he expounded the Scripture in

the assembly which we call 'the Congregation.' He illustrated several

sacred books with most learned commentaries, besides answering the

enemies of religion, and maintaining an extensive correspondence on

matters of great importance. Any one who reads these attentively, will

be astonished how one little man (unicus homunculus) could be fit for

labors so numerous and great. He availed himself much of the aid of

Farel and Viret, [646] while, at the same time, he conferred greater

benefits on them. Their friendship and intimacy was not less hateful to

the wicked than delightful to all the pious; and, in truth, it was a

most pleasing spectacle to see and hear those three distinguished men

carrying on the work of God in the Church so harmoniously, with such a

variety of gifts. Farel excelled in a certain sublimity of mind, so

that nobody could either hear his thunders without trembling, or listen

to his most fervent prayers without being almost carried up to heaven.

Viret possessed such suavity of eloquence, that his hearers were

compelled to hang upon his lips. Calvin filled the mind of the hearers

with as many weighty sentiments as he uttered words. I have often

thought that a preacher compounded of the three would be absolutely

perfect. In addition to these employments, Calvin had many others,

arising out of circumstances domestic and foreign. The Lord so blessed

his ministry that persons flocked to him from all parts of the

Christian world; some to take his advice in matters of religion, and

others to hear, him. Hence, we have seen an Italian, an English, and,

finally, a Spanish Church at Geneva, one city seeming scarcely

sufficient to entertain so many nests. But though at home he was

courted by the good and feared by the bad, and matters had been

admirably arranged, yet there were not wanting individuals who gave him

great annoyance. We will unfold these contests separately, that

posterity may be presented with a singular example of fortitude, which

each may imitate according to his ability." [647]

We shall now consider this astounding activity of the Reformer in

detail: his Church polity, his theological system, his controversies,

and his relation to, and influence on, foreign churches.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[643] Beza (XXI. 169): "Ut ... inter dictandum saepe aliquot horas

interturbatus statim ad dictata nullo commonefaciente rediret."

[644] Beza (XXI. 160): "Per decem minimum annos prandio abstinuit, ut

nullum omnino cibum extra statam coenae horam sumeret, ut eum mirum sit

phthisim effugere tam diu potuisse." Farther on (fol. 169) Beza says of

Calvin: "Victu sic temperato, ut a sordibus et ab omni luxu longissime

abesset: cibi parcissimi, ut per multos annos semel quotidie cibum

sumpserit, ventriculi imbecillitatem causatus." Sometimes he abstained

for thirty-six hours from all food. At the advice of his physician, he

ate an egg and drank a glass of wine at noon.

[645] Responsio ad Balduini Convicia (Geneva, 1562), in Opera, vol. IX.

561-580. Baudouin was an able lawyer, but a turncoat in religion. He

died in 1573. On this personal controversy see Responsio, etc., Opera,

VIII. 321 A, and Henry, vol. III. 549 sqq. Luther had a similar

experience with John Agricola (Eisleben), his pupil and trusted friend,

who publicly attacked him, and stirred up the Antinomian controversy.

[646] Who came to Geneva occasionally, the former from Neuch�tel, the

latter from Lausanne.

[647] Vita Calv. in Opera, XXI. l32.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XIII.

CONSTITUTION AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 98. Literature.

I. Calvin's Institutio Christ. Religionis, the fourth book, which

treats of the Church and the Sacraments.--Les | ordinances |

eccl�siastiques de | l'�glise de Gen�ve. | Item | l'ordre des escoles |

de la dite cit�.| Gen., 1541. 92 pp. 4�; another ed., 1562, 110 pp.

Reprinted in Opera, X. fol. 15-30. (Projet d'ordinances

eccl�siastiques, 1541). The same vol. contains also L'ordre du College

de Gen�ve; Leges academicae (1559), fol. 65-90; and Les ordinances

eccl�siastiques de 1561, fol. 91-124. Comp. the Prolegomena, IX. sq.,

and also the earliest document on the organization and worship of the

Church of Geneva, 1537, fol. 5-14.

II. Dr. Georg Weber: Geschichtliche Darstellung des Calvinismus im

Verh�ltniss zum Staat in Genf und Frankreich bis zur Aufhebung des

Edikts von Nantes, Heidelberg, 1836 (pp. 872). The first two chapters

only (pp. 1-32) treat of Calvin and Geneva; the greater part of the

book is a history of the French Reformation till 1685.--C. B.

Hundeshagen: Ueber den Einfluss des Calvinismus auf die Ideen von

Staat, und staats-b�rgerlicher Freiheit, Bern, 1842.--\*Am�d�e Roget:

L'�glise et l'�tat � Gen�ve du vivant de Calvin. �tude d'histoire

politico-eccl�siastique, Gen�ve, 1867 (pp. 92). Comp. also his Histoire

du peuple de Gen�ve depuis la r�forme jusqu'� l'escalade (1536-1602),

1870-1883, 7 vols.

III. Henry, Part II. chs. III.-VI. Comp. his small biography, pp.

165-196.--Dyer, ch. III.--St�helin, bk. IV. (vol. I. 319

sqq.).--Kampschulte, I. 385-480. This is the end of his work; vols. II.

and III. were prevented by his premature death (Dec. 3, 1872), and

intrusted to Professor Cornelius of Munich (a friend and colleague of

the late Dr. D�llinger), but he has so far only published a few papers

on special points, in the Transactions of the Munich Academy. See p.

230. Merle D'Aubign�, bk. XI. chs. XXII.-XXIV. (vol. VII. 73 sqq.).

These are his last chapters on Calvin, coming down to February, 1542;

the continuation was prevented by his death in 1872.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 99. Calvin's Idea of the Holy Catholic Church.

During his sojourn at Strassburg, Calvin matured his views on the

Church and the Sacraments, and embodied them in the fourth book of the

second edition of his Institutes, which appeared in the same year as

his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (1539). His ideal was high

and comprehensive, far beyond what he was able to realize in the little

district of Geneva. "In no respect, perhaps," says a distinguished

Scotch Presbyterian scholar, [648] "are the Institutes more remarkable

than in a certain comprehensiveness and catholicity of tone, which to

many will appear strangely associated with his name. But Calvin was far

too enlightened not to recognize the grandeur of the Catholic idea

which had descended through so many ages; this idea had, in truth, for

such a mind as his, special attractions, and his own system mainly

sought to give to the same idea a new and higher form. The narrowness

and intolerance of his ecclesiastical rule did not so much spring out

of the general principles laid down in the Institutes, as from his

special interpretation and application of these principles."

When Paul was a prisoner in Rome, chained to a heathen soldier, and

when Christianity was confined to a small band of humble believers

scattered through a hostile world, he described to the Ephesians his

sublime conception of the Church as the mystical "body of Christ, the

fulness of Him who filleth all in all." Yet in the same and other

epistles he finds it necessary to warn the members of this holy

brotherhood even against such vulgar vices as theft, intemperance, and

fornication. The contradiction is only apparent, and disappears in the

distinction between the ideal and the real, the essential and the

phenomenal, the Church as it is in the mind of Christ and the Church as

it is in the masses of nominal Christians.

The same apparent contradiction we find in Calvin, in Luther, and other

Reformers. They cherished the deepest respect for the holy Catholic

Church of Christ, and yet felt it their duty to protest with all their

might against the abuses and corruptions of the actual Church of their

age, and especially against the papal hierarchy which ruled it with

despotic power. We may go further back to the protest of the Hebrew

Prophets against the corrupt priesthood. Christ himself, who recognized

the divine economy of the history of Israel, and came to fulfil the Law

and the Prophets, attacked with withering severity the

self-righteousness and hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees who sat

in Moses' seat, and was condemned by the high priest and the Jewish

hierarchy to the death of the cross. These scriptural antecedents help

very much to understand and to justify the course of the Reformers.

Nothing can be more truly Catholic than Calvin's description of the

historic Church. It reminds one of the finest passages in St. Cyprian

and St. Augustin. After explaining the meaning of the article of the

Apostles' Creed on the holy Catholic Church, as embracing not only the

visible Church, but all God's elect, living and departed, he thus

speaks of the visible or historic Catholic Church: [649]

"As our present design is to treat of the visible Church, we may learn

even from the title of mother, how useful and even necessary it is for

us to know her; since there is no other way of entrance into life,

unless we are conceived by her, born of her, nourished at her breast,

and continually preserved under her care and government till we are

divested of this mortal flesh and become I like the angels' (Matt.

22:30). For our infirmity will not admit of our dismission from her

school; we must continue under her instruction and discipline to the

end of our lives. It is also to be remarked that out of her bosom there

can be no hope of remission of sins, or any salvation, according to the

testimony of Isaiah (37:32) and Joel (2:32); which is confirmed by

Ezekiel (13:9), when he denounces that those whom God excludes from the

heavenly life shalt not be enrolled among his people. So, on the

contrary, those who devote themselves to the service of God are said to

inscribe their names among the citizens of Jerusalem. For which reason

the Psalmist says, 'Remember me, O Lord, with the favor that thou

bearest unto thy people: O visit me with thy salvation, that I may see

the prosperity of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy

nation, that I may glory with thine inheritance' (Ps106:4, 5). In these

words the paternal favor of God, and the peculiar testimony of the

spiritual life, are restricted to his flock, to teach us that it is

always fatally dangerous to be separated from the Church." [650]

So strong are the claims of the visible Church upon us that even

abounding corruptions cannot justify a secession. Reasoning against the

Anabaptists and other radicals who endeavored to build up a new Church

of converts directly from the Bible, without any regard to the

intervening historical Church, he says: [651]

"Dreadful are those descriptions in which Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel,

Habakkuk, and others, deplore the disorders of the Church at Jerusalem.

There was such general and extreme corruption in the people, in the

magistrates, and in the priests that Isaiah does not hesitate to

compare Jerusalem to Sodom and Gomorrah. Religion was partly despised,

partly corrupted. Their manners were generally disgraced by thefts,

robberies, treacheries, murders, and similar crimes.

"Nevertheless, the Prophets on this account neither raised themselves

new churches, nor built new altars for the oblation of separate

sacrifices; but whatever were the characters of the people, yet because

they considered that God had deposited his word among that nation, and

instituted the ceremonies in which he was there worshipped, they lifted

up pure hands to him even in the congregation of the impious. If they

had thought that they contracted any contagion from these services,

surely they would have suffered a hundred deaths rather than have

permitted themselves to be dragged to them. There was nothing,

therefore, to prevent their departure from them, but the desire of

preserving the unity of the Church.

"But if the holy Prophets were restrained by a sense of duty from

forsaking the Church on account of the numerous and enormous crimes

which were practiced, not by a few individuals, but almost by the whole

nation, it is extreme arrogance in us, if we presume immediately to

withdraw from the communion of a Church, where the conduct of all the

members is not compatible either with our judgment or even with the

Christian profession.

"Now what kind of an age was that of Christ and his Apostles? Yet the

desperate impiety of the Pharisees, and the dissolute lives everywhere

led by the people, could not prevent them from using the same

sacrifices, and assembling in the same temple with others, for the

public exercises of religion. How did this happen, but from a knowledge

that the society of the wicked could not contaminate those who, with

pure consciences, united with them in the same solemnities.

"If any one pay no deference to the Prophets and the Apostles, let him

at least acquiesce in the authority of Christ. Cyprian has excellently

remarked: 'Although tares, or impure vessels, are found in the Church,

yet this is not a reason why we should withdraw from it. It only

behooves us to labor that we may be the wheat, and to use our utmost

endeavors and exertions that we may be vessels of gold or of silver.

But to break in pieces the vessels of earth belongs to the Lord alone,

to whom a rod of iron is also given. Nor let any one arrogate to

himself what is the exclusive province of the Son of God, by pretending

to fan the floor, clear away the chaff, and separate all the tares by

the judgment of man. This is proud obstinacy, and sacrilegious

presumption, originating in a corrupt frenzy.'

"Let these two points, then, be considered as decided: first, that he

who voluntarily deserts the external communion of the Church where the

Word of God is preached, and the sacraments are administered, is

without any excuse; secondly, that the faults either of few persons or

of many form no obstacles to a due profession of our faith in the use

of the ceremonies instituted by God; because the pious conscience is

not wounded by the unworthiness of any other individual, whether he be

a pastor or a private person; nor are the mysteries less pure and

salutary to a holy and upright man, because they are received at the

same time by the impure."

How, then, with such high churchly views, could Calvin justify his

separation from the Roman Church in which he was born and trained? He

vindicated his position in the Answer to Sadolet, from which we have

given large extracts. [652] He did it more fully in his masterly work,

"On the Necessity of Reforming the Church," which, "in the name of all

who wish Christ to reign," he addressed to the Emperor Charles V. and

the Diet to be assembled at Speier in February, 1544. It is replete

with weighty arguments and accurate learning, and by far one of the

ablest controversial books of that age. [653] The following is a

passage bearing upon this point: [654]

"The last and principal charge which they bring against us is, that we

have made a schism in the Church. And here they fiercely maintain

against us, that for no reason is it lawful to break the unity of the

Church. How far they do us injustice the books of our authors bear

witness. Now, however, let them take this brief reply--that we neither

dissent from the Church, nor are aliens from her communion. But, as by

this specious name of Church, they are wont to cast dust in the eyes

even of persons otherwise pious and right-hearted, I beseech your

Imperial Majesty, and you, Most Illustrious Princes, first, to divest

yourselves of all prejudice, that you may give an impartial ear to our

defence; secondly, not to be instantly terrified on hearing the name of

Church, but to remember that the Prophets and Apostles had, with the

pretended Church of their days, a contest similar to that which you see

us have in the present day with the Roman pontiff and his whole train.

When they, by the command of God, inveighed freely against idolatry,

superstition, and the profanation of the temple, and its sacred rites,

against the carelessness and lethargy of priests,--and against the

general avarice, cruelty, and licentiousness, they were constantly met

with the objection which our opponents have ever in their mouths--that

by dissenting from the common opinion, they violated the unity of the

Church. The ordinary government of the Church was then vested in the

priests. They had not presumptuously arrogated it to themselves, but

God had conferred it upon them by his law. It would occupy too much

time to point out all the instances. Let us, therefore, be contented

with a single instance, in the case of Jeremiah.

"He had to do with the whole college of priests, and the arms with

which they attacked him were these: 'Come, and let us devise devices

against Jeremiah; for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor

counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet' (Jer. 18:18).

They had among them a high priest, to reject whose judgment was a

capital crime, and they had the whole order to which God himself had

committed the government of the Jewish Church concurring with them. If

the unity of the Church is violated by him, who, instructed solely by

Divine truth, opposes himself to ordinary authority, the Prophet must

be a schismatic; because, not at all deterred by such menaces from

warring with the impiety of the priests, he steadily persevered.

"That the eternal truth of God preached by the Prophets and Apostles,

is on our side, we are prepared to show, and it is indeed easy for any

man to perceive. But all that is done is to assail us with this

battering-ram, 'Nothing can excuse withdrawal from the Church.' We deny

out and out that we do so. With what, then, do they urge us? With

nothing more than this, that to them belongs the ordinary government of

the Church. But how much better right had the enemies of Jeremiah to

use this argument? To them, at all events, there still remained a legal

priesthood, instituted by God; so that their vocation was

unquestionable. Those who in the present day have the name of prelates,

cannot prove their vocation by any laws, human or divine. Be it,

however, that in this respect both are on a footing, still, unless they

previously convict the holy Prophet of schism, they will prove nothing

against us by that specious title of Church.

"I have thus mentioned one Prophet as an example. But all the others

declare that they had the same battle to fight--wicked priests

endeavoring to overwhelm them by a perversion of this term Church. And

how did the Apostles act? Was it not necessary for them, in professing

themselves the servants of Christ, to declare war upon the synagogue ?

And yet the office and dignity of the priesthood were not then lost.

But it will be said that, though the Prophets and Apostles dissented

from wicked priests in doctrine, they still cultivated communion with

them in sacrifices and prayers. I admit they did, provided they were

not forced into idolatry. But which of the Prophets do we read of as

having ever sacrificed in Bethel? Which of the faithful, do we suppose,

communicated in impure sacrifices, when the temple was polluted by

Antiochus, and profane rites were introduced into it?

"On the whole, we conclude that the servants of God never felt

themselves obstructed by this empty title of Church, when it was put

forward to support the reign of impiety. It is not enough, therefore,

simply to throw out the name of Church, but judgment must be used to

ascertain which is the true Church, and what is the nature of its

unity. And the thing necessary to be attended to, first of all, is, to

beware of separating the Church from Christ, its Head. When I say

Christ, I include the doctrine of his gospel which he sealed with his

blood. Our adversaries, therefore, if they would persuade us that they

are the true Church must, first of all, show that the true doctrine of

God is among them; and this is the meaning of what we often repeat,

viz. that the uniform characteristics of a well-ordered Church are the

preaching of sound doctrine, and the pure administration of the

Sacraments. For, since Paul declares (Eph. 2:20) that the Church is

'built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets,' it

necessarily follows that any church not resting on this foundation must

immediately fall.

"I come now to our opponents.

"They, no doubt, boast in lofty terms that Christ is on their side. As

soon as they exhibit him in their word we will believe it, but not

sooner. They, in the same way, insist on the term Church. But where, we

ask, is that doctrine which Paul declares to be the only foundation of

the Church? Doubtless, your Imperial Majesty now sees that there is a

vast difference between assailing us with the reality and assailing us

only with the name of Church. We are as ready to confess as they are

that those who abandon the Church, the common mother of the faithful,

the 'pillar and ground of the truth,' revolt from Christ also; but we

mean a Church which, from incorruptible seed, begets children for

immortality, and, when begotten, nourishes them with spiritual food

(that seed and food being the Word of God), and which, by its ministry,

preserves entire the truth which God deposited in its bosom. This mark

is in no degree doubtful, in no degree fallacious, and it is the mark

which God himself impressed upon his Church, that she might be

discerned thereby. Do we seem unjust in demanding to see this mark?

Wherever it exists not, no face of a Church is seen. If the name,

merely, is put forward, we have only to quote the well-known passage of

Jeremiah, 'Trust ye not in lying words, saying, the temple of the Lord,

the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these' (Jer. 7:4).

Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in

your eyes?' (Jer. 7:11).

"In like manner, the unity of the Church, such as Paul describes it, we

protest we hold sacred, and we denounce anathema against all who in any

way violate it. The principle from which Paul derives unity is, that

there is 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all,'

who hath called us into one hope (Eph. 4:4-6). Therefore, we are one

body and one spirit, as is here enjoined, if we adhere to God only,

i.e. be bound to each other by the tie of faith. We ought, moreover, to

remember what is said in another passage, 'that faith cometh by the

word of God.' Let it, therefore, be a fixed point, that a holy unity

exists amongst us, when, consenting in pure doctrine, we are united in

Christ alone. And, indeed, if concurrence in any kind of doctrine were

sufficient, in what possible way could the Church of God be

distinguished from the impious factions of the wicked? Wherefore, the

Apostle shortly after adds, that the ministry was instituted 'for the

edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the

faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God: that we be no more

children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of

doctrine, but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all

things, who is the Head, even Christ' (Eph. 4:12-15). Could he more

plainly comprise the whole unity of the Church in a holy agreement in

true doctrine, than when he calls us back to Christ and to faith, which

is included in the knowledge of him, and to obedience to the truth? Nor

is any lengthened demonstration of this needed by those who believe the

Church to be that sheepfold of which Christ alone is the Shepherd, and

where his voice only is heard, and distinguished from the voice of

strangers. And this is confirmed by Paul, when he prays for the Romans,

'The God of patience and consolation grant you to be of the same mind

one with another, according to Christ Jesus; that, ye may with one

accord and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus

Christ' (Rom. 15:5, 6).

"Let our opponents, then, in the first instance, draw near to Christ,

and then let them convict us of schism, in daring to dissent from them

in doctrine. But, since I have made it plain that Christ is banished

from their society, and the doctrine of his gospel exterminated, their

charge against us simply amounts to this, that we adhere to Christ in

preference to them. For what man, pray, will believe that those who

refuse to be led away from Christ and his truth, in order to deliver

themselves into the power of men, are thereby schismatics, and

deserters from the communion of the Church?

"I certainly admit that respect is to be shown to priests, and that

there is great danger in despising ordinary authority. If, then, they

were to say, that we are not at our own hand to resist ordinary

authority, we should have no difficulty in subscribing to the

sentiment. For we are not so rude as not to see what confusion must

arise when the authority of rulers is not respected. Let pastors, then,

have their due honor--an honor, however, not derogatory in any degree

to the supreme authority of Christ, to whom it behooves them and every

man to be subject. For God declares, by Malachi, that the government of

the Israelitish Church was committed to the priests, under the

condition that they should faithfully fulfil the covenant made with

them, viz. that 'their lips should keep knowledge,' and expound the law

to the people (Mal. 2:7). When the priests altogether failed in this

condition, he declares, that, by their perfidy, the covenant was

abrogated and made null. Pastors are mistaken if they imagine that they

are invested with the government of the Church on any other terms than

that of being ministers and witnesses of the truth of God. As long,

therefore, as, in opposition to the law and to the nature of their

office, they eagerly wage war with the truth of God, let them not

arrogate to themselves a power which God never bestowed, either

formerly on priests, or now on bishops, on any other terms than those

which have been mentioned."

When the Romanists demanded miracles from the Reformers as a test of

their innovations, Calvin replied that this was "unreasonable; for we

forgo no new gospel, but retain the very same, whose truth was

confirmed by all the miracles ever wrought by Christ and the Apostles.

The opponents have this advantage over us, that they confirm their

faith by continual miracles even to this day. But they allege miracles

which are calculated to unsettle a mind otherwise well established; for

they are frivolous and ridiculous, or vain and false. Nor, if they were

ever so preternatural, ought they to have any weight in opposition to

the truth of God, since the name of God ought to be sanctified in all

places and at all times, whether by miraculous events or by the common

order of nature." [655]

Luther had the same Catholic Church feeling, and gave strong expression

to it in his writings against the radicals, and in a letter to the

Margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia (1532), in which he says:

"It is dangerous and terrible to hear or believe anything against the

unanimous testimony of the entire holy Christian Church as held from

the beginning for now over fifteen hundred years in all the world."

[656] And yet he asserted the right of conscience and private judgment

at Worms against popes and Councils, because he deemed it "unsafe and

dangerous to do anything against the conscience bound in the Word of

God."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[648] Principal Tulloch of the University of St. Andrews, in Luther and

other Leaders of the Reformation, p. 203 (3d ed. 1883).

[649] Inst. IV. ch. I. � 4; Comp. �� 2 and 3.

[650] "Ut semperexitialis sit ab ecclesia discessio."

[651] � Ibid. IV. ch. 1, �� 18, 19.

[652] See � 91, pp. 404 sqq.

[653] Supplex exhortatio ad Caesarem Carolum V. de necessitate

reformandae Ecclesiae, 1543, in Opera, VI. 453-534. English Version by

Henry Beveridge, Calvin's Tracts, I. 123-237. The Strassburg editors

call it a "libellus et ab argumenti gravitate et a stili elegantia prae

caeteris commendandus, hodieque lectu dignissimus." Proleg., p. xxviii.

Calvin wrote this book at the request of Bucer, who urged him to do so

in a letter of Oct. 25, 1543. It appeared also in French.

[654] Opera, VI. 518 sqq.; Beveridge, l.c., 211 sqq. Compare the

Institutes, IV. ch. II. �� 6-12.

[655] Dedication of his Institutes to Francis I.

[656] Briefe, De Wett's ed. IV. 354. Still more striking is Luther's

judgment on the Roman Church (in his book against the Anabaptists):

"Ich sage, dass unter dem Papst die wahre Christenheit ist; ja der

rechte Ausbund der Christenheit, und viel frommer grosser Heiligen."

Werke, XXVI. 257, Erlangen ed. M�hler (in his Symbolik, pp. 421, 437)

sees in such expressions so many self-refutations of the Reformers in

separating from the Catholic Church, and forgets that they were cast

out with curses and anathemas.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 100. The Visible and Invisible Church.

Comp. vol. VI. � 85, and the literature there quoted.

A distinction between real and nominal Christianity is as old as the

Church, and has never been denied. "Many are called, but few are

chosen." We can know all that are actually called, but God only knows

those who are truly chosen. The kindred parables of the tares and of

the net illustrate the fact that the kingdom of heaven in this world

includes good and bad men, and that a final separation will not take

place before the judgment day. [657] Paul distinguishes between an

outward circumcision of the flesh and an inward circumcision of the

heart; between a carnal Israel and a spiritual Israel; and he speaks of

Gentiles who are ignorant of the written law, yet, do by nature the

things of the law," and will judge those who," with the letter and

circumcision, are transgressors of the law." He thereby intimates that

God's mercy is not bounded by the limits of the visible Church. [658]

Augustin makes a distinction between the true body of Christ, which

consists of the elect children of God from the beginning, and the mixed

body of Christ, which comprehends all the baptized. [659] In the Middle

Ages the Church was identified with the dominion of the papacy, and the

Cyprianic maxim, "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus," was narrowed into

"Extra ecclesiam Romanam nulla salus," to the exclusion not only of

heretical sects, but also of the Oriental Church. Wiclif and Hus, in

opposition to the corruptions of the papal Church, renewed the

distinction of Augustin, under a different and less happy designation

of the congregation of the predestinated or the elect, and the

congregation of those who are only foreknown. [660]

The Reformers introduced the terminology "visible" and invisible"

Church. By this they did not mean two distinct and separate Churches,

but rather two classes of Christians within the same outward communion.

The invisible Church is in the visible Church, as the soul is in the

body, or the kernel in the shell, but God only knows with certainty who

belong to the invisible Church and will ultimately be saved; and in

this sense his true children are invisible, that is, not certainly

recognizable and known to men. We may object to the terminology, but

the distinction is real and important.

Luther, who openly adopted the view of Hus at the disputation of

Leipzig, first applied the term "invisible" to the true Church, which

is meant in the Apostles' Creed. [661] The Augsburg Confession defines

the Church to be "the congregation of saints (or believers), in which

the Gospel is purely taught, and the sacraments are rightly

administered." This definition is too narrow for the invisible Church,

and would exclude the Baptists and Quakers. [662]

The Reformed system of doctrine extends the domain of the invisible or

true Church and the possibility of salvation beyond the boundaries of

the visible Church, and holds that the Spirit of God is not bound to

the ordinary means of grace, but may work and save "when, where, and

how he pleases." [663] Zwingli first introduced both terms. He meant by

the "visible" Church the community of all who bear the Christian name,

by the "invisible" Church the totality of true believers of all ages.

[664] And he included in the invisible Church all the pious heathen,

and all infants dying in infancy, whether baptized or not. In this

liberal view, however, he stood almost alone in his age and anticipated

modern opinions. [665]

Calvin defines the distinction more clearly and fully than any of the

Reformers, and his view passed into the Second Helvetic, the Scotch,

the Westminster, and other Reformed Confessions.

"The Church," he says, [666] "is used in the sacred Scriptures in two

senses. Sometimes when they mention 'the Church' they intend that which

is really such in the sight of God (quae revera est coram Deo), into

which none are received but those who by adoption and grace are the

children of God, and by the sanctification of the Spirit are the true

members of Christ. And then it comprehends not only the saints at any

one time resident on earth, but all the elect who have lived from the

beginning of the world.

"But the word 'Church' is frequently used in the Scriptures to

designate the whole multitude dispersed all over the world, who profess

to worship one God and Jesus Christ, who are initiated into his faith

by baptism, who testify their unity in true doctrine and charity by a

participation of the sacred supper, who consent to the word of the

Lord, and preserve the ministry which Christ has instituted for the

purpose of preaching it. In this Church are included many hypocrites,

who have nothing of Christ but the name and appearance; many persons,

ambitious, avaricious, envious, slanderous, and dissolute in their

lives, who are tolerated for a time, either because they cannot be

convicted by a legitimate process, or because discipline is not always

maintained with sufficient vigor.

"As it is necessary therefore to believe that Church which is invisible

to us, and known to God alone, so this Church, which is visible to men,

we are commanded to honor, and to maintain communion with it."

Calvin does not go as far as Zwingli in extending the number of the

elect, but there is nothing in his principles to forbid such extension.

He makes salvation dependent upon God's sovereign grace, and not upon

the visible means of grace. He expressly includes in the invisible

Church "all the elect who have lived from the beginning of the world,"

and even those who had no historical knowledge of Christ. He says, in

agreement with Augustin:, According to the secret predestination of

God, there are many sheep without the pale of the Church, and many

wolves within it. For God knows and seals those who know not either him

or themselves. Of those who externally bear his seal, his eyes alone

can discern who are unfeignedly holy, and will persevere to the end,

which is the completion of salvation." But in the judgment of charity,

he continues, we must acknowledge as members of the Church "all those

who, by a confession of faith, an exemplary life, and a participation

in the sacraments, profess the same God and Christ with ourselves."

[667]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[657] Matt. 13:24-30; 47-49.

[658] � Rom. 2:14, 15, 28, 29; Col. 2:11.

[659] Corpus Christi merum, and corpus Christi mixtum. De Doctr.

Christ. III. 32; De Baptismo contra Donatistas, IV. 5. The Donatist

Tichonius used the less suitable designation of a twofold body of

Christ (corpus Christi bipartitum).

[660] See Wiclif's tract De Ecclesia, published by Loserth, 1886. Hus,

in his tract on the same subject, literally adopted Wiclif's view.

[661] He speaks of the ecclesia invisibilis in his second Commentary on

the Galatians, vol. III. 38. Erlangen ed. The Lutheran symbolical books

do not use the term, but teach the thing.

[662] The Ninth Article of the Augsburg Confession expressly condemns

the Anabaptists for rejecting infant baptism and maintaining the

salvation of unbaptized infants.

[663] See Westminster Confession of Faith, ch. X. 3.

[664] � Expos. Christ. Fidei (written in 1531, and published by

Bullinger, 1536): "Credimus et unam sanctam esse, h.e. universalem

ecclesiam. Eam autem esse aut visibilem aut invisibilem. Invisibilis

est, juxta Pauli verbum, quae coelo descendit, hoc est, qua Spiritu

Sancto illustrante Deum cognoscit et amplectitur. De ista ecclesia sunt

quotquot per universum orbem credunt. Vocatur autem invisibilis non

quasi qui credunt sint invisibiles, sed quod humanis oculis non patet

quinam credant; sunt enim fideles soli Deo et sibi perspecti. Visibilis

autem ecclesia non estPontifex Romanus cum reliquis cidarim

gestantibus, sed quotquot per universum orbem Christo nomen dederunt."

Opera, IV. 58. Niemeyer, Coll. Confess., p. 53. Zwingli teaches the

same distinction, but without the terms, in his earlier Confession to

Charles V. See Niemeyer, p. 22.

[665] See above, pp. 95, 177, 211. Bullinger probably agreed with the

liberal view of his revered teacher and friend, as we may infer from

his unqualified commendation of the last Confession of Zwingli, in

which he most emphatically teaches the salvation of the pious heathen.

Bullinger published it five years after Zwingli's death, and said in

the preface that in this book Zwingli surpassed himself ("hoc libello

sese superans de vera fide nescio quid cygneum vicina morte cantavi ").

[666] Inst. Bk. IV. ch. I. � 7.

[667] Inst. IV. ch. I. � 10.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 101. The Civil Government.

On civil government see Institutes, IV. ch. XX., De politica

administratione (in Tholuck's ed. II. 475-496).

Calvin discusses the nature and function of Civil Government at length,

and with the ability and wisdom of a statesman, in the last chapter of

his Institutes.

He holds that the Church is consistent with all forms of government and

social conditions, even with civil servitude (1 Cor. 7:21). But some

kind of government is as necessary to mankind in this world as bread

and water, light and air; and it is far more excellent, since it

protects life and property, maintains law and order, and enables men to

live peaceably together, and to pursue their several avocations.

As to the different forms of government, Calvin discusses the merits of

monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. All are compatible with

Christianity and command our obedience. All have their advantages and

dangers. Monarchy easily degenerates into despotism, aristocracy into

oligarchy or the faction of a few, democracy into mobocracy and

sedition. He gives the preference to a mixture of aristocracy and

democracy. He infused a more aristocratic spirit into the democratic

Republic of Geneva, and saw a precedent in the government of Moses with

seventy elders elected from the wisest and best of the people. It is

safer, he thinks, for the government to be in the hands of many than of

one, for they may afford each other assistance, and restrain arrogance

and ambition.

Civil government is of divine origin. "All power is ordained of God"

(Rom. 13:1). "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice" (Prov.

8:15). The magistrates are called "gods "(Ps. 82:1, 6; a passage

indorsed by Christ, John 10:35), because they are invested with God's

authority and act as his vicegerents. "Civil magistracy is not only

holy and legitimate, but far the most sacred and honorable in human

life." Submission to lawful government is the duty of every citizen. To

resist it, is to set at naught the ordinance of God (Rom. 13:3, 4;

comp. Tit. 3:1; 1 Pet. 2:13, 14). Paul admonishes Timothy that in the

public congregation "supplication, prayers, intercessions,

thanksgivings be made for kings and for all that are in high places;

that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and

gravity" (1 Tim. 2:1, 2). We must obey and pray even for bad rulers,

and endure in patience and humility till God exercises his judgment.

The punishment of evildoers belongs only to God and to the magistrates.

Sometimes God punishes the people by wicked rulers, and punishes these

by other bad rulers. We, as individuals, must suffer rather than rebel.

Only in one case are we required to disobey,--when the civil ruler

commands us to do anything against the will of God and against our

conscience. Then, we must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). [668]

Calvin was thus a strong upholder of authority in the State. He did not

advise or encourage the active resistance of the Huguenots at the

beginning of the civil wars in France, although he gave a tacit

consent.

Calvin extended the authority and duty of civil government to both

Tables of the Law. He assigns to it, in Christian society, the

office,--"to cherish and support the external worship of God, to

preserve the true doctrine of religion, to defend the constitution of

the Church, and to regulate our lives in a manner requisite for the

social welfare." He proves this view from the Old Testament, and quotes

the passage in Isaiah 49:23, that "kings shall be nursing-fathers and

queens nursing-mothers" to the Church. He refers to the examples of

Moses, Joshua and the Judges, David, Josiah, and Hezekiah.

Here is the critical point where religious persecution by the State

comes in as an inevitable consequence. Offences against the Church are

offences against the State, and vice versa, and deserve punishment by

fines, imprisonment, exile, and, if necessary, by death. On this ground

the execution of Servetus and other heretics was justified by all who

held the same theory; fortunately, it has no support whatever in the

New Testament, but is directly contrary to the spirit of the gospel.

Geneva, after the emancipation from the power of the bishop and the

duke of Savoy, was a self-governing Republic under the protection of

Bern and the Swiss Confederacy. The civil government assumed the

episcopal power, and exercised it first in favor, then against, and at

last permanently for the Reformation.

The Republic was composed of all citizens of age, who met annually in

general assembly (conseil g�n�ral), usually in St. Peter's, under the

sounding of bells, and trumpets, for the ratification of laws and the

election of officers. The administrative power was lodged in four

Syndics; the legislative power in two Councils, the Council of Sixty,

and the Council of Two Hundred. The former existed since 1457; the

latter was instituted in 1526, after the alliance with Freiburg and

Bern, in imitation of the Constitution of these and other Swiss cities.

The Sixty were by right members of the Council of Two Hundred. In 1530

the Two Hundred assumed the right to elect the ordinary or little

Council of Twenty-Five, who were a part of the two other Councils and

had previously been elected by the Syndics. The real power lay in the

hands of the Syndics and the little Council of Twenty-five, which

formed an oligarchy with legislative, executive, and judicial

functions.

Calvin did not change these fundamental institutions of the Republic,

but he infused into them a Christian and disciplinary spirit, and

improved the legislation. He was appointed, together with the Syndics

Roset, Porral, and Balard, to draw up a new code of laws, as early as

Nov. 1, 1541. [669] He devoted much time to this work, and paid

attention even to the minutest details concerning the administration of

justice, the city police, the military, the firemen, the watchmen on

the tower, and the like. [670]

The city showed her gratitude by presenting him with "a cask of old

wine" for these extra services. [671]

Many of his regulations continued in legal force down to the eighteenth

century.

Calvin was consulted in all important affairs of the State, and his

advice was usually followed; but he never occupied a political or civil

office. He was not even a citizen of Geneva till 1559 (eighteen years

after his second arrival), and never appeared before the Councils

except when some ecclesiastical question was debated, or when his

advice was asked. It is a mistake, therefore, to call him the head of

the Republic, except in a purely intellectual and moral sense.

The code of laws was revised with the aid of Calvin by his friend,

Germain Colladon (1510-1594), an eminent juris-consult and member of a

distinguished family of French refugees who settled at Geneva. The

revised code was begun in 1560, and published in 1568. [672]

Among the laws of Geneva we mention a press law, the oldest in

Switzerland, dated Feb. 15, 1560. Laws against the freedom of the press

existed before, especially in Spain. Alexander VI., a Spaniard, issued

a bull in 1501, instructing the German prelates to exercise a close

supervision over printers. Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic

established a censorship which prohibited, under severe penalties, the

printing, importation, and sale of any book that had not previously

passed an examination and obtained a license. Rome adopted the same

policy. Other countries, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, followed

the example. In Russia, the severest restrictions of the press are

still in force.

The press law of Geneva was comparatively moderate. It put the press

under the supervision of three prudent and experienced men, to be

appointed by the government. These men have authority to appoint able

and trustworthy printers, to examine every book before it is printed,

to prevent popish, heretical, and infidel publications, to protect the

publisher against piracy; but Bibles, catechisms, prayers, and psalms

may be printed by all publishers; new translations of the Scriptures

are privileged in the first edition. [673]

The censorship of the press continued in Geneva till the eighteenth

century. In 1600 the Council forbade the printing of the essays of

Montaigne; in 1763 Rousseau's Emile was condemned to be burned.

It should be noted, however, that under the influence of Calvin Geneva

became one of the most important places of publication. The famous

Robert Stephen (Etienne, 1503-1559), being censured by the Sorbonne of

Paris, settled in Geneva after the death of his father, Henri, as a

professed Protestant, and printed there two editions of the Hebrew

Bible, and an edition of the Greek Testament, with the Vulgate and

Erasmian versions, in 1551, which for the first time contains the

versicular division of the text according to our present usage. To him

we owe the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (third ed. 1543, in 4 vols.), and

to his son, Henri, the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (1572, 4 vols.). Beza

published several editions of his Greek Testament in Geneva

(1565-1598), which were chiefly used by King James' translators. In the

same city appeared the English version of the New Testament by

Whittingham, 1557; then of the whole Bible, 1560. This is the so-called

"Geneva Bible," or "Breeches Bible" (from the rendering of Gen. 3:7),

which was for a long time the most popular English version, and passed

through about two hundred editions from 1560 to 1630. [674] Geneva has

well maintained its literary reputation to this day.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[668] He concludes his Institutes with this sentence: "Since this edict

has been proclaimed by that celestial herald, Peter, 'we must obey God

rather than men,' let us console ourselves with this thought, that we

truly perform the obedience which God requires of us, when we suffer

anything rather than deviate from piety. And that our hearts may not

fail us, Paul stimulates us with another consideration: that Christ has

redeemed us at the immense price which our redemption cost him, that we

may not be submissive to the corrupt desires of men, much less be

slaves to their impiety " (1 Cor. 7:23).

[669] Reg. du Conseil, in Annal. vol. XXI. 287. Comp. vol. X. Pars I.

125

[670] In the Grand Ducal Library of Gotha are preserved several drafts

of Calvin, in his own handwriting, on the various departments of civil

government, especially the reform of judicial proceedings. They are

published in Opera, X. Pars I. 125-146. "Nicht ohne Bewunderung," says

Kampschulte (I. 416), "sehen wir in ihnen den gelehrten Verfasser der

Institution selbst den untergeordneten Fragen der st�dtischen

Verwaltung und Polizei seine Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden. Da finden wir

ausf�hrliche Instructionen f�r den Bauaufseher, Anordnungen f�r den

Fall einer Feuersbrunst, Anweisungen f�r den Aufseher des st�dtischen

Gesch�tzwesens, Verhaltungsregeln sogar f�r den Nachtw�chter, f�r die

Ketten-, Thor-, und Thurmh�ter."

[671] "Resoluz quil luy soyt donn�ung bossot de vin vieulx de celluy de

l'hospital." Registre du Conseil, Nov. 17, 1542, quoted in Annal. vol.

XXI. 305, and in Opera, X. P. 1. 125.

[672] On the Colladon family see La France Protestante, IV. 510 sqq.

(second ed. by Bordier). Another distinguished member was Nicolas

Colladon, who published a Life of Calvin in 1565, and succeeded him in

the chair of theology in 1566.

[673] The Spanish censorship was applied to the vernacular versions of

the Bible, the works of Erasmus, all Protestant books, the Mystics and

Illuminati, the Molinists and Quietists. The natural consequence of

this tyranny was the decadence of intellectual and literary activity.

See H. C. Lea, Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected

with the Inquisition, Philadelphia, 1890.

[674] The Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition, London, 1878, p. 95.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 102. Distinctive Principles of Calvin's Church Polity.

Calvin was a legislator and the founder of a new system of church

polity and discipline. He had a legal training, which was of much use

to him in organizing the Reformed Church at Geneva. If he had lived in

the Middle Ages, he might have been a Hildebrand or an Innocent III.

But the spirit of the Reformation required a reconstruction of church

government on an evangelical and popular basis.

Calvin laid great stress on the outward organization and order of the

Church, but in subordination to sound doctrine and the inner spiritual

life. He compares the former to the body, while the doctrine which

regulates the worship of God, and points out the way of salvation, is

the soul which animates the body and renders it lively and active.

[675]

The Calvinistic system of church polity is based upon the following

principles, which have exerted great influence in the development of

Protestantism: --

1. The autonomy of the Church, or its right of self-government under

the sole headship of Christ.

The Roman Catholic Church likewise claims autonomy, but in a

hierarchical sense, and under the supreme control of the pope, who, as

the visible vicar of Christ, demands passive obedience from priests and

people. Calvin vests the self-government in the Christian congregation,

and regards all the ministers of the gospel, in their official

character, as ambassadors and representatives of Christ. "Christ

alone," he says, "ought to rule and reign in the Church, and to have

all preeminence in it, and this government ought to be exercised and

administered solely by his word; yet as he dwells not among us by a

visible presence, so as to make an audible declaration of his will to

us, he uses for this purpose the ministry of men whom he employs as his

delegates, not to transfer his right and honor to them, but only that

he may himself do his work by their lips; just as an artificer makes

use of an instrument in the performance of his work." [676]

In practice, however, the autonomy both of the Roman Catholic hierarchy

and of the Protestant Churches is more or less curtailed and checked by

the civil government wherever Church and State are united, and where

the State supports the Church. For self-government requires

self-support. Calvin intended to institute synods, and to make the

clergy independent of State patronage, but in this he did not succeed.

The Lutheran Reformers subjected the Church to the secular rulers, and

made her an obedient handmaid of the State; but they complained

bitterly of the selfish and arbitrary misgovernment of the princes. The

congregations in most Lutheran countries of Europe have no voice in the

election of their own pastors. The Reformers of German Switzerland

conceded more power to the people in a democratic republic, and

introduced synods, but they likewise put the supreme power into the

hands of the civil government of the several cantons. In monarchical

England the governorship of the Church was usurped and exercised by

Henry VIII. and, in a milder form, by Queen Elizabeth and her

successors, and acquiesced in by the bishops. The churches under

Calvin's influence always maintained, at least in theory, the

independence of the Church in all spiritual affairs, and the right of

individual congregations in the election of their own pastors. Calvin

derives this right from the Greek verb used in the passage which says

that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters by the suffrages or votes of

the people. [677] "Those two apostles," he says, "ordained the

presbyters; but the whole multitude, according to the custom observed

among the Greeks, declared by the elevation of their hands who was the

object of their choice ... . It is not credible that Paul granted to

Timothy and Titus more power (1 Tim. 5:22 Tit. 1:5) than he assumed to

himself." After quoting with approval two passages from Cyprian, he

concludes that the apostolic and best mode of electing pastors is by

the consent of the whole people; yet other pastors ought to preside

over the election, "to guard the multitude from falling into

improprieties through inconstancy, intrigue, and confusion." [678]

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland has labored and suffered more than

any Protestant Church for the principle of the sole headship of Christ;

first against popery, then against prelacy, and last against patronage.

In North America this principle is almost universally acknowledged.

2. The parity of the clergy as distinct from a jure divino hierarchy

whether papal or prelatical.

Calvin maintained, with Jerome, the original identity of bishops

(overseers) and presbyters (elders); and in this he has the support of

the best modern exegetes and historians. [679]

But he did not on this account reject all distinctions among ministers,

which rest on human right and historical development, nor deny the

right of adapting the Church order to varying conditions and

circumstances. He was not an exclusive or bigoted Presbyterian. He had

no objection to episcopacy in large countries, like Poland and England,

provided the evangelical doctrines be preached. [680] In his

correspondence with Archbishop Cranmer and Protector Somerset, he

suggests various improvements, but does not oppose episcopacy. In a

long letter to King Sigismund Augustus of Poland, he even approves of

it in that kingdom. [681]

But Presbyterianism and Congregationalism are more congenial to the

spirit of Calvinism than prelacy. In the conflict with Anglican prelacy

during the seventeenth century, the Calvinistic Churches became

exclusively Presbyterian in Scotland, or Independent in England and New

England. During the same period, in opposition to the enforced

introduction of the Anglican liturgy, the Presbyterians and

Congregationalists abandoned liturgical worship; while Calvin and the

Reformed Churches on the Continent approved of forms of devotion in

connection with free prayer in public worship.

3. The participation of the Christian laity in Church government and

discipline. This is a very important feature.

In the Roman Church the laity are passive, and have no share whatever

in legislation. Theirs is simply to obey the priesthood. Luther first

effectively proclaimed the doctrine of the general priesthood of the

laity, but Calvin put it into an organized form, and made the laity a

regular agency in the local congregation, and in the synods and

Councils of the Church. His views are gaining ground in other

denominations, and are almost generally adopted in the United States.

Even the Protestant Episcopal Church gives, in the lower house of her

diocesan and general conventions, to the laity an equal representation

with the clergy.

4. Strict discipline to be exercised jointly by ministers and

lay-elders, with the consent of the whole congregation.

In this point Calvin went far beyond the older Reformers, and achieved

greater success, as we shall see hereafter.

5. Union of Church and State on a theocratic basis, if possible, or

separation, if necessary to secure the purity and self-government of

the Church. This requires fuller exposition.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[675] "De necessitate reformandae Ecclesiae" (Opera, VI. 459 sq.):

"Regimen in ecclesia, munus pastorale, et reliquus ordo, una cum

sacramentis, instar corporis sunt, doctrina autem illa, quae rite

colendi Dei regulam praescribit, et ubi salutis fiduciam debeant

hominum conscientiae ostendit, anima est, quae corpus ipsum inspirat,

vividum et actuosum reddit; facit denique, ne sit mortuum et inutile

cadaver."

[676] Inst. IV. ch. III. � 1.

[677] Acta 14:23, Cheirotonesantes, voting by uplifting the hand.

[678] Inst. IV. Ch. III. � 15; comp. ch. IV. � 11 sqq., where he quotes

the old rule: "Let him who is to preside over all, be chosen by all.'

[679] In his Commentary on Phil. 1:1, he correctly infers from the

plural episkopoi, that "nomen episcopi omnibus Verbi ministris esse

commune, quum plures uni ecclesiae Episcopos attribuat. Sunt igitur

synonyma Episcopus et Pastor. Atque hic locus ex iis unus est, quos

Hieronymus ad illud probandum citat, in Epistola ad Evagrium, et in

expositione Epistolae ad Titum." In his Commentary on Acts 20:28 (comp.

with verse 17), he says: "Omnes Ephesinos Presbyteros indifferentur a

Paulo sic [episcopi] vocantur, unde colligimus secundum Scripturae usum

nihil a Presbyteris differre Episcopos, sed vitio et corruptela factum

esse, ut qui primas tenebant in singulis civitatibus Episcopi vocari

coeperint." Comp. also his commentaries on the relevant passages in the

Pastoral Epistles, and his Inst. IV. ch. III. � 8, and ch. IV. � 2

(where he quotes Jerome in full). The Lutheran symbols likewise teach

the identity of the episcopate and presbyterate (see the second

Appendix to the Smalcaldian Articles, p. 341, ed. J. T. M�ller); but

the Lutheran Churches in Germany have Superintendents and General

Superintendents (called "Bishops" in Prussia, "Prelates" in

W�rttemberg). Sweden, Norway, and Denmark retained or reintroduced

episcopacy (jure humano, not jure divino). The church government of the

Lutheran Churches in America is a compromise between the Presbyterian

and synodical system and congregational independency.

[680] Melanchthon in this respect went much further and was willing to

submit to a papacy, provided the pope would tolerate the free preaching

of the gospel. He subscribed the Smalcaldian Articles with the

restriction: "De pontifice statuo, si evangelium admitteret, posse ei

propter pacem et communem tranquillitatem Christianorum ...

superioritatem in episcopos ... jure humano etiam a nobis permitti."

[681] He says in this letter, dated Geneva, 5th Dec., 1554: "The

ancient Church indeed instituted patriarchates, and to different

provinces assigned certain primacies, that by this bond of concord the

bishops might remain more closely united among themselves. Exactly as

if, at the present day, one archbishop should have a certain

pre-eminence in the illustrious kingdom of Poland, not to lord it over

the others, nor arrogate to himself a right of which they were forcibly

deprived; but for the sake of order to occupy the first place in

synods, and cherish a holy unity between his colleagues and brethren.

Then there might be either provincial or urban bishops, whose functions

should be particularly directed to the preservation of order. As nature

dictates, one of these should be chosen from each college, to whom this

care should be specially confided. But it is one thing to hold a

moderate dignity such as is not imcompatible with the abilities of a

man, and another to comprise the whole world under one overgrown

government. What the Romanists keep prating about one single head is

then altogether nugatory, because neither the sacred commandment of

God, nor the established usage of the Church sanctions a second head to

be joined with Christ, whom alone the Heavenly Father has set over

all." Bonnet-Constable, III. 104. Comp. Inst. IV. ch. IV. �� 1-4; Henry

II. 68, 375; III. 427 sqq.; Dyer, 283 sqq.; 456 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 103. Church and State.

Calvin's Church polity is usually styled a theocracy, by friends in

praise, by foes in censure. [682] This is true, but in a qualified

sense. He aimed at the sole rule of Christ and his Word both in Church

and State, but without mixture and interference. The two powers were

almost equally balanced in Geneva. The early Puritan colonies in New

England were an imitation of the Geneva model.

In theory, Calvin made a clearer distinction between the spiritual and

secular powers than was usual in his age, when both were inextricably

interwoven and confused. He compares the Church to the soul, the State

to the body. The one has to do with the spiritual and eternal welfare

of man, the other with the affairs of this present, transitory life.

[683] Each is independent and sovereign in its own sphere. He was

opposed to any interference of the civil government with the internal

affairs and discipline of the Church. He was displeased with the

servile condition of the clergy in Germany and in Bern, and often

complained (even on his death-bed) of the interference of Bern with the

Church in Geneva. But he was equally opposed to a clerical control of

civil and political affairs, and confined the Church to the spiritual

sword. He never held a civil office. The ministers were not eligible to

the magistracy and the Councils.

Yet he did not go so far as to separate the two powers; on the

contrary, he united them as closely as their different functions would

admit. His fundamental idea was, that God alone is Lord on earth as

well as in heaven, and should rule supreme in Church and State. In this

sense he was theocratic or christocratic. God uses Church and State as

two distinct but co-operative arms for the upbuilding of Christ's

kingdom. The law for both is the revealed will of God in the Holy

Scriptures. The Church gives moral support to the State, while the

State gives temporal support to the Church.

Calvin's ideal of Christian society resembles that of Hildebrand, but

differs from it on the following important points:

1. Calvin's theory professed to be based upon the Scriptures, as the

only rule of faith and practice; the papal theocracy drew its support

chiefly from tradition and the Canon law.

Calvin's arguments, however, are exclusively taken from the Old

Testament. The Calvinistic as well as the papal theocracy is Mosaic and

legalistic rather than Christian and evangelical. The Apostolic Church

had no connection whatever with the State except to obey its legitimate

demands. Christ's rule is expressed in that wisest word ever uttered on

this subject: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and

unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22:21).

2. Calvin recognized only the invisible headship of Christ, and

rejected the papal claim to world-dominion as an anti-christian

usurpation.

3. He had a much higher view of the State than the popes. He considered

it equally divine in origin and authority as the Church, and fully

independent in all temporal matters; while the papal hierarchy in the

Middle Ages often overruled the State by ecclesiastical authority.

Hildebrand compared the Church to the sun, the State to the moon which

borrows her light from the sun, and claimed and exercised the right of

deposing kings and absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance.

Boniface VIII. formulated this claim in the well-known theory of the

two swords.

4. Calvin's theocracy was based upon the sovereignty of the Christian

people and the general priesthood of believers; the papal theocracy was

an exclusive rule of the priesthood.

In practice, the two powers were not as clearly distinct at Geneva as

in theory. They often intermeddled with each other. The ministers

criticised the acts of the magistrates from the pulpit; and the

magistrates called the ministers to account for their sermons.

Discipline was a common territory for both, and the Consistory was a

mixed body of clergymen and laymen. The government fixed and paid the

salaries of the pastors, and approved their nomination and transfer

from one parish to another. None could even absent himself for a length

of time without leave by the Council. The Large Council voted on the

Confession of Faith and Discipline, and gave them the power of law.

The Reformed Church of Geneva, in one word, was an established Church

or State Church, and continues so to this day, though no more in an

exclusive sense, but with liberty to Dissenters, whether Catholic or

Protestant, who have of late been increasing by immigration.

The union of Church and State is tacitly assumed or directly asserted

in nearly all the Protestant Confessions of Faith, which make it the

duty of the civil government to support religion, to protect orthodoxy,

and to punish heresy. [684]

In modern times the character of the State and its attitude towards the

Church has undergone a material change in Switzerland as well as in

other countries. The State is no longer identified with a particular

Church, and has become either indifferent, or hostile, or tolerant. It

is composed of members of all creeds, and should, in the name of

justice, support all, or none; in either case allowing to all full

liberty as far as is consistent with the public peace.

Under these circumstances the Church has to choose between liberty with

self-support, and dependence with government support. If Calvin lived

at this day, he would undoubtedly prefer the former. Calvinists and

Presbyterians have taken the lead in the struggle for Church

independence against the Erastian and rationalistic encroachments of

the civil power. Free Churches have been organized in French

Switzerland (Geneva, Vaud, Neuch�tel), in France, Holland, and

especially in Presbyterian Scotland. The heroic sacrifices of the Free

Church of Scotland in seceding from the Established Church, and making

full provision for all her wants by voluntary contributions, form one

of the brightest chapters in the history of Protestantism. The

Dissenters in England have always maintained and exercised the

voluntary principle since their legal recognition by the Toleration Act

of 1689. In the British Provinces and in North America, all

denominations are on a basis of equality before the law, and enjoy,

under the protection of the government, full liberty of self-government

with the corresponding duty of self-support. The condition of modern

society demands a peaceful separation of Church and State, or a Free

Church in a Free State.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[682] By Weber, Henry, and St�helin, and many others; also by

Kampschulte, who remarks (I. 471): "Der Grundgedanke, von dem der

Gesetzgeber Genfs ausgeht, ist die Theokratie. Er will in Genf den

Gottesstaat herstellen." But Am�d�e Roget (L'�glise et l'�tat �Gen�ve

du vivant de Calvin) and Merle d'Aubign� (vol. VII. 120) dissent from

this view and point to the limitations of the ecclesiastical power in

Geneva. Merle d'Aubign� says: "Calvin was not a theocrat, unless the

term be taken in the most spiritual sense."

[683] Inst. IV. ch. XX. � 1."Volui," he wrote to a friend, "sicut

aequum est, spiritualem potestatem acivili judicio distingui." Epp. et

Resp. 263.

[684] Conf. Helvetica II. ch. XXX.; Conf. Gallicana, ch. XXXIX. (God

has put the sword into the hands of magistrates to suppress crimes

against the first as well as the second table of his Commandments");

Conf. Belgica, ch. XXXVI.; Conf. Scotica, Art. XXIV.; Thirty-nine

Articles, Art. XXXVII. (changed in the American recension); Westminster

Conf. ch. XXIII. (changed in the American recension).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 104. The Ecclesiastical Ordinances.

Comp. � 83 (352 sqq.) and � 86 (367 sqq.). Calvin discusses the

ministerial office in the third chapter of the fourth book of his

Institutes.

Having considered Calvin's general principles on Church government, we

proceed to their introduction and application in the little Republic of

Geneva.

We have seen that in his first interview with the Syndics and Council

after his return, Sept. 13, 1541, he insisted on the introduction of an

ecclesiastical constitution and discipline in accordance with the Word

of God and the primitive Church. [685] The Council complied with his

wishes, and intrusted the work to the five pastors (Calvin, Viret,

Jacques Bernard, Henry de la Mare, and Aym� Champereau) and six

councillors (decided Guillermins), to whom was added Jean Balard as

advisory member. The document was prepared under his directing

influence, submitted to the Councils, slightly altered, and solemnly

ratified by a general assembly of citizens (the Conseil g�n�ral), Jan.

2, 1542, as the fundamental church law of the Republic of Geneva. [686]

Its essential features have passed into the constitution and discipline

of most of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of Europe and

America.

The official text of the "Ordinances "is preserved in the Registers of

the Venerable Company, and opens with the following introduction: --

"In the name of God Almighty, we, the Syndics, Small and Great Councils

with our people assembled at the sound of the trumpet and the great

clock, according to our ancient customs, have considered that the

matter above all others worthy of recommendation is to preserve the

doctrine of the holy gospel of our Lord in its purity, to protect the

Christian Church, to instruct faithfully the youth, and to provide a

hospital for the proper support of the poor,--all of which cannot be

done without a definite order and rule of life, from which every estate

may learn the duty of its office. For this reason we have deemed it

wise to reduce the spiritual government, such as our Lord has shown us

and instituted by his Word, to a good form to be introduced and

observed among us. Therefore we have ordered and established to follow

and to guard in our city and territory the following ecclesiastical

polity, taken from the gospel of Jesus Christ." [687]

The document is inspired by a high view of the dignity and

responsibility of the ministry of the gospel, such as we find in the

Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians and Ephesians. "It may be

confidently asserted," says a Catholic historian, [688] "that in no

religious society of Christian Europe the clergy was assigned a

position so dignified, prominent, and influential as in the Church

which Calvin built up in Geneva."

In his Institutes Calvin distinguishes three extraordinary officers of

the Church,--Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists,--and four ordinary

officers--Pastors (Bishops), Teachers, Ancients (Lay-elders), and

Deacons. [689]

Extraordinary officers were raised up by the Lord at the beginning of

his kingdom, and are raised up on special occasions when required "by

the necessity of the times." The Reformers must be regarded as a

secondary class of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists. Calvin himself

intimates the parallel when he says: [690] "I do not deny that ever

since that period [of the Apostles] God has sometimes raised up

Apostles or Evangelists in their stead, as he has done in our own time.

For there was a necessity for such persons to recover the Church from

the defection of Antichrist. Nevertheless, I call this an extraordinary

office, because it has no place in well-constituted Churches." [691]

The extraordinary offices cannot be regulated by law. The Ordinances,

therefore, give directions only for the ordinary offices of the Church.

1. The Pastors, [692] or ministers of the gospel, as Calvin likes to

call them, have "to preach the Word of God, to instruct, to admonish,

to exhort and reprove in public and private, to administer the

sacraments, and, jointly with the elders, to exercise discipline."

[693]

No one can be a pastor who is not called, examined, ordained, or

installed. In the examination, the candidate must give satisfactory

evidence of his knowledge of the Scriptures, his soundness in doctrine,

purity of motives, and integrity of character. If he proves worthy of

the office, he receives a testimony to that effect from the Council to

be presented to the congregation. If he fails in the examination, he

must wait for another call and submit to another examination. The best

mode of installation is by prayer and laying on of hands, according to

the practice of the Apostles and the early Church; but it should be

done without superstition.

All the ministers are to hold weekly conferences for mutual

instruction, edification, correction, and encouragement in their

official duties. No one should absent himself without a good excuse.

This duty devolves also on the pastors of the country districts. If

doctrinal controversies arise, the ministers settle them by discussion;

and if they cannot agree, the matter is referred to the magistracy.

Discipline is to be strictly exercised over the ministers, and a number

of sins and vices are specified which cannot be tolerated among them,

such as heresy, schism, rebellion against ecclesiastical order,

blasphemy, impurity, falsehood, perjury, usury, avarice, dancing,

negligence in the study of the Scriptures.

The Ordinances prescribe for Sunday a service in the morning,

catechism--that is, instruction of little children--at noon, a second

sermon in the afternoon at three o'clock. Three sermons are to be

preached during the week--Monday, Tuesday, and Friday. For these

services are required, in the city, five regular ministers and three

assistant ministers.

In the Institutes, Calvin describes the office of Pastors to be the

same as that of the Apostles, except in the extent of their field and

authority. They are all ambassadors of Christ and stewards of the

mysteries of God (1 Cor. 4:1). What Paul says of himself applies to

them all: "Woe is to me, if I preach not the gospel" (1 Cor. 9:16).

2. The office of the Teachers [694] is to instruct the believers in

sound doctrine, in order that the purity of the gospel be not corrupted

by ignorance or false opinions.

Calvin derived the distinction between Teachers and Pastors from Eph.

4:11, and states the difference to consist in this, "that Teachers have

no official concern with discipline, nor the administration of the

sacraments, nor admonitions and exhortations, but only with the

interpretation of the Scripture; whereas the pastoral office includes

all these duties." [695] He also says that the Teachers sustain the

same resemblance to the ancient Prophets as the Pastors to the

Apostles. He himself had the prophetic gift of luminous and convincing

teaching in a rare degree. Theological Professors occupy the highest

rank among Teachers.

3. The Ancients or Lay-Elders watch over the good conduct of the

people. They must be God-fearing and wise men, without and above

suspicion. Twelve were to be selected--two from the Little Council,

four from the Council of the Sixty, and six from the Council of the Two

Hundred. Each was to be assigned a special district of the city.

This is a very important office in the Presbyterian Churches. In the

Institutes, Calvin. quotes in support of it the gifts of government.

[696] "From the beginning," he says, [697] "every Church has had its

senate or council, composed of pious, grave, and holy men, who were

invested with that jurisdiction in the correction of vices ... . This

office of government is necessary in every age." He makes a distinction

between two classes of Elders,--Ruling Elders and Teaching Elders,--on

the basis of 1 Tim. 5:17:, Let the elders that rule well be counted

worthy of double honor, especially those who labor in the word and in

teaching." [698] The exegetical foundation for such a distinction is

weak, but the ruling Lay-Eldership has proved a very useful institution

and great help to the teaching ministry.

4. The Deacons have the care of the poor and the sick, and of the

hospitals. They must prevent mendicancy which is contrary to good

order. [699] Two classes of Deacons are distinguished, those who

administer alms, and those who devote themselves to the poor and sick.

[700]

5. Baptism is to be performed in the Church, and only by ministers and

their assistants. The names of the children and their parents must be

entered in the Church registers.

6. The Lord's Supper is to be administered every month in one of the

Churches, and at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. The elements must be

distributed reverently by the ministers and deacons. None is to be

admitted before having been instructed in the catechism and made a

profession of his faith.

The remainder of the Ordinances contains regulations about marriage,

burial, the visitation of the sick, and prisons.

The Ministers and Ancients are to meet once a week on Thursday, to

discuss together the state of the Church and to exercise discipline.

The object of discipline is to bring the sinner back to the Lord. [701]

The Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 were revised and enlarged by

Calvin, and adopted by the Little and Large Councils, Nov. 13, 1561.

This edition contains also the oaths of allegiance of the Ministers,

Pastors, Doctors, Elders, Deacons, and the members of the Consistory,

and fuller directions concerning the administration of the sacraments,

marriage, the visitation of the sick and prisoners, the election of

members of the Consistory, and excommunication. [702]

A new revision of the Ordinances was made and adopted by the General

Council, June 3, 1576.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[685] He wrote to Farel, Sept. 16, 1541 (in Opera, XI. 281; Herminjard,

VII. 249): "Exposui (Senatui), non posse consistere ecclesiam, nisi

certum regimen constitueretur, quale ex Verbo Dei nobis praescriptum

est, et in veteri Ecclesia fuit observatum."

[686] See above, p. 440.

[687] The French text in Opera, X. 16. note a.

[688] Kampschulte I. 396.

[689] In the "Ordinances" they are called Pasteurs, Docteurs, Anciens,

Diacres.

[690] Inst. IV. ch. III. � 4.

[691] This confirms the view I have taken of Calvin's extraordinary

calling (� 73, pp. 313 sqq.). In his letter to Sadolet he expresses his

firm conviction that his ministry was from God. (See � 91, pp. 398

sqq.) Luther had the same conviction concerning his own mission. On his

return from the Wartburg to Wittenberg, he wrote to the Elector

Frederick of Saxony that he had his gospel not from men, but from

heaven, and that he was Christ's evangelist.

[692] poimenes, pastores, Eph. 4:11. They are the same with Bishops and

Presbyters. " In calling those who preside over Churches by the

appellations of 'Bishops,' 'Presbyters,' and, 'Pastors,' without any

distinction, I have followed the usage of the Scripture." Inst. IV. ch.

III. � 8. Then he quotes Phil. 1:1; Tit. 1:5, 7; Acts 20:17, 28. See

above, p. 469.

[693] "Faire les corrections fraternelles."

[694] didaskaloi, doctores, Eph. 4:11.

[695] Inst. IV. ch. III. � 4.

[696] kuberneseis, 1 Cor. 12:28; comp. Rom. 12:8.

[697] Inst. IV. ch. III. � 8.

[698] In his Commentary on the passage. Comp. Inst. IV. ch. III. � 8:

"Gubernatores fuisse existimo seniores ex plebe delectos qui censurae

morum et exercendae disciplinae una cum episcopis praeessent." The

distinction was first made by Calvin and followed by many Presbyterian

and some Lutheran divines, but it is denied by some of the best modern

exegetes. Paul requires all presbyters to be apt to teach, 1 Tim. 3:2;

2 Tim. 2:2; 2:24. See Schaff's History of the Apostolic Church, p. 529

sq.

[699] Acts 6:1-3; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:8 sqq.; 5:9, 10.

[700] Comp. the Inst. IV. ch. III. 9.

[701] "Les corrections ne soient sinon medicines pour reduyre les

pecheurs a nostre Seigneur."

[702] Opera, X. Pars I. 91-124.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 105. The Venerable Company and the Consistory.

The Church of Geneva consisted of all baptized and professing

Christians subject to discipline. It had, at the time of Calvin, a

uniform creed; Romanists and sectarians being excluded. It was

represented and governed by the Venerable Company and the Consistory.

1. The Venerable Company was a purely clerical body, consisting of all

the pastors of the city and district of Geneva. It had no political

power. It was intrusted with the general supervision of all strictly

ecclesiastical affairs, especially the education, qualification,

ordination, and installation of the ministers of the gospel. But the

consent of the civil government and the congregation was necessary for

the final induction to the ministry. Thus the pastors and the people

were to co-operate.

2. The Consistory or Presbytery was a mixed body of clergymen and

laymen, and larger and more influential than the Venerable Company. It

represented the union of Church and State. It embraced, at the time of

Calvin, five city Pastors and twelve Seniors or Lay-Elders, two of whom

were selected from the Council of Sixty and ten from the Council of Two

Hundred. The laymen, therefore, had the majority; but the clerical

element was comparatively fixed, while the Elders were elected annually

under the influence of the clergy. A Syndic was the constitutional

head. [703] Calvin never presided in form, but ruled the proceedings in

fact by his superior intelligence and weighty judgment. [704]

The Consistory went into operation immediately after the adoption of

the Ordinances, and met every Thursday. The reports begin from the

tenth meeting, which was held on Thursday, Feb. 16, 1542. [705]

The duty of the Consistory was the maintenance and exercise of

discipline. Every house was to be visited annually by a Minister and

Elder. To facilitate the working of this system the city was divided

into three parishes--St. Peter's, the Magdalen, and St. Gervais. Calvin

officiated in St. Peter's.

The Consistorial Court was the controlling power in the Church of

Geneva. It has often been misrepresented as a sort of tribunal of

Inquisition or Star Chamber. But it could only use the spiritual sword,

and had nothing to do with civil and temporal punishments, which

belonged exclusively to the Council. The names of Gruet, Bolsec, and

Servetus do not even appear in its records. [706] Calvin wrote to the

ministers of Z�rich, Nov. 26, 1553: "The Consistory has no civil

jurisdiction, but only the right to reprove according to the Word of

God, and its severest punishment is excommunication." [707] He wisely

provided for the preponderance of the lay-element.

At first the Council, following the example of Basel and Bern, denied

to the Consistory the right of excommunication. [708] The persons

excluded from the Lord's Table usually appealed to the Council, which

often interceded in their behalf or directed them to make an apology to

the Consistory. There was also a difference of opinion as regards the

consequences of excommunication. The Consistory demanded that persons

cut off from the Church for grievous offenses and scandalous lives

should be banished from the State for a year, or until they repent; but

the Council did not agree. Calvin could not always carry out his views,

and acted on the principle to tolerate what he could not abolish. [709]

It was only after his final victory over the Libertines in 1555 that

the Council conceded to the Consistory the undisputed power of

excommunication. [710]

From these facts we may judge with what right Calvin has so often been

called "the Pope of Geneva," mostly by way of reproach. [711] As far as

the designation is true, it is an involuntary tribute to his genius and

character. For he had no material support, and he never used his

influence for gain or personal ends. The Genevese knew him well and

obeyed him freely.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[703] The revised Eccles. Ordinances of 1561 provide (Opera, X. P. I.

121) that one of the four Syndics preside over the Consistory with the

marshal's staff (avec son b�ton) which signifies civil jurisdiction

rather than spiritual regime, afin de mieux garder la distinction qui

nous est monstr�e en l'Escriture saincte entre le qlaive et authorit�du

Magistrat, et la superintendence qui doit estre en Eglise." This

regulation of Calvin refutes the assertion of Dyer (p. 142), that "

Calvin usurped the perpetual presidency of the Consistory," and that "

he wished Beza to succeed him in this presidency."

[704] "While he was not president of this body, it may be truly said

that he was its soul." Merle d'Aubign� (VII. 120). So also Cramer,

Roget, and others.

[705] Annal., XXI. 291, sub F�vrier 16, 1542: "Dixi�me s�ance du

Consistoire, premi�re dont il existe un proc�s verbal, lequel mentionne

entre autres la pr�sence de Calvin et de Viret. Les autres ministres

membres du C., sont Bernard, Henri, et Champeraux. Viret est

mentionn�pour la derni�re fois le 18 juillet. Calvin assiste

r�guli�rement aux s�ances pendant tout l'exercice 1542-43, except�cinq

fois."

[706] A. Roget, l.c., p. 31: "Le Consistoire ne pouvait infliger aucune

peine, et, chose remarquable, il n'avait aucune attribution doctrinale.

L'ancien syndic Cramer, dans l'excellente pr�face qu'il a plac�e en

t�te des extraits des Registres du Consistoire, a fait observer que

Gruet, Bolsec et Servet ne sant pas m�me nomm�s dans les documents

qu'il a analys�s; toutes les fois qu'un proc�s de doctrine est

instruit, c'est le Conseil qui prononce, sur le pr�avis des pasteurs."

[707] Opera, XIV. 675: "Nulla in Consistorio civilis jurisdictio, sed

tantum reprehensiones ex Verbo Domini: ultima vero poena,

excommunicatio."

[708] On March 19, 1543, the Council of the Sixty resolved "que le

Consistoire n'ait ni jurisdiction ni puissance de d�fendre la c�ne,

sinon seulement d'admonester et puis faire relation en Conseil, afin

que la Seigneurie avise de juger sur les d�linquants suivant leur

demerites." Reg., quoted by Roget, p. 37. A month before, the

government of Bern had categorically refused the right of

excommunication to the ministers of Lausanne. Ruchat, V. 211.

[709] "Tolero quod tollere non licet," as he says in one of his

letters.

[710] Roget (p. 67): "Le point de vue soutenu par Calvin dans la

question de la c�ne avait enfin triomph�irr�vocablement et, d�s 1555,

nous trouvons le Consistoire en possession, d'une mani�re incontest�e,

du droit d'accorder ou de refuser la participation aux sacrements.

Toutefois, le Conseil et les ministres ne sont pas compl�tement

d'accord sur les consequences que doit entrainer l'excommunication."

[711] Roget (p. 83 sq.) has collected such exaggerated judgments from

several French writers and contradicts them. Florimond de Raemond says:

"Calvin se rendit le maistre, l'�vesque, le seigneur, disposant de la

religion, de l'estat, de la ville, du gouvernement, de la police, comme

bon luy sembloit." Duruy: "Calvin eut d�s 1541 et exer�a jusqu'�sa mort

un pouvoir absolu. Il organisa le gouvernement de Gen�ve au profit

presque exclusif des ministres du culte r�form�." Capefigue: "Calvin

r�unissait tons les fils du pouvoir supr�me en sa personne." Paul

Janet: "Calvin a �t�le magistrat supr�me d'une democratie." Rosseuw St.

Hilaire: "Tout exc�s appelle une reaction en sens contraire, Calvin

subordonne l'Etat �l'Eglise." Saisset: "L'Etat devenait une th�ocratie

et les citoyens de Gen�ve n'etaient plus que les sujets d'un petit

nombre de ministres, sujets eux-m�mes de Calvin, lequel dominait les

trois Conseils du sein du Consistoire et paraissait it la fois le roiet

le pontifesouverain de la cite."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 106. Calvin's Theory of Discipline.

Discipline is so important an element in Calvin's Church polity, that

it must be more fully considered. Discipline was the cause of his

expulsion from Geneva, the basis of his flourishing French congregation

at Strassburg, the chief reason for his recall, the condition of his

acceptance, the struggle and triumph of his life, and the secret of his

moral influence to this day. His rigorous discipline, based on his

rigorous creed, educated the heroic French, Dutch, English, Scotch, and

American Puritans (using this word in a wider sense for strict

Calvinists). It fortified them for their trials and persecutions, and

made them promoters of civil and religious liberty.

The severity of the system has passed away, even in Geneva, Scotland,

and New England, but the result remains in the power of

self-government, the capacity for organization, the order and practical

efficiency which characterizes the Reformed Churches in Europe and

America.

Calvin's great aim was to realize the purity and holiness of the Church

as far as human weakness will permit. He kept constantly in view the

ideal of "a Church without spot or wrinkle or blemish," which Paul

describes in the Epistle to the Ephesians 5:27. He wanted every

Christian to be consistent with his profession, to show his faith by

good works, and to strive to be perfect as our Father in heaven is

perfect. He was the only one among the Reformers who attempted and who

measurably carried out this sublime idea in a whole community.

Luther thought the preaching of the gospel would bring about all the

necessary changes, but he had to complain bitterly, at the end of his

life, of the dissolute manners of the students and citizens at

Wittenberg, and seriously thought of leaving the city in disgust. [712]

Calvin knew well enough that the ideal could only be imperfectly

realized in this world, but that it was none the less our duty to

strive after perfection. He often quotes Augustin against the Donatists

who dreamed of an imaginary purity of the Church, like the Anabaptists

who, he observes, "acknowledge no congregation to belong to Christ,

unless it be in all respects conspicuous for angelic perfection, and

who, under pretext of zeal, destroy all edification." He consents to

Augustin's remark that "schemes of separation are pernicious and

sacrilegious, because they proceed from pride and impiety, and disturb

the good who are weak, more than they correct the wicked who are bold."

In commenting on the parable of the net which gathered of every kind

(Matt. 13:47), he says: "The Church while on earth is mixed with good

and bad and will never be free of all impurity ... . Although God, who

is a God of order, commands us to exercise discipline, he allows for a

time to hypocrites a place among believers until he shall set up his

kingdom in its perfection on the last day. As far as we are concerned,

we must strive to correct vices and to purge the Church of impurity,

although she will not be free from all stain and blemish till Christ

shall separate the goats from the sheep." [713]

Calvin discusses the subject of discipline in the twelfth chapter of

the fourth book of his Institutes. His views are sound and scriptural.

"No society," he says at the outset, "no house can be preserved in

proper condition without discipline. The Church ought to be the most

orderly society of all. As the saving doctrine of Christ is the soul of

the Church, so discipline forms the nerves and ligaments which connect

the members and keep each in its proper place. It serves as a bridle to

curb and restrain the refractory who resist the doctrine of Christ; or

as a spur to stimulate the inactive; and sometimes as a father's rod to

chastise, in mercy and with the gentleness of the spirit of Christ,

those who have grievously fallen away. It is the only remedy against a

dreadful desolation in the Church."

One of the greatest objections which he had against the Roman Church of

his day was the utter want of discipline in constant violation of the

canons. He asserts, without fear of contradiction, that "there was

scarcely one of the (Roman) bishops, and not one in a hundred of the

parochial clergy, who, if sentence were to be passed upon his conduct

according to the ancient canons, would not be excommunicated, or, to

say the very least, deposed from his office." [714]

He distinguished between the discipline of the people and the

discipline of the clergy. [715]

1. The discipline of members has three degrees: private admonition; a

second admonition in the presence of witnesses or before the Church;

and, in case of persistent disobedience, exclusion from the Lord's

Table. This is in accordance with the rule of Christ (Matt. 18:15-17).

The object of discipline is threefold: to protect the body of the

Church against contamination and profanation; to guard the individual

members against the corrupting influence of constant association with

the wicked; and to bring the offender to repentance that he may be

saved and restored to the fellowship of the faithful. Excommunication

and subsequent restoration were exercised by Paul in the case of the

Corinthian offender, and by the Church in her purer days. Even the

Emperor Theodosius was excluded from communion by Bishop Ambrose of

Milan on account of the massacre perpetrated in Thessalonica at his

order. [716]

Excommunication should be exercised only against flagitious crimes

which disgrace the Christian profession; such as adultery, fornication,

theft, robbery, sedition, perjury, contempt of God and his authority.

Nor should it be exercised by the bishop or pastor alone, but by the

body of elders, and, as is pointed out by Paul, "with the knowledge and

approbation of the congregation; in such a manner, however, that the

multitude of the people may not direct the proceeding, but may watch

over it as witnesses and guardians, that nothing be done by a few

persons from any improper motive." Moreover, "the severity of the

Church must be tempered by a spirit of gentleness. For there is

constant need of the greatest caution, according to the injunction of

Paul concerning a person who may have been censured, 'lest by any means

such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow' (2 Cor.

2:7); for thus a remedy would become a poison."

When the sinner gives reasonable evidence of repentance he is to be

restored. Calvin objects to "the excessive austerity of the ancients,"

who refused to readmit the lapsed. He approves of the course of

Cyprian, who says: "Our patience and kindness and tenderness is ready

for all who come; I wish all to return into the Church; I wish all our

fellow-soldiers to be assembled in the camp of Christ, and all our

brethren to be received into the house of God our Father. I forgive

everything; I conceal much. With ready and sincere affection I embrace

those who return with penitence." Calvin adds: "Such as are expelled

from the Church, it is not for us to expunge from the number of the

elect, or to despair of them as already lost. It is proper to consider

them as strangers to the Church, and consequently to Christ, but this

only as long as they remain in a state of exclusion. And even then let

us hope better things of them for the future, and not cease to pray to

God on their behalf. Let us not condemn to eternal death the offender,

nor prescribe laws to the mercy of God who can change the worst of men

into the best." He makes a distinction between excommunication and

anathema; the former censures and punishes with a view to reformation

and restoration; the latter precludes all pardon, and devotes a person

to eternal perdition. Anathema ought never to be resorted to, or at

least very rarely. Church members ought to exert all means in their

power to promote the reformation of an excommunicated person, and

admonish him not as an enemy, but as a brother (2 Cor. 2:8). "Unless

this tenderness be observed by the individual members as well as by the

Church collectively, our discipline will be in danger of speedily

degenerating into cruelty."

2. As regards the discipline of the clergy, Calvin objects to the

exemption of ministers from civil jurisdiction, and wants them to be

subject to the same punishments as laymen. They are more guilty, as

they ought to set a good example. He quotes with approval the ancient

canons, so shamefully neglected in the Roman Church of his day, against

hunting, gambling, feasting, usury, commerce, and secular amusements.

He recommends annual visitations and synods for the correction and

examination of delinquent clergymen.

But he rejects the prohibition of clerical marriage as an "act of

impious tyranny contrary to the Word of God and to every principle of

justice. With what impunity fornication rages among them [the papal

clergy] it is unnecessary to remark; emboldened by their polluted

celibacy, they have become hardened to every crime ... . Paul places

marriage among the virtues of a bishop; these men teach that it is a

vice not to be tolerated in the clergy ... . Christ has been pleased to

put such honor upon marriage as to make it an image of his sacred union

with the Church. What could be said more in commendation of the dignity

of marriage? With what face can that be called impure and polluted,

which exhibits a similitude of the spiritual grace of Christ?...

Marriage is honorable in all; but whoremongers and adulterers God will

judge (Heb. 13:4). The Apostles themselves have proved by their own

example that marriage is not unbecoming the sanctity of any office,

however excellent: for Paul testifies that they not only retained their

wives, but took them about with them (1 Cor. 9:5)."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[712] Friederich Julius Stahl, a convert from Judaism, a very able

lawyer and statesman, and one of the chief champions of modern

high-church Lutheranism whose motto was, "Authority, not Majority"

(although his wife was Reformed and he himself attributed his

conversion to the Reformed Professor Krafft in Erlangen), says in his

book, Die Lutherische Kirche und die Union (1860), that Calvin

introduced a new principle into Protestantism; namely, the

glorification of God by the full dominion of his Word in the life of

Christendom ("die Verherrlichung Gottes durch die wirkliche volle

Herrschaft seines Wortes im Leben der Christenheit").

[713] In Tholuck's ed. of Calvin's Harmony of the Gospels, I. P. II.

21.

[714] Inst. IV. ch. V. � 14. In the same chapter (� 1) he says of the

bishops of his day that most of them were ignorant of the Scriptures,

and either drunkards or fornicators or gamblers or hunters. "The

greatest absurdity is that even boys, scarcely ten years of age, have,

by the permission of the pope, been made bishops." Pope Leo X. himself

was made archbishop in his eighth and cardinal-deacon in his thirteenth

year. The Roman Church at that time tolerated almost anything but

heresy and disobedience to the pope, which in her eyes is worse than

the greatest moral crime.

[715] He objects to the word clergy as originating in a mistake, since

Peter (1 Pet. 5:3) calls the whole Church God's kleroi or possessions;

but he uses it for the sake of convenience.

[716] Calvin quotes also Chrysostom's famous warning against the

profanation of the sacrament by the connivance of unfaithful priests:

"Blood shalt be required at your hands. Let us not be afraid of

sceptres or diadems or imperial robes; we have here a greater power. As

for myself, I will rather give up my body to death and suffer my blood

to be shed, than I will be a partaker of this pollution." There is a

strong resemblance between Calvin and Chrysostom, both as commentators

and as fearless disciplinarians.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 107. The Exercise of Discipline in Geneva.

Calvin succeeded after a fierce struggle in infusing the Church of

Geneva with his views on discipline. The Consistory and the Council

rivalled with each other, under his inspiration, in puritanic zeal for

the correction of immorality; but their zeal sometimes transgressed the

dictates of wisdom and moderation. The union of Church and State rests

on the false assumption that all citizens are members of the Church and

subject to discipline.

Dancing, gambling, drunkenness, the frequentation of taverns,

profanity, luxury, excesses at public entertainments, extravagance and

immodesty in dress, licentious or irreligious songs were forbidden, and

punished by censure or fine or imprisonment. Even the number of dishes

at meals was regulated. Drunkards were fined three sols for each

offence. Habitual gamblers were exposed in the pillory with cords

around their neck. Reading of bad books and immoral novels was also

prohibited, and the popular "Amadis de Gaul "was ordered to be

destroyed (1559). A morality play on "the Acts of the Apostles," after

it had been performed several times, and been attended even by the

Council, was forbidden. Parents were warned against naming their

children after Roman Catholic saints who nourished certain

superstitions; instead of them the names of Abraham, Moses, David,

Daniel, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Nehemiah became common. (This preference

for Old Testament names was carried even further by the Puritans of

England and New England.) The death penalty against heresy, idolatry,

and blasphemy, and the barbarous custom of the torture were retained.

Adultery, after a second offence, was likewise punished by death.

These were prohibitive and protective laws intended to prevent and

punish irreligion and immorality.

But the Council introduced also coercive laws, which are contrary to

the nature of religion, and apt to breed hypocrisy or infidelity.

Attendance on public worship was commanded on penalty of three sols.

[717] When a refugee from Lyons once gratefully exclaimed, "How

glorious is the liberty we enjoy here," a woman bitterly replied: "Free

indeed we formerly were to attend mass, but now we are compelled to

hear a sermon." Watchmen were appointed to see that people went to

church. The members of the Consistory visited every house once a year

to examine into the faith and morals of the family. Every unseemly word

and act on the street was reported, and the offenders were cited before

the Consistory to be either censured and warned, or to be handed over

to the Council for severer punishment. No respect was paid to person,

rank, or sex. The strictest impartiality was maintained, and members of

the oldest and most distinguished families, ladies as well as

gentlemen, were treated with the same severity as poor and obscure

people.

Let us give a summary of the most striking cases of discipline. Several

women, among them the wife of Ami Perrin, the captain-general, were

imprisoned for dancing (which was usually connected with excesses).

Bonivard, the hero of political liberty, and a friend of Calvin, was

cited before the Consistory because he had played at dice with Clement

Marot, the poet, for a quart of wine. [718] A man was banished from the

city for three months because, on hearing an ass bray, he said

jestingly: "He prays a beautiful psalm." [719] A young man was punished

because he gave his bride a book on housekeeping with the remark: "This

is the best Psalter." A lady of Ferrara was expelled from the city for

expressing sympathy with the Libertines, and abusing Calvin and the

Consistory. Three men who had laughed during the sermon were imprisoned

for three days. Another had to do public penance for neglecting to

commune on Whitsunday. Three children were punished because they

remained outside of the church during the sermon to eat cakes. A man

who swore by the "body and blood of Christ" was fined and condemned to

stand for an hour in the pillory on the public square. A child was

whipped for calling his mother a thief and a she-devil (diabless). A

girl was beheaded for striking her parents, to vindicate the dignity of

the fifth commandment.

A banker was executed for repeated adultery, but he died penitent and

praised God for the triumph of justice. A person named Chapuis was

imprisoned for four days because he persisted in calling his child

Claude (a Roman Catholic saint) instead of Abraham, as the minister

wished, and saying that he would sooner keep his son unbaptized for

fifteen years. [720] Bolsec, Gentilis, and Castellio were expelled from

the Republic for heretical opinions. Men and women were burnt for

witchcraft. Gruet was beheaded for sedition and atheism. Servetus was

burnt for heresy and blasphemy. The last is the most flagrant case

which, more than all others combined, has exposed the name of Calvin to

abuse and execration; but it should be remembered that he wished to

substitute the milder punishment of the sword for the stake, and in

this point at least he was in advance of the public opinion and usual

practice of his age. [721]

The official acts of the Council from 1541 to 1559 exhibit a dark

chapter of censures, fines, imprisonments, and executions. During the

ravages of the pestilence in 1545 more than twenty men and women were

burnt alive for witchcraft, and a wicked conspiracy to spread the

horrible disease. [722] From 1542 to 1546 fifty-eight judgments of

death and seventy-six decrees of banishments were passed. [723] During

the years 1558 and 1559 the cases of various punishments for all sorts

of offences amounted to four hundred and fourteen--a very large

proportion for a population of 20,000.

The enemies of Calvin-Bolsec, Audin, Galiffe (father and son)--make the

most of these facts, and, ignoring all the good he has done, condemn

the great Reformer as a heartless and cruel tyrant. [724]

It is impossible to deny that this kind of legislation savors more of

the austerity of old heathen Rome and the Levitical code than of the

gospel of Christ, and that the actual exercise of discipline was often

petty, pedantic, and unnecessarily severe. Calvin was, as he himself

confessed, not free from impatience, passion, and anger, which were

increased by his physical infirmities; but he was influenced by an

honest zeal for the purity of the Church, and not by personal malice.

When he was threatened by Perrin and the Favre family with a second

expulsion, he wrote to Perrin: "Such threats make no impression upon

me. I did not return to Geneva to obtain leisure and profit, nor will

it be to my sorrow if I should have to leave it again. It was the

welfare and safety of the Church and State that induced me to return."

[725] He must be judged by the standard of his own, and not of our,

age. The most cruel of those laws--against witchcraft, heresy, and

blasphemy--were inherited from the Catholic Middle Ages, and continued

in force in all countries of Europe, Protestant as well as Roman

Catholic, down to the end of the seventeenth century. Tolerance is a

modern virtue. We shall return to this subject again in the chapter on

Servetus.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[717] "Les ministres ont pri�que ton advise de fere venyr les gens aut

sermon et specialement les dimanches et le iour des prieres affin de

prier Dieu qui nous assiste, voyeant le trouble quest en leglise de

Dieu et la machination dress�contre les fidelles. arr�t� qui impose une

amende de 3 solz � ceux qui ne viendraient pas." (Reg. du Conseil.) In

Annal., 394 sub Jan. 17, 1547.

[718] Roget, Peuple de Gen�ve, II. 29, quoted by Merle d'Aubign�, VII.

124.

[719] "Il chante un beau psaume."

[720] Registers for April 27, 1546. Henry II. 429.

[721] For a fuller statement see chap. XVI.

[722] Calvin himself states this fact in a letter to Myconius of Basel,

March 27, 1545 (Opera, XII. 55; Bonnet, I. 428), where he says: "A

conspiracy of men and women has lately been discovered, who, for the

space of three years, had spread the plague through the city by what

mischievous device I know not. After fifteen women have been burnt,

some men have even been punished more severely, some have committed

suicide in prison, and while twenty-five are still kept prisoners,--the

conspirators do not cease, notwithstanding, to smear the door-locks of

the dwelling-houses with their poisonous ointment. You see in the midst

of what perils we are tossed about. The Lord hath hitherto preserved

our dwelling, though it has more than once been attempted. It is well

that we know ourselves to be under His care."

[723] According to Galiffe, as quoted by Kampschulte, I. 425.

[724] Take the following rhetorical caricature of Calvin's and

Colladon's politico-religious code of laws from Audin (Life of Calvin,

ch. XXXVI. 354, Am. ed.):, There is but one word heard or read: Death.

Death to every one guilty of high treason against God; death to every

one guilty of high treason against the State; death to the son that

strikes or curses his father; death to the adulterer; death to heretics

... . During the space of twenty years, commencing from the date of

Calvin's recall, the history of Geneva is a bloody drama, in which

pity, dread, terror, indignation, and tears, by turns, appear to seize

upon the soul. At each step we encounter chains, thongs, a stake,

pincers, melted pitch, fire, and sulphur. And throughout the whole

there is blood. One imagines himself in Dante's Hell, where sighs,

groans, and lamentations continually resound."

[725] This letter to Perrin is undated, but is probably from April,

1546. See Opera, XII. 338 sq. and Bonnet, II. 42 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 108. Calvin's Struggle with the Patriots and Libertines.

Contre la secte phantastique et furieuse des Libertins qui se nomment

Spirituelz. Geneva, 1545; 2d ed. 1547. Reprinted in Opera, vol. VII.

145-252. Latin version by Nic. des Gallars, 1546. Farel also wrote a

French book against the Libertines, Geneva, 1550.

The works of J. A. Galiffe and J. B. G. Galiffe on the Genevese

families and the criminal processes of Perrin, Ameaux, Berthelier,

etc., quoted above, p. 224. Hostile to Calvin. Audin, chs. XXXV.,

XXXVI., and XLIII. Likewise hostile.

F. Trechsel: Libertiner, in the first ed. of Herzog's Encykl., VIII.

375-380 (omitted in the second ed.), and his Antitrinitarier, I. 177

sqq.--Henry II. 402 sqq.--Hundeshagen in the "Studien und Kritiken,"

1845, pp. 866 sqq.--Dyer, 177, 198, 368, 390 sqq.--St�helin, I. 382

sqq.; 457 sqq. On the side of Calvin.

Charles Schmidt: Les Libertins spirituels, B�le, 1876 (pp. xiv. and

251). From a manuscript autograph of one J. F., an adept of the sect,

written between 1547 and 1550. An extract in La France Protest. III.

590 sq.

It required a ten years' conflict till Calvin succeeded in carrying out

his system of discipline. The opposition began to manifest itself in

1545, during the raging of the pestilence; it culminated at the trial

of Servetus in 1553, and it finally broke down in 1555.

Calvin compares himself in this controversy with David fighting against

the Philistines. "If I should describe," he says in the Preface to his

Commentary on the Psalms (1557), [726] "the course of my struggles by

which the Lord has exercised me from this period, it would make a long

story, but a brief reference may suffice. It affords me no slight

consolation that David preceded me in these conflicts. For as the

Philistines and other foreign foes vexed this holy king by continual

wars, and as the wickedness and treachery of the faithless of his own

house grieved him still more, so was I on all sides assailed, and had

scarcely a moment's rest from outward or inward struggles. But when

Satan had made so many efforts to destroy our Church, it came at length

to this, that I, unwarlike and timid as I am, [727] found myself

compelled to oppose my own body to the murderous assault, and so to

ward it off. Five years long had we to struggle without ceasing for the

upholding of discipline; for these evil-doers were endowed with too

great a degree of power to be easily overcome; and a portion of the

people, perverted by their means, wished only for an unbridled freedom.

To such worthless men, despisers of the holy law, the ruin of the

Church was a matter of utter indifference, could they but obtain the

liberty to do whatever they desired. Many were induced by necessity and

hunger, some by ambition or by a shameful desire of gain, to attempt a

general overthrow, and to risk their own ruin as well as ours, rather

than be subject to the laws. Scarcely a single thing, I believe, was

left unattempted by them during this long period which we might not

suppose to have been prepared in the workshop of Satan. Their wretched

designs could only be attended with a shameful disappointment. A

melancholy drama was thus presented to me; for much as they deserved

all possible punishment, I should have been rejoiced to see them

passing their lives in peace and respectability: which might have been

the case, had they not wholly rejected every kind of prudent

admonition."

At one time he almost despaired of success. He wrote to Farel, Dec. 14,

1547: "Affairs are in such a state of confusion that I despair of being

able longer to retain the Church, at least by my own endeavors. May the

Lord hear your incessant prayers in our behalf." And to Viret he wrote,

on Dec. 17, 1547: "Wickedness has now reached such a pitch here that I

hardly hope that the Church can be upheld much longer, at least by

means of my ministry. Believe me, my power is broken, unless God

stretch forth his hand." [728]

The adversaries of Calvin were, with a few exceptions, the same who had

driven him away in 1538. They never cordially consented to his recall.

They yielded for a time to the pressure of public opinion and political

necessity; but when he carried out the scheme of discipline much more

rigorously than they had expected, they showed their old hostility, and

took advantage of every censurable act of the Consistory or Council.

They hated him worse than the pope. [729] They abhorred the very word

"discipline." They resorted to personal indignities and every device of

intimidation; they nicknamed him "Cain," and gave his name to the dogs

of the street; they insulted him on his way to the lecture-room; they

fired one night fifty shots before his bed-chamber; they threatened him

in the pulpit; they approached the communion table to wrest the sacred

elements from his hands, but he refused to profane the sacrament and

overawed them. On another occasion he walked into the midst of an

excited crowd and offered his breast to their daggers. As late as

October 15, 1554, he wrote to an old friend: "Dogs bark at me on all

sides. Everywhere I am saluted with the name of 'heretic,' and all the

calumnies that can possibly be invented are heaped upon me; in a word,

the enemies among my own flock attack me with greater bitterness than

my declared enemies among the papists." [730]

And yet in the midst of these troubles be continued to discharge all

his duties, and found time to write some of his most important works.

It seems incredible that a man of feeble constitution and physical

timidity should have been able to triumph over such determined and

ferocious opposition. The explanation is in the justice of his cause,

and the moral purity and "majesty of his character, which so strongly

impressed the Genevese.

We must distinguish two parties among Calvin's enemies--the Patriots,

who opposed him on political grounds, and the Libertines, who hated his

religion. It would be unjust to charge all the Patriots with the

irreligious sentiments of the Libertines. But they made common cause

for the overthrow of Calvin and his detested system of discipline. They

had many followers among the discontented and dissolute rabble which

abounds in every large city, and is always ready for a revolution,

having nothing to lose and everything to gain.

1. The Patriots or Children of Geneva (Enfants de Gen�ve), as they

called themselves, belonged to some of the oldest and most influential

families of Geneva,--Favre (or Fabri), Perrin, Vandel, Berthelier,

Ameaux. [731] They or their fathers had taken an active part in the

achievement of political independence, and even in the introduction of

the Reformation, as a means of protecting that independence. But they

did not care for the positive doctrines of the Reformation. They wanted

liberty without law. They resisted every encroachment on their personal

freedom and love of amusements. They hated the evangelical discipline

more than the yoke of Savoy.

They also disliked Calvin as a foreigner, who was not even naturalized

before 1559. In the pride and prejudice of nativism, they denounced the

refugees, who had sacrificed home and fortune to religion, as a set of

adventurers, soldiers of fortune, bankrupts, and spies of the Reformer.

"These dogs of Frenchmen," they said, "are the cause that we are

slaves, and must bow before Calvin and confess our sins. Let the

preachers and their gang go to the --." They deprived the refugees of

the right to carry arms, and opposed their admission to the rights of

citizenship, as there was danger that they might outnumber and outvote

the native citizens. Calvin secured, in 1559, through a majority of the

Council, at one time, the admission of three hundred of these refugees,

mostly Frenchmen.

The Patriots disliked also the protectorate of Bern, although Bern

never favored the strict theology and discipline of Calvin.

2. The Libertines [732] or Spirituels, as they called themselves, were

far worse than the Patriots. They formed the opposite extreme to the

severe discipline of Calvin. He declares that they were the most

pernicious of all the sects that appeared since the time of the ancient

Gnostics and Manichaeans, and that they answer the prophetic

description in the Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude. He

traces their immediate origin to Coppin of Yssel and Quintin of

Hennegau, in the Netherlands, and to an ex-priest, Pocquet or Pocques,

who spent some time in Geneva, and wanted to get a certificate from

Calvin; but Calvin saw through the man and refused it. They revived the

antinomian doctrines of the mediaeval sect of the "Brethren and Sisters

of the Free Spirit," a branch of the Beghards, who had their

headquarters at Cologne and the Lower Rhine, and emancipated themselves

not only from the Church, but also from the laws of morality. [733]

The Libertines described by Calvin were antinomian pantheists. They

confounded the boundaries of truth and error, of right and wrong. Under

the pretext of the freedom of the spirit, they advocated the unbridled

license of the flesh. Their spiritualism ended in carnal materialism.

They taught that there is but one spirit, the Spirit of God, who lives

in all creatures, which are nothing without him. "What I or you do,"

said Quintin, "is done by God, and what God does, we do; for he is in

us." Sin is a mere negation or privation, yea, an idle illusion which

disappears as soon as it is known and disregarded. Salvation consists

in the deliverance from the phantom of sin. There is no Satan, and no

angels, good or bad. They denied the truth of the gospel history. The

crucifixion and resurrection of Christ have only a symbolical meaning

to show us that sin does not exist for us.

The Libertines taught the community of goods and of women, and elevated

spiritual marriage above legal marriage, which is merely carnal and not

binding. The wife of Ameaux justified her wild licentiousness by the

doctrine of the communion of saints, and by the first commandment of

God given to man: "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth

(Gen. 1:28).

The Libertines rejected the Scriptures as a dead letter, or they

resorted to wild allegorical interpretations to suit their fancies.

They gave to each of the Apostles a ridiculous nickname. [734] Some

carried their system to downright atheism and blasphemous

anti-Christianity.

They used a peculiar jargon, like the Gypsies, and distorted common

words into a mysterious meaning. They were experts in the art of

simulation and justified pious fraud by the parables of Christ. They

accommodated themselves to Catholics or Protestants according to

circumstances, and concealed their real opinions from the uninitiated.

The sect made progress among the higher classes of France, where they

converted about four thousand persons. Quintin and Pocquet insinuated

themselves into the favor of Queen Marguerite of Navarre, who protected

and supported them at her little court at N�rac, yet without adopting

their opinions and practices. [735] She took offence at Calvin's severe

attack upon them. He justified his course in a reply of April 28, 1545,

which is a fine specimen of courtesy, frankness, and manly dignity.

Calvin assured the queen, whose protection he had himself enjoyed while

a fugitive from persecution, that he intended no reflection on her

honor, or disrespect to her royal majesty, and that he wrote simply in

obedience to his duty as a minister. "Even a dog barks if he sees any

one assault his master. How could I be silent if God's truth is

assailed? [736] ... As for your saying that you would not like to have

such a servant as myself, I confess that I am not qualified to render

you any great service, nor have you need of it ... . Nevertheless, the

disposition is not wanting, and your disdain shall not prevent my being

at heart your humble servant. For the rest, those who know me are well

aware that I have never studied to enter into the courts of princes,

for I was never tempted to court worldly honors. [737] For I have good

reason to be contented with the service of that good Master, who has

accepted me and retained me in the honorable office which I hold,

however contemptible in the eyes of the world. I should, indeed, be

ungrateful beyond measure if I did not prefer this condition to all the

riches and honors of the world." [738]

Beza says: "It was owing to Calvin that this horrid sect, in which all

the most monstrous heresies of ancient times were renewed, was kept

within the confines of Holland and the adjacent provinces."

During the trial of Servetus the political and religious Libertines

combined in an organized effort for the overthrow of Calvin at Geneva,

but were finally defeated by a failure of an attempted rebellion in

May, 1555.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[726] Opera, vol. XXXI. 27

[727] "Qui imbellis sum et meticulosus"; in the French ed., "tout

foible et craintif que je suis." He more than once refers to his

natural timidity; but he risked his life on several occasions.

[728] Bonnet, II. 133 sq. and 135; Opera, XII. 632 sqq. The date of the

letter to Viret is Dec. 17, not 14, as given by Bonnet.

[729] To them must be traced the saying: "They would rather be with

Beza in hell than with Calvin in heaven." But Beza was in full accord

with Calvin in discipline as well as doctrine. The saying is reported

by Papyrius Masso: "Genevenses inter jocos dicebant, malle se apud

inferos cum Beza quam apud superos esse cum Calvino." Audin, p. 487.

[730] Opera, XV. 271.

[731] The Galiffes fairly represent the animosity of these old families

to Calvin, but far surpass their ancestors in literary and moral

culture and respectability, which they owe to the effects of his

reformation.

[732] The synagogue of the Libertines in Jerusalem opposed Stephen, the

forerunner of Paul, Acts 6:9.

[733] Gieseler connects both sects, vol. III. Part I. 385; Comp. II.

Part III. 266. Strype notices the existence of a similar sect in

England at a later period, Annals, vol. II. Part II. 287 sqq. (quoted

by Dyer, p. 177)

[734] They called St. Matthew, the publican, usurier (a usurer); St.

Paul, potcass� (a broken vessel); St. Peter, on account of his denial

of Christ, renonceur de Dieu; St. John, jouvenceau et follet (a

childish youth), etc.

[735] Bonnet, in a note on Calvin's letter to the queen (I. 429), says

of her: "In the later years of her life [she died in 1549] her piety

gradually degenerated into a kind of contemplative mysticism, whose

chief characteristic was indif-ference towards outward forms, uniting

the external ordinances of the Roman Church with the inward cherishing

of a purer faith." See above, p. 323.

[736] "Un chien abaye, sil voyt quon assaille son maistre; ie serois

bien lasche, si en voyant la verite de dieu ainsi assallye, ie faisois

du muet sans sonner mot."

[737] "Au reste, ceulx qui me cognoissent, savent bien que nay iamais

aspire davoir entree aux courtz des princes, dautant que ie nestois pas

tent�de parvenir aux estatz" (honorum studio titillatus).

[738] The French original in Henry, II. Beilage, 14, p. 112 sqq.; also

in Bonnet and in Opera, XII. 64-68. The Latin editions date the letter

April 20 instead of 28.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 109. The Leaders of the Libertines and their punishment: -- Gruet,

Perrin, Ameaux, Vandel, Berthelier.

We shall now give sketches of the chief Patriots and Libertines, and

their quarrels with Calvin and his system of discipline. The heretical

opponents--Bolsec, Castellio, Servetus--will be considered in a

separate chapter on the Doctrinal Controversies.

1. Jacques Gruet was the first victim of Calvin's discipline who

suffered death for sedition and blasphemy. His case is the most famous

next to that of Servetus. Gruet [739] was a Libertine of the worst

type, both politically and religiously, and would have been condemned

to death in any other country at that time. He was a Patriot descended

from an old and respectable family, and formerly a canon. He lay under

suspicion of having attempted to poison Viret in 1535. He wrote verses

against Calvin and the refugees which (as Audin says) were "more

malignant than poetic." He was a regular frequenter of taverns, and

opposed to any rules in Church and State which interfered with personal

liberty. When in church, he looked boldly and defiantly into the face

of the preacher. He first adopted the Bernese fashion of wearing

breeches with plaits at the knees, and openly defied the discipline of

the Consistory which forbade it. Calvin called him a scurvy fellow, and

gives an unfavorable account of his moral and religious character,

which the facts fully justified.

On the 27th of June, 1547, a few days after the wife of Perrin had

defied the Consistory, [740] the following libel, written in the

Savoyard patois, was attached to Calvin's pulpit in St. Peter's Church:

--

"Gross hypocrite (Gros panfar), thou and thy companions will gain

little by your pains. If you do not save yourselves by flight, nobody

shall prevent your overthrow, and you will curse the hour when you left

your monkery. Warning has been already given that the devil and his

renegade priests were come hither to ruin every thing. But after people

have suffered long they avenge themselves. Take care that you are not

served like Mons. Verle of Fribourg. [741] We will not have so many

masters. Mark well what I say." [742]

The Council arrested Jacques Gruet, who had been heard uttering threats

against Calvin a few days previously, and had written obscene and

impious verses and letters. In his house were found a copy of Calvin's

work against the Libertines with a marginal note, Toutes folies, and

several papers and letters filled with abuse of Calvin as a haughty,

ambitious, and obstinate hypocrite who wished to be adored, and to rob

the pope of his honor. There were also found two Latin pages in Gruet's

handwriting, in which the Scriptures were ridiculed, Christ blasphemed,

and the immortality of the soul called a dream and a fable.

Gruet was tortured every day for a month, after the inhuman fashion of

that age. [743] He confessed that he had affixed the libel, and that

the papers found in his house belonged to him; but he refused to name

any accomplices. He was condemned for religious, moral, and political

offences; being found guilty of expressing contempt for religion; of

declaring that laws, both human and divine, were but the work of man's

caprice; and that fornication was not criminal when both parties were

consenting; and of threatening the clergy and the Council itself. [744]

He was beheaded on the 26th of July, 1547. The execution instead of

terrifying the Libertines made them more furious than ever. Three days

afterwards the Council was informed that more than twenty young men had

entered into a conspiracy to throw Calvin and his colleagues into the

Rhone. He could not walk the streets without being insulted and

threatened.

Two or three years after the death of Gruet, a treatise of his was

discovered full of horrible blasphemies against Christ, the Virgin

Mary, the Prophets and Apostles, against the Scriptures, and all

religion. He aimed to show that the founders of Judaism and

Christianity were criminals, and that Christ was justly crucified. Some

have confounded this treatise with the book "De tribus Impostoribus,"

which dates from the age of Emperor Frederick II., and puts Moses,

Christ, and Mohammed on a level as religious impostors.

Gruet's book was, at Calvin's advice, publicly burnt by the hangman

before Gruet's house, May 22, 1550. [745]

2. Ami Perrin (Amy Pierre), the military chief (captain-general) of the

Republic, was the most popular and influential leader of the Patriotic

party. He had been one of the earliest promoters of the Reformation,

though from political rather than religious motives; he had protected

Farel against the violence of the priests, and had been appointed

deputy to Strassburg to bring Calvin back to Geneva. [746] He was one

of the six lay-members who, with the ministers, drew up the

Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1542, and for some time he supported

Calvin in his reforms. He could wield the sword, but not the pen. He

was vain, ambitious, pretentious, and theatrical. Calvin called him, in

derision, the stage-emperor, who played now the "Caesar comicus," and

now the "Caesar tragicus." [747]

Perrin's wife, Francesca, was a daughter of Fran�ois Favre, who had

taken a prominent part in the political struggle against Savoy, but

mistook freedom for license, and hated Calvin as a tyrant and a

hypocrite. His whole family shared in this hatred. Francesca had an

excessive fondness for dancing and revelry, a violent temper, and an

abusive tongue. Calvin called her "Penthesilea" (the queen of the

Amazons who fought a battle against the Greeks, and was slain by

Achilles), and "a prodigious fury." [748]

He found out too late that it is foolish and dangerous to quarrel with

a woman. He forgot Christ's conduct towards the adulteress, and Mary

Magdalene.

A disgraceful scene which took place at a wedding in the house of the

widow Balthazar at Belle Rive, brought upon the family of Favre, who

were present, the censure of the Consistory and the punishment of the

Council. Perrin, his wife and her father were imprisoned for a few

weeks in April, 1546. Favre refused to make any confession, and went to

prison, shouting: "Liberty! Liberty! I would give a thousand crowns to

have a general council." [749] Perrin made an humble apology to the

Consistory. Calvin plainly told the Favre family that as long as they

lived in Geneva they must obey the laws of Geneva, though every one of

them wore a diadem. [750]

From this time on Perrin stood at the head of the opposition to Calvin.

He loudly denounced the Consistory as a popish tribunal. He secured so

much influence over the Council that a majority voted, in March, 1547,

to take the control of Church discipline into their own hands. But

Calvin made such a vigorous resistance that it was determined

eventually to abide by the established Ordinances. [751]

Perrin was sent as ambassador to Paris (April 26, 1547), and was

received there with much distinction. The Cardinal du Bellay sounded

him as to whether some French troops under his command could be

stationed at Geneva to frustrate the hostile designs of the German

emperor against Switzerland. He gave a conditional consent. This

created a suspicion against his loyalty.

During his absence, Madame Perrin and her father were again summoned

before the Consistory for bacchanalian conduct (June 23, 1547). Favre

refused to appear. Francesca denied the right of the court to take

cognizance of her private life. When remonstrated with, she flew into a

passion, and abused the preacher, Abel Poupin, as "a reviler, a

slanderer of her father, a coarse swine-herd, and a malicious liar."

She was again imprisoned, but escaped with one of her sons. Meeting

Abel Poupin at the gate of the city she insulted him afresh and "even

more shamefully than before." [752]

On the 27th of June, 1547, Gruet's threatening libel was published.

[753] Calvin was reported to have been killed. He received letters from

Burgogne and Lyons that the Children of Geneva had offered five hundred

crowns for his head. [754]

On his return from Paris, Perrin was capitally indicted on a charge of

treason, and of intending to quarter two hundred French cavalry, under

his own command, at Geneva. His excuse was that he had accepted the

command of these troops with the reservation of the approval of the

government of Geneva. Bonivard, the old soldier of liberty and prisoner

of Chillon, took part against Perrin. The ambassadors of Bern

endeavored to divert the storm from the head of Perrin to the French

ambassador Maigret the Magnifique. Perrin was expelled from the

Council, and the office of captain-general was suppressed, but he was

released from prison, together with his wife and father-in-law, Nov.

29, 1547. [755]

The Libertines summoned all their forces for a reaction. They called a

meeting of the Council of Two Hundred, where they expected most

support. A violent scene took place on Dec. 16, 1547, in the Senate

house, when Calvin, unarmed and at the risk of his life, appeared in

the midst of the armed crowd and called upon them, if they designed to

shed blood, to begin with him. He succeeded, by his courage and

eloquence, in calming the wild storm and preventing a disgraceful

carnage. It was a sublime victory of reason over passion, of moral over

physical force. [756]

The ablest of the detractors of Calvin cannot help paying here an

involuntary tribute to him and to the truth of history. This is his

dramatic account.

"The Council of the Two Hundred was assembled. Never had any session

been more tumultuous; the parties, weary of speaking, began to appeal

to arms. The people heard the appeal. Calvin appears, unattended; he is

received at the lower part of the hall with cries of death. He folds

his arms, and looks the agitators fixedly in the face. Not one of them

dares strike him. Then, advancing through the midst of the groups, with

his breast uncovered: 'If you want blood,' says he, 'there are still a

few drops here; strike, then!' Not an arm is raised. Calvin then slowly

ascends the stairway to the Council of the Two Hundred. The hall was on

the point of being drenched with blood; swords were flashing on

beholding the Reformer, the weapons were lowered, and a few words

sufficed to calm the agitation. Calvin, taking the arm of one of the

councillors, again descends the stairs, and cries out to the people

that he wishes to address them. He does speak, and with such energy and

feeling, that tears flow from their eyes. They embrace each other, and

the crowd retires in silence. The patriots had lost the day. From that

moment, it was easy to foretell that victory would remain with the

Reformer. The Libertines, who had shown themselves so bold when it was

a question of destroying some front of a Catholic edifice, overturning

some saint's niche, or throwing down an old wooden cross weakened by

age, trembled like women before this man, who, in fact, on this

occasion, exhibited something of the Homeric heroism." [757]

Notwithstanding this triumph, Calvin did not trust enemies, and

expressed in letters to Farel and Viret even the fear that he could no

longer maintain his position unless God stretch forth his hand for his

protection. [758]

A sort of truce was patched up between the contending parties. "Our

�i-devant Caesar (hesternus noster Caesar)," Calvin wrote to Farel,

Dec. 28, 1547, "denied that he had any grudge against me, and I

immediately met him half-way and pressed out the matter from the sore.

In a grave and moderate speech, I used, indeed, some sharp reproofs

(punctiones acutas), but not of a nature to wound; yet though he

grasped my hand whilst promising to reform, I still fear that I have

spoken to deaf ears." [759]

In the next year, Calvin was censured by the Council for saying, in a

private letter to Viret which had been intercepted, that the Genevese

"under pretence of Christ wanted to rule without Christ," and that he

had to combat their, hypocrisy." He called to his aid Viret and Farel

to make a sort of apology. [760]

Perrin behaved quietly, and gained an advantage from this incident. He

was restored to his councillorship and the office of captain-general

(which had been abolished). He was even elected First Syndic, in

February, 1549. He held that position also during the trial of

Servetus, and opposed the sentence of death in the Council (1553).

Shortly after the execution of Servetus, the Libertines raised a

demonstration against Farel, who had come to Geneva and preached a very

severe sermon against them (Nov. 1, 1553). [761] Philibert Berthelier

and his brother Fran�ois Daniel, who had charge of the mint, stirred up

the laborers to throw Farel into the Rhone. But his friends formed a

guard around him, and his defence before the Council convinced the

audience of his innocence. It was resolved that all enmity should be

forgotten and buried at a banquet. Perrin, the chief Syndic, in a sense

of weakness, or under the impulse of his better feelings, begged

Farel's pardon, and declared that he would ever regard him as his

spiritual father and pastor. [762]

After this time Calvin's friends gained the ascendency in the Council.

A large number of religious refugees were admitted to the rights of

citizenship.

Perrin, then a member of the Little Council, and his friends, Peter

Vandel and Philibert Berthelier, determined on rule or ruin, now

concocted a desperate and execrable conspiracy, which proved their

overthrow. They proposed to kill all foreigners who had fled to Geneva

for the sake of religion, together with their Genevese sympathizers, on

a Sunday while people were at church. But, fortunately, the plot was

discovered before it was ripe for execution. When the rioters were to

be tried before the Council of the Two Hundred, Perrin and several

other ringleaders had the audacity to take their places as judges; but

when he saw that matters were taking a serious turn in favor of law and

order, he fled from Geneva, together with Vandel and Berthelier. They

were summoned by the public herald, but refused to appear. On the day

appointed for the trial five of the fugitives were condemned to death;

Perrin, moreover, to have his right hand cut off, with which he had

seized the b�ton of the Syndic at the riot. The sentence was executed

in effigy in June, 1555. [763]

Their estates were confiscated, and their wives banished from Geneva.

The office of captain-general was again abolished to avoid the danger

of a military dictatorship.

But the government of Bern protected the fugitives, and allowed them to

commit outrages on Genevese citizens within their reach, and to attack

Calvin and Geneva with all sorts of reproaches and calumnies.

Thus the "comic Caesar" ended as the "tragic Caesar." An impartial

biographer of Calvin calls the last chapter in Perrin's career "a

caricature of the Catilinarian conspiracy." [764]

3. The case of Pierre Ameaux shows a close connection between the

political and religious Libertines. He was a member of the Council of

Two Hundred. He sought and obtained a divorce from his wife, who was

condemned to perpetual imprisonment for the theory and practice of

free-lovism of the worst kind. But he hated Calvin's theology and

discipline. At a supper party in his own house he freely indulged in

drink, and roundly abused Calvin as a teacher of false doctrine, as a

very bad man, and nothing but a Picard. [765]

For this offence he was imprisoned by the Council for two months and

condemned to a fine of sixty dollars. He made an apology and retracted

his words. But Calvin was not satisfied, and demanded a second trial.

The Council condemned him to a degrading punishment called the amende

honorable, namely, to parade through the streets in his shirt, with

bare head, and a lighted torch in his hand, and to ask on bended knees

the pardon of God, of the Council, and of Calvin. This harsh judgment

provoked a popular outbreak in the quarter of St. Gervais, but the

Council proceeded in a body to the spot and ordered the wine-shops to

be closed and a gibbet to be erected to frighten the mob. The sentence

on Ameaux was executed April 5, 1546. Two preachers, Henri de la Mare

and Aim� Maigret, who had taken part in the drinking scene, were

deposed. The former had said before the Council that Calvin was, a good

and virtuous man, and of great intellect, but sometimes governed by his

passions, impatient, full of hatred, and vindictive." The latter had

committed more serious offences. [766]

4. Pierre Vandel was a handsome, brilliant, and frivolous cavalier, and

loved to exhibit himself with a retinue of valets and courtesans, with

rings on his fingers and golden chains on his breast. He had been

active in the expulsion of Calvin, and opposed him after his recall. He

was imprisoned for his debaucheries and insolent conduct before the

Consistory. He was Syndic in 1548. He took a leading part in the

conspiracy of Perrin and shared his condemnation and exile. [767]

5. Philibert Berthelier (or Bertelier, Bertellier), an unworthy son of

the distinguished patriot who, in 1519, had been beheaded for his part

in the war of independence, belonged to the most malignant enemies of

Calvin. He had gone to Noyon, if we are to believe the assertion of

Bolsec, to bring back scandalous reports concerning the early life of

the Reformer, which the same Bolsec published thirteen years after

Calvin's death, but without any evidence. [768] If the Libertines had

been in possession of such information, they would have made use of it.

Berthelier is characterized by Beza as "a man of the most consummate

impudence" and "guilty of many iniquities." He was excommunicated by

the Consistory in 1551 for abusing Calvin, for not going to church, and

other offences, and for refusing to make any apology. Calvin was absent

during these sessions, owing to sickness. Berthelier appealed to the

Council, of which he was the secretary. The Council at first confirmed

the decision of the Consistory, but afterwards released him, during the

syndicate of Perrin and the trial of Servetus, and gave him letters of

absolution signed with the seal of the Republic (1553). [769]

Calvin was thus brought into direct conflict with the Council, and

forced to the alternative of submission or disobedience; in the latter

case he ran the risk of a second and final expulsion. But he was not

the man to yield in such a crisis. He resolved to oppose to the Council

his inflexible non possumus.

On the Sunday which followed the absolution of Berthelier, the

September communion was to be celebrated. Calvin preached as usual in

St. Peter's, and declared at the close of the sermon that he would

never profane the sacrament by administering it to an excommunicated

person. Then raising his voice and lifting up his hands, he exclaimed

in the words of St. Chrysostom: "I will lay down my life ere these

hands shall reach forth the sacred things of God to those who have been

branded as his despisers."

This was another moment of sublime Christian heroism.

Perrin, who had some decent feeling of respect for religion and for

Calvin's character, was so much impressed by this solemn warning that

he secretly gave orders to Berthelier not to approach the communion

table. The communion was celebrated, as Beza reports, "in profound

silence, and under a solemn awe, as if the Deity himself had been

visibly present among them." [770]

In the afternoon, Calvin, as for the last time, preached on Paul's

farewell address to the Ephesian Elders (Acts 20:31); he exhorted the

congregation to abide in the doctrine of Christ, and declared his

willingness to serve the Church and each of its members, but added in

conclusion: "Such is the state of things here that this may be my last

sermon to you; for they who are in power would force me to do what God

does not permit. I must, therefore, dearly beloved, like Paul, commend

you to God, and to the Word of his grace." [771]

These words made a deep impression even upon his worst foes. The next

day Calvin, with his colleagues and the Presbytery, demanded of the

Council to grant them an audience before the people, as a law was

attacked which had been sanctioned by the General Assembly. The Council

refused the request, but resolved to suspend the decree by which the

power of excommunication was declared to belong to the Council.

In the midst of this agitation the trial of Servetus was going on, and

was brought to a close by his death at the stake, Oct. 27. A few days

afterwards (Nov. 3), Berthelier renewed his request to be admitted to

the Lord's Table--he who despised religion. The Council which had

condemned the heretic, was not quite willing to obey Calvin as a

legislator, and wished to retain the power of excommunication in their

own hands. Yet, in order to avoid a rupture with the ministers, who

would not yield to any compromise, the Council resolved to solicit the

opinions of four Swiss cantons on the subject. [772]

Bullinger, in behalf of the Church and magistracy of Z�rich, replied in

December, substantially approving of Calvin's view, though he

admonished him privately against undue severity. The magistrates of

Bern replied that they had no excommunication in their Church. The

answers of the two other cantons are lost, but seem to have been rather

favorable to Calvin's cause.

In the meantime matters assumed a more promising aspect. On Jan. 1,

1554, at a grand dinner given by the Council and judges, Calvin being

present, a desire for peace was universally expressed. On the second of

February the Council of Two Hundred swore, with uplifted hands, to

conform to the doctrines of the Reformation, to forget the past, to

renounce all hatred and animosity, and to live together in unity.

Calvin regarded this merely as a truce, and looked for further

troubles. He declared before the Council that he readily forgave all

his enemies, but could not sacrifice the rights of the Consistory, and

would rather leave Geneva. The irritation continued in 1554. The

opposition broke out again in the conspiracy against the foreigners and

the council, which has been already described. The plot failed.

Berthelier was, with Perrin, condemned to death, but escaped with him

the execution of justice by flight. [773]

This was the end of Libertinism in Geneva.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[739] A son of Humbert Gruet, notary public of Geneva; not to be

confounded with Canon Claude Gruet. See Opera, XII. 546, note 9;

Bonnet,Letters fr. I. 212, and Henry, II. 440.

[740] On the date see Opera, XII. 546, note 7, and Annal. XXI. 407, sub

Lundi Juin 27: "Un �'crit violent contre Calvin et ses coll�gues est

trouv�dans la chaire d'un des temples." Calvin's letter to Viret, July

2, 1547: "Postridie reperitur charta in suggestu qua mortem nobis

minantur."

[741] Peter Wernly, a canon of St. Peter's, was killed in a fight with

the Protestants, while endeavoring to save himself by flight, May 4,

1533.

[742] "Nota bin mon dire." See the original of the placard in Opera,

XII. 546, note 8. Gaberel and Ruchat give it in modern French. The

editors of the Opera refer panfar to Abel Poupin ("Panfar ventrosum

dicit Poupinum").

[743] In the case of Gentilis and Servet, however, no mention is made

of the torture.

[744] The sentence of condemnation (Opera, XII. 667) reads: "Par jceste

nostre diffinitive sentence, laquelle donnons icy par escript, toy

Jaque Gruet condampnons a debvoyr estre mene au lieu de Champel et

illect debvoyer avoyer tranche la teste de dessus les espaules, et ton

corps attache aut gibet et la teste cloye en jcelluy et ainsy finiras

tes jours pour donner exemple aux aultres qui tel cas vouldroyent

commestre." The charges assigned are blasphemy against God, offence

against the civil magistracy, threats to the ministers of God, and

"crime de leze majeste meritant pugnition corporelle."

[745] The sources for the case of Gruet are the acts of the criminal

process and sentence, printed in Opera, XII. 563-568 (in French);

letters of Calvin to Viret, July 2, 24, 1547 (in Opera, XII. 545, 559,

in Bonnet II. 108 and 114); Calvin's report on the blasphemous book of

Gruet, in Opera, XIII. 568-572 (in French, also printed in Henry, II.

120, and in Letters by Jules Bonnet, French ed., I. 311; English ed.,

II. 254); Reg. du Conseil, July 25, 1547, and May 22, 1550, noticed in

Annal. 409, 465.--Of modern writers, see Henry, (II. 410, 439, 441

sqq.; abridged in Stebbing's translation, II. 64 sqq., without the

Beilage); Audin, ch. XXXVI. (pp. 396 sqq. of the English translation);

Dyer, 213 sqq.; and St�helin, I. 399 sqq.

[746] Oct. 21, 1540. A day afterwards, Dufour was appointed by the

Council, and went in his place. Annal. 267. See above, p. 430.

[747] Beza calls him "vanissimus, sed audax et ambitiosus " (XXI. 138).

Audin, the patron of all the enemies of Calvin, describes Perrin as "a

man of noble nature, who wore the sword with great grace, dressed in

good taste, and conversed with much facility; but a boaster at table

and at the Council, where he deafened every one with his boastful

loquacity, his fits of self-love, and his theatrical airs ... . As to

the rest, like all men of this stamp, he had an excellent heart, was

devoted as a friend, with cool blood, and patriotic even to extremes.

At table it was his delight to imitate the Reformer, elongating his

visage, winking his eyes, and assuming the air of an anchorite of the

Thebaid" (p. 390). Perrin's chief defender is the younger Galiffe.

[748] "Prodigiosa furia." Letter to Farel, Sept. 1, 1546 (in Opera,

XII. 377 sq., and Bonnet, II. 56). In the same letter he says: "She

shamelessly undertakes the defence of all crimes." She did not spare

Calvin's wife, and calumniously asserted among her own friends that

Idelette must have been a harlot because Calvin confessed, at the

baptism of his infant, that she and her former husband had been

Anabaptists. So Calvin reports to Farel, Aug. 21, 1547 (in Opera, XII.

580 sq.; Bonnet, II. 124). Audin apologizes for Francesca, as "one of

those women whom our old Corneille would have taken for heroines;

excitable, choleric, fond of pleasure, enamoured of dancing, and hating

Calvin as Luther hated a monk" (p. 390).

[749] Calvin reminded Francesca on that occasion that "her father had

been already convicted of one adultery [in 1531], that the proof of

another was at hand, and that there was a strong rumor of a third. I

stated that her brother had openly contemned and derided both the

Council and the ministers." Letter to Farel, April, 1546. She told him

in reply: "M�chant homme, vous voulez boire le sang de notre famille,

mais vous sortirez de Gen�ve avant nous." See the notes in Opera, XII.

334.

[750] See Calvin's letters to Farel, April, 1546, and Sept. 1, 1546 (in

Opera, XII. 334 sqq., 377 sq., and Bonnet II. 38, 56), and extracts

from the Registers of the Consistory and the Council in Annal. 377 sqq.

Comp. Dyer, 208 sq.; Audin, 391 sq. Audin gives a lively description of

the wedding and dancing at Belle Rive, and the examination before the

Consistory.

[751] See the extracts from the R�g. du Conseil March and April, 1547,

in Annal. 399-406.

[752] Calvin to Viret, July 2, 1547 (Opera, XII. 545, Bonnet, II. 108).

Comp. Annal. 407 sq.; Gaberel, I. 387; Roget, II. 284. Bonivard and

after him Gaberel report that Francesca rushed with her horse against

Abel, who barely escaped serious injury. See note 6 in Opera, XII. 546.

[753] See above, p. 502.

[754] Calvin to Farel, Aug. 21, 1547 (Opera, XII. 580; Bonnet, II. 123

and note); Reg. of the Consistory, Sept. 1, 1547.

[755] Reg. du Conseil: "Perrin est rel�ch�vu sa long detention et crie

merci." Annal. 417. Fran�ois Favre had been previously deprived of the

rights of citizenship (Oct. 6) on the charge of exciting an �meute

against the French refugees, and calling Calvin "le grand diable."

Ibid. 413sq.

[756] Dec. 16 (not Sept. 16) is the date given in the Reg. of the

Venerable Company, quoted in Annal. 418. Beza briefly alludes to the

scene; Calvin gives an account of it in a letter to Viret, dated Dec.

17, 1547, a day after the occurrence (in Opera, XII. 632 sq.). This

letter is misdated, Dec. 14, by Bonnet (II. 134, apparently a

typographical error), and Sept. 17 by Henry (II. 434) and Dyer (p.

219). The last error crept into the Latin editions, against the

manuscripts, which give Dec. 17. The letter is defective at the

beginning and was first published by Beza. Galiffe overlooked it. See

the notes of the Strassburg editors, XII. 633.

[757] Audin, Life of Calvin, p. 394.

[758] See the extracts quoted on p. 495.

[759] Opera, XII. 642 sq.: "Tametsi resipiscentiam manu in manum

implicita promisit, vereor, ne frustra surdo cecinerim fabulam." Dyer

(p. 221) misdates this letter Dec. 2 (probably a typographical error).

[760] Registers of Council for October, 1548, in Annal. 436-438. About

the same time the wife of Calvin's brother, Antoine, was imprisoned on

the charge of adultery. Ibid. 441.

[761] He was charged with saying that "la jeunesse de cette cit�sont

pires que les brigands, meurtriers, larrons, luxurieux, ath�ists." Reg.

of Nov. 3, 1553, in Annal. 559.

[762] Comp. the action of the Council, Nov. 13, in Annal. 561 and 562.

[763] R�g. du Conseil, June 3, 1555, in Annal. 608: "Perrin est

condamn�par contumace quil ayt le poing du bras droit duquel il a

attent�aux bastons sindicalz cop�: et tous tans ledit Perrin que

Belthesard, Chabod, Verna, et Michalet la teste cop�: les testes et

ledit poing clou�s au gibet et les corps mis en quartier iouxte la

coustume et condamnez a tous despens damps et interestz."

[764] Dyer, p. 397.

[765] He said, according to the Registers of the Council, Jan. 27,

1546, "que M. Calvin estoyt meschant homme et nestoyt que un picard et

preschoyt faulce doctrine," etc. Comp. on his case Annal. 368, 370,

371. Audin calls Ameaux "a man of the bar-room with a wicked tongue and

a soul destitute of energy" (p. 386). He gives quite an amusing account

of the drinking party.

[766] Annal. 378 and 380. The ministers interceded in behalf of De la

Mare, and the Council gave him six dollars (�cus). Maigret was found

guilty of neglecting his duties and visiting houses of ill fame.

[767] Annal. 411, 611 sq.; Opera, XII. 547, note 14, with references to

Galiffe, Bonivard, and Roget.

[768] See above, p. 302 sq. That abominable slander about sodomy, which

even Galiffe rejects, Audin and Spalding are not ashamed to repeat.

[769] See extracts from the Registers, March and April, 1551, and in

September, 1553, Annal. XXI. 475-479, 551 sq.

[770] Comp. the Reg. of the Council, and of the Venerable Company,

Sept. 2, 1553, in Annal. 551.

[771] The sermon was taken down by a stenographer, and translated into

Latin by Beza.

[772] R�g. du Conseil, Nov. 7, 9, 23, 28, 1553, in Annal. 559-562,

[773] Reg. du Conseil, Aug. 6, 1555 (in Annal. 611 sq.): "Philibert

Bertellier, P. Vandel, et. J. B. Sept condamnes �mort par contumace,

Michael Sept au banissement perp�tuel, sans peine de mort; six autres

�la m�me peine; deux �dix ans de banissement, et tous aux d�pens."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 110. Geneva Regenerated. Testimonies Old and New.

The final result of this long conflict with Libertinism is the best

vindication of Calvin. Geneva came out of it a new city, and with a

degree of moral and spiritual prosperity which distinguished her above

any other Christian city for several generations. What a startling

contrast she presents, for instance, to Rome, the city of the vicar of

Christ and his cardinals, as described by Roman Catholic writers of the

sixteenth century! If ever in this wicked world the ideal of Christian

society can be realized in a civil community with a mixed population,

it was in Geneva from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the

eighteenth century, when the revolutionary and infidel genius of

Rousseau (a native of Geneva) and of Voltaire (who resided twenty years

in the neighborhood, on his estate at Ferney) began to destroy the

influence of the Reformer.

After the final collapse of the Libertine party in 1555, the peace was

not seriously disturbed, and Calvin's work progressed without

interruption. The authorities of the State were as zealous for the

honor of the Church and the glory of Christ as the ministers of the

gospel. The churches were well filled; the Word of God was preached

daily; family worship was the rule; prayer and singing of Psalms never

ceased; the whole city seemed to present the aspect of a community of

sincere, earnest Christians who practised what they believed. Every

Friday a spiritual conference and experience meeting, called the

"Congregation," was held in St. Peter's, after the model of the

meetings of "prophesying," which had been introduced in Z�rich and

Bern. Peter Paul Vergerius, the former papal nuncio, who spent a short

time in Geneva, was especially struck with these conferences. "All the

ministers," he says, [774] "and many citizens attend. One of the

preachers reads and briefly explains a text from the Scriptures.

Another expresses his views on the subject, and then any member may

make a contribution if so disposed. You see, it is an imitation of that

custom in the Corinthian Church of which Paul speaks, and I have

received much edification from these public colloquies."

The material prosperity of the city was not neglected. Greater

cleanliness was introduced, which is next to godliness, and promotes

it. Calvin insisted on the removal of all filth from the houses and the

narrow and crooked streets. He induced the magistracy to superintend

the markets, and to prevent the sale ofunhealthy food, which was to be

cast into the Rhone. Low taverns and drinking shops were abolished, and

intemperance diminished. Mendicancy on the streets was prohibited. A

hospital and poor-house was provided and well conducted. Efforts were

made to give useful employment to every man that could work. Calvin

urged the Council in a long speech, Dec. 29, 1544, to introduce the

cloth and silk industry, and two months afterwards he presented a

detailed plan, in which he recommended to lend to the Syndic, Jean Ami

Curtet, a sufficient sum from the public treasury for starting the

enterprise. The factories were forthwith established and soon reached

the highest degree of prosperity. The cloth and silk of Geneva were

highly prized in Switzerland and France, and laid the foundation for

the temporal wealth of the city. When Lyons, by the patronage of the

French crown, surpassed the little Republic in the manufacture of silk,

Geneva had already begun to make up for the loss by the manufacture of

watches, and retained the mastery in this useful industry until 1885,

when American machinery produced a successful rivalry. [775]

Altogether, Geneva owes her moral and temporal prosperity, her

intellectual and literary activity, her social refinement, and her

world-wide fame very largely to the reformation and discipline of

Calvin. He set a high and noble example of a model community. It is

impossible, indeed, to realize his church ideal in a large country,

even with all the help of the civil government. The Puritans attempted

it in England and in New England, but succeeded only in part, and only

for a short period. But nothing should prevent a pastor from making an

effort in his own congregation on the voluntary principle. Occasionally

we find parallel cases in small communities under the guidance of

pastors of exceptional genius and consecration, such as Oberlin in the

Steinthal, Harms in Hermannsburg, and L�he in Neudettelsau, who exerted

an inspiring influence far beyond their fields of labor.

Let us listen to some testimonies of visitors who saw with their own

eyes the changes wrought in Geneva through Calvin's influence.

William Farel, who knew better than any other man the state of Geneva

under Roman Catholic rule, and during the early stages of reform before

the arrival of Calvin, visited the city again in 1557, and wrote to

Ambrosius Blaurer that he would gladly listen and learn there with the

humblest of the people, and that "he would rather be the last in Geneva

than the first anywhere else." [776]

John Knox, the Reformer of Scotland, who studied several years in

Geneva as a pupil of Calvin (though five years his senior), and as

pastor of the English congregation, wrote to his friend Locke, in 1556:

"In my heart I could have wished, yea, I cannot cease to wish, that it

might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place where, I

neither fear nor am ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of

Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles. In

other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and

religion to be so seriously reformed, I have not yet seen in any other

place besides." [777]

Dr. Valentine Andreae (1586-1654), a bright and shining light of the

Lutheran Church of W�rtemberg (a grandson of Jacob Andreae, the chief

author of the Lutheran Formula of Concord), a man full of glowing love

to Christ, visited Geneva in 1610, nearly fifty years after Calvin's

death, with the prejudices of an orthodox Lutheran against Calvinism,

and was astonished to find in that city a state of religion which came

nearer to his ideal of a Christocracy than any community he had seen in

his extensive travels, and even in his German fatherland.

"When I was in Geneva," he writes, "I observed something great which I

shall remember and desire as long as I live. There is in that place not

only the perfect institute of a perfect republic, but, as a special

ornament, a moral discipline, which makes weekly investigations into

the conduct, and even the smallest transgressions of the citizens,

first through the district inspectors, then through the Seniors, and

finally through the magistrates, as the nature of the offence and the

hardened state of the offender may require. All cursing and swearing

gambling, luxury, strife, hatred, fraud, etc., are forbidden; while

greater sins are hardly heard of. What a glorious ornament of the

Christian religion is such a purity of morals! We must lament with

tears that it is wanting with us, and almost totally neglected. If it

were not for the difference of religion, I would have forever been

chained to that place by the agreement in morals, and I have ever since

tried to introduce something like it into our churches. No less

distinguished than the public discipline was the domestic discipline of

my landlord, Scarron, with its daily devotions, reading of the

Scriptures, the fear of God in word and in deed, temperance in meat and

drink and dress. I have not found greater purity of morals even in my

father's home." [778]

A stronger and more impartial testimony of the deep and lasting effect

of Calvin's discipline so long after his death could hardly be

imagined.

NOTES. MODERN TESTIMONIES.

The condemnation of Calvin's discipline and his conduct toward the

Libertines has been transplanted to America by two dignitaries of the

Roman Church--Dr. John McGill, bishop of Richmond, the translator of

Audin's Life of Calvin (Louisville, n. d.), and Dr. M. S. Spalding,

archbishop of Baltimore (between 1864 and 1872), in his History of the

Protestant Reformation (Louisville, 1860), 8th ed., Baltimore, 1875.

This book is not a history, but a chronique scandaleuse of the

Reformation, and unworthy of a Christian scholar. Dr. Spalding devotes

twenty-two pages to Calvin (vol. I. 370-392), besides an appendix on

Rome and Geneva, and a letter addressed to Merle D'Aubign� and Bungener

(pp. 495-530). He ignores his Commentaries and Institutes, which have

commanded the admiration even of eminent Roman Catholic divines, and

simply repeats, with some original mistakes and misspellings, the

slanders of Bolsec and Audin, which have long since been refuted.

"Calvin," he says, "crushed the liberties of the people in the name of

liberty. A foreigner, he insinuated himself into Geneva and,

serpent-like, coiled himself around the very heart of the Republic

which had given him hospitable shelter. He thus stung the very bosom

which had warmed him. He was as watchful as a tiger preparing to pounce

on its prey, and as treacherous ... . His reign in Geneva was truly a

reign of terror. He combined the cruelty of Danton and Robespierre with

the eloquence of Marat and Mirabeau ... . He was worse than 'the Chalif

of Geneva,' as Audin calls him--he was a very Nero!... He was a monster

of impurity and iniquity. The story of his having been guilty of a

crime of nameless turpitude at Noyon, though denied by his friends, yet

rests upon very respectable authority. Bolsec, a contemporary writer,

relates it as certain ... . He ended his life in despair, and died of a

most shameful and disgusting disease which God has threatened to

rebellious and accursed reprobates." The early Calvinists were

hypocrites, and "their boasted austerity was little better than a sham,

if it was not even a cloak to cover enormous wickedness. They exhibit

their own favorite doctrine of total depravity in its fullest practical

development!" The archbishop, however, is kind enough to add in

conclusion (p. 391), that he "would not be understood as wishing to

reflect upon the character or conduct of the present professors of

Calvinistic doctrines, many of whom are men estimable for their civic

virtues."

The best answer to such a caricature, which turns the very truth into a

lie, is presented in the facts of this chapter. With ignorance and

prejudice even the gods contend in vain. But it is proper, at this

place, to record the judgments of impartial historians who have studied

the sources, and cannot be charged with any doctrinal bias in favor of

Calvinism. Comp. other testimonies in � 68, pp. 270 sqq.

Gieseler, one of the coolest and least dogmatic of church historians,

says (K. G. III. P. I. p. 389): "Durch Calvin's eiserne Festigkeit

wurden Genf's Sitten ganz umgewandelt: so dankte die Stadt der

Reformation ihre Freiheit, ihre Ordnung, und ihren aufbl�henden

Wohlstand."

From the Article "Calvin" in La France Protestante (III. 530): "Une

telle Organisation, un pareil pouvoir sur les individus, une autorit�

aussi parfaitement inquisitoriale nous indignent aujourd'hui; c'�tait

chose toute simple avec l'ardeur religieuse du XVIe si�cle. Le

consistoire atteignit le but que Calvin s'�tait propos�. En moins de

trois g�n�rations, les moeurs de Gen�ve subirent une m�tamorphose

compl�te. A la mondanit� naturelle succ�da cette aust�rit� un peu

raide, cette gravit� un peu �tudi�e qui caract�ris�rent, dans les

si�cles pass�s, les disciples du r�formateur. L'histoire ne nous offre

que deux hommes qui aient su imprimer � tout un peuple le cachet

particulier de leur g�nie: Lycurgue et Calvin, deux grands caract�res

qui offrent plus d'une analogie. Que de fades plaisanteries ne s'est-on

pas permises sur l'esprit genevois! et Gen�ve est devenue un foyer de

lumi�res et d'�mancipation intellectuelle, m�me pour ses d�tracteurs."

Marc-Monnier.

Marc-Monnier was born in Florence of French parents, 1829,

distinguished as a poet and historian, professor of literature in the

University of Geneva, and died 1885. His "La Renaissance de Dante �

Luther" (1884) was crowned by the French Academy.

From "La R�forme, de Luther � Shakespeare"(Paris, 1885), pp. 70-72.

"Calvin fut done de son temps comme les papes, les empereurs et tons

les rois, m�me Fran�ois 1er, qui br�l�rent des h�r�tiques, mais ceux

qui ne voient dans Calvin que le meurtrier de Servet ne le connaissent

pas. Ce fut une conviction, une intelligence, une des forces les plus

�tonnantes de ce grand si�cle: pour le peser selon son m�rite, il faut

jeter dans la balance autre chose que nos tendresses et nos piti�s. Il

faut voir tout l'homme, et le voir tel qu'il fut: 'un corps fr�le et

d�bile, sobre jusqu'� l'exc�s,' rong� par des maladies et des

infirmites qui devaient l'emporter avant le temps, mais acharn� � sa

t�che, 'ne vivant que pour le travail et ne travaillant que pour

�tablir le royaume de Dieu sur la terre; devou� � cette cause jusqu'�

lui tout sacrifier:' le repos, la sant�, la vie, plus encore: les

�tudes favorites, et avec une infatigable activit� qui �pouvantait ses

adversaires, menant de front, � brides abattues, religion, morale,

politique, l�gislation, litt�rature, enseignement, pr�dication,

pamphlets, oeuvres de longue haleine, correspondance �norme avec le roi

et la reine de Navarre, la duchesse de Ferrare, le roi Fran�ois 1er,

avec d'autres princes encore, avec les r�formateurs, les th�ologiens,

les humanistes, les �mes travaill�es et charg�es, les pauvres

prisonni�res de Paris. Il �crivait dans l'Europe enti�re; deux mille

�glises s'organisaient selon ses id�es ou celles de ses amis; des

missionnaires, anim�s de son souffle, partaient pour l'Angleterre,

l'�cosse, les Pays-Bas, 'en remerciant Dieu et lui chantant des

psaumes.' En m�me temps cet homme seul, ce malade surmen� s'emparait a

Gen�ve d'un peuple all�gre, raisouneur, indisciplin�, le tenait dans sa

main et le for�ait d'ob�ir. Sans �tre magistrat ni m�me citoyen (il ne

le devint qu'aux derni�res ann�es de sa vie), sans mandat officiel ni

titre reconnu, sans autre autorit� que celle de son nom et d'une

volont� inflexible, il commandait aux consciences, il gouvernait les

maisons, il s'imposait, avec une foule de r�fugi�s venus de toute part,

� une population qui n'a jamais aim� les �trangers ni les ma�tres; il

heurtait enfin de parti pris les coutumes, les traditions, les

susceptibilit�s nationales et il les brisait. Non seulement il pesait

sur les consciences et les opinions, mais aussi sur les moeurs,

proscrivait la luxure et m�me le luxe, la bijouterie, la soie et le

velours, les cheveux longs, les coiffures fris�es, la bonne ch�re:

toute esp�ce de plaisir et de distraction; cependant, malgr� les haines

et les col�res suscit�es par cette compression morale, 'le corps bris�,

mais la t�te haute,' il gouverna longtemps les Genevois par l'autorit�

de son caract�re et fut accompagn� � sa tombe par le peuple tout

entier. Voil� l'homme dont il est facile de rire, mais qu'il importe

avant tout de connaitre.

"Calvin d�truisit Gen�ve pour la refaire � son image et, en d�pit de

toutes les r�volutions, cette reconstitution improvis�e dure encore: il

existe aux portes de la France une ville de strictes croyances, de

bonnes �tudes et de bonnes moeurs: une 'cit� de Calvin.' "

A remarkable tribute from a scholar who was no theologian, and no

clergyman, but thoroughly at home in the history, literature, manners,

and society of Geneva. Marc-Monnier speaks also very highly of Calvin's

merits as a French classic, and quotes with approval the judgment of

Paul Lacroix (in his ed. of select Oeuvres fran�oises de J. Calvin):

"Le style de Calvin est un des plus grands styles du seizi�me si�cle:

simple, correct, �l�gant, clair, ing�nieux, anim�, varie de formes et

de tons, il a commenc� � fixer la langue fran�aise pour la prose, comme

celui de Clement Marot l'avait fait pour les vers."

George Bancroft.

George Bancroft, the American historian and statesman, born at

Worcester, Mass., 1800, died at Washington, 1891, served his country as

secretary of the Navy, and ambassador at London and Berlin, with the

greatest credit.

"A word on Calvin, the Reformer." From his Literary and Historical

Miscellanies (New York, 1855), pp. 405 sqq.

"It is intolerance only, which would limit the praise of Calvin to a

single sect, or refuse to reverence his virtues and regret his

failings. He lived in the time when nations were shaken to their centre

by the excitement of the Reformation; when the fields of Holland and

France were wet with the carnage of persecution; when vindictive

monarchs on the one side threatened all Protestants with outlawry and

death, and the Vatican, on the other, sent forth its anathemas and its

cry for blood. In that day, it is too true, the influence of an

ancient, long-established, hardly disputed error, the Constant danger

of his position, the intense desire to secure union among the

antagonists of popery, the engrossing consciousness that his struggle

was for the emancipation of the Christian world, induced the great

Reformer to defend the use of the sword for the extirpation of heresy.

Reprobating and lamenting his adhesion to the cruel doctrine, which all

Christendom had for centuries implicitly received, we may, as

republicans, remember that Calvin was not only the founder of a sect,

but foremost among the most efficient of modern republican legislators.

More truly benevolent to the human race than Solon, more self-denying

than Lycurgus, the genius of Calvin infused enduring elements into the

institutions of Geneva, and made it for the modern world the

impregnable fortress of popular liberty, the fertile seed-plot of

democracy.

"We boast of our common schools; Calvin was the father of popular

education, the inventor of the system of free schools. We are proud of

the free States that fringe the Atlantic. The pilgrims of Plymouth were

Calvinists; the best influence in South Carolina came from the

Calvinists of France. William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots;

the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan were

filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory, and respect

the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American

liberty.

"If personal considerations chiefly win applause, then, no one merits

our sympathy and our admiration more than Calvin; the young exile from

France, who achieved an immortality of fame before he was twenty-eight

years of age; now boldly reasoning with the king of France for

religious liberty; now venturing as the apostle of truth to carry the

new doctrines into the heart of Italy, and hardly escaping from the

fury of papal persecution; the purest writer, the keenest dialectician

of his century; pushing free inquiry to its utmost verge, and yet

valuing inquiry solely as the means of arriving at fixed conclusions.

The light of his genius scattered the mask of darkness which

superstition had held for centuries before the brow of religion. His

probity was unquestioned, his morals spotless. His only happiness

consisted in his 'task of glory and of good;' for sorrow found its way

into all his private relations. He was an exile from his country; he

became for a season an exile from his place of exile. As a husband he

was doomed to mourn the premature loss of his wife; as a father he felt

the bitter pang of burying his only child. Alone in the world, alone in

a strange land, he went forward in his career with serene resignation

and inflexible firmness; no love of ease turned him aside from his

vigils; no fear of danger relaxed the nerve of his eloquence; no bodily

infirmities checked the incredible activity of his mind; and so he

continued, year after year, solitary and feeble, yet toiling for

humanity, till after a life of glory, he bequeathed to his personal

heirs, a fortune, in books and furniture, stocks and money, not

exceeding two hundred dollars, and to the world, a purer reformation, a

republican spirit in religion, with the kindred principles of

republican liberty."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[774] Letter in the Z�rich library, quoted by Gaberel, I. 612, and

St�helin, I. 864.

[775] Gaberel, I. 524; St�helin, I. 372. Even now the Swiss watches (of

Geneva and Neuch�tel) are considered the best of those made wholly or

mainly by hand labor.

[776] Kirchhofer, Farel's Leben, II. 125.

[777] Thomas M'Crie, Life of John Knox, p. 129 (Philadelphia ed. 1845).

I quoted a sentence from this letter by anticipation on p. 263, but

cannot omit it at this place.

[778] See his autobiography, written in 1642, and his "Respublica

Christianopolitana," or "Christianopolis," 1619,--a description of a

Christian model commonwealth, dedicated to John Arndt, the author of

"True Christianity." Comp. Hossbach, Das Leben Val. Andreae, p. 10;

Henry, p. 196 (small biography); Tholuck's article in Herzog, I. 388

sqq.; Schaff, Creeds, I. 460 (which gives the German original).

Andreae's memory was revived by the great Herder. Spener said: "If I

could raise any one from the dead for the welfare of the Church, it

would be Andreae."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XIV.

CALVIN'S THEOLOGY.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 111. Calvin's Commentaries.

I. Calvin's Commentaries on the Old Test. in Opera, vols. XXIII.-XLIV.,

on the New Test., vols. XLV. sqq. (not yet completed). Separate Latin

ed. of the Commentaries on the New Test. by Tholuck, Berlin, and Halle,

1831, 1836, etc., 7 vols.; also on Genesis (by Hengstenberg, Berlin,

1838) and on the Psalms (by Tholuck, 1836, 2 vols.). Translations in

French (by J. Girard, 1650, and others), English (by various writers,

1570 sqq.), and other languages. Best English ed. by the "Calvin

Translation Soc.," Edinburgh, 1843-55 (30 vols. for the O. T., 13 for

the N. T.). See list in Darling's Cyclopaedia Bibliographica, sub

"Calvin."

II. A. Tholuck: Die Verdienste Calvin's als Schriftausleger, in his

"Lit. Anzeiger," 1831, reprinted in his "Vermischte Schriften"

(Hamburg, 1839), vol. II. 330-360, and translated by Wm. Pringle (added

to Com. on Joshua in the Edinb. ed. 1854, pp. 345-375).--G. W. Meyer:

Geschichte der Schrifterklaerung, II. 448-475.--D. G. Escher.: De

Calvino interprete, Traj., 1840.--Ed. Reuss: Calvin consid�r� comme

exeg�te, in "Revue," VI. 223.--A. Vesson: Calvin exeg�te, Montaub,

1855.--E. Staehelin: Calvin, I. 182-198.-- Schaff: Creeds of

Christendom, I. 457-460.--Merx: Joel, Halle, 1879, pp. 428-444.--Fred.

W. Farrar: History of Interpretation (London, 1886), pp. 342-354.

Calvin was an exegetical genius of the first order. His commentaries

are unsurpassed for originality, depth, perspicuity, soundness, and

permanent value. The Reformation period was fruitful beyond any other

in translations and expositions of the Scripture. If Luther was the

king of translators, Calvin was the king of commentators. Poole, in the

preface to his Synopsis, apologizes for not referring more frequently

to Calvin, because others had so largely borrowed from him that to

quote them was to quote him. Reuss, the chief editor of his works and

himself an eminent biblical scholar, says that Calvin was, beyond all

question the greatest exegete of the sixteenth century." [779]

Archdeacon Farrar literally echoes this judgment. [780] Diestel, the

best historian of Old Testament exegesis, calls him "the creator of

genuine exegesis." [781] Few exegetical works outlive their generation;

those of Calvin are not likely to be superseded any more than

Chrysostom's Homilies for patristic eloquence, or Bengel's Gnomon for

pregnant and stimulating hints, or Matthew Henry's Exposition for

devotional purposes and epigrammatic suggestions to preachers. [782]

Calvin began his series of Commentaries at Strassburg with the Epistle

to the Romans, on which his system of theology is chiefly built. In the

dedication to his friend and Hebrew teacher Grynaeus, at Basel (Oct.

18, 1539), he already lays down his views of the best method of

interpretation, namely, comprehensive brevity, transparent clearness,

and strict adherence to the spirit and letter of the author. He

gradually expounded the most important books of the Old Testament, the

Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets, and all the books of the New

Testament, with the exception of the Apocalypse, which he wisely left

alone. Some of his expositions, as the Commentary on the Minor

Prophets, were published from notes of his free, extempore lectures and

sermons. His last literary work was a Commentary on Joshua, which he

began in great bodily infirmity and finished shortly before his death

and entrance into the promised land.

It was his delight to expound the Word of God from the chair and from

the pulpit. Hence his theology is biblical rather than scholastic. The

Commentaries on the Psalms and the Epistles of Paul are regarded as his

best. He was in profound sympathy with David and Paul, and read in

their history his own spiritual biography. He calls the Psalms (in the

Preface) "an anatomy of all the parts of the soul; for there is not an

emotion of which any one can be conscious that is not here represented

as in a mirror. Or, rather, the Holy Spirit has here drawn to the life

the griefs, the sorrows, the fears, the doubts, the hopes, the cares,

the perplexities, in short, all the distracting emotions with which the

minds of men are wont to be agitated." He adds that his own trials and

conflicts helped him much to a clearer understanding of these divine

compositions.

He combined in a very rare degree all the essential qualifications of

an exegete--grammatical knowledge, spiritual insight, acute perception,

sound judgment, and practical tact. He thoroughly sympathized with the

spirit of the Bible; he put himself into the situation of the writers,

and reproduced and adapted their thoughts for the benefit of his age.

Tholuck mentions as the most prominent qualities of Calvin's

commentaries these four: doctrinal impartiality, exegetical tact,

various learning, and deep Christian piety. Winer praises his "truly

wonderful sagacity in perceiving, and perspicuity in expounding, the

meaning of the Apostle." [783]

1. Let us first look at his philological outfit. Melanchthon well says:

"The Scripture cannot be understood theologically unless it be first

understood grammatically." [784] He had passed through the school of

the Renaissance; he had a rare knowledge of Greek; he thought in Greek,

and could not help inserting rare Greek words into his letters to

learned friends. He was an invaluable help to Luther in his translation

of the Bible, but his commentaries are dogmatical rather than

grammatical, and very meagre, as compared with those of Luther and

Calvin in depth and force. [785]

Luther surpassed all other Reformers in originality, freshness,

spiritual insight, bold conjectures, and occasional flashes of genius.

His commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, which he called "his

wife," is a masterpiece of sympathetic exposition and forceful

application of the leading idea of evangelical freedom to the question

of his age. But Luther was no exegete in the proper sense of the term.

He had no method and discipline. He condemned allegorizing as a mere

"monkey-game" (Affenspiel), and yet he often resorted to it in Job, the

Psalms, and the Canticles. He was eminently spiritual, and yet, as

against Zwingli, slavishly literal in his interpretation. He seldom

sticks to the text, but uses it only as a starting-point for popular

sermons, or polemical excursions against papists and sectarians. He

cared nothing for the consensus of the fathers. He applied private

judgment to the interpretation with the utmost freedom, and judged the

canonicity and authority of the several books of the Bible by a

dogmatic and subjective rule--his favorite doctrine of solifidian

justification; and as he could not find it in James, he irreverently

called his epistle "an epistle of straw." He anticipated modern

criticism, but his criticism proceeded from faith in Christ and God's

Word, and not from scepticism. His best work is a translation, and next

to it, his little catechism for children.

Zwingli studied the Greek at Glarus and Einsiedeln that he might be

able, "to draw the teaching of Christ from the fountains." [786] He

learnt Hebrew after he was called to Zuerich. He also studied the

fathers, and, like Erasmus, took more to Jerome than to Augustin. His

expositions of Scripture are clear, easy, and natural, but somewhat

superficial. The other Swiss Reformers and exegetes--Oecolampadius,

Grynaeus, Bullinger, Pellican, and Bibliander--had a good philological

preparation. Pellican, a self-taught scholar (d. 1556), who was called

to Zuerich by Zwingli in 1525, wrote a little Hebrew grammar even

before Reuchlin, [787] and published at Zuerich comments on the whole

Bible. [788] Bibliander (d. 1564) was likewise professor of Hebrew in

Zuerich, and had some acquaintance with other Semitic languages; he

was, however, an Erasmian rather than a Calvinist, and opposed the

doctrine of the absolute decrees.

For the Hebrew Bible these scholars used the editions of Daniel Bomberg

(Venice, 1518-45); the Complutensian Polyglot, which gives, besides the

Hebrew text, also the Septuagint and Vulgate and a Hebrew vocabulary

(Alcala, printed 1514-17; published 1520 sqq.); also the editions of

Sabastian Muenster (Basel, 1536), and of Robert Stephens (Etienne,

Paris, 1539-46). For the Greek Testament they had the editions of

Erasmus (Basel, five ed. 1516-35), the Complutensian Polyglot (1520),

Colinaeus (Paris, 1534), Stephens (Paris and Geneva, 1546-51). A year

after Calvin's death, Beza began to publish his popular editions of the

Greek Testament, with a Latin version (Geneva, 1565-1604).

Textual criticism was not yet born, and could not begin its operations

before a collection of the textual material from manuscripts, ancient

versions, and patristic quotations. In this respect, therefore, all the

commentaries of the Reformation period are barren and useless. Literary

criticism was stimulated by the Protestant spirit of inquiry with

regard to the Jewish Apocrypha and some Antilegomena of the New

Testament, but was soon repressed by dogmatism.

Calvin, besides being a master of Latin and French, had a very good

knowledge of the languages of the Bible. He had learned the Greek from

Volmar at Bourges, the Hebrew from Grynaeus during his sojourn at

Basel, and he industriously continued the study of both. [789] He was

at home in classical antiquity; his first book was a Commentary on

Seneca, De Clementia, and he refers occasionally to Plato, Aristotle,

Plutarch, Polybius, Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence,

Livy, Pliny, Quintilian, Diogenes La�rtius, Aulus Gellius, etc. He

inferred from Paul's quotation of Epimenides, Tit. 1:12, "that those

are superstitious who never venture to quote anything from profane

authors. Since all truth is from God, if anything has been said aptly

and truly even by impious men, it ought not to be rejected, because it

proceeded from God. And since all things are of God, why is it not

lawful to turn to his glory whatever may be aptly applied to this use?"

On 1 Cor. 8:1, he observes: "Science is no more to be blamed when it

puffs up than a sword when it falls into the hands of a madman." But he

never makes a display of learning, and uses it only as a means to get

at the sense of the Scripture. He wrote for educated laymen as well as

for scholars, and abstained from minute investigations and criticisms;

but he encouraged Beza to publish his Commentary on the New Testament

in which philological scholarship is more conspicuous.

Calvin was also familiar with the patristic commentators, and had much

more respect for them than Luther. He fully appreciated the

philological knowledge and tact of Jerome, the spiritual depth of

Augustin, and the homiletical wealth of Chrysostom; but he used them

with independent judgment and critical discrimination. [790]

2. Calvin kept constantly in view the primary and fundamental aim of

the interpreter, namely, to bring to light the true meaning of the

biblical authors according to the laws of thought and speech. [791] He

transferred himself into their mental state and environment so as to

become identified with them, and let them explain what they actually

did say, and not what they might or should have said, according to our

notions or wishes. In this genuine exegetical method he has admirably

succeeded, except in a few cases where his judgment was biassed by his

favorite dogma of a double predestination, or his antagonism to Rome;

though even there he is more moderate and fair than his contemporaries,

who indulge in diffuse and irrelevant declamations against popery and

monkery. Thus he correctly refers the "Rock" in Matt. 16:18 to the

person of Peter, as the representative of all believers. [792] He stuck

to the text. He detested irrelevant twaddle and diffuseness. He was

free from pedantry. He never evades difficulties, but frankly meets and

tries to solve them. He carefully studies the connection. His judgment

is always clear, strong, and sound. Commentaries are usually dry,

broken, and indifferently written. His exposition is an easy,

continuous flow of reproduction and adaptation in elegant Erasmian

Latinity. He could truly assert on his death-bed that he never

knowingly twisted or misinterpreted a single passage of the Scriptures;

that he always aimed at simplicity, and restrained the temptation to

display acuteness and ingenuity.

He made no complete translation of the Bible, but gave a Latin and a

French version of those parts on which he commented in either or both

languages, and he revised the French version of his cousin, Pierre

Robert Olivetan, which appeared first in 1535, for the editions of 1545

and 1551. [793]

3. Calvin is the founder of modern grammatico-historical exegesis. He

affirmed and carried out the sound and fundamental hermeneutical

principle that the biblical authors, like all sensible writers, wished

to convey to their readers one definite thought in words which they

could understand. A passage may have a literal or a figurative sense,

but cannot have two senses at once. The word of God is inexhaustible

and applicable to all times; but there is a difference between

explanation and application, and application must be consistent with

explanation.

Calvin departed from the allegorical method of the Middle Ages, which

discovered no less than four senses in the Bible, [794] turned it into

a nose of wax, and substituted pious imposition for honest exposition.

He speaks of "puerile" and "far-fetched" allegories, and says that he

abstains from them because there is nothing "solid and firm" in them.

It is an almost sacrilegious audacity to twist the Scriptures this way

and that way, to suit our fancy. [795] In commenting on the allegory of

Sarah and Hagar, Gal. 4:22-26, he censures Origen for his arbitrary

allegorizing, as if the plain historical view of the Bible were too

mean and too poor. "I acknowledge," he says, "that Scripture is a most

rich and inexhaustible fountain of all wisdom, but I deny that its

fertility consists in the various meanings which any man at his

pleasure may put into it. Let us know, then, that the true meaning of

Scripture is the natural and obvious meaning; and let us embrace and

abide by it resolutely. Let us not only neglect as doubtful, but boldly

set aside as deadly corruptions, those pretended expositions which lead

us away from the natural meaning." He approvingly quotes Chrysostom,

who says that the word "allegory" in this passage is used in an

improper sense. [796] He was averse to all forced attempts to harmonize

difficulties. He constructed his Harmony of the Gospels from the three

Synoptists alone, and explained John separately.

4. Calvin emancipated exegesis from the bondage of dogmatism. He was

remarkably free from traditional orthodox prepossessions and

prejudices, being convinced that the truths of Christianity do not

depend upon the number of dicta probantia. He could see no proof of the

doctrine of the Trinity in the plural Elohim, [797] nor in the three

angel visitors of Abraham, Gen.18:2, nor in the Trisagion, Ps. 6:3,

[798] nor of the divinity of the Holy Spirit in Ps. 33:6. [799]

5. He prepared the way for a proper historical understanding of

prophecy. He fully believed in the Messianic prophecies, which are the

very soul of the faith and hope of Israel; but he first perceived that

they had a primary bearing and practical application to their own

times, and an ulterior fulfilment in Christ, thus serving a present as

well as a future use. He thus explained Psalms 2, 8, 16, 22, 40, 45,

68, 110, as typically and indirectly Messianic. On the other hand, he

made excessive use of typology, especially in his Sermons, and saw not

only in David but in every king of Jerusalem a, figure of Christ." In

his explanation of the protevangelium, Gen. 3:15, he correctly

understands the "seed of the woman," collectively of the human race, in

its perpetual conflict with Satan, which will culminate ultimately in

the victory of Christ, the head of the race. [800] He widens the sense

of the formula "that it might be fulfilled" (i{na plhrwqh|'), so as to

express sometimes simply an analogy or correspondence between an Old

Testament and a New Testament event. The prophecy, Hos. 11:1, quoted by

Matthew as referring to the return of the Christ-child from Egypt,

must, accordingly, "not be restricted to Christ," but is, skilfully

adapted to the present occasion." [801] In like manner, Paul, in Rom.

10:6, gives only an embellishment and adaptation of a word of Moses to

the case in hand. [802]

6. He had the profoundest reverence for the Scriptures, as containing

the Word of the living God and as the only infallible and sufficient

rule of faith and duty; but he was not swayed by a particular theory of

inspiration. It is true, he never would have approved the unguarded

judgments of Luther on James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse; [803]

but he had no hesitancy in admitting incidental errors which do not

touch the vitals of faith. He remarks on Matt. 27:9: "How the name of

Jeremiah crept in, I confess I know not, nor am I seriously troubled

about it. That the name of Jeremiah has been put for Zechariah by an

error, the fact itself shows, because there is no such statement in

Jeremiah." [804] Concerning the discrepancies between the speech of

Stephen in Acts 7 and the account of Genesis, he suggests that Stephen

or Luke drew upon ancient traditions rather than upon Moses, and made

"a mistake in the name of Abraham." [805] He was far from the pedantry

of the Purists in the seventeenth century, who asserted the classical

purity of the New Testament Greek, on the ground that the Holy Spirit

could not be guilty of any solecism or barbarism, or the slightest

violation of grammar; not remembering that the Apostles and Evangelists

carried the heavenly treasure of truth in earthen vessels, that the

power and grace of God might become more manifest, and that Paul

himself confesses his rudeness "in speech," though not "in knowledge."

Calvin justly remarks, with special reference to Paul, that by a

singular providence of God the highest mysteries were committed to us

"sub contemptibili verborum humilitate," that our faith may not rest on

the power of human eloquence, but solely on the efficacy of the divine

Spirit; and yet he fully recognized the force and fire, the majesty and

weight of Paul's style, which he compares to flashes of lightning.

[806]

The scholastic Calvinists, like the scholastic Lutherans of the

seventeenth century, departed from the liberal views of the Reformers,

and adopted a mechanical theory which confounds inspiration with

dictation, ignores the human element in the Bible, and reduces the

sacred writers to mere penmen of the Holy Spirit. This theory is

destructive of scientific exegesis. It found symbolical expression, but

only for a brief period, in the Helvetic Consensus Formula of 1675,

which, in defiance of historical facts, asserts even the inspiration of

the Masoretic vowel points. But notwithstanding this restraint, the

Calvinistic exegetes adhered more closely to the natural grammatical

and historical sense of the Scriptures than their Lutheran and Roman

Catholic contemporaries. [807]

7. Calvin accepted the traditional canon of the New Testament, but

exercised the freedom of the ante-Nicene Church concerning the origin

of some of the books. He denied the Pauline authorship of the Epistle

to the Hebrews on account of the differences of style and mode of

teaching (ratio docendi), but admitted its apostolic spirit and value.

He doubted the genuineness of the Second Epistle of Peter, and was

disposed to ascribe it to a pupil of the Apostle, but he saw nothing in

it which is unworthy of Peter. He prepared the way for a distinction

between authorship and editorship as to the Pentateuch and the Psalter.

He departed from the traditional view that the Scripture rests on the

authority of the Church. He based it on internal rather than external

evidence, on the authority of God rather than the authority of men. He

discusses the subject in his Institutes, [808] and states the case as

follows: --

"There has very generally prevailed a most pernicious error that the

Scriptures have only so much weight as is conceded to them by the

suffrages of the Church, as though the eternal and inviolable truth of

God depended on the arbitrary will of men. [809] ... 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 be confirmed by the

internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the

same Spirit, who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate

into our hearts, to convince us that they faithfully delivered the

oracles which were divinely intrusted to them ... Let it be considered,

then, as an undeniable truth, that they who have been inwardly taught

by the Spirit, feel an entire acquiescence in the Scripture, and that

it is self-authenticated, carrying with it its own evidence, and ought

not to be made the subject of demonstrations and arguments from reason;

but it obtains the credit which it deserves with us by the testimony of

the Spirit. For though it commands our reverence by its internal

majesty, it never seriously affects us till it is confirmed by the

Spirit in our hearts. Therefore, being illuminated by him, we now

believe the divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment

or 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 that of an intuitive perception of God

himself in it ... . Without this certainty, better and stronger than

any human judgment, in vain will the authority of the Scripture be

either defended by arguments, or established by the authority of the

Church, or confirmed by any other support, since, unless the foundation

be laid, it remains in perpetual suspense." [810]

This doctrine of the intrinsic merit and self-evidencing character of

the Scripture, to all who are enlightened by the Holy Spirit, passed

into the Gallican, Belgic, Second Helvetic, Westminster, and other

Reformed Confessions. They present a fuller statement of the objective

or formal principle of Protestantism,--namely, the absolute supremacy

of the Word of God as the infallible rule of faith and practice, than

the Lutheran symbols which give prominence to the subjective or

material principle of justification by faith. [811]

At the same time, the ecclesiastical tradition is of great value, as a

witness to the human authorship and canonicity of the several books,

and is more fully recognized by modern biblical scholarship, in its

conflict with destructive criticism, than it was in the days of

controversy with Romanism. The internal testimony of the Holy Spirit

and the external testimony of the Church join in establishing the

divine authority of the Scriptures.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[779] "Ohne alle Frage der groesste Exeget des (sechszehnten)

Jahrhunderts." Geschichte der heil. Schriften des Neuen Test. p. 618

(6th ed. 1887).

[780] "The greatest exegete and theologian of the Reformation was

undoubtedly Calvin." History of Interpretation, London, 1886, p. 342.

Farrar quotes from Keble a manuscript note of Hooker, who says that

"the sense of Scripture which Calvin alloweth" was held (in the

Anglican Church) to be of more force than if "ten thousand Augustins,

Jeromes, Chrysostoms, Cyprians were brought forth."

[781] "Der Schoepfer der aechten Exegese." Diestel adds: "Johannes

Calvin ragt ebensowohl durch den Umfang seiner exegetischen Arbeiten

wie durch eine seltene Genialitat in der Auslegung hervor;

unuebertroffen in seinem Jahrhundert, bieten seine Exegesen fuer alle

folgenden Zeiten noch bis heute einen reichen Stoff der

Schriftkenntniss dar." Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christl.

Kirche, Jena, 1869, p. 267. Dr. A. Merx of Heidelberg, another master

in biblical philology, fully agrees: "Calvin ist der groesste Exeget

seiner Zeit ... der Schoepfer der aechten Exegese" (on Joel, p. 428),

and he ascribes to him, besides the necessary learning, including

Hebrew, the sagacity of understanding and explaining the whole from the

parts, and the parts from the whole.

[782] G. Wohlenberg, a Lutheran divine, begins a notice of the new

edition of Calvin's Commentaries on the New Test. (in Luthardt's,

Theol. Lit.-blatt," Oct. 9, 1891) with this remark: "Calvin's

Commentare zum N. T. gehoeren zu den nie veraltenden Werken. Und so gut

wie Bengel's 'Gnomon' immer wieder gedruckt und gelesen werden wird, so

lange es eine gesunde und fromme Schrifterklaerung giebt, so werden

auch Calvin's Commentare nie vergessen werden."

[783] "Calvinus miram in pervidenda apostoli mente subtilitatem, in

exponenda prespicuitatem probavit." In the third ed. of his Com. on the

Ep. to the Galatians.

[784] "Ignavus in grammatica est ignavus in theologia." Postill. IV.

428.

[785] Calvin himself fully acknowledged the exegetical merits of

Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Bucer, in their commentaries on Romans, but

modestly hints at their defects to justify his own commentary, which is

far superior. See his interesting dedication to Grynaeus, written in

1539.

[786] He wrote in 1523 that, ten years before (when priest at Glarus),

"operam dedi Graecianis literis, ut ex fontibus doctrinam Christi

haurire possem."

[787] De Modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum, written at Tuebingen or

Basel in 1501, first printed in the Margarita philosophica, at

Strassburg in 1504 (one or two years before Reuchlin's Rudimenta

Linguae Hebr.), recently discovered and republished by Nestle,

Tuebingen, 1877.

[788] Commentaria Bibliorum, Zuerich, 1632-39, 7 vols. See Diestel,

l.c., 272 sq., and Strack in Herzog2 XI. 432 sqq.

[789] His knowledge of Hebrew was unjustly depreciated by the Roman

Catholic Richard Simon. But Dr. Diestel, a most competent judge,

ascribes to Calvin "a very solid knowledge of Hebrew." See above, p.

276, and p. 525. Tholuck, also, in his essay above quoted, asserts that

"every glance at Calvin's Commentary on the Old Testament assures us

not only that he understood Hebrew, but that he had a very thorough

knowledge of this language." He mentions, by way of illustration, a

number of difficult Hebrew and Greek words which Calvin correctly

explains. He denies that he was dependent on Pellican's notes, as

Semler had gratuitously suggested.

[790] He expresses his estimate of the Fathers in the Preface to his

Institutes as follows: "Another calumny is their charging us with

opposition to the fathers; I mean the writers of the earlier and purer

ages, as if those writers were abettors of their impiety; whereas if

the contest were to be terminated by this authority, the victory in

most parts of the controversy, to speak in the most modest terms, would

be on our side. But though the writings of those fathers contain many

wise and excellent things, yet, in some respects, they have suffered

the common fate of mankind; these very dutiful children reverence only

their errors and mistakes, but their excellences they either overlook,

or conceal, or corrupt; so that it may be truly said to be their only

study to collect dross from the midst of gold. Then they overwhelm us

with senseless clamors, as despisers and enemies of the fathers. But we

do not hold them in such contempt, but that if it were consistent with

my present design, I could easily support by their suffrages most of

the sentiments that we now maintain. Yet, while we make use of their

writings, we always remember that 'All things are ours' to serve us,

not to have dominion over us, and that 'we are Christ's' alone, and owe

him universal obedience. He who neglects this distinction will have

nothing decided in religion, since those holy men were ignorant of many

things, frequently at variance with each other and sometimes even

inconsistent with themselves." In the preface to his commentary on the

Romans he praises the Fathers for their pietas, eruditio, and

sanctimonia, and adds that their antiquity lent them such authority,

"ut nihil quod ab ipsis profectum sit, contemnere debeamus." Compare

with this judgment Luther's bolder and cruder opinions on the Fathers,

quoted in vol. VI. 534 sqq.

[791] In the dedicatory preface to his Com. on Romans he reminds his

friend Grynaeus of a conversation they had three years previously, on

the best method of interpretation, when they agreed that the chief

virtue of an interpreter was "perspicua brevitas," and adds:, Et sane

quum hoc sit prope unicum illius officium, mentem scriptores, quem

explicandum sumpsit, patefacere: quantum ab ea lectores abducit,

tantundem a scopo suo aberrat, vel certe a suis finibus quodammodo

evagatur."

[792] Harmon. II. 107.

[793] See Reuss, Gesch. des N. T. � 474 (p. 639, 6th ed.). Reuss

prepared from Calvin's French Commentaries a French version for his ed.

of the Opera.

[794] Expressed in the memorial lines:-- Litera gesta docet; quid

credas, Allegoria; Moralis, quid agas; quo tendas, Anagogia."

[795] Pref. ad Romanos: "Affinis sacrilegio audacia est Scripturas

temere huc illuc versare et quasi in re lusoria lascivire: quod a

multis jam olim factitatum est."

[796] "Et certe Chrysostomus in vocabulo Allegoriae fatetur esse

catechresin (katachresis): quod verissimum est."

[797] Ad Gen. 1:1 (Opera, XXIII. 15): "Habetur apud Moses vyhl' , nomen

pluralis numeri. Unde colligere solent, hic in Deo notari tres

personas; sed quia parum solida mihi videtur tantae rei probatio, ego

in voce non insistam. Quin potius monendi sunt lectores ut sibi a

violentis ejusmodi glossis caveant. Putant illi se testimonium habere

adversus Arianos ad probandam Filii et Spiritus divinitatem, interea se

involvunt in errorem Sabellii." But in the words, "Let us make man,"

Gen. 1:26, he admits, after rejecting the Rabbinical fancies, the

intimation of a plurality in God: "Christiani apposite plures subesse

in Deo personas ex hoc testimonio contendunt. Neminem extraneum advocat

Deus: hinc colligimus, intus eum aliquid distinctum invenire ut certe

aeterna eius sapientia et virtus in ipso resident." (Ib. 25.)

[798] On this passage he remarks: "Veteres hoc testimonio usi sunt,

quum vellent adversus Arianos tres personas in una Dei essentia

probare. Quorum ego sententiam non improbo; sed si mihi res cum

haereticis esset, mallem firmioribus testimoniis uti."

[799] Older Lutheran divines (even Walch, Biblioth. Theol. IV. 413)

charged him with Judaizing and Socinian misinterpretation of the O. T.

proof texts for the Trinity and the divinity of the Messiah. Aegidius

Hunnius, in his Calvinus Judaizans (Wittenberg, 1693), thought that

Calvin ought to have been burnt for his abominable perversion of the

Scriptures. D. Pareus of Heidelberg defended him against this charge in

his Orthodoxus Calvinus. Modern Lutheran exegesis fully sustains him.

[800] Ad Gen. 3:15 (Opera, XXIII. 71): "Generaliter semen interpreter

de posteris. Sed quum experientia doceat, multum abesse quin supra

diabolum victores emergant omnes filii Adae, ad caput unum venire

necesse est, ut reperiamus ad quem pertineat victoria. Sic Paulus a

semine Abrahae ad Christum nos deducit .... Quare sensus est (meo

judicio), humanum genus, quod opprimere conatus erat Satan, fore tandem

superius."

[801] Harm. I. 80. Tholuck's ed. On Matt. 2:23 in the same chapter,

Calvin says (p. 83): "Non deducit Matthaeus Nazaraeum a Nazareth: quasi

sit haec propria et certa etymologia, sed tantum est allusio," etc.

[802] Comp. his notes on Gen. 3:15; Isa. 4:2; 6:3; Ps. 33:6; Matt.

2:15; 8:17; 11:11; John 1:51:2:17; 5:31 sq.; 2 Cor. 12:7; 1 Pet, 3:19;

Heb. 2:6-8; 4:3; 11:21.

[803] See Luther's judgments in vol. VI. 35 sq.

[804] Harm. II. 349 (Tholuck's ed.): "Quomodo Jeremiae nomen

obrepserit, me nescire fateor, nec anxie laboro: certe Jeremiae nomen

errore positum esse pro Zacharia 13:7, res ipsa ostendit: quia nihil

tale apud Jeremiam legitur, vel etiam quod accedat."

[805] Ad Acta 7:16 (Acts 7:16):, "In nomine Abrahae erratum esse palam

est ... Quare hic locus corrigendus est." According to Gen. 50:13,

Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, and Jacob was buried

there, and not at Shechem.

[806] See his admirable comments on 1 Cor. 1:17 sqq., and 2 Cor. 11:6,

where he mentions the majestas, altitudo, pondus, and vis of Paul's

words, and says: "Fulmina sunt, non verba. An non dilucidius Spiritus

Sancti efficacia apparet in nuda verborum rusticitate (ut ita loquar)

quam in elegantiae et nitoris larva?"

[807] Fr. Turretin, a strict scholastic Calvinist, and one of the

authors of the Helvetic Consensus Formula, opposed the allegorical

method and defended the sound, one-sense principle (in his Inst. Theol.

Elencticae, quaest. XIX., vol. I. 135): "Nos ita sentimus, Scripturae

S. unicum tantum competere verum et genuinum sensum, sed sensum illum

duplicem posse esse, vel Simplicem, vel Compositum. Simplex et

historicus est, qui unius rei declarationem continet, absque ullius

alterius significatione, qui vel praecepta, vel dogmata, vel historias

spectat. Et hic rursus duplex, vel Proprius et Grammaticalis, vel

Figuratus et Tropicus. Proprius qui ex verbis propriis oritur; Tropicus

qui ex verbis figuratis. Sensus Compositus seu mixtus est in oraculis

typi rationem habentibus, cujus pars est in typo, pars in antitypo;

quae non constituunt duos sensus, sed duos partes unius ejusdemque

sensus intenti a Spiritu Sancto, qui cum litera mysterium respexit, ut

in isto Oraculo, 'Os non confringetis ei,' Exo. 12:46, plenus non

potest haberi sensus, nisi cum veritate typi, seu Agni Paschalis,

conjungatur veritas Antitypi seu Christi ex Jo. 19:36."

[808] Bk. I. ch. VII. and VIII.

[809] Luther said substantially the same thing in his controversy with

Eck: "The Church cannot give any more authority or power to the

Scripture than it has of itself. A Council cannot make that to be

Scripture which is not Scripture by its own nature."

[810] Selected from Inst. I. VII. �� 1, 4, 5, and VIII. � 1.

[811] Comp. vol. VI. 36 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 112. The Calvinistic System.

Comp. � 78, pp. 327-343, and the exposition of the Augustinian System

and the Pelagian controversy in vol. III. �� 146-158, pp.

783-856.--Dorner: Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie, pp.

374-404.--Loofs: Dogmengeschichte, 2d ed., pp. 390-401.

Calvin is still a living force in theology as much as Augustin and

Thomas Aquinas. No dogmatician can ignore his Institutes any more than

an exegete can ignore his Commentaries. Calvinism is embedded in

several confessions of the Reformed Church, and dominates, with more or

less rigor, the spirit of a large section of Protestant Christendom,

especially in Great Britain and North America. Calvinism is not the

name of a Church, but it is the name of a theological school in the

Reformed Churches. Luther is the only one among the Reformers whose

name was given to the Church which he founded. The Reformed Churches

are independent of personal authority, but all the more bound to tho

teaching of the Bible.

Calvinism is usually identified with Augustinianism, as to anthropology

and soteriology, in opposition to Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism.

Augustin and Calvin were intensely religious, controlled by a sense of

absolute dependence on God, and wholly absorbed in the contemplation of

his majesty and glory. To them God was everything; man a mere shadow.

Blessed are the elect upon whom God bestows all his amazing mercy; but

woe to the reprobate from whom he withholds it. They lay equal emphasis

on the doctrines of sin and grace, the impotence of man and the

omnipotence of God, the sinfulness of sin and the sovereignty of

regenerating grace. In Christology they made no progress. Their

theology is Pauline rather than Johannean. They passed through the same

conflict with sin, and achieved the same victory, by the power of

divine grace, as the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Their spiritual

experience is reflected in their theology. But Calvin left us no such

thrilling record of his experience as Augustin in his Confessions. He

barely alludes to his conversion, in the preface to his Commentary on

the Psalms and in his Answer to Sadolet.

The profound sympathy of Calvin with Augustin is shown in the

interesting fact that he quotes him far more frequently than all the

Greek and Latin fathers combined, and quotes him nearly always with

full approbation. [812]

But in some respects Augustin and Calvin were widely different.

Augustin wandered for nine years in the labyrinth of the Manichaean

heresy, and found at last rest and peace in the orthodox Catholic

Church of his day, which was far better than any philosophical school

or heretical sect, though not much purer than in the sixteenth century.

He became the chief architect of scholastic and mystic theology, which

ruled in the Middle Ages, and he still carries more weight in the Roman

communion than any of the ancient fathers. Calvin was brought up in the

Roman Catholic Church, but fled from its prevailing corruptions to the

citadel of the Holy Scripture, and became the most formidable enemy of

the papacy. If Augustin had lived in the sixteenth century, he might,

perhaps, have gone half way with the Reformers; but, judging from his

high estimate of visible church unity and his conduct towards the

schismatic Donatists, it is more probable that he would have become the

leader of an evangelical school of Catholicism within the Roman Church.

The difference between the two great teachers may be briefly stated in

two sentences which are antagonistic on the surface, though

reconcilable at bottom. Augustin says: "I would not believe the gospel

if it were not for the Church." [813] Calvin teaches (in substance,

though not in these words): "I would not believe the Church if it were

not for the gospel." The reconciliation must be found in the higher

principle: I believe in Christ, and therefore I believe in the gospel

and the Church, which jointly bear witness of him.

As to the doctrines of the fall, of total depravity, the slavery of the

human will, the sovereignty of saving grace, the bishop of Hippo and

the pastor of Geneva are essentially agreed; the former has the merit

of priority and originality; the latter is clearer, stronger, more

logical and rigorous, and far superior as an exegete.

Their views are chiefly derived from the Epistle to the Romans as they

understood it, and may be summed up in the following propositions: God

has from eternity foreordained all things that should come to pass,

with a view to the manifestation of his glory; he created man pure and

holy, and with freedom of choice; Adam was tried, disobeyed, lost his

freedom, and became a slave of sin; the whole human race fell with him,

and is justly condemned in Adam to everlasting death; but God in his

sovereign mercy elects a part of this mass of corruption to everlasting

life, without any regard to moral merit, converts the elect by

irresistible grace, justifies, sanctifies, and perfects them, and thus

displays in them the riches of his grace; while in his inscrutable, yet

just and adorable counsel he leaves the rest of mankind in their

inherited state of condemnation, and reveals in the everlasting

punishment of the wicked the glory of his awful justice.

The Lutheran system is a compromise between Augustinianism and

Semi-Pelagianism. Luther himself was fully agreed with Augustin on

total depravity and predestination, and stated the doctrine of the

slavery of the human will even more forcibly and paradoxically than

Augustin or Calvin. [814] But the Lutheran Church followed him only

half way. The Formula of Concord (1577) adopted his doctrine of total

depravity in the strongest possible terms, but disclaimed the doctrine

of reprobation; it represents the natural man as spiritually dead like

"a stone" or "a block," and teaches a particular and unconditional

election, but also an universal vocation. [815]

The Augustinian system was unknown in the ante-Nicene age, and was

never accepted in the Eastern Church. This is a strong historical

argument against it. Augustin himself developed it only during the

Pelagian controversy; while in his earlier writings he taught the

freedom of the human will against the fatalism of the Manichaeans.

[816] It triumphed in the Latin Church over Pelagianism and

Semi-Pelagianism, which were mildly condemned by the Synod of Orange

(529). But his doctrine of an absolute predestination, which is only a

legitimate inference from his anthropological premises, was indirectly

condemned by the Catholic Church in the Gottschalk controversy (853),

and in the Jansenist controversy (1653), although the name and

authority of the great doctor and saint were not touched.

The Calvinistic system was adopted by a large portion of the Reformed

Church, and has still able and earnest advocates. Calvin himself is now

better understood, and more highly respected by scholars (French and

German) than ever before; but his predestinarian system has been

effectively opposed by the Arminians, the Quakers, and the Methodists,

and is undergoing a serious revision in the Presbyterian and

Calvinistic Churches of Europe and America.

The Augustinian, Lutheran, and Calvinistic systems rest on the same

anthropology, and must stand or fall together with the doctrine of the

universal damnation of the whole human race on the sole ground of

Adam's sin, including infants and entire nations and generations which

never heard of Adam, and which cannot possibly have been in him as

self-conscious and responsible beings. [817] They have alike to answer

the question how such a doctrine is reconcilable with the justice and

mercy of God. They are alike dualistic and particularistic. They are

constructed on the ruins of the fallen race, instead of the rock of the

redeemed race; they destroy the foundation of moral responsibility by

teaching the slavery of the human will; they turn the sovereignty of

God into an arbitrary power, and his justice into partiality; they

confine the saving grace of God to a particular class. Within that

favorite and holy circle all is as bright as sunshine, but outside of

it all is as dark as midnight. These systems have served, and still

serve, a great purpose, and satisfy the practical wants of serious

Christians who are not troubled with theological and philosophical

problems; but they can never satisfy the vast majority of Christendom.

We are, indeed, born into a world of sin and death, and we cannot have

too deep a sense of the guilt of sin, especially our own; and, as

members of the human family, we should feel the overwhelming weight of

the sin and guilt of the whole race, as our Saviour did when he died on

the cross. But we are also born into an economy of righteousness and

life, and we cannot have too high a sense of God's saving grace which

passeth knowledge. As soon as we enter into the world we are met with

the invitation, "Suffer little children to come unto me." The

redemption of the race is as much an accomplished fact as the fall of

the race, and it alone can answer the question, why God permitted or

caused the fall. Where sin has abounded, grace has abounded not less,

but much more.

Calvinism has the advantage of logical compactness, consistency, and

completeness. Admitting its premises, it is difficult to escape its

conclusions. A system can only be overthrown by a system. It requires a

theological genius of the order of Augustin and Calvin, who shall rise

above the antagonism of divine sovereignty and human freedom, and shall

lead us to a system built upon the rock of the historic Christ, and

inspired from beginning to end with the love of God to all mankind.

NOTES ON AMERICAN CALVINISM.

1. Calvinism was imported and naturalized in America, by the Puritans,

since 1620, and dominated the theology and church life of New England

during the colonial period. It found its ablest defender in Jonathan

Edwards,--the great theological metaphysician and revival

preacher,--who may be called the American Calvin. It still controls the

Orthodox Congregational and Baptist churches. But it has provoked

Unitarianism in New England (as it did in England), and has undergone

various modifications. It is now gradually giving way to a more liberal

and catholic type of Calvinism. The new Congregational Creed of 1883 is

thoroughly evangelical, but avoids all the sharp angles of Calvinism.

2. The Presbyterian Calvinism is best represented by the theological

systems of Charles Hodge, W. G. T. Shedd, and Henry B. Smith. The first

is the mildest, the second the severest, the third the broadest,

champion of modern American Calvinism; they alike illustrate the

compatibility of logical Calvinism with a sweet and lovely Christian

temper, but they dissent from Calvin's views by their

infralapsarianism, their belief in the salvation of all infants dying

in infancy, and of the large number of the saved.

Henry B. Smith, under the influence of modern German theology, took a

step in advance, and marks the transition from old Calvinism to

Christological divinity, but died before he could elaborate it. "The

central idea," he says, in his posthumous System of Christian Theology

(New York, p. 341, 4th ed., 1890), "to which all the parts of theology

are to be referred, and by which the system is to be made a system, or

to be constructed, is what we have termed the Christological or

Mediatorial idea, viz., that God was in Christ reconciling the world

unto himself. This idea is central, not in the sense that all the other

parts of theology are logically deduced from it, but rather that they

centre in it. The idea is that of an Incarnation in order to

Redemption. This is the central idea of Christianity, as distinguished,

or distinguishable, from all other religions, and from all forms of

philosophy; and by this, and this alone, are we able to construct the

whole system of the Christian faith on its proper grounds. This idea is

the proper centre of unity to the whole Christian system, as the soul

is the centre of unity to the body, as the North Pole is to all the

magnetic needles. It is so really the centre of unity that when we

analyze and grasp and apply it, we find that the whole of Christian

theology is in it." To this remarkable passage should be added a note

which Dr. George L. Prentiss, his most intimate friend, found among the

last papers of Dr. Smith, which may be called his theological will and

testament. "What Reformed theology has got to do is to christologize

predestination and decrees, regeneration and sanctification, the

doctrine of the Church, and the whole of eschatology."

3. The movement for the revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith

has seized, by an irresistible force within the last few years, the

Presbyterian Churches of England, Scotland, and North America, and is

inspired by the cardinal truth of God's love to all mankind (John

3:16), and the consequent duty of the Church to preach the gospel to

every creature, in obedience to Christ's command (Mark 16:15; Matt.

28:19, 20). The United Presbyterian Church (1879) and the Free Church

(1891) of Scotland express their dissent from the Westminster Standards

in an explanatory statement, setting forth their belief in the general

love of God, in the moral responsibility of man, and in religious

liberty,--all of which are irreconcilable with a strict construction of

those standards. The English Presbyterian Church has adopted a new

creed, together with a declaratory statement (1890). The General

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States ordered, in

1889, a revision of the Westminster Confession, which is now going on;

and, at the same time, the preparation of a new, short, and popular

creed that will give expression to the living faith of the present

Church, and serve, not as a sign of division and promoter of sectarian

strife, but as a bond of harmony with other evangelical churches, and

help rather than hinder the ultimate reunion of Christendom. See

Schaff, Creed Revision in the Presbyterian Churches, 1890.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[812] According to the Index of the List of Authors quoted in Calvin's

Institutes, which is appended to Beveridge's translation, Edinburgh,

1856, vol. III. 626-663, the number of his quotations from the

principal fathers is as follows: 228 from Augustin; 39 from Pope

Gregory I.; 27 from Chrysostom; 23 from Bernard; 18 from Ambrose; 14

from Cyprian; 12 from Jerome; 11 from Hilary; 7 from Tertullian. Of

classical authors there are, in the Institutes, 7 quotations from

Plato; 5 from Aristotle; 9 from Cicero; 3 from Seneca; 2 from Plutarch,

etc. The Index theologicus in Opera, XXII. 136-143, gives 7 columns of

quotations from Augustin. This does not include the commentaries.

[813] Contra Ep. Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti, c. 5: "Ego evangelio

non crederem nisi me moveret ecclesiae auctoritas." This famous

anti-Manichaean passage is often quoted by Roman Catholics against

Protestants. Calvin discusses it at length in his Inst. (Bk. I. ch.

VII. � 3), and tries to deprive it of its anti-Protestant force, but he

admits it in the sense that "the authority of the Church is an

introduction to prepare us for the faith of the gospel."

[814] De Servo Arbitrio, against Erasmus (1526). He never retracted

this book, but declared it many years afterwards to be one of his best.

He was followed by Amsdorf, Flacius, Wigand, and Brenz. See Church

History, vol. VI. 430 sqq.; Koestlin, Luther's Theologie, I. 773 sqq.;

Luthardt, Dogmatik, p. 120 (6th ed.), and his Lehre vom freien Willen;

Harnack, Dogmengeschichte, III. 714 sq.; and Loofs, Leitfaden zum

Studium der Dogmengeschichte, 2d ed. Halle, 1890, pp. 322-324, and

317-350.

[815] See Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 313 sqq.; and the works on

the Formula Concordiae.

[816] Calvin was well aware of Augustin's change on this point.

"Origen, Ambrose, and Jerome," he says, "believed that God dispenses

his grace among men, according to his foreknowledge of the good use

which every individual will make of it. Augustin also was once of the

same sentiment, but when he had made a greater proficiency in

scriptural knowledge, he not only retracted, but powerfully confuted

it." Then he quotes in proof a number of passages. Inst. III. ch. XXII.

� 8.

[817] Augustin based his view of a quasi pre-existence of all men in

the loins of Adam on a false exegesis of Rom. 5:12, en ho, by following

the Vulgate rendering in quo (in whom), and referring it back to Adam;

while it has the meaning because (epi touto hoti = dioti), or on

condition that (epi touto hoste, ea ratione ut, inasmuch as). It is

neuter, not masculine. On the exegesis of that famous passage, and the

doctrinal discussions on it, see my extensive notes in Lange's Comm. on

Romans, pp. 172 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 113. Predestination.

1. Inst. bk. III. chs. XXI.-XXIV. Articuli de Praedestinatione, first

published from an autograph of Calvin by the Strassburg editors, in

Opera, IX. 713. The Consensus Genevensis (1552), Opera, VIII. 249-366.

Calvin's polemical writings against Pighius (1543), vol. VI. 224-404;

Bolsec (1551), vol. VIII. 85-140; and Castellio (15, 57-58), vol. IX.

253-318. He treats the subject also in several of his sermons, e.g. on

First and Second Timothy.

2. Alex. Schweizer: Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen (Zuerich, 1854),

vol. I. 150-179.--Staehelin, I. 271 sqq.--Dorner: Geschichte der

protest. Theol., 386-395.--Philip Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, I.

451-455.

Luther and Calvin.

The dogma of a double predestination is the cornerstone of the

Calvinistic system, and demands special consideration.

Calvin made the eternal election of God, Luther made the temporal

justification by faith, the article of the standing or falling Church,

and the source of strength and peace in the battle of life. They agreed

in teaching salvation by free grace, and personal assurance of

salvation by a living faith in Christ and his gospel. But the former

went back to the ultimate root in a pre-mundane unchangeable decree of

God; the latter looked at the practical effect of saving grace upon the

individual conscience. Both gave undue prominence to their favorite

dogma, in opposition to Romanism, which weakened the power of divine

grace, magnified human merit, and denied the personal certainty of

salvation. They wished to destroy all basis for human pride and

boasting, to pluck up Phariseeism by the root, and to lay a firm

foundation for humility, gratitude, and comfort. This was a great

progress over the mediaeval soteriology.

But there is a higher position, which modern evangelical theology has

reached. The predestinarian scheme of Calvin and the solifidian scheme

of Luther must give way or be subordinated to the Christocentric

scheme. We must go back to Peter's confession, which has only one

article, but it is the most important article, and the oldest in

Christendom. The central place in the Christian system belongs to the

divine-human person and work of Christ: this is the immovable rock of

the Church, against which the gates of Hades shall never prevail, and

on which the creeds of Christendom will have to unite (Matt. 16:16-18;

comp. 1 Cor. 2:2; 3:11; Rom. 4:25; 1 John 4:2, 3). The Apostles' Creed

and the Nicene Creed are Christocentric and Trinitarian.

The Reformers All Predestinarians.

All the Reformers of the sixteenth century, following the lead of

Augustin and of the Apostle Paul,--as they understood him,--adopted,

under a controlling sense of human depravity and saving grace, and in

antagonism to self-righteous legalism, the doctrine of a double

predestination which decides the eternal destiny of all men. [818] Nor

does it seem possible, logically, to evade this conclusion if we admit

the two premises of Roman Catholic and Evangelical orthodoxy--namely,

the wholesale condemnation of all men in Adam, and the limitation of

saving grace to the present life. All orthodox Confessions reject

Universalism, and teach that some men are saved, and some are lost, and

that there is no possibility of salvation beyond the grave. The

predestinarians maintain that this double result is the outcome of a

double decree, that history must harmonize with the divine will and

cannot defeat it. They reason from the effect to the cause, from the

end to the beginning.

Yet there were some characteristic differences in the views of the

leading Reformers on this subject. Luther, like Augustin, started from

total moral inability or the servum arbitrium; Zwingli, from the idea

of an all-ruling providentia; Calvin, from the eternal decretum

absolutum.

The Augustinian and Lutheran predestinarianism is moderated by the

churchly and sacramental principle of baptismal regeneration. The

Calvinistic predestinarianism confines the sacramental efficacy to the

elect, and turns the baptism of the non-elect into an empty form; but,

on the other hand, it opens a door for an extension of electing grace

beyond the limits of the visible Church. Zwingli's position was

peculiar: on the one hand, he went so far in his supralapsarianism as

to make God the sinless author of sin (as the magistrate in inflicting

capital punishment, or the soldier in the battle, are innocently guilty

of murder); but, on the other hand, he undermined the very foundation

of the Augustinian system--namely, the wholesale condemnation of the

race for the single transgression of one; he admitted hereditary sin,

but denied hereditary guilt; and he included all infants and pious

heathen in the kingdom of heaven. Such a view was then universally

abhorred, as dangerous and heretical. [819]

Melanchthon, on further study and reflection, retreated in the

Semi-Pelagian direction, and prepared the way for Arminianism, which

arose, independently, in the heart of Calvinism at the beginning of the

seventeenth century. He abandoned his earlier view, which he

characterized as Stoic fatalism, and proposed the Synergistic scheme,

which is a compromise between Augustinianism and Semi-Pelagianism, and

makes the human will co-operate with preceding divine grace, but

disowns human merit. [820]

The Formula of Concord (1577) rejected both Calvinism and Synergism,

yet taught, by a logical inconsistency, total disability and

unconditional election, as well as universal vocation.

Calvin's Theory.

Calvin elaborated the doctrine of predestination with greater care and

precision than his predecessors, and avoided their "paradoxes," as he

called some extravagant and unguarded expressions of Luther and

Zwingli. On the other hand, he laid greater emphasis on the dogma

itself, and assigned it a higher position in his theological system. He

was, by his Stoic temper and as an admirer of Seneca, predisposed to

predestinarianism, and found it in the teaching of Paul, his favorite

apostle. But his chief interest in the doctrine was religious rather

than metaphysical. He found in it the strongest support for his faith.

He combined with it the certainty of salvation, which is the privilege

and comfort of every believer. In this important feature he differed

from Augustin, who taught the Catholic view of the subjective

uncertainty of salvation. [821] Calvin made the certainty, Augustin the

uncertainty, a stimulus to zeal and holiness.

Calvin was fully aware of the unpopularity of the doctrine. "Many," he

says, "consider nothing more unreasonable than that some of the common

mass of mankind should be foreordained to salvation, and others to

destruction ... When the human mind hears these things, its petulance

breaks all restraint, and it discovers a serious and violent agitation

as if alarmed by the sound of a martial trumpet." But he thought it

impossible to "come to a clear conviction of our salvation, till we are

acquainted with God's eternal election, which illustrates his grace by

this comparison, that he adopts not all promiscuously to the hope of

salvation, but gives to some what he refuses to others." It is,

therefore, not from the general love of God to all mankind, but from

his particular favor to the elect that they, and they alone, are to

derive their assurance of salvation and their only solid comfort. The

reason of this preference can only be found in the inscrutable will of

God, which is the supreme law of the universe. As to others, we must

charitably assume that they are among the elect; for there is no

certain sign of reprobation except perseverance in impenitence until

death.

Predestination, according to Calvin, is the eternal and unchangeable

decree of God by which he foreordained, for his own glory and the

display of his attributes of mercy and justice, a part of the human

race, without any merit of their own, to eternal salvation, and another

part, in just punishment of their sin, to eternal damnation.

"Predestination," he says, "we call the eternal decree of God, by which

he has determined in himself the destiny of every man. For they are not

all created in the same condition, but eternal life is foreordained for

some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being

created for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated

either to life or to death." [822]

This applies not only to individuals, but to whole nations. God has

chosen the people of Israel as his own inheritance, and rejected the

heathen; he has loved Jacob with his posterity, and hated Esau with his

posterity. "The counsel of God, 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, though incomprehensible judgment." [823]

God's will is the supreme rule of justice, [824] so that "what he wills

must be considered just for the very reason that he wills it. When you

ask, therefore, why the Lord did so, the answer must be, Because he

would. But if you go further and ask why he so determined, you are in

search of something higher and greater than the will of God, which can

never be found. Let human temerity, therefore, desist from seeking that

which is not, lest it should fail of finding that which is. This will

be a sufficient restraint to any one disposed to reason with reverence

concerning the secrets of his God." [825] Calvin infers from the

passage, "God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will,

he hardeneth "(Rom. 9:13), that Paul attributes both equally "to the

mere will of God. If, therefore, we can assign no reason why God grants

mercy to his people but because such is his pleasure, neither shall we

find any other cause but his will for the reprobation of others. For

when God is said to harden or show mercy to whom he pleases, men are

taught by this declaration to seek no cause behind his will." [826]

Predestination, therefore, implies a twofold decree--a decree of

election unto holiness and salvation, and a decree of reprobation unto

death on account of sin and guilt. Calvin deems them inseparable. "Many

indeed," he says, "as if they wished to avert odium from God, admit

election in such a way as to deny that any one is reprobated. But this

is puerile and absurd, because election itself could not exist without

being opposed to reprobation ... . Whom God passes by, he reprobates

(Quos Deus praeterit, reprobat), and from no other cause than his

determination to exclude them from the inheritance which he predestines

for his children." [827]

God bestows upon the reprobate all the common mercies of daily life as

freely as upon the elect, but he withholds from them his saving mercy.

The gospel also is offered to them, but it will only increase their

responsibility and enhance their damnation, like the preaching of

Christ to the unbelieving Jews (Isa. 6:9, 10; Matt. 13:13-15). But how

shall we reconcile this with the sincerity of such an offer?

Infralapsarianism and Supralapsarianism.

Within the Calvinistic system there arose two schools in Holland during

the Arminian controversy, the Infralapsarians (also called

Sublapsarians) and the Supralapsarians, who held different views on the

order of the divine decrees and their relation to the fall (lapsus).

The Infralapsarians adjust, as it were, the eternal counsel of God to

the temporal fall of man, and assume that God decreed, first to create

man in holiness; then to permit him to fall by the self-determination

of his free will; next, to save a definite number out of the guilty

mass; and last, to leave the rest in sin, and to ordain them to eternal

punishment. [828] The Supralapsarians reverse the order, so that the

decree of election and reprobation precedes the decree of creation;

they make uncreated and unfallen man (that is, a non-ens) the object of

God's double decree. The Infralapsarians, moreover, distinguish between

an efficient or active and a permissive or passive decree of God, and

exclude the fall of Adam from the efficient decree; in other words,

they maintain that God is not in any sense the author of the fall, but

that he simply allowed it to come to pass for higher ends. He did not

cause it, but neither did he prevent it. The Supralapsarians, more

logically, include the fall itself in the efficient and positive

decree; yet they deny as fully as the Infralapsarians, though less

logically, that God is the author of sin. The Infralapsarians attribute

to Adam before the fall the gift of free choice, which was lost by the

fall; some Supralapsarians deny it. The doctrine of probation (except

in the one case of Adam) has no place in the Calvinistic system, and is

essentially Arminian. It is entirely inapplicable to infants dying in

infancy. The difference between the two schools is practically

worthless, and only exposes the folly of man's daring to search the

secrets of God's eternal counsel. They proceed on a pure metaphysical

abstraction, for in the eternal God there is no succession of time, no

before nor after. [829]

Calvin was claimed by both schools. He must be classed rather with the

Supralapsarians, like Beza, Gomarus, Twysse, and Emmons. He saw the

inconsistency of exempting from the divine foreordination the most

important event in history, which involved the whole race in ruin. "It

is not absurd," he says, "to assert that God not only foresaw, but also

foreordained the fall of Adam and the ruin of his posterity." He

expressly rejects the distinction between permission (permissio) and

volition (voluntas) in God, who cannot permit what he does not will.

"What reason," he asks, "shall we assign for God's permitting the

destruction of the impious, but because it is his will? It is not

probable that man procured his own destruction by the mere permission,

and without any appointment of God. As though God had not determined

what he would choose to be the condition of the chief of his creatures.

I shall not hesitate, therefore, to confess with Augustin, 'that the

will of God is the necessity of things, and what he has willed will

necessarily come to pass; as those things are really about to happen

which he has foreseen." [830]

But while his inexorable logic pointed to this abyss, his moral and

religious sense shrunk from the last logical inference of making God

the author of sin; for this would be blasphemous, and involve the

absurdity that God abhors and justly punishes what he himself decreed.

He attributes to Adam the freedom of choice, by which he might have

obtained eternal life, but he wilfully disobeyed. [831] Hence his

significant phrase: "Man falls, God's providence so ordaining it; yet

he falls by his own guilt." [832] Here we have supralapsarian logic

combined with ethical logic. He adds, however, that we do not know the

reason why Providence so ordained it, and that it is better for us to

contemplate the guilt of man than to search after the bidden

predestination of God. "There is," he says, "a learned ignorance of

things which it is neither permitted nor lawful to know, and avidity of

knowledge is a species of madness."

Here is, notwithstanding this wholesome caution, the crucial point

where the rigorous logic of Calvin and Augustin breaks down, or where

the moral logic triumphs over intellectual logic. To admit that God is

the author of sin would destroy his holiness, and overthrow the

foundation of morality and religion. This would not be Calvinism, but

fatalism and pantheism. The most rigorous predestinarian is driven to

the alternative of choosing between logic and morality. Augustin and

Calvin could not hesitate for a moment. Again and again, Calvin calls

it blasphemy to make God the author of sin, and he abhorred sin as much

as any man ever did. It is an established fact that the severest

Calvinists have always been the strictest moralists. [833]

Infant Salvation and Damnation.

Are infants dying in infancy included in the decree of reprobation?

This is another crucial point in the Augustinian system, and the rock

on which it splits.

St. Augustin expressly assigns all unbaptized children dying in infancy

to eternal damnation, because of original sin inherited from Adam's

transgression. It is true, he mitigates their punishment and reduces it

to a negative state of privation of bliss, as distinct from positive

suffering. [834] This does credit to his heart, but does not relieve

the matter; for "damnatio," though "levissima" and "mitissima," is

still damnatio.

The scholastic divines made a distinction between poena damni, which

involves no active suffering, and poena sensus, and assigned to infants

dying unbaptized the former but not the latter. They invented the

fiction of a special department for infants in the future world,

namely, the Limbus Infantum, on the border region of hell at some

distance from fire and brimstone. Dante describes their condition as

one of "sorrow without torment." [835] Roman divines usually describe

their condition as a deprivation of the vision of God. The Roman Church

maintains the necessity of baptism for salvation, but admits the

baptism of blood (martyrdom) and the baptism of intention, as

equivalent to actual baptism. These exceptions, however, are not

applicable to infants, unless the vicarious desire of Christian parents

be accepted as sufficient.

Calvin offers an escape from the horrible dogma of infant damnation by

denying the necessity of water baptism for salvation, and by making

salvation dependent on sovereign election alone, which may work

regeneration without baptism, as in the case of the Old Testament

saints and the thief on the cross. We are made children of God by faith

and not by baptism, which only recognizes the fact. Calvin makes sure

the salvation of all elect children, whether baptized or not. This is a

great gain. In order to extend election beyond the limits of the

visible means of grace, he departed from the patristic and scholastic

interpretation of John 3:5, that "water" means the sacrament of

baptism, as a necessary condition of entrance into the kingdom of God.

He thinks that a reference to Christian baptism before it was

instituted would have been untimely and unintelligible to Nicodemus.

He, therefore, connects water and Spirit into one idea of purification

and regeneration by the Spirit. [836]

Whatever be the meaning of "water," Christ cannot here refer to

infants, nor to such adults as are beyond the reach of the baptismal

ordinance. He said of children, as a class, without any reference to

baptism or circumcision: "Of such is the kingdom of God." A word of

unspeakable comfort to bereaved parents. And to make it still stronger,

he said: "It is not the will of your Father, who is in heaven, that one

of these little ones should perish" (Matt. 18:14). These declarations

of our Saviour, which must decide the whole question, seem to justify

the inference that all children who die before having committed any

actual transgression, are included in the decree of election. They are

born into an economy of salvation, and their early death may be

considered as a sign of gracious election.

But Calvin did not go so far. On the contrary, he intimates very

clearly that there are reprobate or non-elect children as well as

reprobate adults. He says that "some infants," having been previously

regenerated by the Holy Spirit, "are certainly saved," but he nowhere

says that all infants are saved. [837] In his comments on Rom. 5:17, he

confines salvation to the infants of pious (elect) parents, but leaves

the fate of the rest more than doubtful. [838] Arguing with Catholic

advocates of free-will, who yet admitted the damnation of unbaptized

infants, he asks them to explain in any other way but by the mysterious

will of God, the terrible fact "that the fall of Adam, independent of

any remedy, should involve so many nations with their infant children

in eternal death. Their tongues so loquacious on every other point must

here be struck dumb." [839]

And in this connection he adds the significant words:, It is an awful

(horrible) 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." [840]

Our best feelings, which God himself has planted in our hearts,

instinctively revolt against the thought that a God of infinite love

and justice should create millions of immortal beings in his own

image--probably more than half of the human race--in order to hurry

them from the womb to the tomb, and from the tomb to everlasting doom!

And this not for any actual sin of their own, but simply for the

transgression of Adam of which they never heard, and which God himself

not only permitted, but somehow foreordained. This, if true, would

indeed be a "decretum horribile."

Calvin, by using this expression, virtually condemned his own doctrine.

The expression so often repeated against him, does great credit to his

head and heart, and this has not been sufficiently appreciated in the

estimate of his character. He ventured thus to utter his humane

sentiments far more strongly than St. Augustin dared to do. If he,

nevertheless, accepted this horrible decree, he sacrificed his reason

and heart to the, rigid laws of logic and to the letter of the

Scripture as he understood it. We must honor him for his obedience, but

as he claimed no infallibility, as an interpreter, we must be allowed

to challenge his interpretation.

Zwingli, as already remarked, was the first and the only Reformer who

entertained and dared to express the charitable hope and belief in

universal infant salvation by the atonement of Christ, who died for

all. The Anabaptists held the same view, but they were persecuted as

heretics by Protestants and Catholics alike, and were condemned in the

ninth article of the Augsburg Confession. [841] The Second Scotch

Confession of 1590 was the first and the only Protestant Confession of

the Reformation period which uttered a testimony of abhorrence and

detestation of the cruel popish doctrine of infant damnation. [842]

But gradually the doctrine of universal infant salvation gained ground

among Arminians, Quakers, Baptists, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and is

now adopted by almost all Protestant divines, especially by Calvinists,

who are not hampered by the theory of baptismal regeneration. [843]

Zwingli, as we have previously shown, was equally in advance of his age

in regard to the salvation of pious heathens, who die in a state of

readiness for the reception of the gospel; and this view has likewise

penetrated the modern Protestant consciousness. [844]

Defence of the Doctrine of Predestination.

Calvin defended the doctrine of predestination in his Institutes, and

his polemical writings against Pighius, Bolsec, and Castellio, with

consummate skill against all objections, and may be said to have

exhausted the subject on his side of the question. His arguments were

chiefly drawn from the Scriptures, especially the ninth chapter of the

Epistle to the Romans; but he unduly stretched passages which refer to

the historical destiny of individuals and nations in this world, into

declarations of their eternal fate in the other world; and he

undervalued the proper force of opposite passages (such as Ezek. 33:11;

18:23, 32; John 1:29; 3:16; 1 John 2:2; 4:14; 1 Tim. 2:4; 2 Pet. 3:9)

by a distinction between the secret and revealed will of God (voluntas

arcani and voluntas beneplaciti), which carries an intolerable dualism

and contradiction into the divine will.

He closes the whole discussion with this sentence: "Now while many

arguments are advanced on both sides, let our conclusion be to stand

astonished with Paul at so great a mystery; and amidst the clamor of

petulant tongues let us not be ashamed to exclaim with him, 'O man, who

art thou that repliest against God?' For, as Augustin justly contends,

it is acting a most perverse part to set up the measure of human

justice as the standard by which to measure the justice of God."

Very true; but how can we judge of God's justice at all without our own

sense of justice, which comes from God? And how can that be justice in

God which is injustice in man, and which God himself condemns as

injustice? A fundamental element in justice is impartiality and equity.

Practical Effect.

The motive and aim of this doctrine was not speculative but practical.

It served as a bulwark of free grace, an antidote to Pelagianism and

human pride, a stimulus to humility and gratitude, a source of comfort

and peace in trial and despondency. The charge of favoring license and

carnal security was always indignantly repelled as a slander by the

Pauline "God forbid!" and refuted in practice. He who believes in

Christ as his Lord and Saviour may have a reasonable assurance of being

among the elect, and this faith will constrain him to follow Christ and

to persevere to the end lest he be cast away. Those who believe in the

perseverance of saints are likely to practice it. Present unbelief is

no sure sign of reprobation as long as the way is open for repentance

and conversion.

Calvin sets the absolute sovereignty of God and the infallibility of

the Bible over against the pretended sovereignty and infallibility of

the pope. Fearing God, he was fearless of man. The sense of God's

sovereignty fortified his followers against the tyranny of temporal

sovereigns, and made them champions and promoters of civil and

political liberty in France, Holland, England, and Scotland.

Confessional Approval.

The doctrine of predestination received the official sanction of the

pastors of Geneva, who signed the Consensus Genevensis prepared by

Calvin (1552). [845] It was incorporated, in its milder, infralapsarian

form, in the French Confession (1559), the Belgic Confession (1561),

and the Scotch Confession (1560). It was more logically formulated in

the Lambeth Articles (1595), the Irish Articles (1615), the Canons of

Dort (1619), the Westminster Confession and Larger Catechism (1647),

and the Helvetic Consensus Formula (1675). On the other hand, the First

Helvetic Confession (1536), the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), the Second

Helvetic Confession (1566), and the Anglican Articles (1571, Art.

XVII.) indorse merely the positive part of the free election of

believers, and are wisely silent concerning the decree of reprobation

and preterition; leaving this to theological science and private

opinion. [846] It is noteworthy that Calvin himself emitted the

doctrine of predestination in his own catechism. Some minor Reformed

Confessions, as that of Brandenburg, expressly declare that God

sincerely wishes the salvation of all men, and is not the author of sin

and damnation.

NOTES.

AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS OF THE CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF A DOUBLE

PREDESTINATION.

I. Calvin's Articuli de Praedestinatione.

Calvin gave a condensed statement of his system in the following

articles, which were first published by the Strassburg editors, in

1870, from his autograph in the University library of Geneva: --

[Ex autographo Calvini Bibl. Genev., Cod. 145, fol. 100.]

"Ante creatum primum hominem statuerat Deus aeterno consilio quid de

toto genere humano fieri vellet.

"Hoc arcano Dei consilio factum est ut Adam ab integro naturae suae

statu deficeret ac sua defectione traheret omnes suos posteros in

reatum aeternae mortis.

"Ab hoc eodem decreto pendet discrimen inter electos et reprobos: quia

alios sibi adoptavit in salutem, alios aeterno exitio destinavit.

"Tametsi justae Dei vindictae vasa sunt reprobi, rursum electi vasa

misericordiae, causa tamen discriminis non alia in Deo quaerenda est

quam mera eius voluntas, quae summa est justitiae regula.

"Tametsi electi fide percipiunt adoptionis gratiam, non tamen pendet

electio a fide, sed tempore et ordine prior est.

"Sicut initium et perseverantia fidei a gratuita Dei electione fluit,

ita non alii vere illuminantur in fidem, nec alii spiritu

regenerationis donantur, nisi quos Deus elegit: reprobos vero vel in

sua caecitate manere necesse est, vel excidere a parte fidei, si qua in

illis fuerit.

"Tametsi in Christo eligimur, ordine tamen illud prius est ut nos

Dominus in suis censeat, quam ut faciat Christi membra.

"Tametsi Dei voluntas summa et prima est rerum omnium causa, et Deus

diabolum et impios omnes suo arbitrio subiectos habet, Deus tamen neque

peccati causa vocari potest, neque mali autor, neque ulli culpae

obnoxius est.

"Tametsi Deus peccato vere infensus est et damnat quidquid est

iniustitiae in hominibus, quia illi displicet, non tamen nuda eius

permissione tantum, sed nutu quoque et arcano decreto gubernantur omnia

hominum facta.

"Tametsi diabolus et reprobi Dei ministri sunt et organa, et arcana

eius judicia exsequuntur, Deus tamen incomprehensibili modo sic in

illis et per illos operatur ut nihil ex eorum vitio labis contrahat,

quia illorum malitia iuste recteque utitur in bonum finem, licet modus

saepe nobis sit absconditus.

"Inscite vel calumniose faciunt qui Deum fieri dicunt autorem peccati,

si omnia eo volente et ordinante fiant: quia inter manifestam hominum

pravitatem et arcana Dei iudicia non distinguunt."

II. The Lambeth Articles.

In full agreement with Calvin are the Lambeth Articles, 1595. They were

intended to be an obligatory appendix to the Thirty-nine Articles

which, in Art. XVII., present only the positive side of the doctrine of

predestination, and ignore reprobation. They were prepared by Dr.

Whitaker, Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, and approved by, Dr.

Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of York, and

a number of prelates convened at Lambeth Palace, London; also by Hooker

(with a slight modification; see Hooker's Works, ed. by Keble, II. 752

sq.). But they were not sanctioned by Queen Elizabeth, who was

displeased that a Lambeth Synod was called without her authority, nor

by James I., and gradually lost their power during the Arminian

reaction under the Stuarts. They are as follows: --

"1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life; certain

men he hath reprobated.

"2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not

the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of

anything that is in the person predestinated, but only the good will

and pleasure of God.

"3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which

can neither be augmented nor diminished.

"4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily

damned for their sins.

"5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God

justifying [sanctifying] is not extinguished, falleth not away; it

vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

"6. A man truly faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with a

justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith, of the

remission of his sins and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to

all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

"8. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and

unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the

Father that they may come to the Son.

"9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved."

The Lambeth Articles were accepted by the Convocation at Dublin, 1615,

and engrafted on the Irish Articles of Religion, which were probably

composed by the learned Archbishop Ussher (at that time Professor of

Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin), and form the connecting link

between the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Westminster Confession. Some

of the strongest statements of the Irish Articles passed literally

(without any acknowledgment) into the Westminster Confession. The Irish

Articles are printed in Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, III. 526-544.

III. The Westminster Confession.

Chap. III. Of God's Eternal Decree.

The Westminster Confession of Faith, prepared by the Westminster

Assembly in 1647, adopted by the Long Parliament, by the Kirk of

Scotland, and the Presbyterian Churches of America, gives the clearest

and strongest symbolic statement of this doctrine. It assigns to it

more space than to the holy Trinity, or the Person of Christ, or the

atonement.

"1. God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his

own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet

so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered

to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of

second causes taken away, but rather established.

"2. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all

supposed conditions, yet hath he not decreed anything because he

foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such

conditions.

"3. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men

and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others

foreordained to everlasting death.

"4. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are

particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain

and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"5. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the

foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and

immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his

will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere

free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or

perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as

conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of

his glorious grace.

"6. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the

eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means

thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are

redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his

Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and

kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other

redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified,

and saved, but the elect only.

"7. The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable

counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as

he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures,

to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to

the praise of his glorious justice.

"8. The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be

handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of

God revealed in his Word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from

the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal

election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence,

and admiration of God; and of humility, diligence, and abundant

consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel."

IV. Methodism And Calvinism.

The severest condemnation of the Westminster Calvinism came from John

Wesley, the most apostolic man that the Anglo-Saxon race has produced.

He adopted the Arminian creed and made it a converting agency; he

magnified the free grace of God, like the Calvinists, but extended it

to all men. In a sermon on Free Grace, preached at Bristol (Sermons,

vol. I. 482 sqq.), he charges the doctrine of predestination with

"making vain all preaching, and tending to destroy holiness, the

comfort of religion and zeal for good works, yea, the whole Christian

revelation by involving it in fatal contradictions." He goes so far as

to call it "a doctrine full of blasphemy," because "it represents our

blessed Lord as a hypocrite, a deceiver of the people, a man void of

common sincerity, as mocking his helpless creatures by offering what he

never intends to give, by saying one thing and meaning another." It

destroys "all the attributes of God, his justice, mercy, and truth,

yea, it represents the most holy God as worse than the devil, as both

more false, more cruel, and more unjust." This is as hard and unjust as

anything that Pighius, Bolsec, Castellio, and Servetus said against

Calvin. And yet Wesley cooperated for some time with George Whitefield,

the great Calvinistic revival preacher, and delivered his funeral

sermon in Tottenham-Court-Road, Nov. 18, 1770, on the text, Num. 23:10,

in which he spoke in the highest terms of Whitefield's personal piety

and great usefulness (Sermons, I. 470-480). "Have we read or heard," he

asked, "of any person since the apostles, who testified the gospel of

the grace of God through so widely extended a space, through so large a

part of the habitable world? Have we read or heard of any person, who

called so many thousands, so many myriads of sinners to repentance?

Above all, have we read or heard of any, who has been a blessed

instrument in his hand of bringing so many sinners from 'darkness to

light, and from the power of Satan unto God?' "-- This is a striking

illustration how widely great and good men may differ in theology, and

yet how nearly they may agree in religion.

Charles Wesley fully sided with the Arminianism of his brother John,

and abused his poetic gift by writing poor doggerel against Calvinism.

[847] He had a bitter controversy on the subject with Toplady, who was

a devout Calvinist. But their theological controversy is dead and

buried, while their devotional hymns still live, and Calvinists and

Methodists heartily join in singing Wesley's "Jesus, Lover of my Soul,"

and Toplady's "Rock of Ages, cleft for me."

V. Modern Calvinism.

Modern Calvinism retains the doctrine of an all-ruling providence and

saving grace, but denies reprobation and preterition, or leaves them to

the sphere of metaphysical theology. It lays also great stress on the

moral responsibility of the human will, and on the duty of offering the

gospel sincerely to every creature, in accordance with the modern

missionary spirit. This, at least, is the prevailing and growing

tendency among Presbyterian Churches in Europe and America, as appears

from the recent agitation on the revision of the Westminster

Confession. The new creed of the Presbyterian Church of England, which

was adopted in 1890, avoids all the objectionable features of old

Calvinism, and substitutes for the eight sections of the third chapter

of the Westminster Confession the following two articles, which contain

all that is necessary in a public confession: --

ART. IV. Of Providence.

"We believe that God the Creator upholds all things by the word of his

power, preserving and providing for all his creatures, according to the

laws of their being; and that he, through the presence and energy of

his Spirit in nature and history, disposes and governs all events for

his own high design; yet is he not in any wise the author or approver

of sin, neither are the freedom and responsibility of man taken away,

nor have any bounds been set to the sovereign liberty of him who

worketh when and where and how he pleaseth."

ART. XII. Of Election and Regeneration.

"We humbly own and believe that God the Father, before the foundation

of the world, was pleased of his sovereign grace to choose unto himself

in Christ a people, whom he gave to the Son, and to whom the Holy

Spirit imparts spiritual life by a secret and wonderful operation of

his power, using as his ordinary means, where years of understanding

have been reached, the truths of his Word in ways agreeable to the

nature of man; so that, being born from above, they are the children of

God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[818] The essential agreement of the Reformers on the doctrine of

free-will and predestination has been proven by scholars of different

schools, as Jul. Mueller (Lutheri doctrina de praedestinatione et

libero arbitrio, and in his Dogmatische Abhandlungen, pp. 169-179),

Hundeshagen (Conflicte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums, und Calvinismus

in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558), Baur (Der Gegensatz des

Katholicismus und Protestantismus, and in hisDogmengeschichte),

Schweizer (Centraldogmen), Gieseler, Hagenbach, Dorner, Luthardt,

Loofs, and others.

[819] Calvin expressed to Bullinger, in a confidential letter, January,

1552, his dissatisfaction with the paradoxical expressions of Zwingli's

tract De Providentia. "Zwinglii libellus," he writes, "ut familiariter

inter nos loquamur, tam duris paradoxis refertus est, ut longissime ab

ea quam adhibui moderatione distet." Bullinger, however, never

contradicted the liberal sentiments of his teacher and friend, and

believed in extraordinary modes of salvation, "sine externo ministerio,

quo et quando velit (Deus)., et quod ejus potentiae est." Second Helv.

Conf. I. 7.

[820] For a fuller exposition of Melanchthon's Synergism see

Herrlinger's monograph; Frank, Theologie der Concordienformel; Dorner,

Geschichte der Protest. Theologie, pp. 361-374, and his System der

christl. Glaubenslehre, II. 706 sq. and 716 sq.; Schweizer,

Centraldogmen, I. 380 sqq.; Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 262 sq.;

Loofs, Dogmengeschichte, pp. 403 sq. (2d ed.).

[821] De Dono Persev., ch. XXXIII.

[822] "Praedestinationem vocamus aeternum Dei decretum, quo apud se

constitutum habuit, quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim

pari conditione creantur omnes; sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio

aeterna praeordinatur. Itaque, prout in alterutrum finem quisque

conditus est, ita vel ad vitam, vel ad mortem praedestinatum dicimus."

Inst. III. ch. XXI. � 5 (Opera, vol. II. pp. 682, 683).

[823] Ibid. III. ch. XXI. � 7.

[824] "Summa justitiae regula est Dei voluntas."

[825] Inst. III. ch. XXII. � 1.

[826] Ibid. III. ch. XXII. II. Calvin's definition of divine justice is

contrary to the general conception of human justice, which must be a

reflection of divine justice.

[827] Ibid. III. ch. XXIII. � 1. The scholastic Calvinists

distinguished in reprobation a negative element, namely, praeteritio or

indebitae gratiae negatio, and a positive element of predamnation,

praedamnatio or debitae poenae destinatio. See the definitions of

Wolleb, Keckermann, Heidegger, etc., in Heppe's Dogmatik der evang.

reform. Kirche (1861), p. 132. The Westminster Confession (ch. III. 7)

uses the term "passing by," which is equivalent to preterition or

omission; the Gallican Conf. (ch. XII.) and the Belgic Conf. (ch. XVI.)

use the milder term laisser, relinquere, to leave, namely, in the

natural state of condemnation and ruin. Shedd (Syst. Theol. I. 433)

says: "Reprobation comprises preterition and condemnation or

damnation," and he makes these distinctions: 1) Preterition is a

sovereign act; condemnation is a judicial act. 2) The reason of

preterition is unknown; the reason of damnation is sin. 3) In

preterition God's action is permissive (inaction rather than action);

in condemnation, God's action is efficient and positive. His proof text

is Luke 17:34: "The one shall be taken, and the other shall be left."

[828] This is the order given in the Formula Consensus Helvetica, canon

IV. (in Niemeyer, p. 731): "Ita Deus gloriam suam illustrare

constituit, ut decreverit, primo quidem hominem integrum creare, tum

ejusdem lapsum permittere, ac demum ex lapsis quorundam misereri,

adeoque eosdem eligere, alios vero in corrupta massa relinquere,

aeternoque tandem exitio devovere." This does not go beyond the limits

of Augustinianism. Van Oosterzee errs when he says (Christian

Dogmatics, vol. I. p. 452) that the Form. Cons. Helv. asserts the

supralapsarian view.

[829] On the distinction, see Beza, Summa totius Christianismi (Opera,

I. 170); Limborch, Theol. Christ. IV. 2; Heppe, Dogmatik der evang.

reform. Kirche, pp. 108 sqq., and the curious order of Beza there

printed, as if the order of the divine counsels were a mathematical

problem. The infralapsarian view is milder and passed into most of the

Calvinistic Confessions. The Westminster Confession is a compromise

between the two schools, and puts the fall of Adam under a permissive

decree (ch. V. 4), and yet not under a bare permission, but including

it in the purpose of God, who ordered it for his own glory (VI. 1).

[830] Inst. III. XXIII. 7 and 8. The passage quoted from Augustin is De

Gen. ad lit., l. VI. c. 15. In Inst. III. ch. XXIV. 12, Calvin uses

strong supralapsarian language: "Those whom God has created to a life

of shame and death (quos in vitae contumeliam et mortis exitium

creavit), that they might be instruments of his wrath, and examples of

his severity, he causes to reach their appointed end; sometimes

depriving them of the opportunity of hearing the Word, sometimes by the

preaching of it increasing their blindness and stupidity." Then he

illustrates this by examples, especially that of Pharaoh, and the aim

of the parables of Christ (Matt. 13:11; John 12:39, 40). In the

Consensus Genevensis (Niemeyer, p. 251), he says that the fall was

ordained by the admirable counsel of God (admirabili Dei consilio

fuisse ordinatum). Beza understood Calvin correctly.

[831] He gives his view of the primitive state in Inst. I. ch. XV. � 8:

"God has furnished the soul of man with a mind capable of discerning

good from evil, and just from unjust; and of discovering, by the light

of reason, what ought to be pursued or avoided: whence the philosophers

called this directing faculty to hegemonikon, the principal or

governing part. To this he hath annexed the will, on which depends the

choice. The primitive condition of man was ennobled with those eminent

faculties; he possessed reason, understanding, prudence, and judgment,

not only for the government of his life on earth, but to enable him to

ascend even to God and eternal felicity. To these were added choice, to

direct the appetites, and regulate all the organic motions, so that the

will was entirely conformed to the government of reason. In this

integrity man was endued with free will, by which, if he had chosen, he

might have obtained eternal life. For here it would be unreasonable to

introduce the question respecting the secret predestination of God,

because we are not discussing what might possibly have happened or not,

but what was the real nature of man. Adam, therefore, could have stood

if he would, since he fell merely by his own will; but because his will

was flexible to either side, and he was not endued with constancy to

persevere, therefore he so easily fell. Yet his choice of good and evil

was free; and not only so, but his mind and will were possessed of

consummate rectitude, and all his organic parts were rightly disposed

to obedience, till destroying himself he corrupted all his

excellencies."

[832] "Lapsus est enim primus homo, quia Dominus ita expedire

censuerat; cur censuerit, nos latet. Certum tamen est non aliter

censuisse, nisi quia videbat, nominis sui gloriam inde merito

illustrari. Unde mentionem gloriae Dei audis, illic justitiam cogita.

Justum enim esse oportet quod laudem meretur. Cadit igitur homo, Dei

providentia sic ordinante, sed suo vitio cadit .... Propria ergo

malitia, quam acceperat a Domino puam naturam corrupit; sua ruina totam

posteritatem in exitium secum attraxit." Inst. III. ch. XXIII. � 8

(vol. II. p. 705). In his reply to Castellio Opera, IX. 294) he says:

Praevidit Deus lapsum Adae: penes ipsum facultas erat prohibendi:

noluit. Cur noluerit, alia non potest afferri ratio nisi quia alio

tendebat ejus voluntas."

[833] Comp. here the powerful sections against the abuse of the

doctrine of election, in III. ch. XXIII. 12 sqq.

[834] See the passages in vol. III. 835 sq. Augustin was called durus

infantum pater. But his view was only the logical inference from the

doctrine of the necessity of baptism for salvation, which was taught

long before him on the ground of John 3:8 and Mark 16:16. Even Pelagius

excluded unbaptized infants from the kingdom of heaven, though not from

eternal life. He assigned them to a middle state of half-blessedness.

[835] Inferno, IV. 28, duol senza martiri, i.e. mental, not physical

pain.

[836] "Aqua nihil aliud est quam interior Spiritus Sancti purgatio et

vegetatio." Com. in loco. He takes kai epexegetically and lays the

stress on pneuma, which alone is mentioned in the following verses, 6

and 8. Similarly Grotius: "Spiritus aquaeus, i.e. aquae instar

emundans." But the natural reference is to baptismal water, as the

symbol of purification and remission of sins. Comp. John 1:33; Tit.

3:5; Eph. 5:26. The different interpretations are discussed at length

in Schaff's ed. of Lange's Comm. on John pp. 126 ff.

[837] Inst. Bk. IV. ch. XVI. 17: "Infantes, qui servandi sint--ut certe

ex ea aetate omnino aliqui servantur--antea a Domino regenerari minime

obscurum est." This was the doctrine of the Westminster divines, and is

expressed in the Westminster Confession, ch. X. 3: "Elect infants,

dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the

Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth." Although

this passage admits of a liberal construction, yet the natural sense,

as interpreted by the private opinions of the framers of the

Confession, makes it almost certain that the existence and damnation of

non-elect infants is implied. The Presbyterian Revisionists, therefore,

wishing to avoid this logical implication, propose to strike out elect,

or to substitute all for it (as the Cumberland Presbyterians have done

in their Confession). The change will be acted upon by the General

Assembly in May, 1892.

[838] "De piorum liberis loquor, ad quos promissio gratiae dirigitur;

nam alii a communi sorte nequaquam eximuntur."

[839] "Tot gentes una cum liberis eorum infantibus." Inst. III. ch.

XXIII. � 7. To this should be added the challenge to Castellio: "Put

forth now thy virulence against God, who hurls innocent babes even from

their mothers' breast into eternal death." Calvin here argues e

concessis. The passage has been often distorted. We give it in Latin

with the connection (Opera, IX. 289): "Negas Deo licere nisi propter

facinus damnare quenquam mortalium. Tolluntur e vita innumeri adhuc

infantes. Exsere nunc tuam virulentiam contra Deum, qui innoxios foetus

a matrum uberibus avulsos in aeternam mortem praecipitat. Hanc

blasphemiam, ubi palam detecta est, quisquis non detestabitur, mihi pro

sua libidine maledicat." In the same way he challenges Castellio (fol.

289), to explain the admitted fact, that God allows innocent infants to

be devoured by tigers or lions or bears or wolves ("qui fit ut Deus

parvulos infantes a tigribus vel ursis vel leonibus vel lupis laniari

vorarique sineat"). The attempt of Dr. Shields of Princeton to prove

that Calvin believed in the salvation of all infants, is an entire

failure ("The Presbyt. and Ref. Review " for October, 1890).

[840] "Decretum quidem horribile fateor." This famous expression is

often ignorantly applied to the whole doctrine of predestination, while

Calvin only uses it of the decree of reprobation. The decree of

election is glorious and most comforting. There is no need, therefore,

of moderating the term horribile, which means horrible, terrible.,

dreadful. In French he calls it "ce d�cret qui nous doit espouvanter,"

a decree which should terrify us. Hase (Kirchengeschichte, III. I. 196)

says: "Calvin ist ein dogmatischer Dante: dieselbe grauenvolle Lust,

die Majestaet Gottes auch in der Hoelle anzuerkennen und zu preisen,

diese grauenvolle Macht, welche fuehlende Wesen geschaffen hat zu

ewiger Qual."

[841] "They condemn the Anabaptists, who disapprove the baptism of

children, and affirm that children are saved without baptism." The

edition of 1540 adds after "baptism" "et extra ecclesiam Christi,"

which must refer to heathen infants. The German text omits the clause

and condemns the Anabaptists simply for rejecting infant baptism. This

shows that Melanchthon was in doubt on the subject of infant damnation.

[842] "Abhorremus et detestamur ... crudele judicium contra infantes

sine baptismo morientes."

[843] Among English Calvinists, who teach universal infant salvation,

are Doddridge, Thomas Scott, John Newton, Toplady, Robert S. Candlish;

among American Calvinists, Drs. Charles Hodge, A. A. Hodge, and B. B.

Warfield, of Princeton, and Drs. H. B. Smith, G. L. Prentiss, and

Shedd, of Union Seminary, New York. Comp. on this subject Schaff,

Creeds of Christendom, I. 378, 381, 794, 898; Dr. Prentiss, who brings

out the theological bearings, in the "Presbyterian Review" for 1883;

Benjamin B. Warfield, The Development of the Doctrine of Infant

Salvation, New York (Christ. Lit. Co.), 1891, pp. 61; also Chas. P.

Krauth (Lutheran), Infant Baptism and Infant Salvation, Philadelphia

(Lutheran Book Store), 1874, pp. 83.

[844] See above, pp. 95 sqq.

[845] The Consensus Genevensis was occasioned by the controversy with

Pighius and Bolsec, but received no authority outside of Geneva. The

attempt to enlist Zuerich, Bern, and Basel in favor of this dogma

created disturbance and opposition. See Schaff, Creeds, etc., I. 474

sqq.

[846] The Second Helvetic Confession (chs. VIII. and IX.) uses the term

reprobate (adokimos, reprobus), but says nothing of a decree of

reprobation. Reprobate is descriptive of moral character, and means not

approved, unfit, Rom. 1:28; 1 Cor. 9:27; 2 Cor. 13:5-7; 2 Tim. 3:8;

Tit. 1:16. The plural reprobates is an inaccurate rendering of the A.

V. in 2 Cor. 13:6, 7, and 2 Tim. 3:8, and suggests the idea of a class

of persons. The R. V. correctly has reprobate, since the Greek word is

an adjective, not a noun.

[847] This is a specimen:-- "O Horrible Decree, Worthy of whence it

came! Forgive the ir hellish blasphemy, Who charge it on the Lamb!"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 114. Calvinism examined.

We cannot dismiss this important subject without examining the

Calvinistic system of predestination in the light of Christian

experience, of reason, and the teaching of the Bible.

Calvinism, as we have seen, starts from a double decree of absolute

predestination, which antedates creation, and is the divine program of

human history. This program includes the successive stages of the

creation of man, an universal fall and condemnation of the race, a

partial redemption and salvation, and a partial reprobation and

perdition: all for the glory of God and the display of his attributes

of mercy and justice. History is only the execution of the original

design. There can be no failure. The beginning and the end, God's

immutable plan and the issue of the world's history, must correspond.

We should remember at the outset that we have to deal here with nothing

less than a solution of the world-problem, and should approach it with

reverence and an humble sense of the limitation of our mental

capacities. We stand, as it were, before a mountain whose top is lost

in the clouds. Many who dared to climb to the summit have lost their

vision in the blinding snowdrifts. Dante, the deepest thinker among

poets, deems the mystery of predestination too far removed from mortals

who cannot see "the first cause in its wholeness," and too deep even

for the comprehension of the saints in Paradise, who enjoy the beatific

vision, yet "do not know all the elect," and are content "to will

whatsoever God wills." [848] Calvin himself confesses that, the

predestination of God is a labyrinth, from which the mind of man can by

no means extricate itself." [849]

The only way out of the labyrinth is the Ariadne thread of the love of

God in Christ, and this is a still greater, but more blessed mystery,

which we can adore rather than comprehend.

The Facts of Experience.

We find everywhere in this world the traces of a revealed God and of a

hidden God; revealed enough to strengthen our faith, concealed enough

to try our faith.

We are surrounded by mysteries. In the realm of nature we see the

contrasts of light and darkness, day and night, heat and cold, summer

and winter, life and death, blooming valleys and barren deserts,

singing birds and poisonous snakes, useful animals and ravenous beasts,

the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Turning to

human life, we find that one man is born to prosperity, the other to

misery; one a king, the other a beggar; one strong and healthy, the

other a helpless cripple; one a genius, the other an idiot; one

inclined to virtue, another to vice; one the son of a saint, the other

of a criminal; one in the darkness of heathenism, another in the light

of Christianity. The best men as well as the worst are exposed to fatal

accidents, and whole nations with their innocent offspring are ravaged

and decimated by war, pestilence, and famine.

Who can account for all these and a thousand other differences and

perplexing problems? They are beyond the control of man's will, and

must be traced to the inscrutable will of God, whose ways are past

finding out.

Here, then, is predestination, and, apparently, a double predestination

to good or evil, to happiness or misery.

Sin and death are universal facts which no sane man can deny. They

constitute the problem of problems. And the only practical solution of

the problem is the fact of redemption. "Where sin has abounded, grace

did abound more exceedingly; that as sin reigned in death, even so

might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, through

Jesus Christ our Lord "(Rom. 5:20, 21).

If redemption were as universal in its operation as sin, the solution

would be most satisfactory and most glorious. But redemption is only

partially revealed in this world, and the great question remains: What

will become of the immense majority of human beings who live and die

without God and without hope in this world? Is this terrible fact to be

traced to the eternal counsel of God, or to the free agency of man?

Here is the point where Augustinianism and Calvinism take issue with

Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism, Synergism, and Arminianism.

The Calvinistic system involves a positive truth: the election to

eternal life by free grace, and the negative inference: the reprobation

to eternal death by arbitrary justice. The former is the strength, the

latter is the weakness of the system. The former is practically

accepted by all true believers; the latter always has been, and always

will be, repelled by the great majority of Christians.

The doctrine of a gracious election is as clearly taught in the New

Testament as any other doctrine. Consult such passages as Matt. 25:34;

John 6:37, 44, 65; 10:28; 15:16; l7:12; 18:9; Acts 13:48; Rom. 8:28-39;

Gal. 1:4; Eph. 1:4-11; 2:8-10; 1 Thess. 1:4; 2 Thess. 2:13, 14; 2 Tim.

1:9; 1 Pet. 1:2. The doctrine is confirmed by experience. Christians

trace all their temporal and spiritual blessings, their life, health,

and strength, their regeneration and conversion, every good thought and

deed to the undeserved mercy of God, and hope to be saved solely by the

merits of Christ, "by grace through faith," not by works of their own.

The more they advance in spiritual life, the more grateful they feel to

God, and the less inclined to claim any merit. The greatest saints are

also the humblest. Their theology reflects the spirit and attitude of

prayer, which rests on the conviction that God is the free giver of

every good and perfect gift, and that, without God, we are nothing.

Before the throne of grace all Christians may be called Augustinians

and Calvinists.

It is the great merit of Calvin to have brought out this doctrine of

salvation by free grace more forcibly and clearly than any divine since

the days of Augustin. It has been the effective theme of the great

Calvinistic preachers and writers in Europe and America to this day.

Howe, Owen, Baxter, Bunyan, South, Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Robert

Hall, Chalmers, Spurgeon, were Calvinists in their creed, though

belonging to different denominations,--Congregational, Presbyterian,

Episcopal, Baptist,--and had no superiors in pulpit power and

influence. Spurgeon was the most popular and effective preacher of the

nineteenth century, who addressed from week to week five thousand

bearers in his Tabernacle, and millions of readers through his printed

sermons in many tongues. Nor should we forget that some of the most

devout Roman Catholics were Augustinians or Jansenists.

On the other hand, no man is saved mechanically or by force, but

through faith, freely, by accepting the gift of God. This implies the

contrary power of rejecting the gift. To accept is no merit, to reject

is ingratitude and guilt. All Calvinistic preachers appeal to man's

responsibility. They pray as if everything depended on God; and yet

they preach and work as if everything depended on man. And the Church

is directed to send the gospel to every creature. We pray for the

salvation of all men, but not for the loss of a single human being.

Christ interceded even for his murderers on the cross.

Here, then, is a practical difficulty. The decree of reprobation cannot

be made an object of prayer or preaching, and this is an argument

against it. Experience confirms election, but repudiates reprobation.

The Logical Argument.

The logical argument for reprobation is that there can be no positive

without a negative; no election of some without a reprobation of

others. This is true by deductive logic, but not by inductive logic.

There are degrees and stages of election. There must be a chronological

order in the history of salvation. All are called sooner or later; some

in the sixth, others in the ninth, others in the eleventh, hour,

according to God's providence. Those who accept the call and persevere

in faith are among the elect (1 Pet. 1:1; 2:9). Those who reject it,

become reprobate by their own unbelief, and against God's wish and

will. There is no antecedent decree of reprobation, but only a judicial

act of reprobation in consequence of man's sin.

Logic is a two-edged sword. It may lead from predestinarian premises to

the conclusion that God is the author of sin, which Calvin himself

rejects and abhors as a blasphemy. It may also lead to fatalism,

pantheism, or universalism. We must stop somewhere in our process of

reasoning, or sacrifice a part of the truth. Logic, it should be

remembered, deals only with finite categories, and cannot grasp

infinite truth. Christianity is not a logical or mathematical problem,

and cannot be reduced to the limitations of a human system. It is above

any particular system and comprehends the truths of all systems. It is

above logic, yet not illogical; as revelation is above reason, yet not

against reason.

We cannot conceive of God except as an omniscient and omnipotent being,

who from eternity foreknew and, in some way, also foreordained all

things that should come to pass in his universe. He foreknew what he

foreordained, and he foreordained what he foreknew; his foreknowledge

and foreordination, his intelligence and will are coeternal, and must

harmonize. There is no succession of time, no before nor after in the

eternal God. The fall of the first man, with its effects upon all

future generations, cannot have been an accident which God, as a

passive or neutral spectator, simply permitted to take place when he

might so easily have prevented it. He must in some way have

foreordained it, as a means for a higher end, as a negative condition

for the greatest good. So far the force of reasoning, on the basis of

belief in a personal God, goes to the full length of Calvinistic

supralapsarianism, and even beyond it, to the very verge of

universalism. If we give up the idea of a self-conscious, personal God,

reason would force us into fatalism or pantheism.

But there is a logic of ethics as well as of metaphysics. God is holy

as well as almighty and omniscient, and therefore cannot be the author

of sin. Man is a moral as well as an intellectual being, and the claims

of his moral constitution are equal to the claims of his intellectual

constitution. Conscience is as powerful a factor as reason. The most

rigid believer in divine sovereignty, if he be a Christian, cannot get

rid of the sense of personal accountability, though he may be unable to

reconcile the two. The harmony lies in God and in the moral

constitution of man. They are the two complementary sides of one truth.

Paul unites them in one sentence: "Work out your own salvation with

fear and trembling; for it is God who worketh in you both to will and

to work, for his good pleasure" (Phil. 2:13). The problem, however,

comes within the reach of possible solution, if we distinguish between

sovereignty as an inherent power, and the exercise of sovereignty. God

may limit the exercise of his sovereignty to make room for the free

action of his creatures. It is by his sovereign decree that man is

free. Without such self-limitation he could not admonish men to repent

and believe. Here, again, the Calvinistic logic must either bend or

break. Strictly carried out, it would turn the exhortations of God to

the sinner into a solemn mockery and cruel irony.

The Scripture Argument.

Calvin, though one of the ablest logicians, cared less for logic than

for the Bible, and it is his obedience to the Word of God that induced

him to accept the decretum horribile against his wish and will. His

judgment is of the greatest weight, for he had no superior, and

scarcely an equal, in thorough and systematic Bible knowledge and

exegetical insight.

And here we must freely admit that not a few passages, especially in

the Old Testament, favor a double decree to the extent of supreme

supralapsarianism; yea, they go beyond the Calvinistic system, and seem

to make God himself the author of sin and evil. See Ex. 4:21; 7:13

(repeatedly said of God's hardening Pharaoh's heart); Isa. 6:9, 10;

44:18; Jer. 6:21; Amos 3:6 ("Shall there be evil in a city, and the

Lord hath not done it?"); Prov. 16:4; Matt. 11:25; 13:14, 15; John

12:40; Rom. 9:10-23; 11:7, 8; 1 Cor. 14:3; 2 Thess. 2:11; 1 Pet. 2:8;

Jude 4 ("who were of old set forth unto this condemnation "). [850]

The rock of reprobation is Romans 9. It is not accidental that Calvin

elaborated and published the second edition of his Institutes

simultaneously with his Commentary on the Romans, at Strassburg, in

1539.

There are especially three passages in Romans 9, which in their strict

literal sense favor extreme Calvinism, and are so explained by some of

the severest grammatical commentators of modern times (as Meyer and

Weiss).

(a) 9:13: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated," quoted from Mal. 1:2, 3.

This passage, whether we take it in a literal or anthropopathic sense,

has no reference to the eternal destiny of Jacob and Esau, but to their

representative position in the history of the theocracy. This removes

the chief difficulty. Esau received a temporal blessing from his father

(Gen. 27:39, 40), and behaved kindly and generously to his brother

(33:4); he probably repented of the folly of his youth in selling his

birthright, [851] and may be among the saved, as well as Adam and

Eve--the first among the lost and the first among the saved.

Moreover, the strict meaning of a positive hatred seems impossible in

the nature of the case, since it would contradict all we know from the

Bible of the attributes of God. A God of love, who commands us to love

all men, even our enemies, cannot hate a child before his birth, or any

of his creatures made in his own image. "Can a woman forget her sucking

child," says the Lord, "that she should not have compassion on the son

of her womb? Yea, these may forget, yet will I not forget thee" (Isa.

49:15). This is the prophet's conception of the tender mercies of God.

How much more must it be the conception of the New Testament? The word

hate must, therefore, be understood as a strong Hebraistic expression

for loving less or putting back; as in Gen. 29:31, where the original

text says, "Leah was hated" by Jacob, i.e. loved less than Rachel

(comp. 29:30). When our Saviour says, Luke 14:26: "If any man hateth

not his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and

sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple," he does

not mean that his disciples should break the fifth commandment, and act

contrary to his direction: "Love your enemies, pray for them that

persecute you" (Matt. 5:44), but simply that we should prefer him above

everything, even life itself, and should sacrifice whatever comes in

conflict with him. This meaning is confirmed by the parallel passage,

Matt. 10:37: "He that loveth father and mother more than me is not

worthy of me."

(b) Rom. 9:17. Paul traces the hardening of Pharaoh's heart to the

agency of God, and so far makes God responsible for sin. But this was a

judicial act of punishing sin with sin; for Pharaoh had first hardened

his own heart (Ex. 8:15, 32; 9:34). Moreover, this passage has no

reference to Pharaoh's future fate any more than the passage about

Esau, but both refer to their place in the history of Israel.

(c) In Rom. 9:22 and 23, the Apostle speaks of "vessels of wrath fitted

unto destruction" kathrtismevna eij" ajpwvleian), and "vessels of mercy

which he (God) prepared unto glory" (a} prohtoivmasen eij" dovxan). But

the difference of the verbs, and the difference between the passive (or

middle) in the first clause and the active in the second is most

significant, and shows that God has no direct agency in the destruction

of the vessels of wrath, which is due to their self-destruction; the

participle perfect denotes the result of a gradual process and a state

of maturity for destruction, but not a divine purpose. Calvin is too

good an exegete to overlook this difference, and virtually admits its

force, although he tries to weaken it.

They observe," he says of his opponents, "that it is not said without

meaning, that the vessels of wrath are fitted for destruction, but that

God prepared the vessels of mercy; since by this mode of expression,

Paul ascribes and challenges to God the praise of salvation, and throws

the blame of perdition on those who by their choice procure it to

themselves. But though I concede to them that Paul softens the asperity

of the former clause by the difference of phraseology; yet it is not at

all consistent to transfer the preparation for destruction to any other

than the secret counsel of God, which is also asserted just before in

the context, 'that God raised up Pharaoh, and whom he will he

hardeneth.' Whence it follows, that the cause of hardening is the

secret counsel of God. This, however, I maintain, which is observed by

Augustin, that when God turns wolves into sheep, he renovates them by

more powerful grace to conquer their obstinacy; and therefore the

obstinate are not converted, because God exerts not that mightier

grace, of which he is not destitute if he chose to display it." [852]

Paul's Teaching of the Extent of Redemption.

Whatever view we may take of these hard passages, we should remember

that Romans 9 is only a part of Paul's philosophy of history, unfolded

in chapters 9-11. While Rom. 9 sets forth the divine sovereignty, Rom.

10 asserts the human responsibility, and Rom. 11 looks forward to the

future solution of the dark problem, namely, the conversion of the

fulness of the Gentiles and the salvation of all Israel (11:25). And he

winds up the whole discussion with the glorious sentence: "God hath

shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy--upon all"

(11:32). This is the key for the understanding, not only of this

section, but of the whole Epistle to the Romans. [853]

And this is in harmony with the whole spirit and aim of this Epistle.

It is easier to make it prove a system of conditional universalism than

a system of dualistic particularism. The very theme, 1:16, declares

that the gospel is a power of God for the salvation, not of a

particular class, but of "every one" that believeth. In drawing a

parallel between the first and the second Adam (5:12-21), he represents

the effect of the latter as equal in extent, and greater in intensity

than the effect of the former; while in the Calvinistic system it would

be less. We have no right to limit "the many" (oiJ polloiv) and the,

"all" (pavnte") in one clause, and to take it literally in the other.

"If, by the trespass of the one [Adam], death reigned through the one,

much more shall they that receive the abundance of grace and of the

gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ.

So, then, as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to

condemnation; even so through one act of righteousness the free gift

came unto all men to justification of life. For as through the one

man's disobedience the many [i.e. all] were made sinners, even so

through the obedience of the one shall the many [all] be made

righteous" (5:17-19). [854] The same parallel, without any restriction,

is more briefly expressed in the passage (1 Cor. 15:21): "As in Adam

all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive;" and in a different

form in Rom. 11:32 and Gal. 3:22, already quoted.

These passages contain, as in a nutshell, the theodicy of Paul. They

dispel the darkness of Romans 9. They exclude all limitations of God's

plan and intention to a particular class; they teach not, indeed, that

all men will be actually saved--for many reject the divine offer, and

die in impenitence,--but that God sincerely desires and actually

provides salvation for all. Whosoever is saved, is saved by grace;

whosoever is lost, is lost by his own guilt of unbelief.

The Offer of Salvation.

There remains, it is true, the great difficulty that the offer of

salvation is limited in this world, as far as we know, to a part of the

human race, and that the great majority pass into the other world

without any knowledge of the historical Christ.

But God gave to every man the light of reason and conscience (Rom.

1:19; 2:14, 15). The Divine Logos "lighteth every man" that cometh into

the world (John 1:9). God never left himself "without witness" (Acts

14:17). He deals with his creatures according to the measure of their

ability and opportunity, whether they have one or five or ten talents

(Matt. 25:15 sqq.). He is "no respecter of persons, but in every nation

he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him"

(Acts 10:35).

May we not then cherish at least a charitable hope, if not a certain

belief, that a God of infinite love and justice will receive into his

heavenly kingdom all those who die innocently ignorant of the Christian

revelation, but in a state of preparedness or disposition for the

gospel, so that they would thankfully accept it if offered to them?

Cornelius was in such a condition before Peter entered his house, and

he represents a multitude which no man can number. We cannot know and

measure the secret operations of the Spirit of God, who works "when,

where, and how he pleases."

Surely, here is a point where the rigor of the old orthodoxy, whether

Roman Catholic, or Lutheran, or Calvinistic, must be moderated. And the

Calvinistic system admits more readily of an expansion than the

churchly and sacramental type of orthodoxy.

The General Love of God to all Men.

This doctrine of a divine will and divine provision of a universal

salvation, on the sole condition of faith, is taught in many passages

which admit of no other interpretation, and which must, therefore,

decide this whole question. For it is a settled rule in hermeneutics

that dark passages must be explained by clear pas-sages, and not vice

versa. Such passages are the following: --

"I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord our

God: wherefore turn yourselves, and live" (Ezek. 18:32, 23; 33:11).

"And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto

myself" (John 12:32). "God so loved the world" (that is, all mankind)

"that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him

should not perish, but have eternal life" (John 3:16). "God our Saviour

willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the

truth "(1 Tim. 2:4). [855] "The grace of God hath appeared, bringing

salvation to all men" (Tit. 2:11). "The Lord is long-suffering to

you-ward, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come

to repentance" (2 Pet. 3:9). [856] "Jesus Christ is the propitiation

for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for (the sins of) the

whole world" (1 John 2:2). It is impossible to state the doctrine of a

universal atonement more clearly in so few words. [857]

To these passages should be added the divine exhortations to

repentance, and the lament of Christ over the inhabitants of Jerusalem

who "would not" come to him (Matt. 23:37). These exhortations are

insincere or unmeaning, if God does not want all men to be saved, and

if men have not the ability to obey or disobey the voice. The same is

implied in the command of Christ to preach the gospel to the whole

creation (Mark 16:15), and to disciple all nations (Matt. 28:19).

It is impossible to restrict these passages to a particular class

without doing violence to the grammar and the context.

The only way of escape is by the distinction between a revealed will of

God, which declares his willingness to save all men, and a secret will

of God which means to save only some men. [858] Augustin and Luther

made this distinction. Calvin uses it in explaining 2 Pet. 3:9, and

those passages of the Old Testament which ascribe repentance and

changes to the immutable God.

But this distinction overthrows the system which it is intended to

support. A contradiction between intention and expression is fatal to

veracity, which is the foundation of human morality, and must be an

essential attribute of the Deity. A man who says the reverse of what he

means is called, in plain English, a hypocrite and a liar. It does not

help the matter when Calvin says, repeatedly, that there are not two

wills in God, but only two ways of speaking adapted to our weakness.

Nor does it remove the difficulty when he warns us to rely on the

revealed will of God rather than brood over his secret will.

The greatest, the deepest, the most comforting word in the Bible is the

word, "God is love," and the greatest fact in the world's history is

the manifestation of that love in the person and the work of Christ.

That word and this fact are the sum and substance of the gospel, and

the only solid foundation of Christian theology. The sovereignty of God

is acknowledged by Jews and Mohammedans as well as by Christians, but

the love of God is revealed only in the Christian religion. It is the

inmost essence of God, and the key to all his ways and works. It is the

central truth which sheds light upon all other truths.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[848] Paradiso, XX. 130-138:-- "O predestinazion, quanto rimota �la

radice tua da quegli aspetti Che la prima cagion non veggion tota ! "E

voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti A giudicar; ch�noi, che Dio vedemo, Non

conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti : "Ed �nne dolce cos�fatto scemo,

Perch�it ben nostro in questo ben s'affina, Che quel che vuole Dio, e

noi volemo."

[849] Com. on Rom. 9:14: "Est praedestinatio Dei vere labyrinthus, unde

hominis ingenium nullo modo se explicare queat."

[850] The last passage is often quoted for a decree of reprobation; but

the verb progegrammenoi is wrongly translated "ordained" in the E. V.

Prographo means to write before, and refers to previous writings,

namely, the Scriptures of the O. T. Calvin correctly translates

"praescripti in hoc judicium," but refers it, metaphorically, to the

book of the divine counsel: "aeternum Dei consilium liber vocatur."

[851] This is implied in the passage, Heb. 12:17, whether we refer

metanoia to Esau's late repentance (Calvin, Bleek), or to a change of

mind in Isaac (Beza, Weiss).

[852] Inst. III. ch. XXII. 1. In his Com. on Rom. 9:22, 23, he ignores

this distinction and explains katertismena, "given up and appointed to

destruction, made and formed for this end" (devota et destinata exitio:

sunt enim vasa irae, id est in hoc facta et formata, ut documenta sint

vindictae et furoris Dei). This is the extreme supralapsarian

exposition. But other Reformed exegetes fully acknowledge the

difference of phraseology. It was pressed by those members of the

Westminster Assembly who sympathized with the hypothetical universalism

of the Saumur school of Cameron and Amyrauld. "The non-elect," said Dr.

Arrowsmith, "are said to be fitted to that destruction which their sins

bring upon them, but not by God." See Mitchell, Minutes of the

Westminster Assembly, pp. 152 sqq.; Schaff, Creeds, I. 770 sq.

[853] "Das ganze Summarium und der herrliche Schlussstein des ganzen

bisherigen Brieftheils." Weiss in the 6th ed. of Meyer on Romans (p.

555). Godet: C'est ici comme le point final appos��tout ce qui pr�cede;

ce dernier mot rend compte de tout le plan de Dieu, dont les phases

principales viennent d'�tre esquiss�es." The hina tous pantas (Jews and

Gentiles) teaches not, indeed, the forced acceptance of mercy by all,

but, at all events, the universality of the divine purpose and

intention. Meyer sees in this passage a conclusive exegetical argument

against a decretum reprobationis.

[854] Unfortunately the A. V. obliterates the force of the parallel in

the fifth chapter of Romans by neglecting the definite article before

polloi. "The many" of the original is opposed to "the one," and is

equivalent to "all;" while "many" would be opposed to "few." The

Revised Version of 1881 corrects these mistakes.

[855] Calvin explains "all men" to mean men of all classes and

conditions ("de hominum generibus, non singulis personis"). See his

Comm. on 1 Tim. 2:4, and his sermon on the passage. But the Apostle

emphasizes "all men" with reference to prayer "for all men," which he

commands in 2:1, and which cannot be limited.

[856] Calvin arbitrarily explains this passage of the "voluntas Dei

quae nobis in evangelio patefit," but not "de arcano Dei consilio quo

destinati sunt reprobi in suum exitium."

[857] Calvin understands "totus mundus" in this passage to mean "tota

ecclesia!" This is as impossible as the confinement of "the world,"

John 3:16, to "the elect." He mentions, however, also a better

explanation, that Christ died "sufficienter pro toto mundo, sed pro

electis tantum efficaciter."

[858] Various terms for the distinction: voluntas revelata and voluntas

arcana; voluntas signi and voluntas beneplaciti (eudokias); voluntas

universalis and voluntas specialis: verbum externum et verbum internum.

The oft-quoted proof text, Deut. 29:29, teaches a distinction, but not

a contradiction, between the secret things and the revealed things of

God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 115. Calvin's Theory of the Sacraments.

Inst. bk. IV. chs. XIV.-XIX.

Next to the doctrine of predestination, Calvin paid most attention to

the doctrine of the sacraments. And here he was original, and occupied

a mediating position between Luther and Zwingli. His sacramental theory

passed into all the Reformed Confessions more than his view of

predestination.

Calvin accepts Augustin's definition that a sacrament (corresponding to

the Greek "mystery") is "a visible sign of an invisible grace," but he

improves it by emphasizing the sealing character of the sacrament,

according to Rom. 4:11, and the necessity of faith as the condition of

receiving the benefit of the ordinance. "It is," he says, "an outward

sign by which the Lord seals in our consciences the promises of his

good-will towards us, to support the weakness of our faith, or a

testimony of his grace towards us, with a reciprocal attestation of our

piety towards him." It is even more expressive than the word. It is a

divine seal of authentication, which sustains and strengthens our

faith. "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief" (Mark 9:24). To be

efficacious, the sacraments must be accompanied by the Spirit, that

internal Teacher, by whose energy alone our hearts are penetrated, and

our affections moved. Without the influence of the Spirit, the

sacraments can produce no more effect upon our minds, than the splendor

of the sun on blind eyes, or the sound of a voice upon deaf ears. If

the seed falls on a desert spot, it will die; but if it be cast upon a

cultivated field, it will bring forth abundant increase.

Calvin vigorously opposes, as superstitious and mischievous, the

scholastic opus operatum theory that the sacraments justify and confer

grace by an intrinsic virtue, provided we do not obstruct their

operation by a mortal sin. A sacrament without faith misleads the mind

to rest in the exhibition of a sensuous object rather than in God

himself, and is ruinous to true piety.

He agrees with Augustin in the opinion that the sign and the matter of

the sacrament are not inseparably connected, and that it produces its

intended effect only in the elect. He quotes from him the sentence:

"The morsel of bread given by the Lord to Judas was poison; not because

Judas received an evil thing, but because, being a wicked man, he

received a good thing in a sinful manner." But this must not be

understood to mean that the virtue and truth of the sacrament depend on

the condition or choice of him who receives it. . The symbol

consecrated by the word of the Lord is in reality what it is declared

to be, and preserves its virtue, although it confers no benefit on a

wicked and impious person. Augustin happily solves this question in a

few words: "If thou receive it carnally, still it ceases not to be

spiritual; but it is not so to thee." The office of the sacrament is

the same as that of the word of God; both offer Christ and his heavenly

grace to us, but they confer no benefit without the medium of faith.

Calvin discusses at length the seven sacraments of the Roman Church,

the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the mass. But it is sufficient

here to state his views on baptism and the Lord's Supper, the only

sacraments which Christ directly instituted for perpetual observance in

the Church.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 116. Baptism.

Inst. IV. chs. XV. and XVI. Also his Brieve instruction, pour armer

tous bons fideles contre les erreurs de la secte commune des

Anabaptistes, Geneva, 1544, 2d ed. 1545; Latin version by Nicolas des

Gallars. In Opera, VII. 45 sqq. This tract was written against the

fanatical wing of the Anabaptists at the request of the pastors of

Neuch�tel. His youthful treatise On the Sleep of the Soul was also

directed against the Anabaptists. See above, � 77, pp. 325 sqq.

Calvin's wife was the widow of a converted Anabaptist.

Baptism, Calvin says, is the sacrament of ablution and regeneration;

the Eucharist is the sacrament of redemption and sanctification. Christ

"came by water and by blood" (1 John 5:6); that is, to purify and to

redeem. The Spirit, as the third and chief witness, confirms and

secures the witness of water and blood; that is, of baptism and the

eucharist (1 John 5:8). [859] This sublime mystery was strikingly

exhibited on the cross, when blood and water issued from Christ's side,

which on this account Augustin justly called 'the fountain of our

sacraments.' "

I. Calvin defines baptism as, a sign of initiation, by which we are

admitted into the society of the Church, in order that, being

incorporated into Christ, we may be numbered among the children of

God."

II. Faith derives three benefits from this sacrament.

1. It assures us, like a legal instrument properly attested, that all

our sins are cancelled, and will never be imputed unto us (Eph. 5:26;

Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet. 3:21). It is far more than a mark or sign by which we

profess our religion before men, as soldiers wear the insignia of their

sovereign. It is "for the remission of sins," past and future. No new

sacrament is necessary for sins committed after baptism. At whatever

time we are baptized, we are washed and purified for the whole life.

"Whenever we have fallen, we must recur to the remembrance of baptism,

and arm our minds with the consideration of it, that we may be always

certified and assured of the remission of our sins."

2. Baptism shows us our mortification in Christ, and our new life in

him. All who receive baptism with faith experience the efficacy of

Christ's death and the power of his resurrection, and should therefore

walk in newness of life (Rom. 6:3, 4, 11).

3. Baptism affords us "the certain testimony that we are not only

engrafted into the life and death of Christ, but are so united to him

as to be partakers of all his benefits" (Gal. 3:26, 27).

But while baptism removes the guilt and punishment of hereditary and

actual sin, it does not destroy our natural depravity, which is

perpetually producing works of the flesh, and will not be wholly

abolished till the close of this mortal life. In the mean time we must

hold fast to the promise of God in baptism, fight manfully against sin

and temptation, and press forward to complete victory.

III. On the question of the validity of baptism by unworthy ministers,

Calvin fully agrees with Augustin against the view of the Donatists,

who measured the virtue of the sacrament by the moral character of the

minister. He applies the argument to the Anabaptists of his day, who

denied the validity of Catholic baptism on account of the idolatry and

corruption of the papal Church. "Against these follies we shall be

sufficiently fortified, if we consider that we are baptized not in the

name of any man, but in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy

Spirit, and consequently that it is not the baptism of man, but of God,

by whomsoever administered." The papal priests "did not baptize us into

the fellowship of their own ignorance or sacrilege, but into the faith

of Jesus Christ, because they invoked, not their own name, but the name

of God, and baptized in no name but his. As it was the baptism of God,

it certainly contained the promise of remission of sins, mortification

of the flesh, spiritual vivification, and participation of Christ. Thus

it was no injury to the Jews to have been circumcised by impure and

Apostate priests; nor was the sign on that account useless, so as to

render it necessary to be repeated, but it was sufficient to recur to

the genuine original ... . When Hezekiah and Josiah assembled together

out of all Israel, those who had revolted from God, they did not call

any of them to a second circumcision."

He argues against the Anabaptists from the fact also, that the apostles

who had received the baptism of John, were not rebaptized. "And among

us, what rivers would be sufficient for the repetition of ablutions as

numerous as the errors which are daily corrected among us by the mercy

of the Lord." [860]

IV. He pleads for the simplicity of the ordinance against the

adventitious medley of incantation, wax-taper, spittle, salt, and

"other fooleries," which from an early age were publicly introduced.

"Such theatrical pomps dazzle the eye and stupify the minds of the

ignorant." The simple ceremony as instituted by Christ, accompanied by

a confession of faith, prayers, and thanksgivings, shines with the

greater lustre, unencumbered with extraneous corruptions. He

disapproves the ancient custom of baptism by laymen in cases of danger

of death. God can regenerate a child without baptism.

V. The mode of baptism was not a subject of controversy at that time.

Calvin recognized the force of the philological and historical argument

in favor of immersion, but regarded pouring and sprinkling as equally

valid, and left room for Christian liberty according to the custom in

different countries. [861] Immersion was then still the prevailing mode

in England, and continued till the reign of Elizabeth, who was herself

baptized by immersion.

VI. But while meeting the Baptists half-way on the question of the

mode, he strenuously defends paedobaptism, and devotes a whole chapter

to it. [862] He urges, as arguments, circumcision, which was a type of

baptism; the nature of the covenant, which comprehends the offspring of

pious parents; Christ's treatment of children, as belonging to the

kingdom of heaven, and therefore entitled to the sign and seal of

membership; the word of Peter addressed to the converts on the day of

Pentecost, who were accustomed to infant circumcision, that "the

promise is to you and your children" (Acts 2:39); Paul's declaration

that the children are sanctified by their parents (1 Cor. 7:14), etc.

He refutes at length the objections of the Anabaptists, with special

reference to Servetus, who agreed with them on that point.

He assigns to infant baptism a double benefit: it ratifies to pious

parents the promise of God's mercy to their children, and increases

their sense of responsibility as to their education; it engrafts the

children into the body of the Church, and afterwards acts as a powerful

stimulus upon them to be true to the baptismal vow.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[859] Calvin confines himself (IV. ch. XIV. � 22) to the genuine words

of the three witnesses in this passage, and justly ignores the

interpolation of the textus receptus, which is omitted in the Revised

Version.

[860] These passages (IV. ch. XV. �� 16 and 17) furnish arguments

against the decision of the Old-School-Presbyterian General Assembly

held at Cincinnati, 1845, which, with an overwhelming majority,

declared Roman Catholic baptism to be invalid, and thus virtually

unchurched and unbaptized the greater part of Christendom, including

the founders of the Protestant churches, who were baptized in the Roman

communion, as the apostles were circumcised in the synagogue. But Drs.

Charles Hodge of Princeton and Henry B. Smith of New York--the two

leading Presbyterian divines of that day--vigorously protested against

that anomalous decision; and when, in the United Assembly, held

likewise at Cincinnati, in the year 1885, an attempt was made to

re-enact that decision, it failed by a very large majority. Calvin did

not unchurch the Church of Rome. "While we refuse," he says (Inst. IV.

ch. II. � 12), "to allow to the papists the [exclusive] title of the

Church, without any qualification or restriction, we do not deny that

there are churches among them ... . I affirm that there are churches,

in as much as God has wonderfully preserved among them a remnant of his

people, and as there still remain some marks of the Church, especially

those, the efficacy of which neither the craft of the devil, nor the

malice of men can ever destroy."

[861] IV. ch. XV. 19: "Caeterum mergaturne totus qui tingitur, idque

ter an semel, an infusa tantum aqua aspergatur, minimum refert: sed id

pro regionum diversitate ecclesiis liberum esse debet. Quanquam et

ipsum baptizandiverbum mergeresignificat, et mergendi ritum veteri

ecclesiae observatum fuisse constat." See above, p. 373, note. Luther

held substantially the same view, with a stronger leaning to immersion

or dipping, which he prescribes in his Taufbuechlein, 1523. See vol.

VI. 218 and 607 sq.

[862] Ch. XVI. 1-32.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 117. The Lord's Supper. The Consensus of Zuerich.

I. Inst. IV. chs. XVII. and XVIII. Comp. the first ed., cap. IV., in

Opera, I. 118 sqq.--Petit traict� de la sainte c�ne de nostre Seigneur

Jesus-Christ. Auquel est demontr� la vraye institution, profit et

utilit� d'icelle, Gen�ve, 1541, 1542, 1549. Opera, V. 429-460. Latin

version by Nicholas des Gallars: Libellus de Coena Domini, a Ioanne

Calvino pridem Gallica lingua scriptus, nunc vero in Latinum sermonem

conversus, Gen., 1545. Also translated into English. Remarkably

moderate.--The two catechisms of Calvin. -- Consensio mutua in re

sacramentaria Tigurinae Ecclesiae et D. Calvini ministri Genevensis

Ecclesiae jam nunc ab ipsis authoribus edita (usually called Consensus

Tigurinus), simultaneously published at Geneva and Zuerich, 1551;

French ed. L'accord pass�, etc., Gen., 1551. In Opera, VII. 689-748.

The Latin text also in Niemeyer's Collectio Conf, pp. 191-217. A German

translation (Die Zuericher Uebereinkunft) in Bickel's

Bekenntnissschriften der evang. reform. Kirche, pp. 173-181. Comp. the

correspondence of Calvin with Bullinger, Farel, etc., concerning the

Consensus.--Calvin's polemical writings against Joachim Westphal,

namely, Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de sacramentis, Geneva,

1554, Zuerich, 1555; Secunda Defensio ... contra Westphali calumnias,

Gen., 1556; and Ultima Admonitio ad Westphalum, Gen., 1557. In Opera,

IX. 1-120, 137-252. Lastly, his book against Tilemann Hesshus

(Hesshusen), Dilucida Explicatio sanae doctrinae de vera participatione

carnis et sanguinis Christi in sacra Coena, ad discutiendas Heshusii

nebulas, Gen., 1561. In Opera, IX. 457-524. (In the Amsterdam ed., Tom.

IX. 648-723.) Klebiz of Heidelberg, Beza, and Pierre Boquin also took

part in the controversy with Hesshus.

II. For a comparative statement of the eucharistic views of Luther,

Zwingli, and Calvin, see this History, vol. VI. 669-682; and Creeds of

Christendom, I. 455 sqq.; 471 sqq. Calvin's doctrine has been fully set

forth by Ebrard in fils Dogma v. heil. Abendmahl, II. 402-525, and by

Nevin in his Mystical Presence, Philad., 1846, pp. 54-67; and in the

"Mercersburg Review" for September, 1850, pp. 421-548 (against Dr.

Hodge in the "Princeton Review" for 1848). Comp. also �� 132-134 below;

Henry, P. I. ch. XIII.; and Staehelin, II. 189 sqq.

In the eucharistic controversy, which raged with such fury in the age

of the Reformation, and was the chief cause of separation in its ranks,

Calvin consistently occupied from the beginning to the end the position

of a mediator and peacemaker between the Lutherans and Zwinglians,

between Wittenberg and Zuerich.

The way for a middle theory was prepared by the Tetrapolitan or Swabian

Confession, drawn up by Martin Bucer, a born compromiser, during the

Diet of Augsburg, 1530, [863] and by the Wittenberg Concordia, 1536,

which for a while satisfied the Lutherans, but was justly rejected by

the Swiss.

Calvin published his theory in its essential features in the first

edition of the Institutes (1536), more fully in the second edition

(1539), then in a special tract written at Strassburg. He defended it

in various publications, and adhered to it with his usual firmness. It

was accepted by the Reformed Churches, and never rejected by Luther; on

the contrary, he is reported to have spoken highly of Calvin's

tract,--De Coena Domini, when he got hold of a Latin copy in 1545, a

year before his death. [864]

Calvin approached the subject with a strong sense of the mystery of the

vital union of Christ with the believer, which is celebrated in the

eucharist. "I exhort my readers," he says, in the last edition of his

Institutes, "to rise much higher than I am able to conduct them; for as

to myself, whenever I handle this subject, after having endeavored to

say everything, I am conscious of having said but very little in

comparison with its excellence. And though the conceptions of the mind

can far exceed the expressions of the tongue; yet, with the magnitude

of the subject, the mind itself is oppressed and overwhelmed. Nothing

remains for me, therefore, but to break forth in admiration of that

mystery, which the mind is unable clearly to understand, or the tongue

to express." [865]

He aimed to combine the spiritualism of Zwingli with the realism of

Luther, and to avoid the errors of both. And he succeeded as well as

the case will admit. He agreed with Zwingli in the figurative

interpretation of the words of institution, which is now approved by

the best Protestant exegetes, and rejected the idea of a corporal

presence and oral participation in the way of transubstantiation or

consubstantiation, which implies either a miracle or an omnipresence of

the body of Christ. But he was not satisfied with a purely

commemorative or symbolical theory, and laid the chief stress on the

positive side of an actual communion with the ever-living Christ. He

expressed in private letters the opinion that Zwingli had been so much

absorbed with overturning the superstition of a carnal presence that he

denied or obscured the true efficacy of the sacrament. [866] He

acknowledged the mystery of the real presence and real participation,

but understood them spiritually and dynamically. He confined the

participation of the body and blood of Christ to believers, since faith

is the only means of communion with Christ; while Luther extended it to

all communicants, only with opposite effects.

The following is a brief summary of his view from the last edition of

the Institutes (1559): --

After receiving us into his family by baptism, God undertakes to

sustain and to nourish us as long as we live, and gives us a pledge of

his gracious intention in the sacrament of the holy communion. This is

a spiritual banquet, in which Christ testifies himself to be the bread

of life, to feed our souls for a true and blessed immortality. The

signs of bread and wine represent to us the invisible nourishment which

we receive from the body and blood of Christ. They are exhibited in a

figure and image, adapted to our feeble capacity, and rendered certain

by visible tokens and pledges, which the dullest minds can understand.

This mystical benediction, then, is designed to assure us that the body

of the Lord was once offered as a sacrifice for us upon which we may

now feed, and that his blood was once shed for us and is our perpetual

drink. "His flesh is true meat, and his blood is true drink" (John

6:55). "We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones"

(Eph. 5:30). "This is a great mystery" (5:32), which can be admired

rather than expressed. Our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of

Christ, just as our corporal life is preserved and sustained by bread

and wine. Otherwise there would be no propriety in the analogy of the

sign. The breaking of the bread is indeed symbolical, yet significant;

for God is not a deceiver who sets before us an empty sign. The symbol

of the body assures us of the donation of the invisible substance, so

that in receiving the sign we receive the thing itself. The thing

signified is exhibited and offered to all who come to that spiritual

banquet, but it is advantageously enjoyed only by those who receive it

with true faith and gratitude.

Calvin lays great stress on the supernatural agency of the Holy Spirit

in the communion. This was ignored by Luther and Zwingli. The Spirit

raises our hearts from earth to heaven, as he does in every act of

devotion (sursum corda), and he brings down the life-giving power of

the exalted Redeemer in heaven, and thus unites what is, according to

our imperfect notions, separated by local distance. [867] The medium of

communication is faith. Calvin might have sustained his view by the old

liturgies of the Oriental Church, which have a special prayer invoking

the Holy Spirit at the consecration of the eucharistic elements. [868]

He quotes several passages from Augustin in favor of the spiritual real

presence. Ratramnus in the ninth, and Berengar in the eleventh, century

had likewise appealed to Augustin against the advocates of a carnal

presence and participation. [869]

When Luther reopened the eucharistic controversy by a fierce attack

upon the Zwinglians (1545), who defended their martyred Reformer in a

sharp reply, Calvin was displeased with both parties, and labored to

bring about a reconciliation. [870] He corresponded with Bullinger (the

Melanchthon of the Swiss Church), and, on his invitation, he went to

Zuerich with Farel (May, 1549). The delicate negotiations were carried

on by both parties with admirable frankness, moderation, wisdom, and

patience. The result was the "Consensus Tigurinus," in which Calvin

states his doctrine as nearly as possible in agreement with Zwingli.

This document was published in 1551, and adopted by all the Reformed

Cantons, except Bern, which cherished a strong dislike to Calvin's

rigorism. It was also favorably received in France, England, and in

parts of Germany. Melanchthon declared to Lavater (Bullinger's

son-in-law) that he then for the first time understood the Swiss, and

would never again oppose them; but he struck out the clause of the

"Consensus" which confined the efficacy of the sacrament to the elect.

But while the "Consensus" brought peace to the Swiss Churches, and

satisfied the Melanchthonians, it was assailed by Westphal and Hesshus,

who out-luthered Luther in zeal and violence, and disturbed the last

years of Melanchthon and Calvin. We shall discuss this controversy in

the next chapter.

The Calvinistic theory of the Eucharist passed into all the Reformed

Confessions, and is very strongly stated in the Heidelberg Catechism

(1563), the chief symbol of the German and Dutch Reformed Churches.

[871] In practice, however, it has, among Presbyterians,

Congregationalists, and Baptists, largely given way to the Zwinglian

view, which is more plain and intelligible, but ignores the mystical

element in the holy communion.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[863] Ch. XVIII. See vol. VI. 720.

[864] See vol. VI. 660. But Luther never gave up his dislike of

Zwingli; and in one of his last letters, in which he describes himself

as "infelicissimus omnium hominum," he wrote: "Blessed is the man that

walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, nor standeth in the

way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the Zuerichers." De

Wette, V. 778.

[865] Inst. IV. ch. XVII. 7.

[866] He wrote from Strassburg, May 19, 1539, to Andr� Z�b�d�e, a

minister at Orbe: "Nihil fuisse asperitatis in Zwinglii doctrina, tibi

minime concedo. Siquidem videre promptum est, ut nimium occupatus in

evertenda carnalis praesentiae superstitione, veram communicationis vim

ut simul disjecerit, aut certe obscurarit." Herminjard, V. 318. In the

same letter he characterizes Zwingli's view as falsa et perniciosa. In

a letter to Farel, Feb. 27, 1540, he disapproves Z�b�d�e's extravagant

eulogy of Zwingli, and expresses his preference for Luther: "Nam si

inter se comparantur, scis ipse, quanto intervallo Lutherus excellat."

But he disowns any intention to dishonor his memory. Herminjard, V.

191. In a letter to Richard du Bois, from Strassburg, 1540 (ibid. VI.

425), he says, with evident allusion to Zwingli and Oecolampadius, that

be never liked the view of those who in "evertenda localis praesentiae

superstitione nimis occupati, verae praesentiae virtutem vel elevabant

extenuando, vel subticendo ex hominum memoria quodammodo delebant. Sed

est aliquid medium," etc. In a letter to Viret (Sept. 3, 1542, in

Opera, XI. 438) he remarks that he never read all of Zwingli's works,

and hoped that towards the end of his life he retracted and corrected

what first had escaped him carelessly, but "I remember, in his earlier

writings how profane his doctrine of the sacraments is (quam profana

sit ejus de sacramentis doctrina)."

[867] See the passages quoted in vol. VI. 679, note 1.

[868] The epiklesis pneumatos hagiou. The Latin liturgies ascribe the

power of consecration to Christ's words of institution. See vol. III.

513.

[869] See vol. IV. 549) sqq. and 564 sqq. Calvin refers to the Berengar

controversy.

[870] See his letter to Bullinger, quoted in vol. VI. 661.

[871] Questions 76, 78, 79. Comp. Westminster Confession, ch. XXIX. 7,

and Westminster Larger Catechism, qu. 170.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XV.

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 118. Calvin as a Controversialist.

Calvin was involved in several controversies, chiefly on account of his

doctrine of predestination. He displayed a decided superiority over all

his opponents, as a scholar and a reasoner. He was never at a loss for

an argument. He had also the dangerous gift of wit, irony, and sarcasm,

but not the more desirable gift of harmless humor, which sweetens the

bitterness of controversy, and lightens the burden of daily toil. Like

David, in the imprecatory Psalms, he looked upon the enemies of his

doctrine as enemies of God. "Even a dog barks," he wrote to the queen

of Navarre, "when his master is attacked; how could I be silent when

the honor of my Lord is assailed?" [872] He treated his

opponents--Pighius, Bolsec, Castellio, and Servetus--with sovereign

contempt, and called them "nebulones, [873] nugatores, canes, porci,

bestiae. Such epithets are like weeds in the garden of his chaste and

elegant style. But they were freely used by the ancient fathers, with

the exception of Chrysostom and Augustin, in dealing with heretics, and

occur even in the Scriptures, but impersonally. [874] His age saw

nothing improper in them. Beza says that "no expression unworthy of a

good man ever fell from the lips of Calvin." The taste of the sixteenth

century differed widely from that of the nineteenth. The polemical

writings of Protestants and Romanists alike abound in the most violent

personalities and coarse abuse. Luther wielded the club of Hercules

against Tetzel, Eck, Emser, Cochlaeus, Henry VIII., Duke Henry of

Brunswick, and the Sacramentarians. Yet there were honorable exceptions

even then, as Melanchthon and Bullinger. A fiery temper is a propelling

force in history; nothing great can be done without enthusiasm; moral

indignation against wrong is inseparable from devotion to what is

right; hatred is the negative side of love. But temper must be

controlled by reason, and truth should be spoken in love, "with malice

to none, with charity for all." Opprobrious and abusive terms always

hurt a good cause; self-restraint and moderation strengthen it.

Understatement commands assent; overstatement provokes opposition.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[872] This characteristic expression he uses repeatedly; for instance,

in the work on the Necessity of Reforming the Church, in Opera, VI.

503: "Canis, si quam suo domino violentiam inferri viderit, protinus

latrabit: nos tot sacrilegiis violari sacrum Dei nomen taciti

aspiceremus? Et ubi esset illud: Opprobria exprobantium tibi ceciderunt

super me (Ps. 69:9)?" And, again in the same book (fol. 507), with the

addition, that a dog would rather risk his life than be silent.

[873] In applying the epithet nebulo to Castellio, he translates it by

the French un brouillon, which means a confused and turbulent fellow

(not a scamp). Schweizer renders it Wirrkopf (I. 212).

[874] Isa. 56:10; Matt. 7:6; Phil. 3:2; Rev. 22:15.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 119. Calvin and Pighius.

I. Albertus Pighius: De libero hominis arbitrio et divina gratia libri

decem. Coloniae, 1542, mense Augusto. Dedicated to Cardinal Sadolet. He

wrote also Assertio hierarchiae ecclesiasticae, a complete defence of

the Roman Church, dedicated to Pope Paul III., 1538.

Calvin: Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et

liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Pighii

Campensis. With a preface to Melanchthon. Geneva, 1543. In Opera, VI.

225-404. (Amsterdam ed. t. VIII. 116 sqq.) The same in French, Geneva,

1560.

II. Bayle: Art. Pighius, in his "Dict. hist."--Henry, II. 285 sqq.

(English trans. I. 492 sqq.).--Dyer (1850), pp. 158-165.--Schweizer:

Die protest. Centraldogmen (1854), I. 180-200. Very

satisfactory.--Werner (R. Cath.): Geschichte der apologetischen und

polemischen Literatur der christl. Theologie (1865), IV. 272 sq. and

298. Superficial.--St�helin, II. 281-287.--Prolegomena to Calvin's

Opera, VI. pp. XXIII.-XXV.

As Erasmus had attacked Luther's doctrine on the slavery of the human

will, and provoked Luther's crushing reply, Albert Pighius attacked

Luther and chiefly Calvin on the same vulnerable point.

Pighius (or Pigghe) of Campen in Holland, educated at Louvain and

Cologne, and a pupil of Pope Adrian VI., whom he followed to Rome, was

a learned and eloquent divine and deputed on various missions by

Clement VII. and Paul III. He may have seen Calvin at the Colloquies in

Worms and Ratisbon. He died as canon and archdeacon of Utrecht, Dec.

26, 1542, a few months after the publication of his book against Calvin

and the other Reformers. Beza calls him the first sophist of the age,

who, by gaining a victory over Calvin, hoped to attain to a cardinal's

hat. But it is wrong to judge of motives without evidence. His

retirement to Utrecht could not promote such ambition. [875]

Pighius represents the dogma of the slavery of the human will, and of

the absolute necessity of all that happens, as the cardinal error of

the Reformation, and charges it with leading to complete moral

indifference. He wrote ten books against it. In the first six books, he

defends the doctrine of free-will; in the last four books, he discusses

divine grace, foreknowledge, predestination, and providence, and, last,

the Scripture passages on these subjects. He teaches the Semi-Pelagian

theory with some Pelagian features, and declares that "our works are

meritorious before God." After the Synod of Trent had more carefully

guarded the doctrine of justification against Semi-Pelagianism, the

Spanish Inquisition placed his book,--De libero arbitrio, and his

tract, De peccato originali, on the Index, and Cardinal Bona

recommended caution in reading them, since he did not always present

the reliable orthodox doctrine. Pighius was not ashamed to copy,

without acknowledgment, whole pages from Calvin's Institutes, where it

suited his purpose. Calvin calls him a plagiarist, and says, "With what

right he publishes such sections as his own, I cannot see, unless he

claims, as enemy, the privilege of plunder."

The arguments of Pighius against the doctrine of the slavery of the

human will are these: It contradicts common sense; it is inconsistent

with the admitted freedom of will in civil and secular matters; it

destroys all morality and discipline, turns men into animals and

monsters, makes God the author of sin, and perverts his justice into

cruelty, and his wisdom into folly. He derives these heresies from the

ancient Gnostics and Simon Magus, except that Luther surpassed them all

in impiety.

Calvin's answer was written in about two months, and amidst many

interruptions. He felt the weight of the objections, but he always

marched up to the cannon's mouth. He admits, incidentally, that Luther

often used hyperbolic expressions in order to rouse attention. He also

allows the liberum arbitrium in the sense that man acts voluntarily and

of his inner impulse. [876] But he denies that man, without the

assistance of the Holy Spirit, has the power to choose what is

spiritually good, and quotes Rom. 6:17; 7:14, 23. "Man has arbitrium

spontaneum, so that he willingly and by choice does evil, without

compulsion from without, and, therefore, he incurs guilt. But, owing to

native depravity, his will is so given to sin that it always chooses

evil. Hence spontaneity and enslavement may exist together. The

voluntas is spontanea, but not libera; it is not coacta, yet serva."

This is an anticipation of the artificial distinction between natural

ability and moral inability--a distinction which is practically

useless. As regards the teaching of the early Church, he could not deny

that the Fathers, especially Origen, exalt the freedom of the will; but

he could claim Augustin in his later writings, in which he retracted

his earlier advocacy of freedom. The objection that the slavery of the

will nullifies the exhortations to repent, would be valid, if God did

not make them effective by his Spirit.

The reply of Calvin to Pighius is more cautious and guarded than

Luther's reply to Erasmus, and more churchly than Zwingli's tract on

Providence. In defending himself, he defended what was then the common

Protestant doctrine, in opposition to the then prevailing Pelagianism

in the Roman Church. It had a good effect upon the Council of Trent,

which distinctly disowned the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian heresy. [877]

Calvin dedicated his book to Melanchthon, as a friend who had agreed

with him and had advised him to write against Pighius, if he should

attack the Reformation. But Melanchthon, who had taught the same

doctrine, was at that time undergoing a change in his views on the

freedom of the will, chiefly because he felt that the denial of it

would make God the author of sin, and destroy man's moral

accountability. [878] He was as competent to appreciate the logical

argument in favor of necessity, but he was more open to the force of

ethical and practical considerations. In his reply to Calvin's

dedication, May 11, 1543, he acknowledged the compliment paid to him,

but modestly and delicately intimated his dissent and his desire that

Protestants should unite in the defence of those more important

doctrines, which commended themselves by their simplicity and practical

usefulness. "I wish," he says, "you would transfer your eloquence to

the adorning of these momentous subjects, by which our friends would be

strengthened, our enemies terrified, and the weak encouraged; for who

in these days possesses a more forcible or splendid style of

disputation? ... I do not write this letter to dictate to you who are

so learned a man, and so well versed in all the exercises of piety. I

am persuaded, indeed, that it agrees with your sentiments, though less

subtle and more adapted for use." [879]

Calvin intended to answer the second part of the work of Pighius, but

as he learned that he had died shortly before, he did not wish "to

insult a dead dog" (!), and applied himself "to other pursuits." [880]

But nine years afterwards he virtually answered it in the Consensus

Genevensis (1552), which may be considered as the second part of his

refutation of Pighius, although it was occasioned by the controversy

with Bolsec.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[875] Henry says (II. 289) that Pighius was converted by Calvin's

argument, but be died (December, 1542) before Calvin's reply was

published (February, 1543). The story rests on the authority of

Crakanthorpe, who asserts, in his Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae, that

Pighius by reading Calvin's Institutes for the purpose of refuting

them, became himself a Calvinist in one of the chief articles of faith

(he does not say which). The story has been long ago rejected by

Gerdesius, Hist. Evang. Renovati, III. � 60. Comp. Dyer, p. 160.

[876] Sponte et libenter, interiore electionis motu.

[877] See the remarks of Schweizer on the value of this controversy,

l.c., I. 198.

[878] The successive changes are marked in the editions of his Loci

Theologici, 1525, 1535, 1544, 1548. See above, p. 548.

[879] "Et quidem scio, haec cum tuis congruere, sed sunt pachutera, et

ad usum accommodata." He also refers to Basil's saying: monontheleson,

kai theos proapanta. Calvin's Opera, XI. 539-542. Melanchthon's letters

are usually interspersed with Greek words and sentences.

[880] Cons. Genev.: "Paulo post librum editum, moritur Pighius. Ergo ne

cani mortuo insultarem, ad alias lucubrationes me converti." He

characterizes Pighius as a "homo phrenetica plane audacia praeditus,"

because he attempted to establish the freedom of man, and to overthrow

the secret counsel of God, by which he elects some to salvation and

others to eternal ruin (alios aeterno exitio destinat). It is no excuse

for Calvin's insulting language on a dead enemy that St. Jerome said of

his former friend Rufinus: "The scorpion now lies under ground!" Among

Polemic theologians charity is a great rarity.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 120. The Anti-Papal Writings. Criticism of the Council of Trent.

1547.

I. Most of Calvin's anti-papal writings are printed in Opera, Tom. VI.

(in the Amsterdam ed., Tom. IX. 37-90; 99-335 and 409-485.) An English

translation in vols. I. and III. of Tracts relating the Reformation by

John Calvin, translated from the original Latin by Henry Beveridge,

Esq. Edinburgh (Calvin Translation Society), 1844 and 1851.

II. Acta Synodi Tridentinae elim antidoto. In Opera, VII. 305-506.

Comp. Schweizer, I. 239-249; Dyer, p. 229 sq.; St�helin, II. 255 sqq.

Calvin's anti-papal writings are numerous. Among them his Answer to

Cardinal Sadolet (1540), and his Plea for the Necessity of the

Reformation, addressed to Emperor Charles V. (1544), deserve the first

place. They are superior in ability and force to any similar works of

the sixteenth century. They have been sufficiently noticed in previous

sections. [881] I will only add the manly conclusion of the Plea to the

Emperor: --

"But be the issue what it may, we will never repent of having begun,

and of having proceeded thus far. The Holy Spirit is a faithful and

unerring witness to our doctrine. We know, I say, that it is the

eternal truth of God that we preach. We are, indeed, desirous, as we

ought to be, that our ministry may prove salutary to the world; but to

give it this effect belongs to God, not to us. If, to punish, partly

the ingratitude, and partly the stubbornness of those to whom we desire

to do good, success must prove desperate, and all things go to worse, I

will say what it befits a Christian man to say, and what all who are

true to this holy profession will subscribe: We will die, but in death

even be conquerors, not only because through it we shall have a sure

passage to a better life, but because we know that our blood will be as

seed to propagate the Divine truth, which men now despise."

Next to these books in importance is his criticism of the Council of

Trent, published in November, 1547.

The Council of Trent, which was to heal the divisions of Western

Christendom, convened after long delay, Dec. 13, 1545; then adjourned,

convened again, and finally closed, Dec. 4, 1563, a few months before

Calvin's death. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions (1546), it

settled the burning questions of the rule of faith, original sin, and

justification, in favor of the present Roman system and against the

views of the Reformers. The Council avoided the ill-disguised

Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism of Eck, Pighius, and other early

champions of Rome, and worded its decrees with great caution and

circumspection; but it decidedly condemned the Protestant doctrines of

the supremacy of the Bible, the slavery of the natural will, and

justification by faith alone.

Calvin was the first to take up the pen against these decisions. He

subjected them to a searching criticism. He admits, in the

introduction, that a Council might be of great use and restore the

peace of Christendom, provided it be truly, oecumenical, impartial, and

free. But he denies that the Council of Trent had these essential

characteristics. The Greek and the Evangelical Churches were not

represented at all. It was a purely Roman Council, and under the

control of the pope, who was himself the chief offender, and far more

disposed to perpetuate abuses than to abolish them. The members, only

about forty, mostly Italians, were not distinguished for learning or

piety, but were a set of wrangling monks and canonists and minions of

the pope. They gave merely a nod of assent to the living oracle of the

Vatican, and then issued the decrees as responses of the Holy Spirit.,

As soon as a decree is framed," he says, "couriers flee off to Rome,

and beg pardon and peace at the feet of their idol. The holy father

hands over what the couriers have brought to his private advisers for

examination. They curtail, add, and change as they please. The couriers

return, and a sederunt is appointed. The notary reads over what no one

dares to disapprove, and the asses shake their ears in assent. Behold

the oracle which imposes religious obligations on the whole world ....

The proclamation of the Council is entitled to no more weight than the

cry of an auctioneer."

Calvin dissects the decrees with his usual polemic skill. He first

states them in the words of the Council, and then gives the antidote.

He exposes the errors of the Vulgate, which the Council put on a par

with the original Hebrew and Greek originals, and defends the supremacy

of the Scriptures and the doctrine of justification by faith.

He wrote this work in two or three months, under constant interruption,

while Chemnitz took ten years to complete his. He submitted the

manuscript to Farel, who was delighted with it. He published also a

French edition in a more popular form.

Cochlaeus prepared, with much personal bitterness, a refutation of

Calvin (1548), and was answered by Des Gallars, [882] and Beza, who

numbers Cochlaeus among the monsters of the animal kingdom. [883]

After the close of the Council of Trent, Martin Chemnitz, the leading

divine of the Lutheran Church after the death of Melanchthon, wrote his

more elaborate Examen Concilii Tridentini (1565-1573; second ed. 1585),

which was for a long time a standard work in the Roman controversy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[881] See pp. 398-413; 452-466.

[882] Apologia Calvini contra Cochlaeum.

[883] Brevis et utilis zoographia Joh. Cochlaei, 1549. Reprinted in

Baum's Beza, I. 357-363.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 121. Against the German Interim. 1549.

Interim Adultero-Germanum: Cui adjecta est vera Christianae

pacificationis et ecclesiae reformandae ratio, per Joannem Calvinum.

Cavete a fermento Pharisaeorum, 1549. Opera, VII. 541-674.--It was

reprinted in Germany, and translated into French (1549) and Italian

(1561). See Henry, II. 369 sqq.; III. Beilage, 211 sq.; Dyer, 232 sq.

On the Interim, comp. the German Histories of Ranke, (V. 25 sqq.) and

Janssen (III. 625 sqq.), and the monograph of Ludwig Pastor (Rom.

Cath.): Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen w�hrend der Regierung

Karls V. Freiburg, 1879, pp. 357 sqq.

Calvin's tract on the false German Interim is closely connected with

his criticism of the Council of Trent. After defeating the Smalkaldian

League, the Emperor imposed on the Protestants in Germany a compromise

confession of faith to be used till the final decision of the General

Council. It was drawn up by two Roman Catholic bishops, Pflug (an

Erasmian) and Helding, with the aid of John Agricola, the chaplain of

Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg. Agricola was a vain, ambitious, and

unreliable man, who had once been a secretary and table companion of

Luther, but fell out with him and Melanchthon in the Antinomian

controversy. He was suspected of having been bribed by the Catholics.

[884]

The agreement was laid before the Diet of Augsburg, and is called the

Augsburg Interim. It was proclaimed, with an earnest exhortation, by

the Emperor, May 15, 1548. It comprehended the whole Roman Catholic

system of doctrine and discipline, but in a mild and conciliatory form,

and without an express condemnation of the Protestant views. The

doctrine of justification was stated in substantial agreement with that

of the Council of Trent. The seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the

mass, the invocation of the saints, the authority of the pope, and all

the important ceremonies, were to be retained. The only concession made

to the Protestants was the use of the cup by the laity in the holy

communion, and the permission for married priests to retain their

wives. The arrangement suited the views of the Emperor, who, as Ranke

remarks, wished to uphold the Catholic hierarchy as the basis of his

power, and yet to make it possible for Protestants to be reconciled to

him. It is very evident that the adoption of such a confession was a

virtual surrender of the cause of the Reformation and would have ended

in a triumph of the papacy.

The Interim was received with great indignation by the Protestants, and

was rejected in Hesse, ducal Saxony, and the Northern cities,

especially in Madgeburg, which became the headquarters of the

irreconcilable Lutherans under the lead of Flacius. In Southern Germany

it was enforced with great rigor by Spanish soldiers. More than four

hundred pastors in Swabia and on the Rhine were expelled from their

benefices for refusing the Interim, and wandered about with their

families in poverty and misery. Among them was Brenz, the Reformer of

W�rtemburg, who fled to Basel, where he received a consolitary letter

from Calvin (Nov. 5, 1548). Martin Bucer, with all his zeal for

Christian union, was unwilling to make a compromise at the expense of

his conscience, and fled from Strassburg to England, where he was

appointed professor of divinity in the University of Cambridge.

It was forbidden under pain of death to write against the Interim.

Nevertheless, over thirty attacks appeared from the "Chancellery of

God" at Magdeburg. Bullinger and Calvin wrote against it.

Calvin published the imperial proclamation and the text of the Interim

in full, and then gave his reasons why it could never bring peace to

the Church. He begins with a quotation from Hilary in the Arian

controversy: "Specious indeed is the name of peace, and fair the idea

of unity; but who doubts that the only peace of the Church is that

which is of Christ?" This is the key-note of his own exposition on the

true method of the pacification of Christendom.

Elector Maurice of Saxony, who stood between two fires,--his Lutheran

subjects and the Emperor,--modified the Augsburg Interim, with the aid

of Melanchthon and the other theologians of Wittenberg, and substituted

for it the Leipzig Interim, Dec. 22, 1548. In this document the chief

articles of faith are more cautiously worded so as to admit of an

evangelical interpretation, but the Roman ceremonies are retained, as

adiaphora, or things indifferent, which do not compromise the

conscience nor endanger salvation. it gave rise to the Adiaphoristic

Controversy between the strict and the moderate Lutherans. Melanchthon

was placed in a most trying position in the midst of the contest. In

the sincere wish to save Protestantism from utter overthrow and Saxony

from invasion and desolation by imperial troops, he yielded to the

pressure of the courtiers and accepted the Leipzig Interim in the hope

of better times. For this conduct he was severely attacked by Flacius,

his former pupil, and denounced as a traitor. When Calvin heard the

news, he wrote an earnest letter of fraternal rebuke to Melanchthon,

and reminded him of Paul's unyielding firmness at the Synod of

Jerusalem on the question of circumcision. [885]

Protestantism in Germany was brought to the brink of ruin, but was

delivered from it by the treason of the Elector Maurice. This shrewd,

selfish politician and master in the art of dissimulation, had first

betrayed the Protestants, by aiding the Emperor in the defeat of the

Smalkaldian League, whereby he gained the electorate; and then he rose

in rebellion against the Emperor and drove him and the Fathers of Trent

out of Tyrol (1551). He died in 1553 of a deadly wound which he

received in a victorious battle against his old friend Albrecht of

Brandenburg. [886]

The final result of the defeat of the Emperor was the Augsburg Treaty

of Peace, 1555, which for the first time gave to the Lutherans a legal

status in the empire, though with certain restrictions. This closes the

period of the Lutheran Reformation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[884] The Emperor presented him with fifty crowns; King Ferdinand, with

five hund-red thaler. Janssen, III. 625. Comp. G. Kawerau (a specialist

in the history of the Lutheran Reformation), Johann Agricola von

Eisleben, Berlin, 1881.

[885] Letter of July 18, 1550, quoted in � 90, pp. 395 sq. Dyer

decidedly defends Melanchthon in this adiaphoristic controversy, and

makes the following remark (p. 240): "What a prospect do these

squabbles hold out for the future union of the Protestant Church! A

silly and scandalous, we had almost said, a childish, quarrel about a

surplice and a few minor ceremonies divides the Protestants into

hostile factions at the moment of their most eminent peril! With such

feelings, how should they hope in quieter times to arrange those more

serious questions, which turned on really important points of

doctrine?"

[886] For a description of the character of Moritz, see Ranke, Deutsche

Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, vol. V. 160 sqq. (6th ed.

1881).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 122. Against the Worship of Relics. 1543.

Advertissement tres-utile du grand proffit qui reviendroit � la

Chrestient�, s'il se faisoit inventoire de tous les corps sainctz et

reliques, qui sont tant en Italia qu'en France Allemaigne, Hespaigne,

et autres Royaumes et Pays. Gen., 1543, 1544, 1551, 1563, 1579, 1599.

Reprinted in Opera, VI. 405-452. A Latin edition by Nicolaus Gallasius

(des Gallars) was published at Geneva, 1548. It appeared also in

English (A very profitable treatise, etc.), London, 1561, and in two

German translations (by Jakob Eysenberg of Wittenberg, 1557, etc., and

by J. Fischart, 1584, or 1583, under the title Der heilig Brotkorb der

h. R�mischen Reliquien). See Henry, II. 333 and III., Appendix,

204-206. A new English translation by Beveridge in Calvin's Tracts

relating to the Reformation, Edinb., 1844, pp. 289-341.

In the same year in which Calvin answered Pighius, he published a

French tract on Relics, which was repeatedly printed and translated. It

was the most popular and effective of his anti-papal writings. He

indulged here very freely in his power of ridicule and sarcasm, which

reminds one almost of Voltaire, but the spirit is altogether different.

He begins with the following judicious remarks, which best characterize

the book: --

"Augustin, in his work, entitled On the Labor of Monks, complaining of

certain itinerant impostors, who, as early as his day, plied a vile and

sordid traffic, by carrying the relics of martyrs about from place to

place, adds, 'If, indeed, they are relics of martyrs.' By this

expression he intimates the prevalence, even in his day, of abuses and

impostures, by which the ignorant populace were cheated into the belief

that bones gathered here and there were those of saints. While the

origin of the imposture is thus ancient, there cannot be a doubt that

in the long period which has since elapsed, it has exceedingly

increased, considering, especially, that the world has since been

strangely corrupted, and has never ceased to become worse, till it has

reached the extreme wherein we now behold it.

"But the first abuse and, as it were, beginning of the evil was, that

when Christ ought to have been sought in his Word, sacraments, and

spiritual influences, the world, after its wont, clung to his garments,

vests, and swaddling-clothes; and thus overlooking the principal

matter, followed only its accessory. The same course was pursued in

regard to apostles, martyrs, and other saints. For when the duty was to

meditate diligently on their lives, and engage in imitating them, men

made it their whole study to contemplate and lay up, as it were in a

treasury, their bones, shirts, girdles, caps, and similar trifles.

"I am not unaware that in this there is a semblance of pious zeal, the

allegation being, that the relics of Christ are kept on account of the

reverence which is felt for himself, and in order that the remembrance

of him may take a firmer hold of the mind. And the same thing is

alleged with regard to the saints. But attention should be paid to what

Paul says, viz., that all divine worship of man's devising, having no

better and surer foundation than his own opinion, be its semblance of

wisdom what it may, is mere vanity and folly.

"Besides, any advantage, supposed to be derived from it, ought to be

contrasted with the danger. In this way it would be discovered that the

possession of such relics was of little use, or was altogether

superfluous and frivolous, whereas, on the other hand, it was most

difficult, or rather impossible, that men should not thereby degenerate

into idolatry. For they cannot look upon them, or handle them, without

veneration; and there being no limit to this, the honor due to Christ

is forthwith paid to them. In short, a longing for relics is never free

from superstition, nay, what is worse, it is the parent of idolatry,

with which it is very generally conjoined.

"All admit, without dispute, that God carried away the body of Moses

from human sight, lest the Jewish nation should fall into the abuse of

worshipping it. What was done in the case of one ought to be extended

to all, since the reason equally applies. But not to speak of saints,

let us see what Paul says of Christ himself. He declares, that after

the resurrection of Christ he knew him no more after the flesh,

intimating by these words that everything carnal which belonged to

Christ should be consigned to oblivion and be discarded, in order that

we may make it our whole study and endeavor to seek and possess him in

spirit. Now, therefore, when men talk of it as a grand thing to possess

some memorial of Christ and his saints, what else is it than to seek an

empty cloak with which to hide some foolish desire that has no

foundation in reason? But even should there seem to be a sufficient

reason for it, yet, seeing it is so clearly repugnant to the mind of

the Holy Spirit, as declared by the mouth of Paul, what more do we

require?"

The following is a summary of this tract: --

What was at first a foolish curiosity for preserving relics has

degenerated into abominable idolatry. The great majority of the relics

are spurious. It could be shown by comparison that every apostle has

more than four bodies and every saint two or three. The arm of St.

Anthony, which was worshipped in Geneva, when brought out from the

case, turned out to be a part of a stag. The body of Christ could not

be obtained, but the monks of Charroux pretend to have, besides teeth

and hair, the prepuce or pellicle cut off in his circumcision. But it

is shown also in the Lateran church at Rome. The blood of Christ which

Nicodemus is said to have received in a handkerchief or a bowl, is

exhibited in Rochelle, in Mantua, in Rome, and many other places. The

manger in which he laid at his birth, his cradle, together with the

shirt which his mother made, the pillar on which he leaned when

disputing in the Temple, the water-pots in which he turned water into

wine, the nails, and pieces of the cross, are shown in Rome, Ravenna,

Pisa, Cluny, Angers, and elsewhere.

The table of the last Supper is at Rome, in the church of St. John in

the Lateran; some of the bread at St. Salvador in Spain; the knife with

which the Paschal Lamb was cut up, is at Treves. [887] What semblance

of possibility is there that that table was found seven or eight

hundred years after? Besides, tables were in those days different in

shape from ours, for people used to recline at meals. Fragments of the

cross found by St. Helena are scattered over many churches in Italy,

France, Spain, etc., and would form a good shipload, which it would

take three hundred men to carry instead of one. But they say that this

wood never grows less! Some affirm that their fragments were carried by

angels, others that they dropped down from heaven. Those of Poitiers

say that their piece was stolen by a maid-servant of Helena and carried

off to France. There is still a greater controversy as to the three

nails of the cross: one of them was fixed in the crown of Constantine,

the other two were fitted to his horse's bridle, according to

Theodoret, or one was kept by Helena herself, according to Ambrose. But

now there are two nails at Rome, one at Siena, one at Milan, one at

Carpentras, one at Venice, one at Cologne, one at Treves, two at Paris,

one at Bourges, etc. All the claims are equally good, for the nails are

all spurious. There is also more than one soldier's spear, crown of

thorns, purple robe, the seamless coat, and Veronica's napkin (which at

least six cities boast of having). A piece of broiled fish, which Peter

offered to the risen Saviour on the seashore, must have been wondrously

well salted if it has kept for these fifteen centuries! But, jesting

apart, is it supposable that the apostles made relics of what they had

actually prepared for dinner?

Calvin exposes with equal effect the absurdities and impieties of the

wonder-working pictures of Christ; the relics of the hair and milk of

the Virgin Mary, preserved in so many places, her combs, her wardrobe

and baggage, and her house carried by angels across the sea to Loreto;

the shoes of St. Joseph; the slippers of St. James; the head of John

the Baptist, of which Rhodes, Malta, Lucca, Nevers, Amiens, Besan�on,

and Noyon claim to have portions; and his fingers, one of which is

shown at Besan�on, another at Toulouse, another at Lyons, another at

Bourges, another at Florence. At Avignon they have the sword with which

John was beheaded, at Aix-la-Chapelle the linen cloth placed under him

by the kindness of the executioner, in Rome his girdle and the altar at

which he said prayers in the desert. It is strange, adds Calvin, that

they do not also make him perform mass.

The tract concludes with this remark: "So completely are the relics

mixed up and huddled together, that it is impossible to have the bones

of any martyr without running the risk of worshipping the bones of some

thief or robber, or, it may be, the bones of a dog, or a horse, or an

ass, or--Let every one, therefore, guard against this risk. Henceforth

no man will be able to excuse himself by pretending ignorance."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[887] The holy coat is still at Treves, and was worshipped by many

thousands of devout pilgrims in the year of our Lord 1891!

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 123. The Articles of the Sorbonne with an Antidote. 1544.

Articuli a facultate s. theol. Parisiensi determinati super materiis

fidei nostrae hodie controversis. Cum Antidoto (1543), 1544. Opera,

VII. 1-44. A French edition appeared in the same year. English

translation by Beveridge, in Calvin's Tracts, I. 72-122.

The theological faculty of the University of Paris published, March 10,

1542, a summary of the most obnoxious doctrines of the Roman Church, in

twenty-five articles, which were sanctioned by an edict of the king of

France, and were to be subscribed by all candidates of the priesthood.

[888]

Calvin republished these articles, and accompanied each, first with an

ironical defence, and then with a scriptural antidote. This reductio ad

absurdum had probably more effect in Paris than a serious and sober

mode of refutation. The following is a specimen: --

"Article VI. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

"The sacrifice of the Mass is, according to the institution of Christ,

available for the living and the dead."

"Proof,--Because Christ says, 'This do.' But to do is to sacrifice,

according to the passage in Vergil: 'When I will do (make an offering)

with a calf in place of produce, do you yourself come.' [889] As to

which signification, see Macrobius. But when the Lutherans deride that

subtlety, because Christ spoke with the Apostles in the common Hebrew

or Syriac tongue, and the Evangelists wrote in Greek, answer that the

common Latin translation outweighs them. And it is well known that the

sense of Scripture must be sought from the determination of the Church.

But of the value of sacrifice for the living and the dead we have proof

from experience. For many visions have appeared to certain holy monks

when asleep, telling them that by means of masses souls had been

delivered from Purgatory. Nay, St. Gregory redeemed the soul of Trajan

from the infernal regions." [890]

"Antidote to Article VI.

"The institution of Christ is, 'Take and eat' (Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22;

1 Cor. 11:24), but not, offer. Therefore, sacrifice is not conformable

to the institution of Christ, but is plainly repugnant to it. Besides,

it is evident from Scripture that it is the peculiar and proper office

of Christ to offer himself; as an apostle says, that by one offering he

has forever perfected those that are sanctified (Heb. 10:14). Also,

that 'once, in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin

by the sacrifice of himself' (9:26). Also, that after this

sanctification, 'there remains no more a sacrifice for sins' (10:26).

For to this end also was he consecrated a priest after the order of

Melchisdec, without successor or colleague (Heb. 5:6; 7:21).

"Christ, therefore, is robbed of the honor of the priesthood, when the

right of offering is transferred to others. Lastly, no man ought to

assume this honor unless called by God, as an apostle testifies. But we

read of none having been called but Christ. On the other hand, since

the promise is destined for those only who communicate in the

sacrament, by what right can it belong to the dead?"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[888] Bulaeus, Historia Univ. Paris., VI. 384, and the French text in

Opera, vol, VII., Proleg., pp. ix-xii.

[889] " 'Hoc facite.' Facere autem est sacrificare, justa illud

Vergilii: Quum faciam vitul�pro frugibus, ipse venito.' " (Verg.E. III.

77.)

[890] This refers to the mediaeval legend which has found its way into

Dante's Divina Comedia (Purg. X. 75; Par. XX. 109-111), that the

Emperor Trajan, nearly five hundred years after his death, was

disinterred, and his soul translated from hell to heaven by the prayers

of Pope Gregory I., who had learned that he was a just emperor,

although he persecuted the Christians. But the pope was punished for

his interest in a heathen, and warned by an angel never to make a

similar request. Trajan is the only pagan in Dante's Paradise.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 124. Calvin and the Nicodemites. 1544.

Calvin: Petit traict� monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme

fidele, cognoissant la verit� de l'Evangile quand il est entre les

papistes, 1543. Excuse de Iehan Calvin � Messieurs les Nico\_ites, sur

la complaincte qu'il font de so trop grand rigueur. Excusatio ad

Pseudo-Nicodemitas.) 1544. Embodied in the tractsDe vitandis

superstitionibus quae cum sincera fidei confessione pugnant. Genevae,

1549, 1550, and 1551. This collection contains also the opinions of

Melanchthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr on the question raised by the

Nicodemites. Reprinted inOpera, VI. 537-644. A German translation

appeared at Herborn, 1588; an English translation by R. Golding,

London, 1548. See the bibliographical notes in Henry, III.; Beilage,

208 sq.; Proleg. toOpera, VI. pp. xxx-xxxiv; an La France Protest.,

III. 584 sq.Dyer, 187 sqq. St�helin, I. 542 sqq.

A great practical difficulty presented itself to the Protestants in

France, where they were in constant danger of persecution. They could

not emigrate en masse, nor live in peace at home, without concealing or

denying their convictions. A large number were Protestants at heart,

but outwardly conformed to the Roman Church. They excused their conduct

by the example of Nicodemus, the Jewish Rabbi, who came to Jesus by

night.

Calvin, therefore, called them "Nicodemites," but with this difference,

that Nicodemus only buried the body of Christ, after anointing it with

precious aromatics; while they bury both his soul and body, his

divinity and humanity, and that, too, without honor. Nicodemus interred

Christ when dead, but the Nicodemites thrust him into the earth after

he has risen. Nicodemus displayed a hundred times more courage at the

death of Christ than all the Nicodemites after his resurrection. Calvin

confronted them with the alternative of Elijah:, How long halt ye

between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him: if Baal, then

follow him "(1 Kings 18:21). He advised them either to leave their

country for some place of liberty, or to absent themselves from

idolatrous worship, even at the risk of their lives. The glory of God

should be much dearer to us than this transitory life, which is only a

shadow.

He distinguished several classes of Nicodemites: first, false preachers

of the gospel, who adopt some evangelical doctrines (meaning probably

G�rard le Roux or Roussel, for whom Margaret of Navarre had procured

the bishopric of Ol�ron); next, worldly people, courtiers, and refined

ladies, who are used to flattery and hate austerity; then, scholars and

literary men, who love their ease and hope for gradual improvement with

the spread of education and intelligence; lastly, merchants and

citizens, who do not wish to be interrupted in their avocations. Yet he

was far from disowning them as brethren because of their weakness.

Owing to their great danger they could better expect pardon if they

should fall, than he himself who lived in comparative security.

The Nicodemites charged Calvin with immoderate austerity. "Away with

this Calvin! he is too impolite. He would reduce us to beggary, and

lead us directly to the stake. Let him content himself with his own

lot, and leave us in peace; or, let him come to us and show us how to

behave. He resembles the leader of an army who incites the common

soldiers to the attack, but himself keeps out of the reach of danger."

To this charge he replied (in substance): "If you compare me with a

captain, you should not blame me for doing my duty. The question is

not, what I would do in your condition, but what is our present

duty--yours and mine. If my life differs from my teaching, then woe to

me. God is my witness that my heart bleeds when I think of your

temptations and dangers, and that I cease not to pray with tears that

you may be delivered. Nor do I condemn always the persons when I

condemn the thing. I will not boast of superior courage, but it is not

my fault, if I am not more frequently in danger. I am not far from the

shot of the enemy. Secure to-day, I do not know what shall be

to-morrow. I am prepared for every event, and I hope that God will give

me grace to glorify him with my blood as well as with my tongue and

pen. I shall lay down my life with no more sadness than I now write

down these words."

The French Protestants were under the impression that Luther and

Melanchthon had milder and more practicable views on this subject, and

requested Calvin to proceed to Saxony for a personal conference. This

he declined from want of time, since it would take at least forty days

for the journey from Geneva to Wittenberg and back. Nor had he the

means. "Even in favorable seasons," he wrote to an unknown friend in

France, [891] "my income barely suffices to meet expenses, and from the

scarcity with which we had to struggle during the last two years, I was

compelled to run into debt." He added that "the season was unfavorable

for consulting Luther, who has hardly had time to cool from the heat of

controversy." He thus missed the only opportunity of a personal

interview with Luther, who died a year later. It is doubtful whether it

would have been satisfactory. The old hero was then discontented with

the state of the world and the Church, and longing for departure.

But Calvin prevailed on a young gentleman of tolerable learning to

undertake the journey for him. He gave him a literal Latin translation

of his tracts against the Nicodemites, together with letters to Luther

and Melanchthon (Jan. 20, 1545). He asked the latter to act as mediator

according to his best judgment. The letter to Luther is very respectful

and modest. After explaining the case, and requesting him to give it a

cursory examination and to return his opinion in a few words, Calvin

thus concludes this, his only, letter to the great German Reformer: --

"I am unwilling to give you this trouble in the midst of so many

weighty and various employments; but such is your sense of justice that

you cannot suppose me to have done this unless compelled by the

necessity of the case; I therefore trust that you will pardon me. Would

that I could fly to you, that I might even for a few hours enjoy the

happiness of your society; for I would prefer, and it would be far

better, not only upon this question, but also about others, to converse

personally with yourself; but seeing that it is not granted to us on

earth, I hope that shortly it will come to pass in the kingdom of God.

Adieu, most renowned sir, most distinguished minister of Christ, and my

ever-honored father. The Lord himself rule and direct you by His own

Spirit, that you may persevere even unto the end, for the common

benefit and good of His own Church."

Luther was still so excited by his last eucharistic controversy with

the Swiss, and so suspicious, that Melanchthon deemed it inexpedient to

lay the documents before him. [892]

"I have not shown your letter to Dr. Martin," he replied to Calvin,

April 17, 1545, "for he takes many things suspiciously, and does not

like his answers to questions of the kind you have proposed to him, to

be carried round and handed from one to another .... At present I am

looking forward to exile and other sorrows. Farewell! On the day on

which, thirty-eight hundred and forty-six years ago, Noah entered into

the ark, by which God gave testimony of his purpose never to forsake

his Church, even when she quivers under the shock of the billows of the

great sea."

He gave, however, his own opinion; and this, as well as the opinions of

Bucer and Peter Martyr, and Calvin's conclusion, were published, as an

appendix to the tracts on avoiding superstition, at Geneva in 1549.

[893] Melanchthon substantially agreed with Calvin; he asserts the duty

of the Christian to worship God alone (Matt. 4:10), to flee from idols

(1 John 5:21), and to profess Christ openly before men (Matt. 10:33);

but he took a somewhat milder view as regards compliance with mere

ceremonies and non-essentials. Bucer and Peter Martyr agreed with this

opinion. The latter refers to the conduct of the early disciples, who,

while holding worship in private houses, still continued to visit the

temple until they were driven out.

We now proceed to Calvin's controversies with Protestant opponents.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[891] Bonnet (I. 418, note) conjectures that it was Louis du Chemin, or

Francois Daniel.

[892] Opera, XII. 61.

[893] Opera, VI. 617-644.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 125. Calvin and Bolsec.

I. Actes du proc�s intent� par Calvin et les autres ministres de Gen�ve

� J�r�me Bolsec de Paris (1551). Printed from the Register of the

Venerable Company and the Archives of Geneva, in Opera, VIII.

141-248.--Calvin: De aeterna Dei Praedestinatione, etc., usually called

Consensus Genevensis (1552)--chiefly an extract from the respective

sections of his Institutes; reprinted in Opera, VIII. 249-366. It is

the second part of his answer to Pighius ("the dead dog," as he calls

him), but occasioned by the process of Bolsec, whose name he ignores in

contempt.--Calvin's letter to Libertetus (Fabri of Neuch�tel), January,

1552, in Opera, XIV. 278 sq.--The Letters of the Swiss Churches on the

Bolsec affair, reprinted in vol. VIII. 229 sqq.--Beza: Vita Calv. ad

ann. 1551.

II. Hierosme Hermes Bolsec, docteur M�decin � Lyon: Histoire de la vie,

moeurs, actes, doctrine, constance et mort de Jean Calvin, jadis

ministre de Gen�ve, Lyon, 1577; R��dit�e avec une introduction, des

extraits de la vie de Th. de B�ze, par le m�me, et des notes �

l'appuipar M. Louis-Fran�ois Chastel, magistrat. Lyon, 1875 (xxxi and

328). On the character and different editions of this book, see La

France Protest., II. 755 sqq.

III. Bayle: "Bolsec" in his "Diction. historique et critique."--F.

Trechsel: Die Protest. Antitrinitarier (Heidelberg, 1844). Bd. I.

185-189 and 276-284.--Henry, III. 44 sqq., and the second Beilage to

vol. III., which gives the documents (namely, the charges of the

ministers of Geneva, Bolsec's defence, his poem written in prison, the

judgments of the Churches of Bern and Z�rich--all of which are omitted

in the English version, II. 130 sqq.).--Audin (favorable to Bolsec),

ch. XXXIX.--Dyer, 265-283.--\*Schweizer: Centraldogmen, I.

205-238.--St�helin, I. 411-414; II. 287-292.--\*La France Prot., sub,

Bolsec," tom. II. 745-776 (second ed.). Against this article: Lettre

d'un protestant Genevois aux lecteurs de la France Protestante, Gen�ve,

1880. In defence of that article, Henri L. Bordier: L'�cole historique

de J�r�me Bolsec, pour servir de supplement � l'article Bolsec de la

France Protestante, Paris (Fischbacher), 1880.

Hieronymus (Hierosme) Hermes Bolsec, a native of Paris, was a Carmelite

monk, but left the Roman Church, about 1545, and fled for protection to

the Duchess of Ferrara, who admitted him to her house under the title

of an almoner. There he married, and adopted the medical profession as

a means of livelihood. Ever afterwards he called himself "Doctor of

Medicine." He made himself odious by his turbulent character and

conduct, and was expelled by the Duchess for some deception (as Beza

reports).

In 1550 he settled at Geneva with his wife and a servant, and practised

his profession. But he meddled in theology, and began to question

Calvin's doctrine of predestination. He denounced Calvin's God as a

hypocrite and liar, as a patron of criminals, and as worse than Satan.

He was admonished, March 8, 1551, by the Venerable Company, and

privately instructed by Calvin in that mystery, but without success. On

a second offence he was summoned before the Consistory, and openly

reprehended in the presence of fifteen ministers and other competent

persons. He acknowledged that a certain number were elected by God to

salvation, but he denied predestination to destruction; and, on closer

examination, he extended election to all mankind, maintaining that

grace efficacious to salvation is equally offered to all, and that the

cause, why some receive and others reject it, lies in the free-will,

with which all men were endowed. At the same time he abhorred the name

of merits. This, in the eyes of Calvin, was a logical contradiction and

an absurdity; for, he says, "if some were elected, it surely follows

that others are not elected and left to perish. Unless we confess that

those who come to Christ are drawn by the Father through the peculiar

operation of the Holy Spirit on the elect, it follows either that all

must be promiscuously elected, or that the cause of election lies in

each man's merit."

On the 16th of October, 1551, Bolsec attended the religious conference,

which was held every Friday at St. Peter's. John de St. Andr� preached

from John 8:47 on predestination, and inferred from the text that those

who are not of God, oppose him to the last, because God grants the

grace of obedience only to the elect. Bolsec suddenly interrupted the

speaker, and argued that men are not saved because they are elected,

but that they are elected because they have faith. He denounced, as

false and godless, the notion that God decides the fate of man before

his birth, consigning some to sin and punishment, others to virtue and

eternal happiness. He loaded the clergy with abuse, and warned the

congregation not to be led astray.

After he had finished this harangue, Calvin, who had entered the church

unobserved, stepped up to him and so overwhelmed him, as Beza says,

with arguments and with quotations from Scripture and Augustin, that

"all felt exceedingly ashamed for the brazen-faced monk, except the

monk himself." Farel also, who happened to be present, addressed the

assembly. The lieutenant of police apprehended Bolsec for abusing the

ministers and disturbing the public peace.

On the same afternoon the ministers drew up seventeen articles against

Bolsec and presented them to the Council, with the request to call him

to account. Bolsec, in his turn, proposed several questions to Calvin

and asked a categorical answer (October 25). He asserted that

Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Brenz shared his opinion.

The Consistory asked the Council to consult the Swiss Churches before

passing judgment. Accordingly, the Council sent a list of Bolsec's

errors to Z�rich, Bern, and Basel. They were five, as follows: --

1. That faith depends not on election, but election on faith.

2. That it is an insult to God to say that he abandons some to

blindness, because it is his pleasure to do so.

3. That God leads to himself all rational creatures, and abandons only

those who have often resisted him.

4. That God's grace is universal, and some are not more predestinated

to salvation than others.

5. That when St. Paul says (Eph. 1:5), that God has elected us through

Christ, he does not mean election to salvation, but election to

discipleship and apostleship.

At the same time Calvin and his colleagues addressed a circular letter

to the Swiss Churches, which speaks in offensive and contemptuous terms

of Bolsec, and charges him with cheating, deception, and impudence.

Beza also wrote from Lausanne to Bullinger.

The replies of the Swiss Churches were very unsatisfactory to Calvin,

although the verdict was, on the whole, in his favor. They reveal the

difference between the German and the French Swiss on the subject of

divine decrees and free-will. They assent to the doctrine of free

election to salvation, but evade the impenetrable mystery of absolute

and eternal reprobation, which was the most material point in the

controversy.

The ministers of Z�rich defended Zwingli against Bolsec's charge, that

in his work on Providence he made God the author of sin, and they

referred to other works in which Zwingli traced sin to the corruption

of the human will. Bullinger, in a private letter to Calvin, impressed

upon him the necessity of moderation and mildness. "Believe me," he

said, "many are displeased with what you say in your Institutes about

predestination, and draw the same conclusions from it as Bolsec has

drawn from Zwingli's book on Providence." This affair caused a

temporary alienation between Calvin and Bullinger. It was not till ten

years afterwards that Bullinger decidedly embraced the Calvinistic

dogma, and even then he laid no stress on reprobation. [894]

Myconius, in the name of the Church of Basel, answered evasively, and

dwelt on what Calvin and Bolsec believed in common.

The reply of the ministers of Bern anticipates the modern spirit of

toleration. They applaud the zeal for truth and unity, but emphasize

the equally important duty of charity and forbearance. The good

Shepherd, they say, cares for the sheep that has gone astray. It is

much easier to win a man back by gentleness than to compel him by

severity. As to the awful mystery of divine predestination, they remind

Calvin of the perplexity felt by many good men who cling to the

Scripture texts of God's universal grace and goodness.

The effect of these letters was a milder judgment on Bolsec. He was

banished for life from the territory of Geneva for exciting sedition

and for Pelagianism, under pain of being whipped if he should ever

return. The judgment was announced Dec. 23, 1551, with the sound of the

trumpet. [895]

Bolsec retired to Thonon, in Bern, but as he created new disturbances

he was banished (1555). He left for France, and sought admission into

the ministry of the Reformed Church, but returned at last to the Roman

communion. [896] He was classed by the national synod of Lyon among

deposed ministers, and characterized as "an infamous liar" and

"Apostate" (1563). He lived near Lyon and at Autun, and died at Annecy

about 1584. Thirteen years after Calvin's death he took mean and

cowardly revenge by the publication of a libellous "Life of Calvin,"

which injured him much more than Calvin; and this was followed by a

slanderous "Life of Beza," 1582. These books would long since have been

forgotten, had not partisan zeal kept them alive. [897]

The dispute with Bolsec occasioned Calvin's tract, "On the Eternal

Predestination of God," which he dedicated to the Syndics and Council

of Geneva, under the name of Consensus Genevensis, or Agreement of the

Genevese Pastors, Jan. 1, 1552. But it was not approved by the other

Swiss Churches.

Beza remarks of the result of this controversy: "All that Satan gained

by these discussions was, that this article of the Christian religion,

which was formerly most obscure, became clear and transparent to all

not disposed to be contentious."

The quarrel with Bolsec caused the dissolution of the friendship

between Calvin and Jacques de Bourgogne, Sieur de Falais et Bredam, a

descendant of the dukes of Burgundy, who with his wife, Jolunde de

Brederode, a descendant of the old counts of Holland, settled in

Geneva, 1548, and lived for some time in Calvin's house at his

invitation, when the wife of the latter was still living. His cook,

Nicolas, served Calvin as clerk. Calvin took the greatest interest in

De Falais, comforted him over the confiscation of his goods by Charles

V., at whose court he had been educated, and wrote a defence for him

against the calumnies before the emperor. [898] He also dedicated to

him his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. His

friendly correspondence from 1543 to 1852 is still extant, and does

great credit to him. [899] But De Falais could not penetrate the

mysteries of theology, nor sympathize with the severity of discipline

in Geneva. He was shocked at the treatment of Bolsec; he felt indebted

to him as a physician who had cured one of his maid-servants of a

cancer. He interceded for him with the magistrates of Geneva and of

Bern. He wrote to Bullinger: "Not without tears am I forced to see and

hear this tragedy of Calvin." He begged him to unite with Calvin for

the restoration of peace in the Church.

He left Geneva after the banishment of Bolsec and moved to Bern, where

he lost his wife (1557) and married again. Bayle asserts, without

authority, that in disgust at the Protestant dissensions he returned to

the Roman Church. [900]

Even Melanchthon was displeased with Calvin's conduct in this

unfortunate affair; but the alienation was only superficial and

temporary. Judging from the imperfect information of Laelius Socinus,

he was disposed to censure the Genevese for an excess of zeal in behalf

of the "Stoic doctrine of necessity," as he called it, while he

applauded the Z�richers for greater moderation. He expressed himself to

this effect in private letters. [901] Socinus appealed to the judgment

of Melanchthon in a letter to Calvin, and Calvin, in his reply, could

not entirely deny it. Yet, upon the whole, Melanchthon, like Bullinger,

was more on the side of Calvin, and in the more important affair of

Servetus, both unequivocally justified his conduct, which is now

generally condemned by Protestants.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[894] On Bullinger's views see above, pp. 210 sq., and Schweizer, I.

225, 255 sqq.

[895] Beza: "Senatus ... illum tum ut seditiosum, tum ut mere

Pelagianum XXIII. Dec. publice damnatum urbe expulit, fustuariam poenam

minatus, si vel in urbe vel in urbis territorio esset deprehensus."

Reg. of the Ven. Comp. in Annal. 498: "MeIerosme fut banni �son de

trompe des terres de Gen�ve."

[896] According to Beza, Bolsec forsook his wife and allowed her to

become a prostitute to the canons of Autun.

[897] Bayle said in his day: "Bolsec seroit un homme tout-�-fait

plong�dans les t�n�bres de l'oubli, s'il ne s'�tait rendu fameux par

certains ouvrages satiriques [meaning his attacks on Calvin and Beza],

que les moines et les missionnaires citent encore." In recent times

Galiffe and Audin have come up to the defence of Bolsec, but have been

refuted by Henri L. Bordier in La France Protestante, II. 766 sqq., and

in L'ecole historique de J�r�me Bolsec, Paris, 1880. Schweizer (I. 207)

calls those libels "ersonnene Verleumdungen, wie rechtschaffene

Katholiken laengst zugeben, anderen aber gut genug zum

Wiederabdrucken."

[898] Apologia illustris D. Jacobi a Burgundia Fallesii Bredanique

domini, qua apud Imperatoriam Majestatem inustas sibi criminationes

diluit fideique suae confessionem edit. In Opera, X. Pt. I. 269-294.

[899] It was published at Amsterdam in a separate volume, 1774, and is

reprinted in the Opera and in the collection of Bonnet. Comp. on

Calvin's friendship with De Falais, Henry, III. 64-69; St�helin, II.

293-302.

[900] Bolsec, in his life of Calvin, invented, among other slanders,

the story that the real cause of De Falais' leaving Geneva was an

attempt of Calvin on the chastity of his wife!

[901] He wrote to Caspar Peucer, his son-in-law, Feb. 1, 1552: "Lelius

mihi scribit, tanta esse Genevae certamina de Stoica necessitate, ut

carceri inclusus sit quidam [Bolsec] a Zenone [Calvino] dissentiens. O

rem miseram! Doctrina salutaris obscuratur peregrinis disputationibus."

Mel.'s Opera (Corp. Ref.), vol. VII. 932. To his friend Camerarius he

wrote, under the same date, Feb. 1, 1552 (VII. 930): "Hic Polonus a

Lelio accepit literas .... Ac vide seculi furores, certamina

Allobrogica [Genevensia] de Stoica necessitate tanta sunt, ut carceri

inclusus sit quidam, qui a Zenone dissentit. Lelius narrat, se

koruphaiocuidam [Calvino] scripsisse, ne tam vehementer pugnet. Et

mitiores sunt Tigurini."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 126. Calvin and Castellio.

I. Castellio's chief work is his Biblia sacra latina (Basil., 1551,

1554, 1555, 1556, 1572; the N. T. also at Amst., 1683, Leipz., 1760,

Halle, 1776). His French version is less important. He defended both

against the attacks of Beza (Defensio suarum translationum Bibliorum,

Basil., 1562). After the execution of Servetus, 1553, Castellio wrote

several anonymous or pseudonymous booklets against Calvin, and against

the persecution of heretics, which provoked the replies of Calvin and

Beza (see below). His views against predestination and the slavery of

the will are best set forth in his four Dialogi de praedestinatione, de

electione, de libero arbitrio, de fide, which were published after his

death at Basel, 1578, 1613, 1619, and in English, 1679. See a

chronological list of his numerous works in La France Protestante, vol.

IV. 126-141. I have before me (from the Union Seminary Library) a rare

volume: Sebastiani Castellionis Dialogi IV, printed at Gouda in Holland

anno 1613, which contains the four Dialogues above mentioned (pp.

1-225); Castellio's Defence against Calvin's Adv. Nebulonem, his

Annotations on the ninth ch. of Romans, and several other tracts.

Calvin: Brevis Responsio ad diluendas nebulonis cuiusdam calumnias

quibus doctrinam de aeterna Dei praedestinatione foedare conatus est,

Gen. (1554), 1557. In Opera, IX. 253-266. The unnamed nebulo (in the

French ed. le broullion) is Castellio. Calumniae nebulonis cujusdam

adversus doctrinam Joh. Calvini de occulta Dei providentia. Johannis

Calvini ad easdem responsio, Gen., 1558. In Opera, IX. 269-318. In this

book Castellio's objections to Calvin's predestinarian system are set

forth in twenty-four theses, with a defence, and then answered by

Calvin. The first thesis charges Calvin with teaching: "Deus maximam

mundi partem nudo puroque voluntatis suae arbitric creavit ad

perditionem." Thes. V.: "Nullum adulterium, furtum, homicidium

committitur, quin Dei voluntas intercedat."

Beza: Ad Seb. Castellionis calumnias, quibus unicum salutis nostrae

fundamentum, i.e. aeternam Dei praedestinationem evertere nititur,

responsio, Gen., 1558. In his Tractat. theol. I. 337-423 (second ed.

Geneva, 1582).

II. Bayle: Castalion in his "Dict. Hist. et crit."--Joh. C. F�sslin:

Lebensge-schichte Seb. Castellio's. Frankf. and Leipzig, 1776.--F.

Trechsel: Die protest. Antitrinitarier, vol. I. (1839), pp.

208-214.--C. Rich. Brenner: Essai sur la vie et les �crits de S�b.

Chatillon, 1853.--Henry: II. 383 sqq.; III. 88 sqq.; and Beilage,

28-42.--\*Alex. Schweizer: Centraldogmen, I. 310-356; and Sebastian

Castellio als Bek�mpfer der Calvinischen Praedestinations-lehre, in

Baur's "Theol. Jahrb�cher" for 1851.--St�helin, I. 377-381; II.

302-308.--Jacob Maehly: Seb. Castellio, ein biographischer Versuch,

Basel, 1862.--Jules Bonnet: S�b. Chatillion ou la tol�rance ait XVIe

si�cle, in the, Bulletin de la Soci�t� de l'hist. du protest.

fran�ais," Nos. XVI. and XVII., 1867 and 1868.--Em. Brossoux: S�b.

Chasteillon, Strasbourg, 1867.--B. Riggenbach, in Herzog2, III. 160

sqq.--Lutteroth: Castallion in Lichten-berger, II. 672-677.--\*La France

Protestante (2d ed.): Chateillon, tom. IV. 122-142.--\*Ferd. Buisson:

S�bastien Castellion, Paris, 1892, 2 vols.

Castellio was far superior to Bolsec as a scholar and a man, and lived

in peace with Calvin until differences of opinion on predestination,

free-will, the Canticles, the descent into Hades, and religious

toleration made them bitter enemies. In the beat of the controversy

both forgot the dignity and moderation of a Christian scholar.

Sebastian Castellio or Castalio was born at Chatillon in Savoy, in

1515, six years after Calvin, of poor and bigoted parents. [902] He

acquired a classical and biblical education by hard study. He had a

rare genius for languages, and mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. In

1540 he taught Greek at Lyons, and conducted the studies of three

noblemen. He published there a manual of biblical history under the

title Dialogi sacri, which passed through several editions in Latin and

French from 1540 to 1731. He wrote a Latin epic on the prophecies of

Jonah; a Greek epic on John the Baptist, which greatly delighted

Melanchthon; two versions of the Pentateuch, with a view to exhibit

Moses as a master in all the arts and sciences; a translation of the

Psalms, and other poetic portions of the Old Testament.

These works were preparatory to a complete Latin translation of the

Bible, which he began at Geneva, 1542, and finished at Basel, 1551. It

was dedicated to King Edward VI. of England, and often republished with

various improvements. He showed some specimens in manuscript to Calvin,

who disapproved of the style. His object was to present the Bible in

classical Latinity according to the taste of the later humanists and

the pedantic Ciceronianism of Cardinal Bembo. He substituted classical

for biblical terms; as lotio for baptismus, genius for angelus,

respublica for ecclesia, collegium for synagoge, senatus for

presbyterium, furiosi for daemoniaci. He sacrificed the contents to

style, obliterated the Hebraisms, and weakened the realistic force, the

simplicity and grandeur of the biblical writers. His translation was

severely criticised by Calvin and Beza as tending to secularize and

profane the sacred book, but it was commended as a meritorious work by

such competent judges as Melanchthon and Richard Simon. Castellio

published also a French version of the Bible with notes (1555), but his

French was not nearly as pure and elegant as his Latin, and was

severely criticised by Beza. He translated portions of Homer, Xenophon,

the Dialogues of Ochino, and also two mystical books, the Theologia

Germanica (1557), and, in the last year of his life, the Imitatio

Christi of Thomas � Kempis,--"e latino in latinum," that is, from

monkish into classical Latin,--omitting, however, the fourth book.

Castellio was a philologist and critic, an orator and poet, but not a

theologian, and unable to rise to the lofty height of Calvin's views

and mission. His controversial tracts are full of bitterness. He

combined a mystical with a sceptical tendency. [903] He was an

anachronism; a rationalist before Rationalism, an advocate of religious

toleration in an age of intolerance.

Castellio became acquainted with Calvin at Strassburg, and lived with

him in the same house (1540). Calvin appreciated his genius,

scholarship, and literary industry, and, on his return to Geneva, he

secured for him a call as rector of the Latin school at a salary of

four hundred and fifty florins (November, 1541), in the place of his

old teacher, Maturin Cordier. He treated him at first with marked

kindness and forbearance. In 1542, when the pestilence raged, Castellio

offered to go to the hospital, but he was either rejected as not

qualified, not being a minister, or he changed his mind when the lot

fell on him. [904]

Early in the year 1544, Castellio took offence at some of Calvin's

theological opinions, especially his doctrine of predestination. He

disliked his severe discipline and the one-man-power. He anticipated

the rationalistic opinion on the Song of Solomon, and described it as

an obscene, erotic poem, which should be stricken out of the canon.

[905] He also objected to the clause of Christ's descent into Hades in

the Apostles' Creed, or rather to Calvin's figurative explanation of

it, as being a vicarious foretaste of eternal pain by Christ on the

cross. [906] For these reasons Calvin opposed his ordination, but

recommended an increase of his salary, which the Council refused, with

the direction that he should keep better discipline in the school.

[907] He also gave him an honorable public testimony when he wished to

leave Geneva, and added private letters of recommendation to friends.

Castellio went to Lausanne, but soon returned to Geneva. In April,

1544, he asked the Council to continue him in his position for April,

May, and June, which was agreed to. [908]

In a public discussion on some Scripture text in the weekly

congregation at which about sixty persons were present, May 30, 1544,

he eulogized St. Paul and drew an unfavorable contrast between him and

the ministers of Geneva, charging them with drunkenness, impurity, and

intolerance. Calvin listened in silence, but complained to the Syndics

of this conduct. [909] Castellio was summoned before the Council,

which, after a patient hearing, found him guilty of calumny, and

banished him from the city. [910]

He went to Basel, where the liberal spirit of Erasmus had not yet died

out. He lived there several years in great poverty till 1553, when he

obtained a Greek professorship in the University. That University was

the headquarters of opposition to Calvinism. Several sceptical Italians

gathered there. Fr. Hotoman wrote to Bullinger: "Calvin is no better

spoken of here than in Paris. If one wishes to scold another, he calls

him a Calvinist. He is most unjustly and immoderately assailed from all

quarters." [911]

In the summer of 1554, an anonymous letter was addressed to the

Genevese with atrocious charges against Calvin, who suspected that it

was written by Castellio, and complained of it to Antistes Sulzer of

Basel; but Castellio denied the authorship before the Council of Basel.

About the same time appeared from the same anonymous source a malignant

tract against Calvin, which collected his most obnoxious utterances on

predestination, and was sent to Paris for publication to fill the

French Protestants, then struggling for existence, with distrust of the

Reformer (1555). Calvin and Beza replied with much indignation and

bitterness, and heaped upon the author such epithets as dog, slanderer,

corrupter of Scripture, vagabond, blasphemer. Calvin, upon insufficient

information, even charged him with theft. Castellio, in self-defence,

informs us that, with a large family dependent on him, he was in the

habit of gathering driftwood on the banks of the Rhine to keep himself

warm, and to cook his food, while working at the completion of his

translation of the Scriptures till midnight. He effectively replied to

Calvin's reproachful epithets: "It ill becomes so learned a man as

yourself, the teacher of so many others, to degrade so excellent an

intellect by such foul and sordid abuse."

Castellio incurred the suspicion of the Council of Basel by his

translation of Ochino's Dialogues, which contained opinions favorable

to Unitarianism and polygamy (1563). He defended himself by alleging

that he acted not as judge, but only as translator, for the support of

his family. He was warned to cease meddling with theology and to stick

to philology.

He died in poverty, Dec. 29, 1563, only forty-eight years old, leaving

four sons and four daughters from two wives. Calvin saw in his death a

judgment of God, but a few months afterwards he died himself. Even the

mild Bullinger expressed satisfaction that the translator of Ochino's

dangerous books had left this world. [912] Three Polish Socinians, who

happened to pass through Basel, were more merciful than the orthodox,

and erected to Castellio a monument in the cloister adjoining the

minster. Faustus Socinus edited his posthumous works. The youngest of

his children, Frederic Castellio, acquired some distinction as a

philologist, orator, musician, and poet, and was appointed professor of

Greek, and afterwards of rhetoric, in Basel.

Castellio left no school behind him, but his writings exerted

considerable influence on the development of Socinian and Arminian

opinions. He opposed Calvinism with the same arguments as Pighius and

Bolsec, and charged it with destroying the foundations of morality and

turning God into a tyrant and hypocrite. He essentially agreed with

Pelagianism, and prepared the way for Socinianism.

He differed also from Calvin on the subject of persecution. Being

himself persecuted, he was one of the very few advocates of religious

toleration in opposition to the prevailing doctrine and practice of his

age. In this point also he sympathized with the Unitarians. After the

execution of Servetus and Calvin's defence of the same, there appeared,

under the false name of Martinus Bellius, a book against the theory of

religious persecution, which was ascribed to Castellio. [913] He denied

the authorship. He had, however, contributed to it a part under the

name of Basilius (Sebastian) Montfortius (Castellio). The pseudo-name

of Martinus Bellius, the editor who wrote the dedicatory preface to

Duke Christopher of W�rttemberg (the protector of Vergerius), has never

been unmasked. The book is a collection of judgments of different

writers against the capital punishment of heretics. Calvin and Beza

were indignant, and correctly ascribed the book to a secret company of

Italian "Academici,"--Laelius Socinus, Curio, and Castellio. They also

suspected that Magdeburg, the alleged place of publication, was Basel,

and the printer an Italian refugee, Pietro Perna.

Castellio wrote also a tract, during the Huguenot wars in France, 1562,

in which he defended religious liberty as the only remedy against

religious wars. [914]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[902] His French name is Bastien de Chatillon or Chateillon. He

assumed, not without vanity, the classical name Castalio with allusion

to the Castalian fountain at the foot of Parnassus. The usual spelling

is Castellio. His precise origin is uncertain. He was either a

Frenchman or a Savoyard. He was numbered with the liberal

anti-calvinistic Italians, and charged with using a corrupt French

dialect. See Bayle, l.c., and Schweizer, I. 311.

[903] St�helin (II. 303) calls him "ein rationalistischer

Gef�hlstheologe mit ausgepr�gt aesthetischem Anstrich."

[904] The latter is Beza's explanation, Vita Calv. in Annal., Opera,

XXI. 134.

[905] "Carmen obscoenum et lascivum, quo Salomo impudicos suos amores

descripserit." Comp. Reg. du Conseil, Jan. 28, 1544, in Annal. 329.

[906] Calvin, in his catechism, explains the descensus ad inferos to

mean the suffering of the "dolores mortis" (Acts 2:24) or "horribiles

angustias" on the cross in behalf of the elect. This unhistorical

exposition passed into the Heidelberg Catechism, Quaest. 44: "Christ,

my Lord, by his inexpressible anguish, pains, and terrors, which he

suffered in his soul on the cross and before, has redeemed me from the

anguish and torment of hell." The true meaning of the clause is, that

the descent was an event which took place between the death and the

resurrection of Christ. Comp. 1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6; Eph. 4:9.

[907] See Reg. du Conseil, Jan. 14, 1544, quoted in Annal. 328.

[908] Extract from Reg. du Conseil, April 12, 1544, in Annal. 333.

[909] May 31, Annal. 336.

[910] This is the report of Beza: "ex urbe excedere jussus est;" but

Castellio seems to have remained in Geneva till July 14. See Reg. du

Conseil, in Annal, 340.

[911] Trechsel, Antitrinitarier, I. 219; St�helin, II. 304.

[912] He wrote to Zanchi at Chiavenna, March 17, 1564: "Optime factum,

quod Basileae mortuus est Castellio." Quoted by Trechsel, I. 214, from

the Simler Collection in Z�rich.

[913] De haereticis an sint persequendi, et omnino quomodo sit cum eis

agendum, doctorum virorum tum veterum tum recentiorum sententiae. Liber

hoc tam turbulento tempore pernecessarius. Magdeburgi, per Georg.

Rausch, 1554, mense martio, 173 pp. 80. I copy the title of the book

(which I have not seen) from La France Prot., IV. 130. The writer of

this article and Baum attribute the book to Castellio, but Schweizer,

I. 315 sq., shows that he wrote only a part of it. Comp. Buisson, l.c.,

I. 358 sqq., and II. 1 sqq.

[914] "Conseil �la France d�sol�e, auquel est montr�e la cause de la

guerre pr�sente et le rem�de qui y pourroit �tre mis, et principalement

est avis�si on doit forcer les consciences." The writer in La France

Prot., IV. 135-138, gives large extracts from this exceedingly rare

tract. See also Buisson, II. 225 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 127. Calvinism and Unitarianism. The Italian Refugees.

Comp. �� 38-40 (pp. 144-163).

I. Calvin: Ad questiones Georgii Blandatrae responsum (1558); Responsum

ad Fratres Polonos quomodo mediator sit Christus ad refutandum Stancari

errorem (1560); Impietas Valentini Gentilis detecta et palam traducta

qui Christum non sine sacrilega blasphemia Deum essentiatum esse fingit

(1561); Brevis admonitio ad Fratres Polonos ne triplicem in Deo

essentiam pro tribus personis imaginando tres sibi Deos fabricent

(1563); Epistola Jo. Calv. quo fidem Admonitionis ab eo nuper editae

apud Polonos confirmat (1563). All in Opera, Tom. IX. 321 sqq. The

correspondence of Calvin with Lelio Sozini and other Italians, see

below. On the controversy with Servetus, see next chapter.

The Socinian writings are collected in the Bibliotheca fratrum

Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant, Irenopoli (Amsterdam), 1656 sqq., 8

vols in 11 tomes fol. It contains the writings of the younger Socinus

and his successors (Schlichting, Crell, etc.).

II. Trechsel: Die Protestantischen Antitrinitarier, Heidelberg, 1839

and 1844, 2 vols. The first volume treats chiefly of Servetus; the

second, of the Italian Antitrinitarians.--Otto Fock: Der Socinianismus,

Kiel, 1847. (The first part contains the history, the second and more

valuable part the system, of Socinianism.)--Schweizer: Die Protest.

Centraldogmen (Z�rich, 1854), vol. I. 293 sqq.--Henry, III. 276

sqq.--Dyer, 446 sqq.--St�helin, II. 319 sqq.--L. Coligny:

L'Antitrinitarianism � Gen�ve au temps de Calvin. Gen�ve,

1873.--Harnack: Dogmengeschichte, III. (1890) 653-691. Comp. Sand:

Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum, 1684.

The Italian Protestants who were compelled to flee from the

Inquisition, sought refuge in Switzerland, and organized congregations

under native pastors in the Grisons, in Z�rich, and Geneva. A few of

them gathered also in Basel, and associated there with Castellio and

the admirers of Erasmus. [915] An Italian Church was organized at

Geneva in 1542, and reorganized in 1551, under Galeazzo Caraccioli,

Marquis of Vico. Its chief pastors were Ragnione, Count Martinengo (who

died 1557), and Balbani.

Among the 279 fugitives who received the rights of citizenship in that

city on one day of the year 1558, there were 200 Frenchmen, 50

Englishmen, 25 Italians, and 4 Spaniards.

The descendants of the refugees gradually merged into the native

population. Some of the best families in Geneva, Z�rich, and Basel

still bear the names and cherish the memories of their foreign

ancestors. In the valleys of Poschiavo and Bregaglia of the Grisons,

several Protestant Italian congregations survive to this day. [916]

The Italian Protestants were mostly educated men, who had passed

through the door of the Renaissance to the Reformation, or who had

received the first impulse from the writings of Luther, Zwingli, and

Calvin. We must distinguish among them two classes, as they were

chiefly influenced either by religious or intellectual motives. Those

who had experienced a severe moral struggle for peace of conscience,

became strict Calvinists; those who were moved by a desire for freedom

of thought from the bondage of an exclusive creed, sympathized more

with Erasmus than with Luther and Calvin, and had a tendency to

Unitarianism and Pelagianism. Zanchi warned Bullinger against

recommending Italians for sound doctrine until he had ascertained their

views on God and on original sin. The same national characteristics

continue to this day among the Romanic races. If Italians, Frenchmen,

or Spaniards cease to be Romanists, they are apt to become sceptics and

agnostics. They rarely stop midway.

The ablest, most learned, and most worthy representatives of orthodox

Calvinism among the converted Italians were Peter Martyr Vermigli of

Florence (1500-1562), who became, successively, professor at Strassburg

(1543), at Oxford (1547), and last at Z�rich (1555), and his younger

friend, Jerome Zanchi (1516-1590), who labored first in the Grisons,

and then as professor at Strassburg (1553) and at Heidelberg (1568).

Calvin made several ineffectual attempts to secure both for the Italian

congregation in Geneva. [917]

The sceptical and antitrinitarian Italians were more numerous among the

scholars. Calvin aptly called them "sceptical Academicians." They

assembled chiefly at Basel, where they breathed the atmosphere of

Erasmian humanism. They gave the Swiss Churches a great deal of

trouble. They took offence at the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity,

which they misconstrued into tritheism, or Sabellianism, at the

orthodox Christology of two natures in one person, and at the

Calvinistic doctrines of total depravity and divine predestination,

which they charged with tending to immorality. They doubted the right

of infant baptism, and denied the real presence in the Eucharist. They

hated ecclesiastical disciplina. They admired Servetus, and disapproved

of his burning. They advocated religious toleration, which threatened

to throw everything into confusion.

To this class belong the two Sozini,--uncle and nephew, Curio, Ochino

(in his latter years), Renato, Gribaldo, Biandrata, Alciati, and

Gentile. Castellio is also counted with these Italian sceptics. He

thoroughly sided with their anti-Calvinism, and translated from the

Italian manuscripts into Latin the last books of Ochino.

Thus the seeds for a new and heretical type of Protestantism were

abundantly sown by these Italian refugees in the soil of the Swiss

Churches, which had received them with open-hearted hospitality.

Fausto Sozini (1539-1604) formulated the loose heterodox opinions of

this school of sceptics into a theological system, and organized an

ecclesiastical society in Poland, where they enjoyed toleration till

the Jesuitical reaction drove them away. Poland was the Northern home

of the Italian Renaissance. Italian architects built the great churches

and palaces in Cracow, Warsaw, and other cities, and gave them an

Italian aspect. Fausto Sozini spent some time in Lyons, Z�rich (where

he collected the papers of his uncle), and Basel, but labored chiefly

in Poland, and acquired great influence with the upper classes by his

polished manners, amiability, and marriage with the daughter of a

nobleman. Yet he was once mobbed by fanatical students and priests it

Cracow, who dragged him through the streets and destroyed his library.

He bore the persecution like a philosopher. His writings were published

by his nephew, Wiszowaty, in the first two volumes of the Bibliotheca

fratrum Polonorum, 1656.

This is not the place for a full history of Socinianism. We have only

to do with its initiatory movements in Switzerland, and its connection

with Calvin. But a few general remarks will facilitate an

understanding.

Socinianism, as a system of theology, has largely affected the theology

of orthodox Protestantism on the Continent during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, and was succeeded by modern Unitarianism, which

has exerted considerable influence on the thought and literature of

England and America in the nineteenth century. It forms the extreme

left wing of Protestantism, and the antipode to Calvinism. The

Socinians admitted that Calvinism is the only logical system on the

basis of universal depravity and absolute foreknowledge and

foreordination; but they denied these premises, and taught moral

ability, free-will, and, strange to say, a limitation of divine

foreknowledge. God foreknows and foreordains only the necessary future,

but not the contingent future, which depends on the free-will of man.

The two systems are therefore directly opposed in their theology and

anthropology.

And yet there is a certain intellectual and moral affinity between

them; as there is between Lutheranism and Rationalism. It is a

remarkable fact that modern Unitarianism has grown up in the

Calvinistic (Presbyterian and Independent) Churches of Geneva, France,

Holland, England, and New England, while Rationalism has been chiefly

developed in Lutheran Germany. But the reaction is also found in those

countries.

The Italian and Polish Socinians took substantially the same ground as

the English and American Unitarians. They were opposed alike to

Romanism and Calvinism; they claimed intellectual freedom of dissent

and investigation as a right; they elevated the ethical spirit of

Christianity above the dogmas, and they had much zeal for higher

liberal education. But they differ on an important point. The Socinians

had a theological system, and a catechism; the modern Unitarians refuse

to be bound by a fixed creed, and are independent in church polity.

They allow more liberty for new departures, either in the direction of

rationalism and humanitarianism, or in the opposite direction of

supernaturalism and trinitarianism.

Calvin was in his early ministry charged with Arianism by a theological

quack (Caroli), because he objected to the damnatory clauses of the

pseudo-Athanasian creed, and expressed once an unfavorable opinion on

the Nicene Creed. [918] But his difficulty was only with the scholastic

or metaphysical terminology, [919] not with the doctrine itself; and as

to the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, he was most emphatic.

It is chiefly due to Calvin's and Bullinger's influence that

Unitarianism, which began to undermine orthodoxy, and to unsettle the

Churches, was banished from Switzerland. It received its death-blow in

the execution of Servetus, who was a Spaniard, but the ablest and most

dangerous antitrinitarian. His case will be discussed in a special

chapter.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[915] Henry, II. 422; Schweizer, I. 293.

[916] On the Italian refugees in the Grisons, and in Z�rich, see above,

�� 38, 39, and 40; and Trechsel, l.c., II. 64 sqq.

[917] See above, pp. 156 and 162, and C. Schmidt, Peter MartyrVermigli.

Leben und ausgew�hlte Schriften, Elberfeld, 1858 (p. 296). Vergerio,

the former bishop of Capo d'Istria and papal nuncio, is also numbered

among the orthodox Italians, but he had no settled opinions, and was no

theologian in the proper sense. See above, � 38, pp. 144 sqq. E.

Tremellio, a converted Jew of Ferrara (1510-1580), one of the most

learned Orientalists, was a Calvinist.

[918] As a "carmen cantillando magis aptum, quam confessionis formula."

In his tract De vera Ecclesiae reformatione. Comp. � 82, pp. 351 sq.

[919] ousia, hupostasis, prosopon, essentia, substantia, persona, etc.,

and other terms of the Nicene age.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 128. Calvin and Laelius Socinus.

F. Trechsel (pastor at Vechingen, near Bern): Die protest.

Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socinus nach den Quellen und Urkunden

geschichtlich dargestellt. Heidelberg, 1839, 1844. The first part of

this learned work, drawn in part from manuscript sources, is devoted to

Michael Servetus and his predecessors; the second part to Lelio Sozini

and his sympathizing contemporaries. The third section of vol. II.

137-201, with documents in the Appendix, pp. 431-459, treats of Lelio

Sozini.--Henry, II. 484 sqq.; III. 440, Beilage, 128.--Dyer, 251 (very

brief).

Laelius Socinus, or Lelio Sozini, of Siena (1525-1562), son of an

eminent professor of law, was well educated, and carried away by the

reform movement in his early youth. He voluntarily separated from the

Roman Church, in 1546, at the sacrifice of home and fortune. He removed

to Chiavenna in 1547, travelled in Switzerland, France, England,

Germany, and Poland, leading an independent life as a student, without

public office, supported by the ample means of his father. He studied

Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic with Pellican and Bibliander at Z�rich and

with Foster at Wittenberg, that he might reach "the fountain of the

divine law" in the Bible. He made Z�rich his second home, and died

there in the prime of early manhood, leaving his unripe doubts and

crude opinions as a legacy to his more gifted and famous nephew, who

gave them definite shape and form.

Laelius was learned, acute, polite, amiable, and prepossessing. He was

a man of affairs, better fitted for law or diplomacy than for theology.

He was constitutionally a sceptic, of the type of Thomas: an honest

seeker after truth; too independent to submit blindly to authority, and

yet too religious to run into infidelity. His scepticism stumbled first

at the Roman Catholic, than at the Protestant orthodoxy, and gradually

spread over the doctrines of the resurrection, predestination, original

sin, the trinity, the atonement, and the sacraments. Yet he remained in

respectful connection with the Reformers, and communed with the

congregation at Z�rich, although he thought that the Consensus

Tigurinus attributed too much power to the sacrament. He enjoyed the

confidence of Bullinger and Melanchthon, who treated him with fatherly

kindness, but regarded him better fitted for a secular calling than for

the service of the Church. Calvin also was favorably impressed with his

talents and personal character, but displeased with his excessive

"inquisitiveness." [920]

L. Socinus came to Geneva in 1548 or 1549, seeking instruction from the

greatest divine of the age. He opened his doubts to Calvin with the

modesty of a disciple. Soon afterwards he addressed to him a letter

from Z�rich, asking for advice on the questions, whether it was lawful

for a Protestant to marry a Roman Catholic; whether popish baptism was

efficacious; and how the doctrine of the resurrection of the body could

be explained.

Calvin answered in an elaborate letter (June 26, 1549), [921] to the

effect that marriage with Romanists was to be condemned; that popish

baptism was valid and efficacious, and should be resorted to when no

other can be had, since the Roman communion, though corrupt, still

retained marks of the true Church as well as a scattered number of

elect individuals, and since baptism was not a popish invention but a

divine institution and gift of God who fulfils his promises; that the

question on the mode of the resurrection, and its relation to the

changing states of our mortal body, was one of curiosity rather than

utility.

Before receiving this answer, Socinus wrote to Calvin again from Basel

(July 25, 1549) on the same subjects, especially the resurrection,

which troubled his mind very much. [922] To this Calvin returned

another answer (December, 1549), and warned him against the dangers of

his sceptical bent of mind. [923]

Socinus was not discouraged by the earnest rebuke, nor shaken in his

veneration for Calvin. During the Bolsec troubles, when at Wittenberg,

he laid before him his scruples about predestination and free-will, and

appealed to the testimony of Melanchthon, whom he had informed about

the harsh treatment of Bolsec. Calvin answered briefly and not without

some degree of bitterness. [924]

Socinus visited Geneva a second time in 1554, after his return from a

journey to Italy, and before making Z�rich his final home. He was then,

apparently, still in friendly relations to Calvin and Caraccioli. [925]

Soon afterwards he opened to Calvin, in four questions, his objections

to the doctrine of the vicarious atonement. Calvin went to the trouble

to answer them at length, with solid arguments, June, 1555. [926]

But Socinus was not satisfied. His scepticism extended further to the

doctrine of the sacraments and of the Trinity. He doubted first the

personality of the Holy Spirit, and then the eternal divinity of

Christ. He disapproved the execution of Servetus, and advocated

toleration.

Various complaints against Socinus reached Bullinger. Calvin requested

him to restrain the restless curiosity of the sceptic. Vergerio, then

at T�bingen, Saluz of Coire, and other ministers, sent warnings.

Bullinger instituted a private inquiry in a kindly spirit, and was

satisfied with a verbal and written declaration of Socinus (July 15,

1555) to the effect that he fully agreed with the Scriptures and the

Apostles' Creed, that he disapproved the doctrines of the Anabaptists

and Servetus, and that he would not teach any errors, but live in quiet

retirement. Bullinger protected him against further attacks.

Socinus ceased to trouble the Reformers with questions. He devoted

himself to the congregation of refugees from Locarno, and secured for

them Ochino as pastor, but exerted a bad influence upon him. Fortified

with letters of recommendation he made another journey to Italy,--via

Germany and Poland, to recover his property from the Inquisition.

Calvin gave him a letter to Prince Radziwill of Poland, dated June,

1558, to further his object. [927] But Socinus was bitterly

disappointed in his wishes, and returned to Z�rich in August, 1559. The

last few years of his short life he spent in quiet retirement. His

nephew visited him several times, and revered him as a divinely

illuminated man to whom he owed his most fruitful ideas.

The personal relation of Calvin and the elder Socinus is one of curious

mutual attraction and repulsion, like the two systems which they

represent. [928]

The younger Socinus, the real founder of the system called after him,

did not come into personal contact with Calvin, and labored among the

scattered Unitarians and Anabaptists in Poland.

Calvin took a deep interest in the progress of the Reformation in

Poland, and wrote several letters to the king, to Prince Radziwill, and

some of the Polish nobility. But when the writings of Servetus and

antitrinitarian opinions spread in that kingdom, he warned the Polish

brethren, in one of his last writings, against the danger of this

heresy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[920] "Inexplicabilis curiositas," as he called it, adding: "Utinam non

simul accederet phrenetica quaedam protervia." Letter to Bullinger,

Aug. 7, 1554 (Opera, XV. 208).

[921] Ep. 1212 in Opera, VIII. 307-311. We have in all four letters of

Calvin to the elder Socinus, and one from Socinus to Calvin.

[922] Opera, XIII. 337 sq.

[923] Ep. 1323 in Opera, XIII. 484-487.

[924] Opera, XIV. 228. The answer of Calvin in the Geneva library is

without date. Bonnet, who first published it (II. 315), puts it at the

end of 1551; but it probably belongs to the beginning of 1552. See

Melanchthon's letters of Feb. 1, 1552, in which he mentions Laelio's

reports about Bolsec's treatment, quoted p. 621, note.

[925] As may be inferred from a postscript to his letter to Bullinger,

dated Geneva, April 19, 1554, in Trechsel, II. 437.

[926] Responsio ad aliquot Laelii Socini Senensis quaestiones, printed

among the Consilia theologica, in Opera, vol. X. 160-165. Comp. vol.

XV. 642.

[927] Ep. 2876 in Opera, XVII. 181 sq. Henry, III. Beilage, 128 sq.,

first published this letter of recommendation, but misdated it, June,

1553. Laelius did not start on his last journey to Italy before 1558.

[928] Trechsel, II. 166, thus describes the personal relationship: "So

manche Erfahrung von Calvin's Schroffheit Lelio sowohl an sich selbst

als an andern gemacht hatte, so war doch nichts im Stande, sein

achtungsvolles Zutrauen zu dem ausserordentlichen Manne zu schw�chen.

Gerade wie ein Pol den entgegensetzten anzieht, so wurde Lelio's

negative Natur von der positiven Calvin's unaufh�rlich angezogen, so

konnte der Mann des Zweifels aus einer Art von Instinkt nicht umhin,

bei dem Felsenmann des Glaubens, der mit beispielloser K�hnheit und

Consequenz die Tiefen der Gottheit erforschte, gleichsam seine

Erg�nzung zu suchen, ohne dass die totale Divergenz beider Naturen eine

Uebereinstimmung des Denkens und der Ansichten jemals erwarten liess."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 129. Bernardino Ochino. 1487-1565.

Comp. � 40, p. 162. Ochino's Sermons, Tragedy, Catechism, Labyrinths,

and Dialogues. His works are very rare; one of the best collections is

in the library of Wolfenb�ttel; copious extracts in Schelhorn,

Trechsel, Schweizer, and Benrath. A full list in Benrath's monograph,

Appendix II. 374-382. His letters (Italian and Latin), ibid.

AppendixI1. 337-373. Ochino is often mentioned in Calvin's and

Bullinger's correspondence.

Zaccaria Boverio (Rom. Cath.) in the Chronicle of the Order of the

Capuchins, 1630 (inaccurate and hostile). Bayle's "Dict."--Schelhorn:

Erg�tzlich-keiten aus der Kirchenhistorie, Ulm and Leipzig, 1764, vol.

III. (with several documents in Latin and Italian).--Trechsel:

Antitrinitarier, II. 202-270.--Schweizer: Centraldogmen, I.

297-309.--Cesare Cantu (Rom. Cath.): Gli Eretici d'Italia, Turin,

1565-1567, 3vols. --B�chsensch�tz: Vie et �crits de B. O., Strasbourg,

1872.--\*Karl Benrath: Bernardino Ochino von Siena. Ein Beitrag zur

Geschichte der Reformation, Leipzig, 1875 (384 pp.; 2d ed. 1892;

transl. by Helen Zimmern, with preface by William Arthur, London, 1876,

304 pp.; the letters of Ochino are omitted).--Comp. C. Schmidt in his

Peter Martyr Vermigli (1858), pp. 21 sqq., and art. in Herzog2 X.

680-683. (This article is unsatisfactory and shows no knowledge of

Benrath, although he is mentioned in the lit.)

Mi sara facile tutto in Christo per el qual vivo et spero di morire.

(From Ochino's letter to the Council of Siena, Sept. 5, 1540;

reproduced from Benrath's monograph.)

The Capuchin Monk.

Bernardino Ochino [929] is one of the most striking and picturesque

characters among the Italian Protestants of the Reformation period. He

was an oratorical genius and monkish saint who shone with meteoric

brilliancy on the sky of Italy, but disappeared at last under a cloud

of scepticism in the far North.

He reminds one of three other eloquent monks: Savonarola, who was burnt

in Florence at the stake; Father Gavazzi, who became a Calvinist and

died peacefully in Rome; and P�re Hyacinthe, who left the Carmelite

order and the pulpit of Notre Dame in Paris without joining any

Protestant Church.

Ochino was born in the fair Tuscan city of Siena, which is adorned by a

Gothic marble dome and gave birth to six popes, fifty cardinals, and a

number of canonized saints, among them the famous Caterina of Siena;

but also to Protestant heretics, like Lelio and Fausto Sozini. He

joined the Franciscans, and afterwards the severe order of the

Capuchins, which had recently been founded by Fra Matteo Bassi in 1525.

He hoped to gain heaven by self-denial and good works. He far surpassed

his brethren in ability and learning, [930] although his education was

defective (he did not know the original languages of the Bible). He was

twice elected Vicar-General of the Order. He was revered by many as a

saint for his severe asceticism and mortification of the flesh.

Vittoria Colonna, the most gifted woman of Italy, and the Duchess

Renata of Ferrara were among his ardent admirers. Pope Paul III.

intended to create him a cardinal. [931]

Ochino as an Orator.

Ochino was the most popular preacher of Italy in his time. No such

orator had appeared since the death of Savonarola in 1498. He was in

general demand for the course of sermons during Lent, and

everywhere--in Siena, Naples, Rome, Florence, Venice--he attracted

crowds of people who listened to him as to a prophet sent from God.

We can hardly understand from his printed sermons the extravagant

laudations of his contemporaries. But good preachers were rare in

Italy, and the effect of popular oratory depends upon action as much as

on diction. We must take into account the magnetism of his personality,

the force of dramatic delivery, the lively gestures, the fame of his

monastic sanctity, his emaciated face, his gleaming eyes, his tall

stature and imposing figure. The portrait prefixed to his "Nine

Sermons," published at Venice, 1539, shows him to us as he was at the

time: a typical Capuchin monk, with the head bent, the gaze upturned,

the eyes deeply sunk under the brows, the nose aquiline, the mouth half

open, the head shaved on top, the beard reaching down to his breast.

Cardinal Sadolet compared him to the orators of antiquity. One of his

hearers in Naples said, This man could make the very stones weep. [932]

Cardinal Bembo [933] secured him for Lent at Venice through Vittoria

Colonna, and wrote to her (Feb. 23, 1539): "I have heard him all

through Lent with such pleasure that I cannot praise him enough. I have

never heard more useful and edifying sermons than his, and I no longer

wonder that you esteem him so highly. He preaches in a far more

Christian manner than other preachers, with more real sympathy and

love, and utters more soothing and elevating thoughts. Every one is

delighted with him." A few months later (April 4, 1539) he wrote to the

same lady: "Our Fra Bernardino is literally adored here. There is no

one who does not praise him to the skies. How deeply his words

penetrate, how elevating and comforting his discourses!" He begged him

to eat meat and to restrain from excessive abstinence lest he should

break down.

Even Pietro Aretino, the most frivolous and immoral poet of that time,

was superficially converted for a brief season by Ochino's preaching,

and wrote to Paul III. (April 21, 1539): "Bembo has won a thousand

souls for Paradise by bringing to Venice Fra Bernardino, whose modesty

is equal to his virtue. I have myself begun to believe in the

exhortations trumpeted forth from the mouth of this apostolic monk."

Cardinal Commendone, afterwards Bishop of Amelia, an enemy of Ochino,

gives this description of him: "Every thing about Ochino contributed to

make the admiration of the multitude almost overstep all human

bounds,--the fame of his eloquence; his prepossessing, ingratiating

manner; his advancing years; his mode of life; the rough Capuchin garb;

the long beard reaching to his breast; the gray hair; the pale, thin

face; the artificial aspect of bodily weakness; finally, the reputation

of a holy life. Wherever he was to speak the citizens might be seen in

crowds; no church was large enough to contain the multitude of

listeners. Men flocked as numerously as women. When he went elsewhere

the crowd followed after to hear him. He was honored not only by the

common people, but also by princes and kings. Wherever he came he was

offered hospitality; he was met at his arrival, and escorted at his

departure, by the dignitaries of the place. He himself knew how to

increase the desire to hear him, and the reverence shown him. Obedient

to the rule of his order, he only travelled on foot; he was never seen

to ride, although his health was delicate and his age advanced. Even

when Ochino was the guest of nobles--an honor he could not always

refuse--he could never be induced, by the splendor of palaces, dress,

and ornament, to forsake his mode of life. When invited to table, he

ate of only one very simple dish, and he drank little wine; if a soft

bed had been prepared for him, he begged permission to rest on a more

comfortable pallet, spread his cloak on the ground, and laid down to

rest. These practices gain him incredible honor throughout all Italy."

Conversion to Protestantism.

Ochino was already past fifty when he began to lose faith in the Roman

Church. The first traces of the change are found in his "Nine Sermons"

and "Seven Dialogues," which were published at Venice in 1539 and 1541.

He seems to have passed through an experience similar to that of Luther

in the convent at Erfurt, only less deep and lasting. The vain monastic

struggle after righteousness led him to despair of himself, and to find

peace in the assurance of justification by faith in the merits of

Christ. As long as he was a monk, so he informs us, he went even beyond

the requirements of his order in reading masses, praying the Pater

Noster and Ave Maria, reciting Psalms and prayers, confessing trifling

sins once or twice a day, fasting and mortifying his body. But he came

gradually to the conviction that Christ has fully satisfied for his

elect, and conquered Paradise for them; that monastic vows were not

obligatory, and were even immoral; and that the Roman Church, though

brilliant in outward appearance, was thoroughly corrupt and an

abomination in the eyes of God.

In this transition state he was much influenced by his personal

intercourse with Jean de Vald�s and Peter Martyr. Vald�s, a Spanish

nobleman who lived at Rome and Naples, was an evangelical mystic, and

the real author of that remarkable book, "On the Benefit of Christ's

Death" (published at Venice, 1540). It was formerly attributed to Aonio

Paleario (a friend of Ochino), and had a wide circulation in Italy till

it was suppressed and publicly burnt at Naples in 1553.

During the Lent season of 1542, Ochino preached his last course of

sermons at Venice. The papal agents watched him closely and reported

some expressions as heretical. He was forbidden to preach, and cited to

Rome.

Caraffa had persuaded Pope Paul III. to use violent measures for the

suppression of the Protestant heresy. In Rome, Peter had conquered

Simon Magus, the patriarch of all heretics; in Rome' the successor of

Peter must conquer all successors of the arch-heretic. The Roman

Inquisition was established by the bull Licet ab initio, July 21, 1542,

under the direction of six cardinals. with plenary power to arrest and

imprison persons suspected of heresy, and to confiscate their property.

The famous General of the Capuchins was to be the first victim of the

"Holy Office."

Ochino departed for Rome in August. Passing through Bologna, he called

on the noble Cardinal Contarini, who in the previous year had met

Melanchthon and Calvin at the Colloquy of Ratisbon, and was suspected

of having a leaning to the Lutheran doctrine of justification, and to a

moderate reformation. The cardinal was sick, and died soon after

(August 24). The interview was brief, but left upon Ochino the

impression that there was no chance for him in Rome. He continued his

journey to Florence, met Peter Martyr in a similar condition, and was

warned of the danger awaiting both. He felt that he must choose between

Rome or Christ, between silence or death, and that flight was the only

escape from this alternative. He resolved to save his life for future

usefulness, though he was already fifty-six years old, gray-haired, and

enfeebled by his ascetic life. If I remain in Italy, he said, my mouth

is sealed; if I leave, I may by my writings continue to labor for the

truth with some prospect of success.

He proved by his conduct the sincerity of his conversion to

Protestantism. He risked every thing by secession from the papacy. An

orator has no chance in a foreign land with a foreign tongue. [934]

Ochino in Switzerland.

In August, 1542, he left Florence; Peter Martyr followed two days

later. He was provided with a servant and a horse by Ascanio Colonna, a

brother of Vittoria, his friend. [935] At Ferrara, the Duchess Renata

furnished him with clothing and other necessaries, and probably also

with a letter to her friend Calvin. According to Boverius, the annalist

of the Capuchins, who deplores his apostasy as a great calamity for the

order, he was accompanied by three lay brethren from Florence.

He proceeded through the Grisons to Z�rich, and stopped there two days.

He was kindly received by Bullinger, who speaks of him in a letter to

Vadian (Dec. 19, 1542) as a venerable man, famous for sanctity of life

and eloquence.

He arrived at Geneva about September, 1542, and remained there three

years. He preached to the small Italian congregation, but devoted

himself chiefly to literary work by which he hoped to reach a larger

public in his native land. He was deeply impressed with the moral and

religious prosperity of Geneva, the like of which he had never seen

before, and gave a favorable description of it in one of his Italian

sermons. [936]

"In Geneva, where I am now residing," he wrote in October, 1542,

"excellent Christians are daily preaching the pure word of God. The

Holy Scriptures are constantly read and openly discussed, and every one

is at liberty to propound what the Holy Spirit suggests to him, just

as, according to the testimony of Paul, was the case in the primitive

Church. Every day there is a public service of devotion. Every Sunday

there is catechetical instruction of the young, the simple, and the

ignorant. Cursing and swearing, unchastity, sacrilege, adultery, and

impure living, such as prevail in many places where I have lived, are

unknown here. There are no pimps and harlots. 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. The people admonish each other in brotherly fashion, as Christ

prescribes. Lawsuits are banished from the city; nor is there any

simony, murder, or party spirit, but only peace and charity. On the

other hand, 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 all idolatry." [937]

Ochino wrote at Geneva a justification of his flight, in a letter to

Girolamo Muzio (April 7, 1543). In a letter to the magistrates of

Siena, he gave a full confession of his faith based chiefly on the

eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans (Nov. 3, 1543). He

published, in rapid succession, seven volumes of Italian sermons or

theological essays. [938]

He says in the Preface to these sermons: "Now, my dear Italy, I can no

more speak to you from mouth to mouth; but I will write to you in thine

own language, that everybody may understand me. My comfort is that

Christ so willed it, that, laying aside all earthly considerations, I

may regard only the truth. And as the justification of the sinner by

Christ is the beginning of the Christian life, let us begin with it in

the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." His sermons are evangelical, and

show a mystical tendency, as we might expect from a disciple of Valdes.

He lays much stress on the vital union of the soul with Christ by faith

and love. He teaches a free salvation by the sole merits of Christ, and

the Calvinistic doctrine of sovereign election, but without the

negative inference of reprobation. He wrote also a popular,

paraphrastic commentary on his favorite Epistle to the Romans (1545),

which was translated into Latin and German. Afterwards, he published

sermons on the Epistle to the Galatians, which were printed at

Augsburg, 1546.

He lived on good terms with Calvin, who distrusted the Italians, but

after careful inquiry was favorably impressed with Ochino's "eminent

learning and exemplary life." [939] He mentions him first in a letter

to Viret (September, 1542) as a venerable refugee, who lived in Geneva

at his own expense, and promised to be of great service if he could

learn French. [940] In a letter to Melanchthon (Feb. 14, 1543), he

calls him an "eminent and excellent man, who has occasioned no little

stir in Italy by his departure." [941] Two years afterwards (Aug. 15,

1545), he recommended him to Myconius of Basel as "deserving of high

esteem everywhere." [942]

Ochino associated at Basel with Castellio, and employed him in the

translation of his works from the Italian. This connection may have

shaken his confidence in the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and

free-will.

Ochino in Germany.

He labored for some time as preacher and author in Strassburg, where he

met his old friend Peter Martyr, and in Augsburg, where he received

from the city council a regular salary of two hundred guilders as

preacher among the foreigners. This was his first regular settlement

after he had left Italy. At Augsburg he lived with his brother-in-law

and sister. He seems to have married at that time, if not earlier.

[943]

Ochino in England.

After his victory over the Smalkaldian League, the Emperor Charles V.

held a triumphant entry in Augsburg, Jan. 23, 1547, and demanded the

surrender of the Apostate monk, whose powerful voice he had heard from

the pulpit at Naples eleven years before. The magistrates enabled

Ochino to escape in the night. He fled to Z�rich, where he accidentally

met Calvin, who arrived there on the same day. From Z�rich he went to

Basel.

Here he received, in 1547, a call to England from Archbishop Cranmer,

who needed foreign aid in the work of the Reformation under the

favorable auspices of the young King Edward VI. At the same time he

called Peter Martyr, then professor at Strassburg, to a theological

professorship at Oxford, and two years afterwards he invited Bucer and

Fagius of Strassburg, who refused to sign the Augsburg Interim, to

professorial chairs in the University of Cambridge (1549). Ochino and

Peter Martyr made the journey together in company with an English

knight, who provided the outfit and the travelling expenses.

Ochino labored six years in London, from 1547 to 1554, probably the

happiest of his troubled life,--as evangelist among the Italian

merchants and refugees, and as a writer in aid of the Reformation. His

family followed him. He enjoyed the confidence of Cranmer, who

appointed him canon of Canterbury (though he never resided there), and

received a competent salary from the private purse of the king.

His chief work of that period is a theological drama against the papacy

under the title "A Tragedy or a Dialogue of the unjust, usurped primacy

of the Bishop of Rome," with a flattering dedication to Edward VI. He

takes the ground of all the Reformers, that the pope is the predicted

Antichrist, seated in the temple of God; and traces, in a series of

nine conversations, with considerable dramatic skill but imperfect

historical information, the gradual growth of the papacy from Boniface

III. and Emperor Phocas (607) to its downfall in England under Henry

VIII. and Edward VI. [944]

Ochino again in Switzerland.

After the accession of Queen Mary, Ochino had to flee, and went a

second time to Geneva. He arrived there a day after the burning of

Servetus (Oct. 28, 1553), which he disapproved, but he did not lose his

respect for Calvin, whom he called, in a letter of Dec. 4, 1555, the

first divine and the ornament of the century. [945]

He accepted a call as pastor of the Italian congregation at Z�rich.

Here he associated freely with Peter Martyr, but more, it would seem,

with Laelius Socinus, who was also a native of Siena, and who by his

sceptical opinions exerted an unsettling influence on his mind.

He wrote a catechism for his congregation (published at Basel, 1561) in

the form of a dialogue between "Illuminato" (the catechumen) and

"Ministro." He explains the usual five parts--the Decalogue (which

fills one-half of the book), the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer,

Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, with an appendix of prayers.

His last works were his "Labyrinths" (1561) and "Thirty Dialogues"

(1563), translated by Castellio into Latin, and published by an Italian

printer at Basel. In these books Ochino discusses the doctrines of

predestination, free-will, the Trinity, and monogamy, in a

latitudinarian and sceptical way, which made the heretical view appear

stronger in the argument than the orthodox.

The most objectionable is the dialogue on polygamy (Dial. XXI.), which

he seemed to shield by the example of the patriarchs and kings of the

Old Testament; while monogamy was not sufficiently defended, although

it is declared to be the only moral form of marriage. [946] The subject

was much ventilated in that age, especially in connection with the

bigamy of Philip of Hesse and the deplorable connivance of the Lutheran

Reformers. A dialogue in favor of polygamy appeared in 1541, under the

fictitious name of "Huldericus Neobulus," in the interest of Philip of

Hesse. From this dialogue Ochino borrowed some of his strongest

arguments. [947] This accounts for his theoretical error. He certainly

could have had no personal motive, for he was then in his

seventy-seventh year, a widower with four children. [948] His moral

life had always been unblemished, as his congregation and Bullinger

testified.

The End.

The dialogue on polygamy caused the unceremonious deposition and

expulsion of the old man from Z�rich by the Council, in December, 1563.

In vain did he protest against misinterpreta-tion, and beg to be

allowed to remain during the cold winter with his four children. He was

ordered to quit the city within three weeks. Even the mild Bullinger

did not protect him. He went to Basel, but the magistrates of that city

were even more intolerant than the clergy, and would not permit him to

remain during the winter. Castellio, the translator of the obnoxious

books, was also called to account, but was soon summoned to a higher

judgment (December 23). The printer, Perna, who had sold all the

copies, was threatened with punishment, but seems to have escaped it.

Ochino found a temporary hiding-place in N�rnberg, and sent from there

in self-defence an ill-tempered attack upon Z�rich, to which the

ministers of that city replied. [949]

Being obliged to leave N�rnberg, he turned his weary steps to Poland,

and was allowed to preach to his countrymen at Cracow. But Cardinal

Hosius and the papal nuncio denounced him as an atheist, and induced

the king to issue an edict by which all non-Catholic foreigners were

expelled from Poland (Aug. 6, 1564).

Ochino entered upon his last weary journey. At Pinczow he was seized by

the pestilence and lost three of his children; nothing is known of the

fourth. He himself survived, but a few weeks afterwards he took sick

again and ended his lonely life at the end of December, 1564, at

Schlackau in Moravia: a victim of his sceptical speculations and the

intolerance of his age. A veil is thrown over his last days: no

monument, no inscription marks his grave. What a sad contrast between

the bright morning and noon-day, and the gloomy evening, of his public

life!

A false rumor was spread that before his journey to Poland he met at

Schaffhausen the cardinal of Lorraine on his return from the Council of

Trent, and offered to prove twenty-four errors against the Reformed

Church. The offer was declined with the remark: "Four errors are

enough." The rumor was investigated, but could not be verified. He

himself denied it, and one of his last known utterances was: "I wish to

be neither a Bullingerite, nor a Calvinist, nor a Papist, but simply a

Christian." [950]

His sceptical views on the person of Christ and the atonement disturbed

and nearly broke up the Italian congregation in Z�rich. No new pastor

was elected; the members coalesced with the German population, and the

antitrinitarian influences disappeared.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[929] Also spelled Occhino, in Latin Ocellus.

[930] Boverius (ad ann. 1535): "Bernardinus divinis et humanis literas

non mediocriter imbutus."

[931] Sand, Seckendorf, C. Schmidt (in Herzog), and others, state that

the pope made Ochino his confessor; but this is without support, and

intrinsically improbable. See Benrath, 33 sq. (German ed.).

[932] "Predicava con ispirito grande che faceva piagnere i sassi." Some

wrongly attribute this saying of Rosso to the Emperor Charles V., who

heard Ochino at Naples. Benrath, 24, note.

[933] He was then the historiographer of Venice, but was soon

afterwards created cardinal by Paul III., March 24, 1539.

[934] Caraffa, the restorer of the Inquisition, ascribed his conversion

to impure motives, but without evidence. On these calumnies see

Benrath, pp. 170 sq. Audin (ch. XLV.), drawing on his imagination, says

that Ochino, tempted by the demon of doubt and pride, fled to Geneva

with a young girl whom he had seduced!

[935] Colonna sent him afterwards through a messenger some means of

support to Switzerland, as we learn from a letter of Bullinger.

[936] Quoted in Italian by Trechsel, II. 203, in German by Benrath, p.

169.

[937] "Le chiese sono purgatissime da ogni idolatria." This testimony

is confirmed by Vergerio, Farel, Knox, and others. See � 110, pp. 516

sqq.

[938] Prediche, Geneva, 1542-1544, several editions also in Latin,

French, German, and English. See Benrath, pp. 374 sq., and his summary

of the contents, pp. 175 sqq.

[939] He wrote to Pellican, April 19, 1543: "Quoniam Italicis plerisque

ingeniis non multum fido ..., contuli cum eo diligenter .... Hoc

testimonium pio et sancto viro visum est .... Est enim praestanti et

ingenio et doctrina et sanctitate." Opera, XI. 528.

[940] Opera, XI. 447 sq. Comp. letter to Viret, October, 1542, ibid.

458: "Bernardus noster miris machinis impetitus est, ut nobis

abduceretur: constanter tamen perstat."

[941] "Magnum et praeclarum virum, qui suo discessu non parum Italiam

commovit." Opera, XI. 517.

[942] "Bern. Senensis, vir nuper in Italia magni nominis, dignus certe

qui habeatur ubique in pretio." Opera, XII. 135. Benrath (192) gives

the wrong date of this letter, viz. 1542,--probably a typographical

error.

[943] Benrath, p. 194. We know nothing of his wife and children, not

even their names. An old monk is not well fitted for a happy family

life.

[944] The book was translated from Latin into English by Dr. John

Ponnet, afterwards bishop of Winchester, and published in London, 1549.

Benrath gives a good summary, pp. 215 sqq.

[945] "Seculi nostri decus." Benrath, 364 sq.

[946] I learn from Schelhorn (III. 2152), that this dialogue appeared

in an English translation, "by a Person of Quality," in London, 1657.

[947] The correspondence of the two books has been proven by Schelhorn,

l.c., III. 2140 sqq., and I. 631 sqq. Bucer was suspected of being

concealed under the Neobulus, but he denied it. See Schelhorn, I. 634.

[948] His wife died in consequence of an accident shortly before the

Dialogues were published. Benrath, p. 307.

[949] Spongia adversus aspergines Bernardini Ochini, etc., printed in

Hottinger's Historia Eccles. N. Ti., and in Schelhorn, III. 2157-2194.

[950] From a letter of Knibb to Bullinger, Easter, 1564, in the Simler

Collection in Z�rich. Trechsel, II. 265; Benrath, 315.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 130. Caelius Secundus Curio. 1503-1569.

Curio's works and correspondence.--Trechsel, I. 215 sqq., and Wagemann

in Herzog,2 III. 396-400 (where the literature is given).

Celio Secundo Curione or Curio was the youngest of twenty-three

children of a Piedmontese nobleman, studied history and law at Turin,

became acquainted with the writings of Luther, Zwingli, and Melanchthon

through an Augustinian monk, and labored zealously for the spread of

Protestant doctrines in Pavia, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, and Lucca. He

barely escaped death at the stake, and fled to Switzerland with letters

of recommendation by the Duchess Renata, the friend of Calvin. He

received an appointment as professor of eloquence in Lausanne

(1543-1547) and afterwards in Basel. He was the father-in-law of

Zanchius. He attracted students from abroad, declined several calls,

kept up a lively correspondence with his countrymen and with the

Reformers, and wrote a number of theological and literary works. He

sided with the latitudinarians, and thereby lost the confidence of

Calvin and Bullinger; but he maintained his ground in Basel, and became

the ancestor of several famous theological families of that city

(Buxtorf, Zwinger, Werenfels, Frey).

Curio sympathized with Zwingli's favorable judgment of the noble

heathen, and thought that they were as acceptable to God as the pious

Israelites. Vergerio, formerly a friend of Curio, charged him with the

Pelagian heresy and with teaching that men may be saved without the

knowledge of Christ, though not without Christ. [951]

Curio advanced also the hopeful view that the kingdom of heaven is much

larger than the kingdom of Satan, and that the saved will far outnumber

the lost. [952]

Such opinions were disapproved by Peter Martyr, Zanchi, Bullinger,

Brenz, John a Lasco, and all orthodox Protestants of that age, as

paradoxical and tending to Universalism. But modern Calvinists go

further than Curio, at least in regard to the large majority of the

saved. [953]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[951] "Absque Christi cognitions, licet non sine Christo, aliquos

salutem adipisci." Letter of Vergerio to Bullinger (T�bingen, Sept. 6,

1554), quoted by Trechsel, I. 217. Vergerio denounced Curio to the

Swiss Churches. See his letters to Amerbach, in Trechsel, II. 463-465.

[952] De amplitudine beati regni Dei dialogi II. Printed at Poschiavo

in the Grisons, 1554.

[953] Dr. Charles Hodge (Syst. Theol. III. 879 sq.) says: "We have

reason to believe, as urged in the first volume of this work, and as

often urged elsewhere, that the number of the finally lost in

comparison with the whole number of the saved will be very

inconsiderable."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 131. The Italian Antitrinitarians in Geneva. Gribaldo, Biandrata,

Alciati, Gentile.

See Lit. in � 127, and Sandius: Bibliotheca antitrinitaria. Trechsel

(I. 277-390) is still the best authority on the early Antitrinitarians

in Switzerland, and gives large extracts from the sources. Fock (I.

134) has only a few words on them.--Comp. in addition, Heberle: G.

Blandrata, in the "T�binger Zeitschrift f�r Theologie," for 1840, No.

IV. Dorner: Hist. of Christology, German ed., II. 656 sqq.

The antitrinitarian leaven entered the Italian congregation at Geneva

during and after the trial of Servetus, but was suppressed by the

combined action of the Swiss Churches. This constitutes the last

chapter of Antitrinitarianism in Switzerland.

Several Italian refugees denounced the execution of Servetus, adopted

his views and tried to improve them, but were far inferior to him in

genius and originality.

They circulated libels on Calvin, and ventilated their opinions in the

weekly conference meetings of the Italian congregation, which were open

to questions and free discussions.

1. Matteo Gribaldo, a noted professor of jurisprudence at Padua, bought

the estate of Farges in the territory of Bern, near Geneva, and spent

there a part of each year. He attended the Italian meetings on his

visits to the town. During the trial of Servetus he openly expressed

his disapproval of civil punishment for religious opinions, and

maintained that everybody should be allowed to believe what he pleased.

He at first concealed his views on the doctrine of Servetus, except

among intimate friends. After an examination before the Council, he was

ordered to leave the city on suspicion of heretical opinions on the

Trinity (1559). These opinions were crude and undigested. He vacillated

between dyotheism or tritheism and Arianism. He could not conceive of

Father and Son except as two distinct beings or substances: the one

begetting, the other begotten; the one sending, the other sent. He

compared their relation to that between Paul and Apollos, who were two

individuals, yet one in the abstract idea of the apostolate.

Before his dismission from Geneva he had, through the influence of

Vergerio, received an appointment us professor of law in the University

of T�bingen. Passing through Z�rich he called on Bullinger, and

complained bitterly of the conduct of Calvin. He gained the applause of

the students in T�bingen, and was often consulted by Duke Christopher

of W�rtemberg on important matters.

But rumors of his heresies reached T�bingen, and inquiries were sent to

Geneva. Calvin warned his old teacher, Melchior Volmar, against him,

and Beza alarmed Vergerio by unfavorable reports. Vergerio informed the

Duke of the charges.

Gribaldo was subjected to an examination before the academic senate in

the presence of the Duke, and was pressed for a decided answer to the

question, whether he agreed with the Athanasian Creed and the edict of

Theodosius I. respecting the Trinity and the Catholic faith. He asked

three weeks' time for consideration, but escaped to his villa at

Farges, where his family still resided.

There he was apprehended by the magistrates of Bern at the instance of

the Duke of W�rtemberg, in September, 1557. His papers were seized and

found to contain antitrinitarian and other heresies. He was ordered to

renounce his errors by a confession drawn up with his own hand, and

banished from the territory of Bern; but on his promise to keep quiet,

he was allowed to return the following year for the sake of his seven

children. He died of the plague which visited Switzerland in 1564, and

swept away thirty-eight thousand persons in the territory of Bern,

besides seven thousand in Basel, and fourteen hundred at Coire. It was

a fatal time for the Reformed Church, for between 1564 and 1566 several

of the leaders died; as Calvin, Farel, Bibliander, Borrhaus, Blaurer,

Fabricius, and Saluz. [954]

2. Giorgio Biandrata (or Blandrata), an educated physician of a noble

family of Saluzzo in Piedmont (born about 1515), escaped the

inquisition by flight to Geneva in 1557. He agreed substantially with

Gribaldo, but was more subtle and cautious. He called Calvin his

reverend father, and consulted him on theological questions. He seemed

to be satisfied, but returned again and again with new doubts. Calvin,

overburdened with labor and care, patiently listened and spent whole

hours with the sceptic. He also answered his objections in writing.

[955] At last he refused further discussion as useless. "He tried,"

wrote Calvin to Lismann, "to circumvent me like a serpent, but God gave

me strength to withstand his cunning."

The spirit of doubt spread more and more in the Italian congregation.

One of the principal sympathizers of Biandrata was Gianpaolo Alciati, a

Piedmontese who had served in the army, and was not used to reverent

language.

Martinengo, the worthy Italian pastor, shortly before his death, begged

Calvin to take care of the little flock and to extirpate the dangerous

heresy. Accordingly, a public meeting of the Italian congregation was

held May 18, 1558, in the presence of Calvin and two members of the

Council. Calvin, in the name of the Council, invited the malcontents to

utter themselves freely, and assured them that they should not be

punished. Biandrata appealed to certain expressions of Calvin, but was

easily convicted of mistake. Alciati went so far as to declare that the

orthodox party "worshipped three devils worse than all the idols of

popery." After a three hours' discussion, it was resolved that all the

members of the congregation should subscribe a confession of faith,

which asserted the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as being

consistent with the essential unity of the Godhead.

Six members at first refused to subscribe, but yielded afterwards with

the exception, it seems, of Biandrata and Alciati. They felt unsafe in

Geneva, and went to Bern. There they found a sympathizer in Zurkinden,

the secretary of the city, who engaged in an angry controversy with

Calvin.

Biandrata left for Poland, gained the confidence of Prince Radziwill,

propagated his Unitarian opinions, and justified himself before a synod

at Pinczow (1561). In 1563 he accepted a call of Prince John Sigismund

of Transylvania as his physician, and converted him and many others to

his views, but was charged by Faustus Socinus to have in his last years

favored the Jesuits from mercenary motives. It is possible that the old

man, weary of theological strife, lost himself in the maze of

scepticism, like Ochino. Tradition reports that he was robbed and

murdered by his own nephew after 1585.

3. The peace of the Italian congregation was again disturbed by

Giovanne Valenti Gentile of Calabria, a school-master of some learning

and acuteness, who was attracted to Geneva by Calvin's reputation, but

soon imbibed the sentiments of Gribaldo and Biandrata. He was one of

the six members who had at first refused to sign the Italian confession

of faith. Soon after the departure of Biandrata and Alciati he openly

professed their views, urged, as he said, by his conscience. He charged

the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity with quaternity,--adding a general

divine essence to the three divine essences of Father, Son, and

Spirit,--and maintained that the Father was the only divine essence,

the "essentiator." Both these ideas he borrowed from Servetus. The Son

is only an image and reflection of the Father.

Gentile was thrown into prison, July, 1557, by order of the Council, on

the charge of violating the confession he had signed. He repeated his

views and appealed to the ministers and the Council for protection

against the tyranny of Calvin, but he was refuted by the ministers. At

last he apologized for his severe language against Calvin, whom he had

always revered as a great man, but he refused to recant his views. The

Council asked the judgment of five lawyers, who decided that, according

to the imperial laws (De summa Trinitate et fide catholica et de

hereticis), Gentile deserved death by fire. The Council, instead,

pronounced the milder sentence of death by the sword (Aug. 15). It

seems that Calvin's advice, which had been disregarded in the case of

Servetus, now prevailed in the case of Gentile.

The fear of death induced Gentile to withdraw his charges against the

orthodox doctrine, and to sign a brief confession of faith in three

divine Persons in one Essence, and in the unity, coequality, and

coeternity of the Son and Holy Spirit with the Father. He was released

of the sentence of death; yet in view of his perjury, his heresies, and

false accusations against the Church of Geneva, he was condemned by the

magistrates to make an amende honorable, that is, in his shirt,

bareheaded, and barefooted, with a lighted torch in his hand, to beg on

his knees the judge's pardon, to burn his writings with his own hand,

and to walk through the principal streets under the sound of the

trumpet. The sentence was carried out on the second of September. He

submitted to it with surprising readiness, happy to escape death at

such a cheap price. He also promised on oath not to leave the city

without permission.

But he was hardly set at liberty when he escaped and joined his friends

Gribaldo and Alciati at Farges. Soon afterwards he spent some time at

Lyons. He studied the ante-Nicene Fathers, who confirmed his

subordinationism, and wrote a book (Antidota) in defence of his views

and against the chapter on the Trinity in Calvin's Institutes. He

declared that the orthodox terms of homoousia, person, substance,

trinity, unity, were profane and monstrous, and obscured the true

doctrine of the one God. He also attacked the doctrine of the two

natures in Christ and the communication of attributes as idle

speculations, which should be banished from the Church. He borrowed

from Origen the distinction between the original God (aujtoqeov"), that

is, the Father and the derived or secondary God (qeov", deuterovqeo",

eJterovqeo") that is, the Son. The Father alone is God in the strict

sense of the term--the essentiator; the Son is essentiatus and

subordinate. He spoke most disrespectfully and passionately of the

orthodox views. Calvin refuted his opinions in a special book (1561).

Gentile roused the suspicion of the Catholic authorities in Lyons and

was imprisoned, but was set free after fifty days on his declaration

that his writings were only opposed to Calvinism, not to orthodoxy.

But he felt unsafe in France, and accepted, with Alciati, an invitation

of Biandrata to Poland in the summer of 1563.

After the royal edict, which expelled all the Antitrinitarians, he

returned to Switzerland, was apprehended by the authorities of Bern,

convicted of heresies, deceits, and evasions, and beheaded on the tenth

of September, 1566. On the way to the place of execution, he declared

that he died a martyr for the honor of the supreme God, and charged the

ministers who accompanied him with Sabellianism. He received the

death-stroke with firmness, amid the exhortations of the clergy and the

prayers of the multitude for God's mercy. Benedict Aretius, a

theologian of Bern, published in the following year the acts of the

process with a refutation of Gentile's objections to the orthodox

doctrine.

The fate of Gentile was generally approved. No voice of complaint or

protest was heard, except a feeble one from Basel. Calvin had died more

than two years before, and now the city of Bern, which had opposed his

doctrinal and disciplinary rigor, condemned to death a heretic less

gifted and dangerous than Servetus. Gentile himself indirectly admitted

that a teacher of false religion was deserving of death, but he

considered his own views as true and scriptural. [956]

The death of Gentile ends the history of Antitrinitarianism in

Switzerland. In the same year the strictly orthodox Second Helvetic

Confession of Bullinger was published and adopted in the Reformed

Cantons.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[954] Trechsel, II. 356.

[955] Ad questiones Blandratae responsum, 1558. See Lit. in � 127.

[956] See on this last chapter in the history of Gentile, Trechsel, II.

355-380.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 132. The Eucharistic Controversies. Calvin and Westphal.

I. The Sources are given in � 117. See especially Calvin's Opera, vol.

IX. 1-252, and the Prolegomena, pp. i-xxiv. The correspondence between

Bullinger, � Lasco, Farel, Viret, and Calvin, on the controversy, in

his Opera, vols. XV. and XVI. The letters of Melanchthon from this

period in the Corpus Reform. vols. VII.-IX. The works of Westphal are

quoted below.

II. Planck (neutral): Geschichte des Protest. Lehrbegriff's (Leipzig,

1799), vol. V. Part II. 1-137.--Ebrard (Reformed): Das Dogma vom heil.

Abendmahl, II. 525-744.--Nevin (Reformed), in the "Mercersburg Review"

for 1850, pp. 486-510.--M�nckeberg (Lutheran): Joachim Westphal und

Joh. Calvin, 1865.--Wagenmann in Herzog2, XVII. 1-6.

Henry, III. 298-357.--Dyer, 401-412.--St�helin, II. 112 sqq., 189

sqq.--Gieseler, III. Part II. 280 sqq.--Dorner: Geschichte der protest.

Theol., 400 sqq.--Schaff, Creeds, I. 279 sqq.

The sacramental controversy between Luther and Zwingli was apparently

solved by the middle theory of Calvin, Bullinger, and Melanchthon, and

had found a symbolical expression in the Z�rich Consensus of 1549, for

Switzerland, and even before that, in the Wittenberg Concordia of 1536

and in Melanchthon's irenical restatement of the 10th article of the

Altered Augsburg Confession of 1540, for Germany. Luther's renewed

attack upon the Swiss in 1544 was isolated, and not supported by any of

his followers; while Calvin, from respect for Luther, kept silent.

But in 1552 a second sacramental war was opened by Westphal in the

interest of the high Lutheran theory, and gradually spread over all

Germany and Switzerland.

We may well "lament," with Calvin in his letter to Schalling (March,

1557), that those who professed the same gospel of Christ were

distracted on the subject of his Last Supper, which should have been

the chief bond of union among them. [957]

The Westphal-Calvin controversy did not concern the fact of the real

presence, which was conceded by Calvin in all his previous writings on

the subject, but the subordinate questions of the mode of the presence,

of the ubiquity of Christ's body, and the effect of the sacrament on

unworthy communicants, whether they received the very body and blood of

Christ, or only bread and wine, to their condemnation. Calvin clearly

states the points of difference in the preface to his, Second Defence"

: --

"That I have written reverently of the legitimate use, dignity, and

efficacy, of the sacraments, even he himself [Westphal] does not deny.

How skilfully or learnedly in his judgment, I care not, since it is

enough to be commended for piety by an enemy. The contest remaining

with him embraces three articles:

"First, he insists that the bread of the Supper is substantially

(substantialiter) the body of Christ. Secondly, in order that Christ

may exhibit himself present to believers, he insists that his body is

immense (immensum), and exists everywhere, though without place (ubique

esse, extra locum). Thirdly, he insists that no figure is to be

admitted in the words of Christ, whatever agreement there may be as to

the thing. Of such importance does he deem it to stick doggedly to the

words, that he would sooner see the whole globe convulsed than admit

any exposition.

"We maintain that the body and blood of Christ are truly offered (vere

offerri) to us in the Supper in order to give life to our souls; and we

explain, without ambiguity, that our souls are invigorated by this

spiritual aliment (spirituali alimento), which is offered to us in the

Supper, just as our bodies are nourished by daily bread. Therefore we

hold, that in the Supper there is a true partaking (vera participatio)

of the flesh and blood of Christ. Should any one raise a dispute as to

the word 'substance,' we assert that Christ, from the substance of his

flesh, breathes life into our souls; nay, infuses his own life into us

(propriam in nos vitam diffundere), provided always that no transfusion

of substance be imagined." [958]

The Swiss had in this controversy the best of the argument and showed a

more Christian spirit. The result was disastrous to Lutheranism. The

Palatinate, in part also Hesse, Bremen, Anhalt, and, at a later period,

the reigning dynasty of Prussia, passed over into the Reformed Church.

Hereafter there were two distinct and separate Confessions in

Protestant Germany, the Lutheran and the Reformed, which in the

Westphalia Treaty were formally recog-nized on a basis of legal

equality. The Lutheran Church might have sustained still greater loss

if Melanchthon had openly professed his essential agreement with

Calvin. But the magnetic power of Luther's name and personality, and of

his great work saved his doctrine of the Eucharist and the ubiquity of

Christ's body, which was finally formulated and fixed in the Formula of

Concord (1577).

Joachim Westphal (1510-1574), a rigid Lutheran minister and afterwards

superintendent at Hamburg, who inherited the intolerance and violent

temper, but none of the genius and generosity of Luther, wrote, without

provocation, a tract against the "Z�rich Consensus," and against Calvin

and Peter Martyr, in 1552. He aimed indirectly at the Philippists

(Melanchthonians), who agreed with the Calvinistic theory of the

Eucharist without openly confessing it, and who for this reason were

afterwards called Crypto-Calvinists. He had previously attacked

Melanchthon, his teacher and benefactor, and compared his conduct in

the Interim controversy with Aaron's worship of the golden calf. [959]

He taught that the very body of Christ was in the bread substantially,

that it was ubiquitous, though illocal (extra locum), and that it was

partaken by Judas no less than by Peter. He made no distinction between

Calvin and Zwingli. He treats as "sacramentarians" and heretics all

those who denied the corporal presence, the oral manducation, and the

literal eating of Christ's body with the teeth, even by unbelievers. He

charges them with holding no less than twenty-eight conflicting

opinions on the words of institution, quoting extracts from Carlstadt,

Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer, � Lasco, Bullinger, Peter Martyr,

Schwenkfeld, and chiefly from Calvin. But nearly all these opinions are

essentially the same, and that of Carlstadt was never adopted by any

Church or any Reformed theologian. [960] He speaks of their godless

perversion of the Scriptures, and even their "satanic blasphemies." He

declared that they ought to be refuted by the rod of the magistrates

rather than by the pen. [961]

As his first attack was ignored by the Swiss, he wrote another and

larger tract in 1553, in which he proved the Lutheran view chiefly from

1 Cor. 11:29, 30, and urged the Lutherans to resist the progress of the

Zwinglian or, as it was now called, Calvinistic heresy. [962]

The style and taste of his polemic may be inferred from his calling

Bullinger "the bull of Z�rich," Calvin "the calf of Geneva," and �

Lasco "the Polish bear."

About the same time, in the autumn and winter of 1553, John � Lasco, a

Polish nobleman, a friend of Calvin, and minister of a foreign Reformed

congregation in London, fled with one hundred and seventy-five

Protestants from persecution under the bloody Mary, and sought shelter

on Danish and German shores; but was refused even a temporary refuge in

cold winter at Helsing�r, Copenhagen, Rostock, L�beck, and Hamburg

(though they found it at last in East Friesland). Westphal denounced

these noble men as martyrs of the devil, enraged the people against

them, and gloried in the inhuman cruelty as an act of faith. [963]

This conduct roused the Swiss to self-defence. Bullinger vindicated the

orthodoxy of the Z�rich ministry with his usual moderation. Calvin

heard of the treatment of the refugees through a letter of Peter

Martyr, then at Strassburg, in May, 1554, and took up his sharp and

racy pen in three successive pamphlets. He at first wished to issue a

joint remonstrance of the Swiss Churches, and sent a hasty draft to

Bullinger. But Z�rich, Basel, and Bern found it too severe, and refused

to sign it. He corrected the draft, and published it in his own name

under the title "Defence of the Sound and Orthodox Doctrine on the

Sacraments," as laid down in the Consensus Tigurinus (Geneva, 1555). He

treated Westphal with sovereign contempt, without naming him. Westphal

replied in a tract thrice as large, complaining of the unworthy

treatment, denying the intention of disturbing the peace of the Church,

but repeating his charges against the Sacramentarians. [964] Calvin,

after some hesitation, prepared a "Second Defence," now openly directed

"contra Westphali calumnias," and published it, with a preface to the

Churches of Germany, in January, 1556. Westphal replied in two

writings, one against Calvin and one against � Lasco, and sent letters

to the leading cities of North Germany, urging them to unite in an

orthodox Lutheran Confession against the Z�rich Consensus. He received

twenty-five responses, and issued them at Magdeburg, 1557. He also

reprinted Melanchthon's former opinions on the real presence (Hamburg,

1557). To meet these different assaults Calvin issued his "Last

Admonition to Westphal" (1557). Westphal continued the controversy, but

Calvin kept silent and handed him over to Beza.

Besides these main contestants several others took part in the fight:

on the Lutheran side, Timan, Schnepf, Alberus, Gallus, Judex, Brenz,

Andreae, etc.; on the Reformed side, � Lasco, Ochino, Polanus,

Bibliander, and Beza.

Calvin indignantly rebuked the "rude and barbarous insults" to

persecuted members of Christ, and characterized the ultra-Lutherans as

men who would rather have peace with the Turks and Papists than with

Swiss Christians. He called them "apes of Luther." He triumphantly

vindicated against misrepresentations and objections his doctrine of

the spiritual real presence of Christ, and the sealing communication of

the life-giving virtue of his body in heaven to the believer through

the power of the Holy Spirit.

He might have defended his doctrine even more effectually if he had

restrained his wrath and followed the brotherly advice of Bullinger,

and even Farel, who exhorted him not to imitate the violence of his

opponent, to confine himself to the thing, and to spare the person. But

he wrote to Farel (August, 1557): "With regard to Westphal and the rest

it was difficult for me to control my temper and to follow your advice.

You call those 'brethren' who, if that name be offered to them by us,

do not only reject, but execrate it. And how ridiculous should we

appear in bandying the name of brother with those who look upon us as

the worst of heretics." [965]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[957] "Dolendum est quum nos pauci numero idem profiteamur evangelium,

sacrae coenae occasione, quam praecipuum inter nos unitatis vinculum

esse decebat, in varios sententias distrahi. Sed hoc longe atrocius,

non minus hostiliter confligere quam si nihil esset nobis eum Christo

commune." Opera, XVI, 429. Planck, the impartial Lutheran historian,

calls the sacramental controversy "die aergerlichste aller

Streitigkeiten" (l.c., V. I. p. 1).

[958] Opera, IX. 47.

[959] Historia vituli aurei Aaronis Exod. 32 ad nostra tempora et

controversias accommodata, Magdeburg, 1549.

[960] See the remarks of the Strassburg editors in vol. IX. Proleg. p.

x. There are really only two Reformed theories on the Eucharist--the

Zwinglian and the Calvinistic, and the latter was embodied in all the

Reformed Confessions. A Lutheran polemic of the seventeenth century

conclusively proved to his own satisfaction that "the cursed

Calvinistic heretics hold six hundred and sixty-six theses in common

with the Turks!"

[961] Farrago confusanearum et inter se dissidentium opinionum de Coena

Domini ex Sacramentariorum libris congesta. Magdeburg, 1552 (a small

pamphlet, with a preface).

[962] Recta fides de Coena Domini, Magdeburg, 1553. This was followed

by Collectanea sententiarum Aurelii Augustini de Coena Domini,

Ratisbon, 1555 (the preface is dated September, 1554), and Fides

Cyrilli de praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi, Frankfort, 1555.

[963] A full account in Joh. Utenhoven (who accompanied � Lasco),

Simplex et fidelis narratio, etc. Basil., 1560. The spirit of this rare

book may be judged from the concluding sentence (quoted by Dalton who

examined a copy in Cracow): "In conclusion let us pray all the pious

for Christ's sake not to harbor any hatred against those who have thus

persecuted us in our affliction, and not to call fire from heaven as

James and John did for the refusal of hospitality, but rather to pray

for them that they may repent and be saved." See extracts in Planck,

l.c., 36 sqq., and H. Dalton, Johannes �Lasco (Gotha, 1881), 427 sqq.

M�nckeberg attempts to apologize for Westphal, but without effect.

Dorner says (l.c., 401, note): "Westphal wird zum Selbstankl�ger in der

Vorrede zu der Collectanea aus Augustin, r�hmt die That der

Unbarmherzigkeit als eine gute That, und stellt Nebuchadnezzar als

Vorbild f�r solche F�lle auf."

[964] Adversus cujusdam Sacramentarii falsam criminationem justa

defensio, Frankfort, 1555.

[965] Opera, XVI. 552.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 133. Calvin and the Augsburg Confession. Melanchthon's Position in

the Second Eucharistic Controversy.

Comp. Henry, III. 335-339 and Beilage, pp. 102-110; the works on the

Augsburg Confession, and the biographies of Melanchthon.

During the progress of this controversy both parties frequently

appealed to the Augsburg Confession and to Melanchthon. They were both

right and both wrong; for there are two editions of the Confession,

representing the earlier and the later theories of its author on the

Lord's Supper. The original Augsburg Confession of 1530, in the tenth

article, teaches Luther's doctrine of the real presence so clearly and

strongly that even the Roman opponents did not object to it. [966] But

from the time of the Wittenberg Concordia in 1536, or even earlier,

[967] Melanchthon began to change his view on the real presence as well

as his view on predestination and free-will; in the former he

approached Calvin, in the latter he departed from him. He embodied the

former change in the Altered Confession of 1540, without official

authority, yet in good faith, as the author of the document, and in the

conviction that he represented public sentiment, since Luther himself

had moderated his opposition to the Swiss by assenting to the

Wittenberg Concordia. [968] The altered edition was made the basis of

negotiations with the Romanists at the Colloquies of Worms and Ratisbon

in 1541, and at the later Colloquies in 1546 and 1557. It was printed

(with the title and preface of the Invariata) in the first collection

of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church (Corpus Doctrinae

Philippicum) in 1559; it was expressly approved by the Lutheran princes

at the Convention of Naumburg in 1561, after Melanchthon's death, as an

improved modification and authentic interpretation of the Confession,

and was adhered to by the Melanchthonians and the Reformed even after

the adoption of the Book of Concord (1580).

The text in the two editions is as follows:--

Ed. 1530.

"De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint

[the German text adds: unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins], et

distribuantur vescentibus in Coena Domini, et improbant secus

docentes." [In the German text: "Derhalben wird auch die Gegenlehre

verworfen."]

Ed. 1540.

"De Coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus

et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Coena Domini."

Ed. 1530.

"Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach that the body find blood of

Christ are truly present [under the form of bread and wine], and are

distributed to those that eat in the Lord's Supper. And they disapprove

of those who teach otherwise." [In the German text: "Wherefore also the

opposite doctrine is rejected."]

Ed. 1540.

"Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach that with bread and wine are

truly exhibited the body and blood of Christ to those who eat in the

Lord's Supper."

[Disapproval of dissenting views is omitted.]

It is to this revised edition of the document, and to its still living

author, that Calvin confidently appealed.

"In regard to the Confession of Augsburg," he says in his Last

Admonition to Westphal, "my answer is, that, as it was published at

Ratisbon (1541), it does not contain a word contrary to our doctrine.

[969] If there is any ambiguity in its meaning, there cannot be a more

competent interpreter than its author, to whom, as his due, all pious

and learned men will readily pay this honor. To him I boldly appeal;

and thus Westphal with his vile garrulity lies prostrate .... If

Joachim wishes once for all to rid himself of all trouble and put an

end to controversy, let him extract one word in his favor from Philip's

lips. The means of access are open, and the journey is not so very

laborious, to visit one of whose consent he boasts so loftily, and with

whom he may thus have familiar intercourse. If I shall be found to have

used Philip's name rashly, there is no stamp of ignominy to which I am

not willing to submit.

"The passage which Westphal quotes, it is not mine to refute, nor do I

regard what, during the first conflict, before the matter was clearly

and lucidly explained, the importunity of some may have extorted from

one who was then too backward in giving a denial. It were too harsh to

lay it down as a law on literary men, that after they have given a

specimen of their talent and learning, they are never after to go

beyond it in the course of their lives. Assuredly, whosoever shall say

that Philip has added nothing by the labor of forty years, does great

wrong to him individually, and to the whole Church.

"The only thing I said, and, if need be, a hundred times repeat, is,

that in this matter Philip can no more be torn from me than he can from

his own bowels. [970] But although fearing the thunder which threatened

to burst from violent men (those who know the boisterous blasts of

Luther understand what I mean), he did not always speak out openly as I

could have wished, there is no reason why Westphal, while pretending

differently, should indirectly charge him with having begun to incline

to us only after Luther was dead. For when more than seventeen years

ago we conferred together on this point of doctrine, at our first

meeting, not a syllable required to be changed. [971] Nor should I omit

to mention Gaspar Cruciger, who, from his excellent talents and

learning, stood, next after Philip, highest in Luther's estimation, and

far beyond all others. He so cordially embraced what Westphal now

impugns, that nothing can be imagined more perfectly accordant than our

opinions. But if there is still any doubt as to Philip, do I not make a

sufficient offer when I wait silent and confident for his answer,

assured that it will make manifest the dishonesty which has falsely

sheltered itself under the venerable name of that most excellent man?"

Calvin urged Melanchthon repeatedly to declare openly his view on the

points in controversy. In a letter of March 5, 1555, after thanking him

for his approval of the condemnation of Servetus, he says: "About 'the

bread-worship' (peri; th'" ajrtolatreiva"), your most intimate opinion

has long since been known to me, which you do not even dissemble in

your letter. But your too great slowness displeases me, by which the

madness of those whom you see rushing on to the destruction of the

Church, is not only kept up, but from day to day increased."

Melanchthon answered, May 12, 1555:

I have determined to reply simply and without ambiguity, and I judge

that I owe that work to God and the Church, nor at the age to which I

have arrived, do I fear either exile or other dangers." On August 23 of

the same year, Calvin expressed his gratification with this answer and

wrote: "I entreat you to discharge, as soon as you can, the debt which

you acknowledge you owe to God and the Church." He adds with undue

severity: "If this warning, like a cock crowing rather late and out of

season, do not awaken you, all will cry out with justice that you are a

sluggard. Farewell, most distinguished sir, whom I venerate from the

heart." In another letter of Aug. 3, 1557, he complains of the silence

of three years and apologizes for the severity of his last letter, but

urges him again to come out, like a man, and to refute the charge of

slavish timidity. "I do not think," he says, "you need to be reminded

by many words, how necessary it is for you to hasten to wipe out this

blot from your character." He proposes that Melanchthon should induce

the Lutheran princes to convene a peaceful conference of both parties

at Strassburg, or T�bingen, or Heidelberg, or Frankfurt, and attend the

conference in person with some pious, upright, and moderate men. "If

you class me," he concludes, "in the number of such men, no necessity,

however pressing, will prevent me from putting up this as my chief vow,

that before the Lord gather us into his heavenly kingdom I may yet be

permitted to enjoy on earth, a most delightful interview with you, and

feel some alleviation of my grief by deploring along with you the evils

which we cannot remedy." In his last extant letter to Melanchthon,

dated Nov. 19, 1558, Calvin alludes once more to the eucharistic

controversy, but in a very gentle spirit, assuring him that he will

never allow anything to alienate his mind "from that holy friendship

and respect which I have vowed to you .... Whatever may happen, let us

cultivate with sincerity a fraternal affection towards each other, the

ties of which no wiles of Satan shall ever burst asunder."

Melanchthon would have done better for his own fame if, instead of

approving the execution of Servetus, he had openly supported Calvin in

the conflict with Westphal. But he was weary of the rabies theologorum,

and declined to take an active part in the bitter strife on

"bread-worship," as he called the notion of those who were not

contented with the presence of the body of Christ in the sacramental

use, but insisted upon its presence in and under the bread. He knew

what kind of men he had to deal with. He knew that the court of Saxony,

from a sense of honor, would not allow an open departure from Luther's

doctrine. Prudence, timidity, and respect for the memory of Luther were

the mingled motives of his silence. He was aware of his natural

weakness, and confessed in a letter to Christopher von Carlowitz, in

1548: "I am, perhaps, by nature of a somewhat servile disposition, and

I have before endured an altogether unseemly servitude; as Luther more

frequently obeyed his temperament, in which was no little

contentiousness, than he regarded his own dignity and the common good."

But in his private correspondence he did not conceal his real

sentiments, his disapproval of "bread-worship" and of the doctrine of

the ubiquity of Christ's body. His last utterance on the subject was in

answer to the request of Elector Frederick III. of the Palatinate, who

tried to conciliate the parties in the fierce eucharistic controversy

at Heidelberg. Melanchthon warned against scholastic subtleties and

commended moderation, peace, biblical simplicity, and the use of Paul's

words that "the bread which we break is the communion of the body of

Christ " (1 Cor. 10:16), not "changed into," nor the "substantial," nor

the "true" body. He gave this counsel on the first of November, 1559. A

few months afterwards he died (April 17, 1560).

The result was that the Elector deposed the leaders of both parties,

Heshusius and Klebitz, called distinguished foreign divines to the

University, and entrusted Zacharias Ursinus (a pupil of Melanchthon)

and Caspar Olevianus (a pupil of Calvin) with the task of composing the

Heidelberg or Palatinate Catechism, which was published Jan. 19, 1563.

It became the principal symbolical book of the German and Dutch

branches of the Reformed Church. It gives clear and strong expression

to the Calvinistic-Melanchthonian theory of the spiritual real

presence, and teaches the doctrine of election, but without a word on

reprobation and preterition. In both respects it is the best expression

of the genius and final doctrinal position of Melanchthon, who was

himself a native of the Palatinate.

NOTES. MELANCHTHON'S LAST WORDS ON THE EUCHARIST.

Letter to Calvin, Oct. 14, 1554. Melanchthon approves of the execution

of Servetus and continues: "Quod in proximis literas me hortaris, ut

reprimam ineruditos clamores illorum, qui renovant certamen peri;

ajrtolatreiva" scito, quosdam praecipue odio mei eam disputationem

movere, ut habeant plausibilem causam ad me opprimendum." He expresses

the hope to discuss this subject with him once more before his death.

(Mel's Opera in the Corp. Reform. VIII. 362 sq.)

To Hardenberg, pastor in Bremen, who was persecuted for resisting the

doctrine of ubiquity, he wrote, May 9, 1557 (ibid. IX. 154) Crescit, ut

vides, non modo certamen, sed etiam rabies in scriptoribus, qui

ajrtolatreivan stabiliunt."

Letter to Mordeisen, counsellor of the Elector of Saxony, Nov. 15, 1557

(ibid. IX. 374): "Si mihi concedetis, ut in alia loco vivam, respondebo

illis indoctis sycophantis et vere et graviter, et dicam utilia

ecclesiae."

One of his last utterances is reported by Peucer, his son-in-law, "ex

arcanis sermonibus Dom. Philippi," in an autograph of Jan. 3, 1561

(vol. IX. 1088-1090). Here Melanchthon asserts the real presence, but

declines to describe the mode, and rejects the ubiquity of Christ's

body. He also admits the figurative sense of the words of institution,

which Luther so persistently denied. "Consideranda est," he says,

"interpretatio verborum Christi, quae ab aliis kata; to; rJhtovn, ab

aliis kata; trovpon accipiuntur. Nec sunt plures interpretationes quam

duae. Posterior Pauli est sine omni dubio, qui vocat koivwvian corporis

panem, et aperte testatur, oujk ejxistavnai th'" fuvsew" ta; oJrwvmena

suvmbola. Ergo Necesse Est Admitti trovpon. Cum hac consentit vetustas

Graeca et Latina. Graeci suvmbola ajntivtupa, Latini 'signa' et

'figuras' vocant res externas et in usu corpus et sanguinem, ut

discernant hunc sacrum et mysticum cibum a profano, et admoneant

Ecclesiam de re signata, quae vere exhibetur et applicatur credentibus,

et dicunt esse symbola tou' o[ntw" swvmato", contra Entychem, ut sciat

Ecclesia, non esse inania symbola aut notas tantum professionis, sed

symbola rerum praesentium Christi vere praesentis et efficacis et

impertientis atque applicantis credentibus promissa beneficia."

From Melanchthon's Judicium de controversia coenae Domini ad illustr.

Principem ac D. D. Fridericum, Comitem Palatinum Rheni, Electorem,

dated Nov. 1, 1559 (IX. 960 sqq.): "Non difficile, sed periculosum est

respondere. Dicam tamen, quae nunc de controversia illius loci monere

possum: et oro Filium Dei, ut et consilia et eventus gubernet. Non

dubium est de controversia Coenae igentia certamina et bella in toto

orbe terrarun secutura esse: quia mundus dat poenas idololatriae, et

aliorum peccatorum. Ideo petamus, ut Filius Dei nos doceat et gubernet.

Cum autem ubique multi sint infirmi, et nondum instituti in doctrina

Ecclesia, imo confirmati in erroribus: necesse est initio habere

rationem infirmorum.

"Probo igitur consilium Illustrissimi Electoris, quod rixantibus

utrinque mandavit silentium ne distractio fiat in tenera Ecclesia, et

infirmi turbentur in illo loco, et vicinia: et optarim rixatores in

utraque parte abesse. Secundo, remotis contentiosis, prodest reliquos

de una forma verborum convenire. Et in hac controversia optimum esset

retinere verba Pauli: 'Panis quem frangimus, koinwniva ejsti; tou'

swvmato".' Et copiose de fructu coenae dicendum est, ut invitentur

homines ad amorem hujus pignoris, et crebrum usum. Et vocabulum

koinwvnia declarandum est.

"Non Dicit [Paulus], mutari naturam panis, at Papistae dicunt: non

dicit, ut Bremenses, panem esse substantiale corpus Christi. Non dicit,

ut Heshusius, panem esse verum corpus Christi: sed esse koinwnivan, id

est, hoc, quo fit consociatio cum corpore Christi: quae fit in usu, et

quidem non sine cogitatione, ut cum mures panem rodunt ....

"Sed hanc veram et simplicem doctrinam de fructu, nominant quidam

cothurnos: et postulant dici, an sit corpus in pane, aut speciebus

panis? Quasi vero Sacramentum propter panem et illam Papisticam

adorationem institutum sit. Postea fingunt, quomodo includant pani:

alii conversionem, alii transubstantiationem, alii ubiquitatem

excogitarunt. Haec portentosa omnia ignota sunt eruditae vetustati ....

"Ac maneo in hac sententia: Contentiones utrinque prohibendas esse, et

forma verborum una et simili utendum esse. Si quibus haec non placent,

nec volunt ad communionem accedere, his permittatur, ut suo judicio

utantur, modo non fiant distractiones in populo.

"Oro autem filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sedentem ad

dextram aeterni patris, et colligentem aeternam Ecclesiam voce

Evangelii, ut nos doceat, gubernet, et protegat. Opta etiam, ut

aliquando in pia Synodo de omnibus contraversiis harum temporum

deliberetur."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[966] The Catholica Refutatio Augustanae Confessionis of Drs. Eck,

Faber, and Cochlaeus says: "Decimus articulus [of the Augsburg

Confession] in verbis nihil offendit si modo credant [the Lutheran

signers], sub qualibet specie integrum Christum esse."

[967] Comp. his letters to Schnepf, Agricola, and Brenz, from the years

1534 and 1535; Matthes, Leben Melanchthons, p. 349; C. Schmidt, Philipp

Melanchthon, pp. 680 sqq.

[968] Luther did not object to the change. When he broke out more

fiercely than ever against the Swiss, in his "Short Confession on the

Holy Sacrament" (1544), Melanchthon, in a letter to Bullinger, called

this book not unjustly "atrocissimum scriptum." See vol. VI. 654 sq.

[969] "De Confessione Augustana sic respondeo, verbulum in ea, qualis

Ratisponae edita fuit, non exstare doctrinae nostrae contrarium."

Opera, IX. 148. Comp. his letter to Schalling at Ratisbon, March, 1557,

quoted on p. 377, note (Opera, XVI. 430).

[970] "Solum quod dixi et quidem centies si opus sit, confirmo, non

magis a me Philippum quam a propriis visceribus in hac causa posse

divelli." Opera, IX. 149.

[971] He refers to their meeting at Frankfurt, which took place in

1539, seven years before Luther's death and five years before his last

book against the Sacramentarians. See above, � 90, pp. 388 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 134. Calvin and Heshusius.

I. Heshusius: De Praesentia Corporis Christi in Coena Domini contra

Sacramentarios. Written in 1569, first published at Jena, 1560 (and

also at Magdeburg and N�rnberg, 1561). Defensio verae et sacrae

confessionis de vera Praesentia Corporis Christi in Coena Domini

adversus calumnias Calvini, Boquini, Bezae, et Clebitii. Magdeburg,

1562.

II. Calvinus: Dilucida Explicatio sanae Doctrina de vera Participatione

Carnis et Sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena ad discutiendas Heshusii

nebulas. Genevae, 1561. Also in French. Opera, IX. 457-524. Comp.

Proleg. xli-xliii.--Beza wrote two tracts against Heshusius:

kreofagiva, etc., and Abstersio calumniarum quibus Calvinus aspersus

est ab Heshusio. Gen., 1561. Boquin and Klebitz likewise opposed him.

III. J. G. Leuckfeld: Historia Heshusiana. Quedlinburg, 1716.--T. H.

Wilkens: Tilemann Hesshusen, ein Streittheologe der Lutherskirche.

Leipzig, 1860.--C. Schmidt: Philipp Melanchthon. Elberfeld, 1861, pp.

639 sqq.--Hackenschmidt, Art. "Hesshusen" in Herzog2, VI. 75-79. Henry,

III. 339-344, and Beilage, 221. Comp. also Planck, Heppe, G. Frank, and

the extensive literature on the Reformation in the Palatinate and the

history of the Heidelberg Catechism (noticed in Schaff's Creeds of

Christendom, I. 529-531).

Tilemann Heshusius (in German Hesshus or Hesshusen) was born in 1527 at

Niederwesel in the duchy of Cleves, and died at Helmst�dt in 1588. He

was one of the most energetic and pugnacious champions of scholastic

orthodoxy who outluthered Luther and outpoped the pope. [972] He

identified piety with orthodoxy, and orthodoxy with illocal

con-insubstantiation, [973] or "bread-worship," to use Melanchthon's

expression. He occupied influential positions at Gosslar, Rostock,

Heidelberg, Bremen, Magdeburg, Zweibr�cken, Jena, and Prussia; but with

his turbulent disposition he stirred up strife everywhere, used the

power of excommunication very freely, and was himself no less than

seven times deposed from office and expelled. He quarrelled also with

his friends Flacius, Wigand, and Chemnitz. But while he tenaciously

defended the literal eating of Christ's body by unbelievers as well as

believers, he dissented from Westphal's coarse and revolting notion of

a chewing of Christ's body with the teeth, and confined himself to the

manducatio oralis. He rejected also the doctrine of ubiquity, and found

fault with its introduction into the Formula of Concord. [974]

Heshusius was originally a pupil and table-companion of Melanchthon,

and agreed with his moderate opinions, but, like Westphal and Flacius,

he became an ungrateful enemy of his benefactor. He was recommended by

him to a professorship at Heidelberg and the general superintendency of

the Lutheran Church in the Palatinate on the Rhine (1558). Here he

first appeared as a champion of the strict Lutheran theory of the

substantial presence, and attacked "the Sacramentarians" in a book, On

the Presence of the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper." He quarrelled

with his colleagues, especially with Deacon Klebitz, who was a

Melanchthonian, but no less violent and pugnacious. He even tried to

wrest the eucharistic cup from him at the altar. He excommunicated him

because he would not admit the in and sub, but only the cum (pane et

vino), in the scholastic formula of the Lutheran doctrine of the real

presence. Elector Frederick III., called the Pious, restored peace by

dismissing both Heshusius and Klebitz (Sept. 16, 1559), with the

approval of Melanchthon. He afterwards ordered the preparation of the

Heidelberg Catechism, and introduced the Reformed Church into the

Palatinate, 1563. [975]

On the other hand, the Lutheran clergy of W�rtemberg, under the lead of

Brenz, in a synod at Stuttgart, gave the doctrine of the ubiquity of

Christ's body, which Luther had taught, but which Melanchthon had

rejected, symbolical authority for W�rtemberg (Dec. 19, 1559). [976]

Calvin received the book of Heshusius from Bullinger, who advised him

to answer the arguments, but to avoid personalities. [977] He hesitated

for a while, and wrote to Olevianus (November, 1660): "The loquacity of

that brawler 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,

and shall certainly not think his follies worthy of many days' labor.

But I have composed a brief analysis of this controversy, which will,

perhaps, be shortly published." It was one of his last controversial

pamphlets and appeared in 1561.

In the beginning of his response he made that most touching allusion to

his departed friend Melanchthon, which we have noticed in another

connection. [978] What a contrast between this noble tribute of

unbroken friendship and the mean ingratitude of Heshusius, who most

violently attacked Melanchthon's memory immediately after his death.

[979]

Calvin reiterates and vindicates the several points brought out in the

controversy with Westphal, and refutes the arguments of Heshusius from

the Scripture and the Fathers with his wonted intellectual vigor and

learning, seasoned with pepper and salt. He compares him to an ape

clothed in purple, and to an ass in a lion's skin. The following are

the chief passages: --

"Heshusius bewails the vast barbarism which appears to be impending, as

if any greater or worse barbarism were to be feared than that from him

and his fellows. To go no further for proof, let the reader consider

how fiercely he sneers and tears at his master, Philip Melanchthon,

whose memory he ought sacredly to revere .... Such is the pious

gratitude of the scholar, not only towards the teacher to whom he owes

whatever little learning he may possess, but towards a man who has

deserved so highly of the whole Church ....

"Though there is some show about him, he does nothing more by his

magniloquence than vend the old follies and frivolities of Westphal and

his fellows. He harangues loftily on the omnipotence of God, on putting

implicit faith in his word, and subduing human reason, in terms he may

have learned from other sources, of which I believe myself also to be

one. I have no doubt, from his childish stolidity of glorying, that he

imagines himself to combine the qualities of Melanchthon and Luther.

From the one he ineptly borrows flowers, and having no better way of

rivalling the vehemence of the other, he substitutes bombast and sound

....

"Westphal boldly affirms that the body of Christ is chewed by the

teeth, and confirms it by quoting with approbation the recantation of

Berengar, as given by Gratian. This does not please Heshusius, who

insists that it is eaten by the mouth but not touched by the teeth, and

greatly disproves those gross modes of eating ....

"Heshusius argues that if the body of Christ is in heaven, it is not in

the Supper, and that instead of him we have only a symbol. As if,

forsooth, the Supper were not, to the true worshippers of God, a

heavenly action, or, as it were, a vehicle which carries them above the

world. But what is this to Heshusius, who not only halts on the earth,

but drives his nose as far as he can into the mud? Paul teaches that in

baptism we put on Christ (Gal. 3:27). How acutely will Heshusius argue

that this cannot be if Christ remain in heaven? When Paul spoke thus it

never occurred to him that Christ must be brought down from heaven,

because he knew that he is united to us in a different manner, and that

his blood is not less present to cleanse our souls than water to

cleanse our bodies .... Of a similar nature is his objection that the

body is not received truly if it is received symbolically; as if by a

true symbol we excluded the exhibition of the reality.

"Some are suspicious of the term faith, as if it overthrew the reality

and the effect. But we ought to view it far otherwise, viz. that the

only way in which we are conjoined to Christ is by raising our minds

above the world. Accordingly, the bond of our union with Christ is

faith, which raises us upwards, and casts its anchor in heaven, so that

instead of subjecting Christ to the figments of our reason, we seek him

above in his glory.

"This furnishes the best method of settling a dispute to which I

adverted, viz. whether believers alone receive Christ, or all, without

exception, to whom the symbols of bread and wine are distributed,

receive him? Correct and clear is the solution which I have given:

Christ offers his body and blood to all in general; but as unbelievers

bar the entrance of his liberality, they do not receive what is

offered. It must not, however, he inferred from this that when they

reject what is given, they either make void the grace of Christ, or

detract in any respect from the efficacy of the sacrament. The Supper

does not, through their ingratitude, change its nature, nor does the

bread, considered as an earnest or pledge given by Christ, become

profane, so as not to differ at all from common bread, but it still

truly, testifies communion with The Flesh and Blood of Christ."

This is the conclusion of Calvin's last deliverance on the vexed

subject of the sacrament. For the rest he handed his opponent over to

Beza, who answered the "Defence" of Heshusius with two sharp and

learned tracts.

The eucharistic controversy kindled by Westphal and Klebitz was

conducted in different parts of Germany with incredible bigotry,

passion, and superstition. In Bremen, John Timann fought for the carnal

presence, and insisted upon the ubiquity of Christ's body as a settled

dogma (1555); while Albert Hardenberg, a friend of Melanchthon, opposed

it, and was banished (1560); but a reaction took place afterwards, and

Bremen became a stronghold of the Reformed Confession in Northern

Germany.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[972] The other leaders of the anti-Melanchthonian ultra-Lutheranism

were Amsdorf (d. 1565), Westphal (d. 1574), Flacius (d. 1575), Judex

(d. 1574), Jimann (d. 1557), Gallus (d. 1570), and Wigand (d. 1587).

The chief pupils of Melanchthon were Eber (d. 1569), Cruciger (d. 1548)

and his son (d. 1575), Camerarius (d. 1574), Peucer, Krell, Pezel,

Pfeffinger, Hardenberg, Major, Menius. One of the noblest traits of

Luther was his hearty appreciation of Melanchthon to the end of his

life, notwithstanding the marked difference. His narrow followers

entirely lacked this element of liberality and generosity. Comp.

Dorner, Geschichte der protest. Theologie, pp. 330 sqq.

[973] I coin this word from the Lutheran formula cum, in, and sub pane

et vino. The usual designation "consubstantiation" is repudiated by

Lutherans in the sense of impanation or local inclusion.

[974] Planck and Heppe give him a bad character, and charge him with

inordinate ambition and avarice. According to Heppe he was, einer der

widerw�rtigsten lutherischen Pfaffen seiner Zeit." Hackenschmidt judges

him more mildly as a consistent advocate of the tendency which makes no

distinction between religion and theology, church authority and police

force. The Strassburg editors (Opera, IX. Prol. p. xii.) call him a

"vir imperiosus et philoneikotatos." Bullinger compared him to the

Homeric Thersites, who was despised for scurrility.

[975] See � 133, p. 669.

[976] Planck, vol. V. Part II. 383 sqq.

[977] He wrote to him: "Oro, si statuisti respondere, respondeas ad

argumenta, diligenter preterita persona illa Thersitis homerici."

[978] See � 90, p. 398.

[979] � Responsio ad praejudicium Philippi Melanchthonis, 1560.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 135. Calvin and the Astrologers.

Calvin: Advertissement contre l'astrologie qu'on appelle justiciaire:

et autres curiosit�s qui r�gnent aujourdhuis dans le monde. Gen�ve,

1549 (56 pp.). The French text is reprinted in Opera, vol. VII.

509-542. Admonitio adversus astrologiam quam judiciariam vocant;

aliasque praeterea curiositates nonnullas, quae hodie in universam fere

orbem grassantur, 1549. The Latin translation is by Fr. Hottman, sieur

de Villiers, at that time secretary of Calvin, who dictated to him the

work in French. The Latin text is reprinted in the Amsterdam ed., vol.

IX. 500-509. An English translation: An Admonition against Astrology,

Judiciall and other curiosities that reigne now in the world, by

Goddred Gylby, appeared in London without date, and is mentioned by

Henry, III. Beil. 212. Comp. Henry, II. 391 sq.

Calvin's clear, acute, and independent intellect was in advance of the

crude superstitions of his age. He wrote a warning against judicial

astrology [980] or divination, which presumes to pronounce judgment

upon a man's character or destiny as written in the stars. This

spurious science, which had wandered from Babylon [981] to ancient Rome

and from heathen Rome to the Christian Church, flourished especially in

Italy and France at the very time when other superstitions were shaken

to the base. Several popes of the Renaissance--Sixtus IV., Julius II.,

Leo X., Paul III. were addicted to it, but Pico della Mirandola wrote a

book against it. King Francis I. dismissed his physician because he was

not sufficiently skilled in this science. The Duchess Renata of Ferrara

consulted, even in her later years, the astrologer Luc Guaric. The

court of Catherine de Medici made extensive use of this and other black

arts, so that the Church and the State had to interfere.

But more remarkable is the fact that such an enlightened scholar as

Melanchthon should have anxiously watched the constellations for their

supposed bearing upon human events. Lelio Sozini was at a loss to know

whether Melanchthon depended most on the stars, or on their Maker and

Ruler. [982] In this respect Luther, notwithstanding his strong belief

in witchcraft and personal encounters with the devil, was in advance of

his more learned friend, and refuted his astrological calculation of

the nativity of Cicero with the Scripture fact of Esau's and Jacob's

birth in the same hour. Yet he regarded the comets, or "harlot stars,"

as he called them, as tokens of God's wrath, or as works of the devil.

Zwingli saw in Halley's comet, which appeared a few weeks before the

disaster of Cappel, a sign of war and of his own death. The independent

and heretical Servetus believed and practised astrology and wrote a

defence of it (Apologetica Disceptatio pro Astrologia).

Nothing of this kind is found in Calvin. He denounced the attempt to

reveal what God has hidden, and to seek him outside of his revealed

will, as an impious presumption and a satanic delusion. It is right and

proper, he maintains, to study the laws and motions of the heavenly

bodies. [983] True astronomy leads to the praise of God's wisdom and

majesty; but astrology upsets the moral order. God is sovereign in his

gifts and not bound to any necessity of nature. He has foreordained all

things by his eternal decree. Sometimes sixty thousand men fall in one

battle; are they therefore born under the same star? It is true the sun

works upon the earth, and heat and dearth, rain and storm come down

from the skies, but the wickedness of man proceeds from his will. The

astrologers appealed to the first chapter of Genesis and to the prophet

Jeremiah, who calls the stars signs, but Calvin met them by quoting

Isa. 44:25: "who frustrateth the tokens of the liars and maketh

diviners mad." In conclusion he rejects the whole theory and practice

of astrology as not only superfluous and useless, but even pernicious.

[984]

In the same tract he ridicules the alchemists, and incidentally

exhibits a considerable amount of secular learning.

Calvin discredited also the ingenious speculations of Pseudo-Dionysius

on the Celestial Hierarchy, as "mere babbling," adding that the author

of that book, which was sanctioned by Thomas Aquinas and Dante, spoke

like a man descended from heaven and giving an account of things he had

seen with his own eyes; while Paul, who was caught up to the third

heaven, did not deem it lawful for man to utter the secret things he

had seen and heard. [985]

Calvin might have made his task easier if he had accepted the

heliocentric theory of Copernicus, which was known in his time, though

only as a hypothesis. [986]

But in this matter Calvin was no more in advance of his age than any

other divine. He believed that "the whole heaven moves around the

earth," and declared it preposterous to set the conjecture of a man

against the authority of God, who in the first chapter of Genesis had

pointed out the relation of the sun and moon to the earth. Luther

speaks with contempt of that upstart astronomer who wishes to reverse

the entire science of astronomy and the sacred Scripture, which tells

us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and not the earth.

Melanchthon condemned the system in his treatise on the "Elements of

Physics," published six years after the death of Copernicus, and cited

against it the witness of the eyes, which inform us that the heavens

revolve in the space of twenty-four hours; and passages from the Psalms

and Ecclesiastes, which assert that the earth stands fast and that the

sun moves around it. He suggests severe measures to restrain such

impious teaching as that of Copernicus.

But we must remember that the Copernican theory was opposed by

philosophers as well as theologians of all creeds for nearly a hundred

years, under the notion that it contradicts the testimony of the senses

and the geocentric teaching of the Bible. When towards the close of the

sixteenth century Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) became a convert to the

Copernican theory, and with his rude telescope discovered the

satellites of Jupiter and the phases of Venus, he was denounced as a

heretic, summoned before the Inquisition at Rome and commanded by

Bellarmin, the standard theologian of the papacy, to abandon his error,

and to teach that the earth is the immovable centre of the universe

(Feb. 26, 1616). The Congregation of the Index, moved by Pope Paul V.,

rendered the decree that "the doctrine of the double motion of the

earth about its axis and about the sun is false, and entirely contrary

to the Holy Scripture," and condemned the works of Copernicus, Kepler,

and Galileo, which affirm the motion of the earth. They remained on the

Index Purgatorius till the time of Benedict XIV. Even after the triumph

of the Copernican system in the scientific world, there were

respectable theologians, like John Owen and John Wesley, who found it

inconsistent with their theory of inspiration, and rejected it as a

delusive and arbitrary hypothesis tending towards infidelity. "E pur si

muove," the earth does move for all that!

There can be no contradiction between the Bible and science; for the

Bible is not a book of astronomy or geology or science; but a book of

religion, teaching the relation of the world and man to God; and when

it touches upon the heavenly bodies, it uses the phenomenal popular

language without pronouncing judgment for or against any scientific

theory.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[980] Astrologia judiciaria as distinct from astrologia naturalis, or

simply astrologia.

[981] Hence "Chaldaei," "mathematici," "astrologi," were identical

terms.

[982] He wrote to Bullinger from Wittenberg, Aug. 20, 1550: "Omnes ab

uno Melanchthone [pendent], qui Astrologiae judiciariae fuit addictus,

et unus ille ab astrisne magis, an ab astrorum conditore ac domino

pendeat, ignoro." Quoted by, Trechsel, Antitrin. II. 164, note 4.

[983] Comp. Inst. I. ch. V. �� 2 and 5, where he speaks highly of

astronomy.

[984] "Curiositas non modo supervacanea et ad nullam rem utilis, verum

etiam exitiosa."

[985] Inst. Bk. I. ch. XIV. � 4.

[986] Copernicus finished his work De Orbium colestium Revolutionibus

in 1530, and dedicated it to the pope; but it was not published till

1543, by Osiander of N�rnberg, to whom he had given the manuscript, and

who announced the discovery in the preface as a mere hypothesis. He

received a copy on his death-bed at Frauenburg on the borders of

Prussia and Poland. He was probably a devout man, and is often credited

with the prayer graven on his tombstone: "I ask not the grace accorded

to Paul; not that given to Peter; give me only the favor which thou

didst show to the thief on the cross" ("non parem Pauli gratiam

requiro," etc.); but this inscription is taken from a poem of Aeneas

Sylvius De Passione Domini, and was put upon the monument of Copernicus

at Thorn by Dr. Melchior Pyrnesius (1589). Copernicus is there

represented with folded hands before a crucifix. See Prowe's work on

Coper-nicus, and Luthardt in the "Theol. Literaturblatt" for April 22,

1892 (p. 188).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XVI.

SERVETUS: HIS LIFE. OPINIONS, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 136. The Servetus Literature.

I. Theological Works of Michael Servetus.

DE TRINI-

tatis erroribus

Libri Septem.

Per Michaelem Serueto, ali�s

Reues ab Aragonia

Hispanum

Anno MDXXXI.

This book was printed at Hagenau in the Alsace, but without the name of

the place, or of the publisher or printer. It contains 120 pages.

Dialogo | rum de Trinitate | Libri duo. | De justicia regni Chri | sti,

Capitula quatuor. | Per Michaelem Serveto, | ali�s Reves, ab Aragonia |

Hispanum. | Anno MDXXXII. Likewise printed at Hagenau. It concludes

with the words: "Perdat Dominus omnes ecclesiae tyrannos. Amen. Finis."

These two works (bound in one volume in the copy before me) were

incorporated in revised shape in the Restitutio.

Totius ecclesiae est ad sua limina

vocatio, in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, fidei Chri-

sti, instificationis nostrae, regenerationes baptismi, et coe-

nae domini manducationis. Restituto denique nobis re-

gno caelsti, Babylonis impiae captiuitate soluta, et An-

tichristo cum fuis penitus destructo.

This work was printed at Vienne in Dauphin�, at the expense of the

author, who is indicated on the last page by the initial letters M. S.

V.; i.e. Michael Servetus Villanovanus. It contains in 734 octavo

pages: 1) Seven books on the Trinity (the ed. of 1531 revised); 2)

Three books on Faith and the Righteousness of the kingdom of Christ

(revised); 3) Four books on Regeneration and the kingdom of Antichrist;

4) Thirty Epistles to Calvin; 5) Sixty Signs of the reign of

Antichrist; 6) Apology to Melanchthon and his colleagues on the mystery

of the Trinity and ancient discipline.

One thousand (some say eight hundred) copies were printed and nearly

all burnt or otherwise destroyed. Four or five were saved: namely, one

sent by Servetus through Frelon to Calvin; one taken from the five

bales seized at Lyons for the use of the Inquisitor Ory; a third

transmitted for inspection to the Swiss Churches and Councils; a fourth

sent by Calvin to Bullinger; a fifth given by Calvin to Colladon, one

of the judges of Servetus, in which the objectionable passages are

marked, and which was, perhaps, the same with the fourth copy.

Castellio (1554) complained that he could not get a copy.

At present only two copies of the original edition are known to exist;

one in the National Library of Paris (the Collation copy), the other in

the Imperial Library of Vienna. Willis gives the curious history of

these copies, pp. 535-541; Comp. his note on p. 196. Audin says that he

used the annotated copy which bears the name of Colladon on the

title-page, and the marks of the flames on the margins; how it was

rescued, he does not know. It is this copy which passed into the hands

of Dr. Richard Mead, a distinguished physician in London, who put a

Latin note at the head of the work: "Fuit hic liber D. Colladon qui

ipse nomen suum adscripsit. Ille vero simul cum Calvino inter judices

sedebat qui auctorem Servetum flammis damnarunt. Ipse indicem in fine

confecit. Et porro in ipso opere lineis ductis hic et illic notavit

verba quibus ejus blasphemias et errores coargueret. Hoc exemplar

unicum quantum scire licet flammis servatum restat: omnia enim quae

reperire poterat auctoritate sua ut comburerentur curavit Calvinus."

(Quoted from Audin.) This must be the copy now in Paris. Dr. Mead began

to republish a handsome edition in 1723, but it was suppressed and

burnt by order of Gibson, the bishop of London.

In 1790, the book rose like a phoenix from its ashes in the shape of an

exact reprint, page for page, and line for line, so that it can only be

distinguished from the first edition by the date of publication at the

bottom of the last page in extremely small figures--1790 (not 1791, as

Trechsel, Staehelin, Willis, and others, say). The reprint was made

from the original copy in the Vienna Library by direction of Chr. Th.

Murr, M. D. (See his Adnotationes ad Bibliothecas Hallerianas, cum

variis ad scripta Michaelis Serveti pertinentibus, Erlangen, 1805,

quoted by Willis.) The edition must have been small, for copies are

rare. My friend, the Rev. Samuel M. Jackson, is in possession of a copy

which I have used, and of which two pages, the first and the last, are

given in facsimile.

A German translation of the Restitutio by Dr. Bernhard Spiess: Michael

Servets Wiederherstellung des Christenthums zum ersten Mal �bersetzt.

Erster Bd., Wiesbaden (Limbarth), 1892 (323 pp.). The second vol. has

not yet appeared. He says in the preface: "An Begeisterung f�r Christus

und an biblischem Purismus ist Servet den meisten Theologen unserer

Tage weit �berlegen [?]; von eigentlichen Laesterungen ist nichts bei

ihm zu entdecken." Dr. Spiess, like Dr. Tollin, is both a defender of

Servetus and an admirer of Calvin. He translated the first ed. of his

Institutes (1536) into German (Wiesbaden, 1887).

The geographical and medical works of Servetus will be noticed in the

next sections.

II. Calvinistic Sources.

Calvin: Defensio orthodoxae fidei de sacra trinitate contra prodigiosos

errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani, ubi ostenditur haereticos jure

gladii coercendos esse, etc., written in 1554, in Opera, VIII.

(Brunsw., 1870), 453-644. The same volume contains thirty letters of

Servetus to Calvin, 645-720, and the Actes du proc�s de Mich. Servet.,

721-872. See also the correspondence of Calvin from the year 1553 in

vol. XIV. 68 sqq. (The Defensio is in the Amsterdam ed., vol. IX.

510-567.) Calvin refers to Servetus after his death several times in

the last ed. of the Institutes (I. III. � 10, 22; II. IX. � 3, 10; IV.

XVI. 29, 81), in his Responsio ad Balduini Convitia (1562), Opera, IX.

575, and in his Commentary on John 1:1 (written in 1554): "Servetus,

superbissimus ex gente Hispanica nebulo."

Beza gives a brief account in his Calvini Vita, ad a. 1553 and 1554,

where he says that "Servetus was justly punished at Geneva, not as a

sectary, but as a monster made up of nothing but impiety and horrid

blasphemies, with which, by his speeches and writings, for the space of

thirty years, he had infected both heaven and earth." He thinks that

Servetus uttered a satanic prediction on the title-page of his book:

"Great war took place in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting with

[not against] the dragon." He also wrote an elaborate defence of the

death-penalty for heresy in his tract De haereticis a civili magistratu

puniendis, adversus Martini Bellii [pseudonym] farraginem et novorum

academicorum sectam. Geneva (Oliva Rob. Stephani), 1554; second ed.

1592; French translation, 1560. See Heppe's Beza, p. 38 sq.

III. Anti-Calvinistic.

Bolsec, in his Histoire de la vie ... de Jean Calvin (1577), chs. III.

and IV., discusses the trial of Servetus in a spirit hostile alike to

Calvin and Servetus. He represents the Roman Catholic view. He calls

Servetus "a very arrogant and insolent man," and a "monstrous heretic,"

who deserved to be exterminated. "Desireroy," he says, p. 25, "que tous

semblables fussent exterminez: et l'�glise de nostre Seigneur fut bien

purg�e de telle vermine." His more tolerant editor, L. F. Chastel,

protests against this wish by an appeal to Luke 9:55.

IV. Documentary Sources.

The Acts of the process of Servetus at Vienne were published by the

Abb� D'artigny, Paris, 1749 (Tom. II. des Nouveaux Memoires).--The Acts

of the process at Geneva, first published by J. H. Albert Rilliet:

Relation du proc�s criminel intent� a Gen�ve en 1553 contre Michel

Servet, r�dig�e d'apr�s les documents originaux. Gen�ve, 1844.

Reprinted in Opera, vol. VIII.--English translation, with notes and

additions, by W. K. Tweedie: Calvin and Servetus. Edinburgh, 1846.

German translation by Brunnemann (see below).

V. Modern Works.

\*L. Mosheim, the famous Lutheran Church historian (1694-1755), made the

first impartial investigation of the Servetus controversy, and marks a

reaction of judgment in favor of Servetus, in two monographs,

Geschichte des ber�hmten Spanischen Arztes Michael Serveto, Helmstaedt,

1748, 4� (second vol. of his Ketzergeschichte); and Neue Nachrichten

von Serveto, 1750. He had first intrusted his materials to a pupil,

Henr. Ab. Allwoerden, who published a Historia Michaelis Serveti,

Helmstadii, 1727 (238 pp., with a fine portrait of Servetus and the

scene of his execution) but as this book was severely criticised by

Armand de la Chapelle, the pastor of the French congregation at the

Hague, Mosheim wrote his first work chiefly from copies of the acts of

the trial of Servetus at Geneva (which are verified by the publication

of the original documents in 1844), and his second work from the trial

at Vienne, which were furnished to him by a French ecclesiastic. Comp.

Henry, III. 102 sq.; Dyer, 540 sq.

In the nineteenth century Servetus has been thoroughly discussed by the

biographers of Calvin: Henry (vol. III. 107 sqq., abridged in

Stebbing's transl., vol. II.); Audin (chs. XL. and XLI.); Dyer (chs.

IX. and X., pp. 296-367); Staehelin (I. 422 sqq.; II. 309 sqq.); and by

Am�d�e Roget, in his Histoire du peuple de Gen�ve (vol. IV., 1877,

which gives the history of 1553-1555). Henry, Staehelin, and Roget

vindicate Calvin, but dissent from his intolerance; Dyer aims to be

impartial; Audin, like Bolsec, condemns both Calvin and Servetus.

\*F. Trechsel: Michael Servet und seine Vorgaenger, Heidelberg, 1839

(the first part of his Die protest. Antitrinitarier). He draws chiefly

from Servetus's works and from the proceedings of the trial in the

archives of Bern, which agree with those of Geneva, published

afterwards by Rilliet. His work is learned and impartial, but with

great respect for Calvin. Comp. his valuable article in the first ed.

of Herzog, vol. XIV. 286-301.

\*W. K. Tweedie: Calvin and Servetus, London, 1846.

Emile Saisset: Michael Servet, I. Doctrine philosophique et religieuse

de M. S.; II. Le proc�s et la mort de M. S. In the "Revue des deux

Mondes" for 1848, and in his "M�langes d'histoire," 1859, pp. 117-227.

Saisset was the first to assign Servetus his proper place among

scientists and pantheists. He calls him "le th�ologien philosophe

panth�iste pr�curseur inattendu de Malebranche et de Spinoza, de

Schleiermacher et de Strauss."

J. S. Porter (Unitarian): Servetus and Calvin, 1854.

Karl Brunnemann: M. Serv., eine aktenmaessige Darstellung des 1553 in

Genf gegen ihn gef�hrten Kriminal-processes, Berlin), 1865. (From

Rilliet.)

\*Henri Tollin (Lic. Theol., Dr. Med., and minister of the French

Reformed Church at Magdeburg): I. Charakterbild Michael Servets.

Berlin, 1876, 48 pp. 8� (transl. into French by Mme. Picheral-Dardier,

Paris, 1879); II. Das Lehrsystem Michael Servets, genetisch

dargestellt, G�tersloh, 1876-1878, 3 vols. (besides many smaller

tracts; see below).

\*R. Willis (M. D.): Servetus and Calvin. London, 1877 (641 pp.), with a

fine portrait of Servetus and an ugly one of Calvin. More favorable to

the former.

Marcelino Menendez Pelayo (R. Cath.): Historia de las Heterodoxos

Espanjoles. Madrid, 1877. Tom. II. 249-313.

Don Pedro Gonzales De Velasco: Miguel Serveto. Madrid, 1880 (23 pp.).

He has placed a statue of Serveto in the portico of the Instituto

antropologico at Madrid.

Prof. Dr. A. v. d. Linde: Michael Servet, een Brandoffer der

Gereformeerde Inquisitie. Groningen, 1891 (326 pp.). Hostile to Calvin,

as the title indicates, and severe also against Tollin, but valuable

for the literary references, distributed among the chapters.

(Articles in Encyclop., by Charles Dardier, in Lichtenberger's "Encycl.

des Sciences religieuses," vol. XI., pp. 570-582 (Paris, 1881); in

Larousse's "Grand Dictionnaire universel," vol. XIV. 621-623; Alex.

Gordon, in "Encycl. Brit." XXI. 684-686; by Bernh. Riggenbach, in

Herzog2, XIV. 153-161.)

The theology of Servetus is analyzed and criticised by Heberle: M.

Servets Trinitaetslehre und Christologie in the "T�binger Zeitschrift"

for 1840; Baur: Die christl. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit und

Menschwerdung Gottes (T�bingen, 1843), III. 54-103; Dorner: Lehre v. d.

Person Christi (Berlin, 1853), II. 613, 629, 649-660; Punjer: De M.

Serveti doctrina, Jena, 1876.

The tragedy of Servetus has been dramatized by Max Ring (Die Genfer,

1850), Jos� Echegaray (1880), and Albert Hamann (1881).

Servetus has been more thoroughly discussed and defended in recent

times than any man connected with the Reformation.

The greatest Servetus scholar and vindicator is Dr. Tollin, pastor of a

Huguenot Church in Germany, who calls himself "a Calvinist by birth and

a decided friend of toleration by nature." He was led to the study of

Servetus by his interest in Calvin, and has written a Serveto-centric

library of about forty books and tracts, bearing upon every aspect of

Servetus: his Theology, Anthropology, Soteriology, Eschatology,

Diabology, Antichristology, his relations to the Reformers (Luther,

Bucer, Melanchthon), and to Thomas Aquinas, and also his medical and

geographical writings. He has kindly furnished me with a complete list,

and I will mention the most important below in their proper places.

Dr. Tollin assumes that Servetus was radically misunderstood by all his

opponents--Catholic, Calvinistic, and Lutheran, and even by his

Socinian and other Unitarian sympathizers. He thinks that even Calvin

misunderstood him, though he understood him better than his other

contemporaries. He makes Servetus a real hero, the peer of Calvin in

genius, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, the founder of

comparative geography (the forerunner of Ritter), and the pioneer of

modern Christology, which, instead of beginning with the pre-existent

Logos, rises from the contemplation of the man Jesus to the recognition

of Jesus Christ as the Messiah, then as the Son of God, and last as

God. But he has overdone the subject, and put some of his own ideas

into the brain of Servetus, who, like Calvin, must be studied and

judged in the light of the sixteenth, and not of the nineteenth,

century.

Next to Tollin, Professor Harnack, Neander's successor in Berlin, has

formed a most favorable idea of Servetus. Without entering into an

analysis of his views, he thinks that in him "the best of all that came

to maturity in the sixteenth century was united, if we except the

evangelical Reformation," and thus characterizes him: "Servede ist

gleich bedeutend als empirischer Forscher, als kritischer Denker, als

speculativer Philosoph und als christlicher Reformer im besten Sinn des

Worts. Es ist eine Paradoxie der Geschichte, dass Spanien--das Land,

welches von den Ideen der neuen Zeit im 16 Jahrhundert am wenigsten

ber�hrt gewesen ist--diesen einzigen Mann hervorgebracht hat."

(Dogmengeschichte, Bd. III. 661.)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 137. Calvin and Servetus.

We now come to the dark chapter in the history of Calvin which has cast

a gloom over his fair name, and exposed him, not unjustly, to the

charge of intolerance and persecution, which he shares with his whole

age.

The burning of Servetus and the decretum horribile are sufficient in

the judgment of a large part of the Christian world to condemn him and

his theology, but cannot destroy the rocky foundation of his rare

virtues and lasting merits. History knows only of one spotless

being--the Saviour of sinners. Human greatness and purity are spotted

by marks of infirmity, which forbid idolatry. Large bodies cast large

shadows, and great virtues are often coupled with great vices.

Calvin and Servetus--what a contrast! The best abused men of the

sixteenth century, and yet direct antipodes of each other in spirit,

doctrine, and aim: the reformer and the deformer; the champion of

orthodoxy and the archheretic; the master architect of construction and

the master architect of ruin, brought together in deadly conflict for

rule or ruin. Both were men of brilliant genius and learning; both

deadly foes of the Roman Antichrist; both enthusiasts for a restoration

of primitive Christianity, but with opposite views of what Christianity

is.

They were of the same age, equally precocious, equally bold and

independent, and relied on purely intellectual and spiritual forces.

The one, while a youth of twenty-seven, wrote one of the best systems

of theology and vindications of the Christian faith; the other, when

scarcely above the age of twenty, ventured on the attempt to uproot the

fundamental doctrine of orthodox Christendom. Both died in the prime of

manhood, the one a natural, the other a violent, death.

Calvin's works are in every theological library; the books of Servetus

are among the greatest rareties. Calvin left behind him flourishing

churches, and his influence is felt to this day in the whole Protestant

world; Servetus passed away like a meteor, without a sect, without a

pupil; yet he still eloquently denounces from his funeral pile the

crime and folly of religious persecution, and has recently been

idealized by a Protestant divine as a prophetic forerunner of modern

christo-centric theology.

Calvin felt himself called by Divine Providence to purify the Church of

all corruptions, and to bring her back to the Christianity of Christ,

and regarded Servetus as a servant of Antichrist, who aimed at the

destruction of Christianity. Servetus was equally confident of a divine

call, and even identified himself with the archangel Michael in his

apocalyptic fight against the dragon of Rome and "the Simon Magus of

Geneva."

A mysterious force of attraction and repulsion brought these

intellectual giants together in the drama of the Reformation. Servetus,

as if inspired by a demoniac force, urged himself upon the attention of

Calvin, regarding him as the pope of orthodox Protestantism, whom he

was determined to convert or to dethrone. He challenged Calvin in Paris

to a disputation on the Trinity when the latter had scarcely left the

Roman Church, but failed to appear at the appointed place and hour.

[987] He bombarded him with letters from Vienne; and at last he

heedlessly rushed into his power at Geneva, and into the flames which

have immortalized his name. [988]

The judgment of historians on these remarkable men has undergone a

great change. Calvin's course in the tragedy of Servetus was fully

approved by the best men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[989] It is as fully condemned in the nineteenth century. Bishop

Bossuet was able to affirm that all Christians were happily agreed in

maintaining the rightfulness of the death penalty for obstinate

heretics, as murderers of souls. A hundred years later the great

historian Gibbon echoed the opposite public sentiment when he said: "I

am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus than at

the hecatombs which have blazed at auto-da-f�s of Spain and Portugal."

[990]

It would be preposterous to compare Calvin with Torquemada. [991] But

it must be admitted that the burning of Servetus is a typical case of

Protestant persecution, and makes Calvin responsible for a principle

which may be made to justify an indefinite number of applications.

Persecution deserves much severer condemnation in a Protestant than in

a Roman Catholic, because it is inconsistent. Protestantism must stand

or fall with freedom of conscience and freedom of worship.

From the standpoint of modern Christianity and civilization, the

burning of Servetus admits of no justification. Even the most admiring

biographers of Calvin lament and disapprove his conduct in this

tragedy, which has spotted his fame and given to Servetus the glory of

martyrdom.

But if we consider Calvin's course in the light of the sixteenth

century, we must come to the conclusion that he acted his part from a

strict sense of duty and in harmony with the public law and dominant

sentiment of his age, which justified the death penalty for heresy and

blasphemy, and abhorred toleration as involving indifference to truth

Even Servetus admitted the principle under which he suffered; for he

said, that incorrigible obstinacy and malice deserved death before God

and men. [992]

Calvin's prominence for intolerance was his misfortune. It was an error

of judgment, but not of the heart, and must be excused, though it

cannot be justified, by the spirit of his age. [993]

Calvin never changed his views or regretted his conduct towards

Servetus. Nine years after his execution he justified it in

self-defence against the reproaches of Baudouin (1562), saying:

"Servetus suffered the penalty due to his heresies, but was it by my

will? Certainly his arrogance destroyed him not less than his impiety.

And what crime was it of mine if our Council, at my exhortation,

indeed, but in conformity with the opinion of several Churches, took

vengeance on his execrable blasphemies? Let Baudouin abuse me as long

as he will, provided that, by the judgment of Melanchthon, posterity

owes me a debt of gratitude for having purged the Church of so

pernicious a monster." [994]

In one respect he was in advance of his times, by recommending to the

Council of Geneva, though in vain, a mitigation of punishment and the

substitution of the sword for the stake.

Let us give him credit for this comparative moderation in a

semi-barbarous age when not only hosts of heretics, but even innocent

women, as witches, were cruelly tortured and roasted to death. Let us

remember also that it was not simply a case of fundamental heresy, but

of horrid blasphemy, with which he had to deal. If he was mistaken, if

he misunderstood the real opinions of Servetus, that was an error of

judgment, and an error which all the Catholics and Protestants of that

age shared. Nor should it be overlooked that Servetus was convicted of

falsehood, that he overwhelmed Calvin with abuse, [995] and that he

made common cause with the Libertines, the bitter enemies of Calvin,

who had a controlling influence in the Council of Geneva at that time,

and hoped to overthrow him.

It is objected that there was no law in Geneva to justify the

punishment of Servetus, since the canon law had been abolished by the

Reformation in 1535; but the Mosaic law was not abolished, it was even

more strictly enforced; and it is from the Mosaic law against blasphemy

that Calvin drew his chief argument.

On the other hand, however, we must frankly admit that there were some

aggravating circumstances which make it difficult to reconcile Calvin's

conduct with the principles of justice and humanity. Seven years before

the death of Servetus he had expressed his determination not to spare

his life if he should come to Geneva. He wrote to Farel (Feb. 13,

1546): "Servetus lately wrote to me, and coupled with his letter a long

volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast, that I

should see something astonishing and unheard of. He offers to come

hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word

for his safety; for if he does come, and my authority be of any avail,

I shall never suffer him to depart alive." [996] It was not

inconsistent with this design, if he aided, as it would seem, in

bringing the book of Servetus to the notice of the Roman inquisition in

Lyons. He procured his arrest on his arrival in Geneva. He showed

personal bitterness towards him during the trial. Servetus was a

stranger in Geneva, and had committed no offence in that city. Calvin

should have permitted him quietly to depart, or simply caused his

expulsion from the territory of Geneva, as in the case of Bolsec. This

would have been sufficient punishment. If he had recommended expulsion

instead of decapitation, he would have saved himself the reproaches of

posterity, which will never forget and never forgive the burning of

Servetus.

In the interest of impartial history we must condemn the intolerance of

the victor as well as the error of the victim, and admire in both the

loyalty to conscientious conviction. Heresy is an error; intolerance, a

sin; persecution, a crime.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[987] See above, p. 324. Beza thus reports this incident: "Not long

after Calvin returned [from Angoul�me, in 1534] to Paris, as if called

there by the hand of God himself; for the impious Servetus was even

then disseminating his heretical poison against the sacred Trinity in

that city. He professed to desire nothing more earnestly than to have

an opportunity for entering into discussion with Calvin, who waited

long for Servetus, the time and place for an interview having been

appointed, with great danger to his own life, since he was at that time

under the necessity of being concealed on account of the incensed rage

of his adversaries. Calvin was disappointed in his expectations of

meeting Servetus, who wanted courage to endure even the sight of his

opponent."

[988] "If ever a poor fanatic thrust himself into the fire, it was

Michael Servetus." Coleridge in his Table-Talk.

[989] See the judgments below in � 139.

[990] In a footnote in ch. LIV. of his work on the Decline and Fall of

the R. E. (Smith's ed. V. 552). He assigns three reasons for this

judgment: (1) the zeal of Calvin was envenomed by personal malice and

perhaps envy [?]; (2) the deed of cruelty was not varnished by the

pretence of danger to the Church or State; (3) Calvin violated the

golden rule of doing as he would be done by. Gibbon's prejudice against

Calvinism is expressed in the sentence (p. 551) that "many a sober

Christian would rather admit that a wafer is God than that God is a

cruel and capricious tyrant."

[991] James Martineau states that "in his eighteen years of office,

Cardinal Thomas de Torquemada had burned alive, it is computed,

eighty-eight hundred victims, and punished ninety thousand in various

ways, not for offences against the moral law, or crimes against

society, but for thoughts of their own about religion, which only God,

and not the pope, had allowed; or for being Jews that would not be

apostates; or for refusing on the rack to confess what they had never

done." The Seat of Authority in Religion, 1890, p. 156; comp.

Llorente's Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition, IV. 251 sq.

[992] "Hoc crimen est morte simpliciter dignum, et apud Deum et apud

homines." In the twenty-seventh letter to Calvin (Christianismi

Restitutio, p. 656). He speaks there of the punishment of Ananias and

Sapphira, who were "incorrigibiles, in malitia obstinati." Calvin

refers to this admission of Servetus, and charges him with

inconsistency. Opera, VIII. 462.

[993] This is admitted now by all impartial historians. Michelet (XI.

96) calls this blot in Calvin's life "crime du temps plus que de

l'homme m�me.'

[994] Responsio ad Balduini Convicia, Opera, IX. 575: "Iustas quidem

ille poenas dedit: sed an meo arbitrio? Certe arrogantia non minus quam

impietas perdidit hominem. Sed quodnam meum crimen, si Senatus noster

mea hortatu, ex plurium tamen ecclesiarum sententia, exsecrabiles

blasphemias ultus est? Vituperet me sane hac in parte Franciscus

Balduinus, modo Philippi Melanchthonis iudicio posteritas mihi

gratitudinem debeat, quia tam exitiali monstro ecclesiam purgaverim.

Senatum etiam nostrum, sub cuius ditione aliquando vixit, perstringat

ingratus hospes: modo idem Philippus scripto publice edito testetur

dignum esse exemplum quod imitentur omnes christiani principes."

[995] He called him at the trial Simon Magus, impostor, sycophanta,

nebulo, perfidus, impudens, ridiculus mus, cacodaemon, homicida, etc.

[996] Servetus nuper ad me scripsit ac litteris adjunxit longum volumen

suorum deliriorum, cum Thrasonica jactantia, me stupenda et hactemus

inaudita visurum. Si mihi placeat, huc se venturum recipit. Sed nolo

fidem meam interponere. Namsi venerit, modo valeat mea auctoritas,

vivum exire nunquam patiar." Opera, VIII. 283; Henry, III. Beil. 65-67;

Bonnet-Constable, II. 17. Grotius discovered this damaging letter in

Paris, which was controverted, but is now generally admitted as

genuine. There is an exact copy of it in Geneva.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 138. Catholic Intolerance.

Comp. vol. VI. �� 11 and 12 (pp. 50-86), and Schaff: The Progress of

Religious Liberty as shown in the History of Toleration Acts. New York,

1889.

This is the place to present the chief facts on the subject of

religious toleration and intolerance, which gives to the case of

Servetus its chief interest and importance in history. His theological

opinions are of far less consequence than his connection with the

theory of persecution which caused his death.

Persecution and war constitute the devil's chapter in history; but it

is overruled by Providence for the development of heroism, and for the

progress of civil and religious freedom. Without persecutors, there

could be no martyrs. Every church, yea, every truth and every good

cause, has its martyrs, who stood the fiery trial and sacrificed

comfort and life itself to their sacred convictions. The blood of

martyrs is the seed of toleration; toleration is the seed of liberty;

and liberty is the most precious gift of God to every man who has been

made in his image and redeemed by Christ.

Of all forms of persecution, religious persecution is the worst because

it is enacted in the name of God. It violates the sacred rights of

conscience, and it rouses the strongest and deepest passions.

Persecution by word and pen, which springs from the hatred, envy, and

malice of the human heart, or from narrowness and mistaken zeal for

truth, will continue to the end of time; but persecution by fire and

sword contradicts the spirit of humanity and Christianity, and is

inconsistent with modern civilization. Civil offences against the State

deserve civil punishment, by fine, imprisonment, confiscation, exile,

and death, according to the degree of guilt. Spiritual offences against

the Church should be spiritually judged, and punished by admonition,

deposition, and excommunication, with a view to the reformation and

restoration of the offender. This is the law of Christ. The temporal

punishment of heresy is the legitimate result of a union of Church and

State, and diminishes in rigor as this union is relaxed. A religion

established by law must be protected by law. Hence the Constitution of

the United States in securing full liberty of religion, forbids

Congress to establish by law any religion or church. [997] The two were

regarded as inseparable. An established church must in self-defence

persecute dissenters, or abridge their liberties; a free church cannot

persecute. And yet there may be as much individual Christian kindness

and charity in an established church, and as much intolerance and

bigotry in a free church. The ante-Nicene Fathers had the same zeal for

orthodoxy and the same abhorrence of heresy as the Nicene and

post-Nicene Fathers, the mediaeval popes and schoolmen, and the

Reformers; but they were confined to the spiritual punishment of

heresy. In the United States of America persecution is made impossible,

not because the zeal for truth or the passions of hatred and

intolerance have ceased, but because the union between Church and State

has ceased.

The theory of religious persecution was borrowed from the Mosaic law,

which punished idolatry and blasphemy by death. "He that sacrificeth

unto any god, save unto Jehovah only, shall be utterly destroyed."

[998] He that blasphemeth the name of Jehovah, he shall surely be put

to death; all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the

stranger, as the home-born, when he blasphemeth the name of Jehovah,

shall be put to death." [999]

The Mosaic theocracy was superseded in its national and temporal

provisions by the kingdom of Christ, which is "not of this world." The

confounding of the Old and New Testaments, of the law of Moses and the

gospel of Christ, was the source of a great many evils in the Church.

The New Testament furnishes not a shadow of support for the doctrine of

persecution. The whole teaching and example of Christ and the Apostles

are directly opposed to it. They suffered persecution, but they

persecuted no one. Their weapons were spiritual, not carnal. They

rendered to God the things that are God's, and to Caesar the things

that are Caesar's. The only passage which St. Augustin could quote in

favor of coercion, was the parabolic "Constrain them to come in" (Luke

14:23), which in its literal acceptation would teach just the reverse,

namely, a forced salvation. St. Thomas Aquinas does not quote any

passage from the New Testament in favor of intolerance, but tries to

explain away those passages which commend toleration (Matt. 13:29, 30;

1 Cor. 11:19; 2 Tim. 2:24). The Church has never entirely forgotten

this teaching of Christ and always, even in the darkest ages of

persecution, avowed the principle, "Ecclesia non sitit sanguinem"; but

she made the State her executor.

In the first three centuries the Church had neither the power nor the

wish to persecute. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Lactantius were the

earliest advocates of the liberty of conscience. The Toleration Edict

of Constantine (313) anticipated the modern theory of the right of

every man to choose his religion and to worship according to his

conviction. But this was only a step towards the union of the empire

with the Church, when the Church assumed the position and power of the

heathen state religion.

The era of persecution within the Church began with the first

Oecumenical Council, which was called and enforced by Constantine. This

Council presents the first instance of a subscription to a creed, and

the first instance of banishment for refusing to subscribe. Arius and

two Egyptian bishops, who agreed with him, were banished to Illyria.

During the violent Arian controversies, which shook the empire between

the first and second Oecumenical Councils (325-381), both parties when

in power freely exercised persecution by imprisonment, deposition, and

exile. The Arians were as intolerant as the orthodox. The practice

furnished the basis for a theory and public law.

The penal legislation against heresy was inaugurated by Theodosius the

Great after the final triumph of the Nicene Creed in the second

Oecumenical Council. He promulgated during his reign (379-395) no less

than fifteen severe edicts against heretics, especially those who

dissented from the doctrine of the Trinity. They were deprived of the

right of public worship, excluded from public offices, and exposed, in

some cases, to capital punishment. [1000] His rival and colleague,

Maximus, put the theory into full practice, and shed the first blood of

heretics by causing Priscillian, a Spanish bishop of Manichaean

tendency, with six adherents, to be tortured, condemned, and executed

by the sword.

The better feeling of the Church raised in Ambrose of Milan and Martin

of Tours a protest against this act of inhumanity. But public sentiment

soon approved of it. Jerome seems to favor the death penalty for heresy

on the ground of Deut. 13:6-10. The great Augustin, who had himself

been a Manichaean heretic for nine years, justified forcible measures

against the Donatists, in contradiction to his noble sentiment:

"Nothing conquers but truth, the victory of truth is love." [1001] The

same Christian Father who ruled the thinking of the Church for many

centuries, and moulded the theology of the Reformers, excluded all

unbaptized infants from salvation, though Christ emphatically included

them in the kingdom of heaven. Leo I., the greatest of the early popes,

advocated the death penalty for heresy and approved of the execution of

the Priscillianists. Thomas Aquinas, the master theologian of the

Middle Ages, lent the weight of his authority to the doctrine of

persecution, and demonstrated from the Old Testament and from reason

that heretics are worse criminals than debasers of money, and ought to

be put to death by the civil magistrate. [1002] Heresy was regarded as

the greatest sin, and worse than murder, because it destroyed the soul.

It took the place of idolatry in the Mosaic law.

The Theodosian Code was completed in the Justinian Code (527-534); the

Justinian Code passed into the Holy Roman Empire, and became the basis

of the legislation of Christian Europe. Rome ruled the world longer by

law and by the cross than she had ruled it by the sword. The canon law

likewise condemns to the flames persons convicted of heresy. [1003]

This law was generally accepted on the Continent in the thirteenth

century. [1004] England in her isolation was more independent, and

built society on the foundation of the common law; but Henry IV. and

his Parliament devised the sanguinary statute de haeretico comburendo,

by, which William Sawtre, a parish priest, was publicly burnt at

Smithfield (Feb. 26, 1401) for denying the doctrine of

transubstantiation, and the bones of Wiclif were burnt by Bishop

Fleming of Lincoln (in 1428). The statute continued in force till 1677,

when it was formally abolished.

On this legal and theological foundation the mediaeval Church has

soiled her annals with the blood of an army of heretics which is much

larger than the army of Christian martyrs under heathen Rome. We need

only refer to the crusades against the Albigenses and Waldenses, which

were sanctioned by Innocent III., one of the best and greatest of

popes; the tortures and autos-da-f� of the Spanish Inquisition, which

were celebrated with religious festivities; the fifty thousand or more

Protestants who were executed during the reign of the Duke of Alva in

the Netherlands (1567-1573); the several hundred martyrs who were

burned in Smithfield under the reign of the bloody Mary; and the

repeated wholesale persecutions of the innocent Waldenses in France and

Piedmont, which cried to heaven for vengeance.

It is vain to shift the responsibility upon the civil government. Pope

Gregory XIII. commemorated the massacre of St. Bartholomew not only by

a Te Deum in the churches of Rome, but more deliberately and

permanently by a medal which represents "The Slaughter of the

Huguenots" by an angel of wrath. The French bishops, under the lead of

the great Bossuet, lauded Louis XIV. as a new Constantine, a new

Theodosius, a new Charlemagne, a new exterminator of heretics, for his

revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the infamous dragoonades against

the Huguenots.

Among the more prominent individual cases of persecution, we may

mention the burning of Hus (1415) and Jerome of Prague (1416) by order

of the Council of Constance, the burning of Savonarola in Florence

(1498), the burning of the three English Reformers at Oxford (1556), of

Aonio Paleario at Rome (1570), and of Giordano Bruno (1600) in the same

city and on the same spot where (1889) the liberals of Italy have

erected a statue to his memory. Servetus was condemned to death at the

stake, and burnt in effigy, by a Roman Catholic tribunal before he fell

into the hands of Calvin.

The Roman Church has lost the power, and to a large extent also the

disposition, to persecute by fire and sword. Some of her highest

dignitaries frankly disown the principle of persecution, especially in

America, where they enjoy the full benefit of religious freedom. [1005]

But the Roman curia has never officially disowned the theory on which

the practice of persecution is based. On the contrary, several popes

since the Reformation have indorsed it. Pope Clement VIII. denounced

the Toleration Edict of Nantes as "the most accursed that can be

imagined, whereby liberty of conscience is granted to everybody; which

is the worst thing in the world." Pope Innocent X. "condemned,

rejected, and annulled" the toleration articles of the Westphalian

Treaty of 1648, and his successors have ever protested against it,

though in vain. Pope Pius IX., in the Syllabus of 1864, expressly

condemned, among the errors of this age, the doctrine of religious

toleration and liberty. [1006] And this pope has been declared to be

officially infallible by the Vatican decree of 1870, which embraces all

his predecessors (notwithstanding the stubborn case of Honorius I.) and

all his successors in the chair of St. Peter. Leo XIII. has moderately

and cautiously indorsed the doctrine of the Syllabus. [1007]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[997] In the First Amendment of the Constitution: "Congress shall make

no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free

exercise thereof."

[998] Ex. 22:20; comp. Deut. 13:5-15; 17:2-5, etc.

[999] Lev. 24:16; comp. 1 Kings 21:10, 13.

[1000] See the Theodosian and Justinian Codes under the titles: De

summa Trinitate, De Catholica Fide, De Haereticis, De Apostatis. For a

summary compare Gibbon, ch. XXVII. (vol. III. 197 sqq.), and Milman,

Latin Christianity, bk. III. ch. V. (I. 512 sqq.). Gibbon says.

"Theodosius considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme

powers of heaven and of earth; and each of these powers might exercise

their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty."

[1001] Comp. vol. III. 144 sq.

[1002] Summa Theol. Secunda Secundae, Quest. XI. (de haresi), Art. 3.

In Migne's ed. Tom. III. 107.

[1003] See Boehmer, Inst. Juris Canonici, 1747, lib. V. tit. 7, � 10.

[1004] Friedberg, Lehrbuch des katholischen und evangelischen

Kirchenrechts, 2d ed. 1884, p. 221: "Im XIII. Jahrhundert erfolgt

ueberall die rechtliche staatliche Feststellung der Todesstrafe und

Vermoegensconfiscation f�r Ketzerei, und die Kirche hat diese

staatlichen Strafen nicht nur gebilligt, sondern auch verlangt, und die

weltliche Obrigkeit, die sie nicht verhaenge, selbst mit der Strafe der

Ketzereibedroht."

[1005] Among these is Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, who says (The

Faith of our Fathers, Balto., 1890, 36th ed., p. 284 sq.): "I am not

the apologist of the Spanish Inquisition, and I have no desire to

palliate or excuse the excesses into which that tribunal may at times

have fallen. From my heart I abhor and denounce every species of

violence, and injustice, and persecution, of which the Spanish

Inquisition may have been guilty. And in raising my voice against

coercion for conscience's sake, I am expressing not only my own

sentiments, but those of every Catholic priest and layman in the land.

"Our Catholic ancestors, for the last three hundred years, have

suffered so much for freedom of conscience, that they would rise up in

judgment against us, were we to become the advocates and defenders of

religious persecution. We would be a disgrace to our sires were we to

trample on the principle of liberty which they held dearer than life."

[1006] Syllabus Errorum, � III. 15; VI. 55; X. 78.

[1007] See his Encyclicals of Nov. 1, 1885 (Immortale Dei), and of June

20, 1888 (Libertas praestantissimum naturae donum). They are printed in

the latest ed. of Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, II. 555-602.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 139. Protestant Intolerance. Judgments of the Reformers on Servetus.

The Reformers inherited the doctrine of persecution from their mother

Church, and practised it as far as they had the power. They fought

intolerance with intolerance. They differed favorably from their

opponents in the degree and extent, but not in the principle, of

intolerance. They broke down the tyranny of popery, and thus opened the

way for the development of religious freedom; but they denied to others

the liberty which they exercised themselves. The Protestant governments

in Germany and Switzerland excluded, within the limits of their

jurisdiction, the Roman Catholics from all religious and civil rights,

and took exclusive possession of their churches, convents, and other

property. They banished, imprisoned, drowned, beheaded, hanged, and

burned Anabaptists, Antitrinitarians, Schwenkfeldians, and other

dissenters. In Saxony, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark no religion and

public worship was allowed but the Lutheran. The Synod of Dort deposed

and expatriated all Arminian ministers and school-teachers. The penal

code of Queen Elizabeth and the successive acts of Uniformity aimed at

the complete extermination of all dissent, whether papal or protestant,

and made it a crime for an Englishman to be anything else than an

Episcopalian. The Puritans when in power ejected two thousand ministers

from their benefices for non-conformity; and the Episcopalians paid

them back in the same coin when they returned to power. "The

Reformers," says Gibbon, with sarcastic severity, "were ambitious of

succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal

rigor their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the

magistrate to punish heretics with death. The nature of the tiger was

the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs." [1008]

Protestant persecution violates the fundamental principle of the

Reformation. Protestantism has no right to exist except on the basis of

freedom of conscience.

How, then, can we account for this glaring inconsistency? There is a

reason for everything. Protestant persecution was necessary in

self-defence and in the struggle for existence. The times were not ripe

for toleration. The infant Churches could not have stood it. These

Churches had first to be consolidated and fortified against surrounding

foes. Universal toleration at that time would have resulted in

universal confusion and upset the order of society. From anarchy to

absolute despotism is but one step. The division of Protestantism into

two rival camps, the Lutheran and the Reformed, weakened it; further

divisions within these camps would have ruined it and prepared an easy

triumph for united Romanism, which would have become more despotic than

ever before. This does not justify the principle, but it explains the

practice, of intolerance.

The Reformers and the Protestant princes and magistrates were

essentially agreed on this intolerant attitude, both towards the

Romanists and the heretical Protestants, at least to the extent of

imprisonment, deposition, and expatriation. They differed only as to

the degree of severity. They all believed that the papacy is

anti-christian and the mass idolatrous; that heresy is a sin against

God and society; that the denial of the Trinity and the divinity of

Christ is the greatest of heresies, which deserves death according to

the laws of the empire, and eternal punishment according to the

Athanasian Creed (with its three damnatory clauses); and that the civil

government is as much bound to protect the first as the second table of

the Decalogue, and to vindicate the honor of God against blasphemy.

They were anxious to show their zeal for orthodoxy by severity against

heresy. They had no doubt that they themselves were orthodox according

to the only true standard of orthodoxy--the Word of God in the Holy

Scriptures. And as regards the dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation,

they were fully agreed with their Catholic opponents, and equally

opposed to the errors of Servetus, who denied those dogmas with a

boldness and contempt unknown before.

Let us ascertain the sentiments of the leading Reformers with special

reference to the case of Servetus. They form a complete justification

of Calvin as far as such a justification is possible.

Luther.

Luther, the hero of Worms, the champion of the sacred rights of

conscience, was, in words, the most violent, but in practice, the least

intolerant, among the Reformers. He was nearest to Romanism in the

condemnation of heresy, but nearest to the genius of Protestantism in

the advocacy of religious freedom. He was deeply rooted in mediaeval

piety, and yet a mighty prophet of modern times. In his earlier years,

till 1529, he gave utterance to some of the noblest sentiments in favor

of religious liberty. "Belief is a free thing," he said, "which cannot

be enforced." "If heretics were to be punished by death, the hangman

would be the most orthodox theologian." "Heresy is a spiritual thing

which no iron can hew down, no fire burn, no water drown." [1009] To

burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit." [1010] False

teachers should not be put to death; it is enough to banish them."

[1011]

But with advancing years he became less liberal and more intolerant

against Catholics, heretics, and Jews. He exhorted the magistrates to

forbid all preaching of Anabaptists, whom he denounced without

discrimination as false prophets and messengers of the devil, and he

urged their expulsion. [1012] He raised no protest when the Diet of

Speier, in 1529, passed the cruel decree that the Anabaptists be

executed by fire and sword without distinction of sex, and even without

a previous hearing before the spiritual judges. [1013] The Elector of

Saxony considered it his duty to execute this decree, and put a number

of Anabaptists to death in his dominions. His neighbor, Philip of

Hesse, who had more liberal instincts than the contemporary princes of

Germany, could not find it in his conscience to use the sword against

differences of belief. [1014] But the theologians of Wittenberg, on

being consulted by the Elector John Frederick about 1540 or 1541, gave

their judgment in favor of putting the Anabaptists to death, according

to the laws of the empire. Luther approved of this judgment under his

own name, adding that it was cruel to punish them by the sword, but

more cruel that they should damn the ministry of the Word and suppress

the true doctrine, and attempt to destroy the kingdoms of the world.

[1015]

If we put a strict construction on this sentence, Luther must be

counted with the advocates of the death-penalty for heresy. But he made

a distinction between two classes of Anabaptists--those who were

seditious or revolutionary, and those who were mere fanatics. The

former should be put to death, the latter should be banished. [1016] In

a letter to Philip of Hesse, dated November 20, 1538, he urgently

requested him to expel from his territory the Anabaptists, whom he

characterizes as children of the devil, but says nothing of using the

sword. [1017] We should give him, therefore, the benefit of a liberal

construction. [1018]

At the same time, the distinction was not always strictly observed, and

fanatics were easily turned into criminals, especially after the

excesses of M�nster, in 1535, which were greatly exaggerated and made

the pretext for punishing innocent men and women. [1019] The whole

history of the Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century has to be

rewritten and disentangled from the odium theologicum.

As regards Servetus, Luther knew only his first work against the

Trinity, and pronounced it, in his Table Talk (1532), an "awfully bad

book." [1020] Fortunately for his fame, he did not live to pronounce a

judgment in favor of his execution, and we must give him the benefit of

silence.

His opinions on the treatment of the Jews changed for the worse. In

1523 he had vigorously protested against the cruel persecution of the

Jews, but in 1543 he counselled their expulsion from Christian lands,

and the burning of their books, synagogues, and private houses in which

they blaspheme our Saviour and the Holy Virgin. He repeated this advice

in his last sermon, preached at Eisleben a few days before his death.

[1021]

Melanchthon.

Melanchthon's record on this painful subject is unfortunately worse

than Luther's. This is all the more significant because he was the

mildest and gentlest among the Reformers. But we should remember that

his utterances on the subject are of a later date, several years after

Luther's death. He thought that the Mosaic law against idolatry and

blasphemy was as binding upon Christian states as the Decalogue, and

was applicable to heresies as well. [1022] He therefore fully and

repeatedly justified the course of Calvin and the Council of Geneva,

and even held them up as models for imitation! In a letter to Calvin,

dated Oct. 14, 1554, nearly one year after the burning of Servetus, he

wrote:--

"Reverend and dear Brother: I have read your book, in which you have

clearly refuted the horrid blasphemies of Servetus; and I give thanks

to the Son of God, who was the brabeuthv" [the awarder of your crown of

victory] in this your combat. To you also the Church owes gratitude at

the present moment, and will owe it to the latest posterity. I

perfectly assent to your opinion. I affirm also that your magistrates

did right in punishing, after a regular trial, this blasphemous man."

[1023]

A year later, Melanchthon wrote to Bullinger, Aug. 20, 1555: --

"Reverend and dear Brother: I have read your answer to the blasphemies

of Servetus, and I approve of your piety and opinions. I judge also

that the Genevese Senate did perfectly right, to put an end to this

obstinate man, who could never cease blaspheming. And I wonder at those

who disapprove of this severity." [1024]

Three years later, April 10, 1557, Melanchthon incidentally (in the

admonition in the case of Theobald Thamer, who had returned to the

Roman Church) adverted again to the execution of Servetus, and called

it, a pious and memorable example to all posterity." [1025] It is an

example, indeed, but certainly not for imitation.

This unqualified approval of the death penalty for heresy and the

connivance at the bigamy of Philip of Hesse are the two dark spots on

the fair name of this great and good man. But they were errors of

judgment. Calvin took great comfort from the endorsement of the

theological head of the Lutheran Church. [1026]

Martin Bucer.

Bucer, who stands third in rank among the Reformers of Germany, was of

a gentle and conciliatory disposition, and abstained from persecuting

the Anabaptists in Strassburg. He knew Servetus personally, and treated

him at first with kindness, but after the publication of his work on

the Trinity, be refuted it in his lectures as a "most pestilential

book." [1027] He even declared in the pulpit or in the lecture-room

that Servetus deserved to be disembowelled and torn to pieces. [1028]

From this we may infer how fully he would have approved his execution,

had he lived till 1553.

The Swiss Churches.

The Swiss Reformers ought to have been in advance of those of Germany

on this subject, but they were not. They advised or approved the

exclusion of Roman Catholics from the Reformed Cantons, and violent

measures against Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians. Six Anabaptists

were, by a cruel irony, drowned in the river Limmat at Z�rich by order

of the government (between 1527 and 1532). [1029] Other cantons took

the same severe measures against the Anabaptists. Zwingli, the most

liberal among the Reformers, did not object to their punishment, and

counselled the forcible introduction of Protestantism into the neutral

territories and the Forest Cantons. Ochino was expelled from Z�rich and

Basel (1563).

As regards the case of Servetus, the churches and magistrates of

Z�rich, Schaffhausen, Basel, and Bern, on being consulted during his

trial, unanimously condemned his errors, and advised his punishment,

but without committing themselves to the mode of punishment. [1030]

Bullinger wrote to Calvin that God had given the Council of Geneva a

most favorable opportunity to vindicate the truth against the pollution

of heresy, and the honor of God against blasphemy. In his Second

Helvetic Confession (ch. XXX.) he teaches that it is the duty of the

magistrate to use the sword against blasphemers. Schaffhausen fully

agreed with Z�rich. Even the authorities of Basel, which was the

headquarters of the sceptical Italians and enemies of Calvin, gave the

advice that Servetus, whom their own Oecolampadius had declared a most

dangerous man, be deprived of the power to harm the Church, if all

efforts to convert him should fail. Six years afterwards the Council of

Basel, with the consent of the clergy and the University, ordered the

body of David Joris, a chiliastic Anabaptist who had lived there under

a false name (and died Aug. 25, 1556), to be dug from the grave and

burned, with his likeness and books, by the hangman before a large

multitude (1559). [1031]

Bern, which had advised moderation in the affair of Bolsec two years

earlier, judged more severely in the case of Servetus, because he "had

reckoned himself free to call in question all the essential points of

our religion," and expressed the wish that the Council of Geneva might

have prudence and strength to deliver the Churches from "this pest."

Thirteen years after the death of Servetus, the Council of Bern

executed Valentino Gentile by the sword (Sept. 10, 1566) for an error

similar to but less obnoxious than that of Servetus, and scarcely a

voice was raised in disapproval of the sentence. [1032]

The Reformers of French Switzerland went further than those of German

Switzerland. Farel defended death by fire, and feared that Calvin in

advising a milder punishment was guided by the feelings of a friend

against his bitterest foe. Beza wrote a special work in defence of the

execution of Servetus, whom he characterized as "a monstrous compound

of mere impiety and horrid blasphemy." [1033] Peter Martyr called him

"a genuine son of the devil," whose "pestiferous and detestable

doctrines" and "intolerable blasphemies" justified the severe sentence

of the magistracy. [1034]

Cranmer.

The English Reformers were not behind those of the continent in the

matter of intolerance. Several years before the execution of Servetus,

Archbishop Cranmer had persuaded the reluctant young King Edward VI. to

sign the death-warrant of two Anabaptists--one a woman, called Joan

Becher of Kent, and the other a foreigner from Holland, George Van

Pare; the former was burnt May 2, 1550, the latter, April 6, 1551.

The only advocates of toleration in the sixteenth century were

Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians, who were themselves sufferers from

persecution. Let us give them credit for their humanity.

Gradual Triumph of Toleration and Liberty.

The reign of intolerance continued to the end of the seventeenth

century. It was gradually undermined during the eighteenth century, and

demolished by the combined influences of Protestant Dissenters, as the

Anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, Quakers, Presbyterians,

Independents, of Anglican Latitudinarians, and of philosophers, like

Bayle, Grotius, Locke, Leibnitz; nor should we forget Voltaire and

Frederick the Great, who were unbelievers, but sincere and most

influential advocates of religious toleration; nor Franklin, Jefferson,

and Madison in America. Protestant Holland and Protestant England took

the lead in the legal recognition of the principles of civil and

religious liberty, and the Constitution of the United States completed

the theory by putting all Christian denominations on a parity before

the law and guaranteeing them the full enjoyment of equal rights.

Hand in hand with the growth of tolerance went the zeal for prison

reform, the abolition of torture and cruel punishments, the abrogation

of the slave trade, serfdom, and slavery, the improvement of the

condition of the poor and miserable, and similar movements of

philanthropy, which are the late but genuine outgrowth of the spirit of

Christianity.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1008] Decline and Fall, ch. LIV. It should be remembered, however,

that the most intolerant form of intolerance is the intolerance of

infidelity as manifested in the French Revolution during "the reign of

terror."

[1009] In his book Von weltlicher Obrigkeit wie weit man ihr Gehorsam

schuldig sei (1523), in Werke XXII. 90: "Ketzerei kann man nimmermehr

mit Gewalt wehren, es gehoert ein ander Griff dazu, und ist hie ein

ander Streit und Handel, denn mit dem Schwert. Gottes Wortsoll hie

streiten; wenn das nicht ausreicht, so wird's wohl unausgerichtet

bleiben von weltlicher Gewalt, ob sie gleich die Welt mit Blut f�llet.

Ketzerei ist ein geistlich Ding, das kann man mit keinem Eisen hauen,

mit keinem Feuer verbrennen, mit keinem Wasser ertraenken. Es ist aber

allein das Wort Gottes da, das thut's, wie Paulus sagt 2 Cor. 10:4, 5:

'Unsere Waffen sind nicht fleischlich, sondern maechtig in Gott.'"

[1010] Conclus. LXXX. in the Resol. de Indulgentiis, 1518. This is one

of the theses which the Sorbonne of Paris condemned in 1521.

[1011] His last liberal utterance on the subject is in his letter to

Link, 1628: Nullo modo possum admittere, falsos doctores occidi: satis

est eos relegari." Briefe, III. 347 sq. (De Wette's ed.). In the same

year he wrote his book Von der Wiedertaufe an zwei Pfarrherrn (Erl. ed.

vol. XXVI) in which he treats the doctrines of the Baptists without

mercy, but at the same time expresses sincere regret at the cruel

treatment of them, saying: "Es ist nicht recht und mir wahrlich leid,

dass man solche elende Leute so jaemmerlich ermordet, verbrennet und

graeulich umbringt; man sollte ja einen jeglichen lassen glauben, was

er wollt; glaubt er unrecht, so hat er genug Strafen an dem ewigen

Feuer in der Hoellen. Warum will man sie denn auch noch zeitlich

martern, so ferne sie allein im Glauben irren und nicht auch daneben

aufruehrerisch sind oder sonst der Obrigkeit widerstreben! Lieber Gott,

wie bald ist's geschehen, dass einer irre wird und dem Teufel in

Stricke faellt? Mit der Schrift und Gottes Wort sollt man ihnen wehren

und widerstehen, mit Feuer wird man wenig ausrichten." I have quoted

this and other passages in vol. VI. 59 sq., but could not well omit

them here on account of the connection.

[1012] Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern, addressed to Eberhard

von der Tannen on the Wartburg, 1531. Werke, XXXI. 214 sqq.

[1013] "Dass alle und jede Widertaeuffer und Widergetaufte, Mann und

Weibspersonen verstaendigs Alters vom nat�rlichen Leben zum Tode mit

Feuer, Schwert oder dergleichen nach Gelegenheit der Personen ohne

vorgehende der geistlichen Richter Inquisition gerichtet oder gebracht

werden." This was the same Diet in which the Lutheran Protestants

entered their protest against the decision of the majority (hence their

name); but they assented to the cruel decree against the Anabaptists,

and also to the exclusion of the Zwinglians from toleration, with the

exception of the Landgrave of Hesse, who protested also against this

intolerance.

[1014] In 1540 he boasted that no Anabaptist had been executed for

opinion's sake by him, whereas in other German lands the number of such

martyrdoms was, up to 1530, hard upon two thousand. "Wir koennen in

unseren Gewissen nicht finden," he said to the elector, "jemanden des

Glaubens halben, wo wir nicht sonst genugsam Ursache der Verwirkung

haben moegen, mit dem Schwert richten zu lassen. Denn so es die Meinung

haben sollte, m�ssten wir keinen Juden noch Papisten, die Christum am

hoechsten blasphemiren, bei uns dulden und sie dergestalt richten

lassen." G. L. Schmidt, Justus Menius, der Reformator Th�ringens

(Gotha, 1867), vol. I. 144. Comp. Corpus Reform. IX. 757.

[1015] He wrote beneath the judgment of the Wittenberg theologians:

"Placet Mihi Martino Luthero. Wiewol es crudele anzusehen, dass man sie

mit dem Schwert straft, so ists doch crudelius, dass sie ministerium

verbi damniren und keine gewisse Lehre treiben, und rechte Lehre

unterdr�cken, und dazu regna mundi zerstoeren wollen." The last

sentence refers to the chiliastic views held by many of the

Anabaptists, for which they are condemned in the Augsburg Confession.

Seidemann, in the sixth vol. of De Wette's "Correspondence of Luther,"

p. 291. He assigns this document to the year 1541. Comp, Corp. Ref. IV.

737-740.

[1016] "Anabaptistae occidendi. D. dixit. Duplices sunt. Quidam aperte

sediotiose docent contra magistratus; eos jure occidit elector. Reliqui

habent fanaticas opiniones, ii plerumque relegantur." G. Loesche,

Analecta Lutherana et Melanchthoniana. Tischreden Luthers und

Ausspr�che Melanchthons, Gotha, 1892, p. 137.

[1017] "Es ist nicht allein mein Bedenken, sondern auch dem�thiges

Bitten, E. F. G. wollten sie [die Wiedertaeufer] ernstlich des Landes

verweisen, denn est ist gleichwol des Teufels Samen," etc. Luther's

Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, vol. VI. by Joh. Karl Seidemann

(Berlin, 1856), p. 216.

[1018] This is the conclusion of my friend, Dr. Koestlin, of Halle, the

distinguished biographer of Luther. In reply to a letter, March 12,

1892, he communicated to me his careful opinion as follows: "Nirgends,

auch nicht in seiner spaeteren Zeit, that Luther Aeusserungen, in

welchen er den Grundsatz des damaligen allgemeinen Rechts (auch der

Carolina), dass z. B. Bestreitung der Trinitaetslehre oder andere bloss

dogmatische Irrlehre schon als solche mit dem Tod bestraft werden

sollte, sich angeeignet hatte. So weit wir sehen, hat er darin doch

immer sehr von Calvin und auch von Melanchthon, ja von allen anderen

Hauptlehrern der Reformation sich unterschieden. Insbesondere

beschraenkt er sich, z. B. einem Antitrinitatier wie Joh. Campan

gegen�ber ('filium Satanae, adversarium Dei, quem plus etiam quam Arius

blasphemat'), doch auf den Wunsch, dass die Obrigkeit 'tales furias non

vocatas' nicht zulassen moege. Briefe v. De Wette IV. 321. Auch die

schaerfsten Ausserungen der Tischreden (cf. auch die Colloquien ed.

Bindseil) gehen nie weiter, soweit sie dogmatische Irrlehren

betreffen."

[1019] See L. Keller: Geschichte der Wiedertaeufer und ihres Reichs zu

M�nster, M�nster, 1880, and his Die Reformation, p. 451, where he

speaks of new sources discovered since 1880.

[1020] "Ein graeulich boes Buch." When Melanchthon informed him that

the opinions of Servetus found much applause in Italy, he remarked that

"Italy was full of pestilential opinions, and that if such errors as

those of Servetus should get there, horrible abominations would arise"

(horribiles abominationes ibi orituras). Bindseil, Martini Lutheri

Colloquia, Tom. I. 376. Comp. Tollin, M. Luther und M. Servet, Berlin,

1875, and M. Servet und Martin Butzer (or Servet und die

oberlaendischen Reformatoren, Berlin, 1880, vol. I. 105 sq.). Tollin

tries to prove in both these books, on the strength of an obscure

passage in a letter of Servetus to Oecolampadius, that Servetus

accompanied Butzer as amanuensis in September, 1530, from Augsburg to

Coburg to see Luther. But neither Bucer nor Luther say a word about it.

[1021] Erlangen ed., vol. XXII. 558 sq.

[1022] Corpus Reformatorum, vol. VIII. 520. He mentions among the

heresies worthy of death the deliramenta Samosateni andManichaei.

[1023] Corpus Reformat. vol. VIII. 362 (also in Calvin's Opera, XV. 268

sq.): Reverende vir et carissime frater: Legi scriptum tuum, in quo

refutasti luculenter horrendas Serveti blasphemias: ac Filio Dei

gratias ago, qui fuit brabeuteshuius tui agonis. Tibi quoque ecclesia

et nunc et ad posteros gratitudinem debet et debebit. Tuo judicio

prorsus assentior. Affirmo etiam vestros magistratus juste fecisse,

quod hominem blasphemum, re ordine judicata, interfecerunt." (The rest

of this letter is an answer to Calvin's request that he should define

his views on the predestinarian and eucharistic controversies.

Melanchthon declined to do this for prudential reasons, but intimated

his dissent from the carnal theory of the real presence by calling it

artolatria, and expresses the hope of conversing with him once more,

"antequam ex hoc mortali carcere mens discedat.")

[1024] Corpus Reform. VIII. 523. After thanking Bullinger for a number

of books, he adds: "Legi etiam quae de Serveti blasphemiis

respondistis, et pietatem ac judicia vestra probo. Judico etiam Senatum

Genevensem recte fecisse quod hominem pertinacem et non omissurum

blasphemias sustulit. Ac miratus sum, esse [aliquos], qui severitatem

illam improbent. Mitto de ea quaestione breves pagellas, sed tamen

sententiae nostrae testes." This refers to his consilium on the

rightfulness of the punishment of heretics by the civil magistrate

(1555).

[1025] Commonefactio de Thammero, vol. IX. 133: "Dedit vero et

Genevensis Reipublicae Magistratas ante annos quatuor punitae

insanabilis blasphemiae adversus Filium Dei, sublato Serveto Arragone

pium et memorabile ad omnem posteritatem exemplum."

[1026] He wrote to Melanchthon, March 5, 1555: "Your letter, most

reverend sir, was grateful to me, not only because whatever comes from

you is dear to me, and because it has assured me that the affection,

which you entertained for me in the commencement of our intercourse,

still remains unaltered; but above all because in it I find a

magnificent eulogy, in which you commend my zeal in crushing the

impiety of Servetus. Whence also I conjecture that you have not been

offended with the honest freedom of my admonitions." He referred to

Melanchthon again in his reply to the Reproaches of Baudouin, 1562. See

above, � 137.

[1027] So he wrote to Ambrosius Blaurer, Dec. 29, 1531:

"Pestilentissimum illum de Trinitate librum novi, proh dolor, et hic in

publicis praelectionibus nostris confutavi."

[1028] Dignum esse, qui avulsis visceribus discerperetur." So reports

Calvin Sept. 8, 1553. This is confirmed by a letter of Professor Frecht

of T�bingen to Capito, dated Nov. 25, 1538. See Tollin, Michael Servet

und Martin Butzer, in the "Magazin f�r die Lit. des Auslandes," Berlin,

1876, and Servet und die oberlaendischen Reformatoren, Bd. I. (Michael

Servet und Martin Butzer), Berlin, 1880, pp. 232 sqq. Tollin thinks

that Bucer meant the book, not the person of Servetus; but books have

no viscera.

[1029] See above, � 26, pp. 87 sqq.

[1030] The judgments of the magistrates and ministers of Z�rich,

Schaffhausen, Basel, and Bern are printed in Calvin's Opera, VIII.

808-823 (in German and Latin). The judgment of the pastors of Z�rich,

dated Oct. 2, 1553, is also inserted in Calvin's Defensio, ibid. fol.

555-558.

[1031] See Nippold, Ueber Leben, Lehre und Sekte des David Joris, in

the Zeitschrift f�r historische Theologie," 1863, No. I., and 1864, No.

IV.

[1032] See above, � 131, p. 658.

[1033] "Monstrum ex mera impietate horrendisque blasphemiis conflatum."

Vita Calv. (Annal. XXI. 148).

[1034] See the whole passage in Trechsel's Zusaetze to vol. I.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 140. The Early Life of Servetus.

For our knowledge of the origin and youth of Servetus we have to depend

on the statements which he made at his trials before the Roman Catholic

court at Vienne in April, 1553, and before the Calvinistic court at

Geneva in August of the same year. These depositions are meagre and

inconsistent, either from defect of memory or want of honesty. In

Geneva he could not deceive the judges, as Calvin was well acquainted

with his antecedents. I give, therefore, the preference to his later

testimony. [1035]

Michael Serveto, better known in the Latinized form Servetus, also

called Reves, [1036] was born at Villa-nueva or Villanova in Aragon

(hence "Villanovanus"), in 1509, the year of the nativity of Calvin,

his great antagonist. [1037] He informed the court of Geneva that he

was of an ancient and noble Spanish family, and that his father was a

lawyer and notary by profession.

The hypothesis that he was of Jewish or Moorish extraction is an

unwarranted inference from his knowledge of Hebrew and the Koran.

He was slender and delicate in body, but precocious, inquisitive,

imaginative, acute, independent, and inclined to mysticism and

fanaticism. He seems to have received his early education in a

Dominican convent and in the University of Saragossa, with a view at

first to the clerical vocation.

He was sent by his father to the celebrated law-school of Toulouse,

where he studied jurisprudence for two or three years. The University

of Toulouse was strictly orthodox, and kept a close watch against the

Lutheran heresy. But it was there that he first saw a complete copy of

the Bible, as Luther did after he entered the University of Erfurt.

The Bible now became his guide. He fully adopted the Protestant

principle of the supremacy and sufficiency of the Bible, but subjected

it to his speculative fancy, and carried opposition to Catholic

tradition much farther than the Reformers did. He rejected the

oecumenical orthodoxy, while they rejected only the mediaeval

scholastic orthodoxy. It is characteristic of his mystical turn of mind

that he made the Apocalypse the basis of his speculations, while the

sober and judicious Calvin never commented on this book.

Servetus declared, in his first work, that the Bible was the source of

all his philosophy and science, and to be read a thousand times. [1038]

He called it a gift of God descended from heaven. [1039] Next to the

Bible, he esteemed the ante-Nicene Fathers, because of their simpler

and less definite teaching. He quotes them freely in his first book.

We do not know whether, and how far, he was influenced by the writings

of the Reformers. He may have read some tracts of Luther, which were

early translated into Spanish, but he does not quote from them. [1040]

We next find Servetus in the employ of Juan Quintana, a Franciscan

friar and confessor to the Emperor Charles V. He seems to have attended

his court at the coronation by Pope Clement VII. in Bologna (1529), and

on the journey to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, which forms an epoch in

the history of the Lutheran Reformation. [1041] At Augsburg he may have

seen Melanchthon and other leading Lutherans, but he was too young and

unknown to attract much attention.

In the autumn of 1530 he was dismissed from the service of Quintana; we

do not know for what reason, probably on suspicion of heresy.

We have no account of a conversion or moral struggle in any period of

his life, such as the Reformers passed through. He never was a

Protestant, either Lutheran or Reformed, but a radical at war with all

orthodoxy. A mere youth of twenty-one or two, he boldly or impudently

struck out an independent path as a Reformer of the Reformation. The

Socinian society did not yet exist; and even there he would not have

felt at home, nor would he have long been tolerated. Nominally, he

remained in the Roman Church, and felt no scruple about conforming to

its rites. As he stood alone, so he died alone, leaving an influence,

but no school nor sect.

From Germany Servetus went to Switzerland and spent some time at Basel.

There he first ventilated his heresies on the trinity and the divinity

of Christ.

He importuned Oecolampadius with interviews and letters, hoping to

convert him. But Oecolampadius was startled and horrified. He informed

his friends, Bucer, Zwingli, and Bullinger, who happened to be at Basel

in October, 1530, that he had been troubled of late by a hot-headed

Spaniard, who denied the divine trinity and the eternal divinity of our

Saviour. Zwingli advised him to try to convince Servetus of his error,

and by good and wholesome arguments to win him over to the truth.

Oecolampadius said that he could make no impression upon the haughty,

daring, and contentious man. Zwingli replied: "This is indeed a thing

insufferable in the Church of God. Therefore do everything possible to

prevent the spread of such dreadful blasphemy." Zwingli never saw the

objectionable book in print.

Servetus sought to satisfy Oecolampadius by a misleading confession of

faith, but the latter was not deceived by the explanations and exhorted

him to "confess the Son of God to be coequal and coeternal with the

Father;" otherwise he could not acknowledge him as a Christian.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1035] A. v. d. Linde, p. 3 sq., presents the contradictory statements

of Servetus in parallel columns.

[1036] In the title of his first book. "Reves" is an abridged anagram

of Serveto. Others derive it from the maiden name of his mother. But we

know nothing of his family. The form "Servede" never occurs among his

contemporaries, and not before 1697, but is used by several modern

writers, as Herzog, Guericke, Hase, Dorner, Harnack.

[1037] Place and date are disputed. In the trial at Vienne be stated

that he was born at Tudela in the old Spanish kingdom of Navarre, that

he was then forty-two years old, which would put his birth in 1511. In

the trial at Geneva he declared himself to be "Espagnol Arragonese de

Villeneufve," and to be forty-four years old. This is confirmed by the

author's name on the title-page of his first book:, Per Michaelem

Serveto, ali�s Reves ab Aragonia Hispanum," by the subscription at the

end of his Restitutio " M. S. V." [Villanovanus] and by the name

"Villeneuve," under which he was known in France. So also Willis and v.

d. Linde. But Tollin decides for Tudela and for the year 1511. See his

Servet's Kindheit und Jugend, in Kahnis' "Zeitschrift f�r Hist.

Theol.," 1875.

[1038] Omnem philosophiam et scientiam ego in Biblia reperio .... Lege

obsecro millies Bibliam." (De Trinitatis Erroribus, fol. 78b and 79.)

[1039] "Datus est de coelo liber ut in eo Deum investigemus, adjuvante

ad hoc fide quae non est ille crudus sophistarum assensus, sed motus

cordis, sicut dicit Scriptura, corde creditur." (Ibid. f. 107b.)

"Figmenta sunt imaginaria quae Scripturae limites transgrediuntur."

(Ibid. f. 81b.)

[1040] Tollin conjectures that he had read the writings of Luther,

Melanchthon, and Bucer, and was especially influenced by Erasmus.

[1041] See Tollin, Die Beichtvaeter Kaiser Karls V., three short papers

in the "Magazin f�r die Lit. des Auslandes," 1874, and Servet auf dem

Reichstag zu Augsburg, in Thelemann's "Evang. Reform. Kirchenzeitung,"

1876, No. 1724.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 141. The Book against the Holy Trinity.

Servetus was too vain and obstinate to take advice. In the beginning of

1531, he secured a publisher for his book on the "Errors of the

Trinity," Conrad Koenig, who had shops at Basel and Strassburg, and who

sent the manuscript to Secerius, a printer at Hagenau in Alsace.

Servetus went to that place to read the proof. He also visited Bucer

and Capito at Strassburg, who received him with courtesy and kindness

and tried to convert him, but in vain.

In July, 1531, the book appeared under the name of the author, and was

furnished to the trade at Strassburg, Frankfort, and Basel, but nobody

knew where and by whom it was published. Suspicion fell upon Basel.

This book is a very original and, for so young a man, very remarkable

treatise on the Trinity and Incarnation in opposition to the

traditional and oecumenical faith. The style is crude and obscure, and

not to be compared with Calvin's, who at the same age and in his

earliest writings showed himself a master of lucid, methodical, and

convincing statement in elegant and forcible Latin. Servetus was

familiar with the Bible, the ante-Nicene Fathers (Tertullian and

Irenaeus), and scholastic theology, and teemed with new, but

ill-digested ideas which he threw out like firebrands. He afterwards

embodied his first work in his last, but in revised shape. The

following is a summary of the Seven Books on the Trinity:--

In the first book he proceeds from the historical Jesus of Nazareth,

and proves, first, that this man is Jesus the Christ; secondly, that he

is the Son of God; and thirdly, that he is God. [1042] He begins with

the humanity in opposition to those who begin with the Logos and, in

his opinion, lose the true Christ. In this respect he anticipates the

Socinian and modern humanitarian Christology, but not in a

rationalistic sense; for he asserts a special indwelling of God in

Christ (somewhat resembling Schleiermacher), and a deification of

Christ after his exaltation (like the Socinians). [1043] He rejects the

identity of the Logos with the Son of God and the doctrine of the

communication of attributes. He distinguishes between the Hebrew names

of God: Jehovah means exclusively the one and eternal God; Elohim or El

or Adonai are names of God and also of angels, prophets, and kings

(John 10:34-36). [1044] The prologue of John speaks of things that

were, not of things that are. Everywhere else the Bible speaks of the

man Christ. The Holy Spirit means, according to the Hebrew ruach and

the Greek pneuma, wind or breath, and denotes in the Bible now God

himself, now an angel, now the spirit of man, now a divine impulse.

He then explains away the proof texts for the doctrine of the Trinity,

1 John 5:7 (which he accepts as genuine, though Erasmus omitted it from

his first edition); John 10:30; 14:11; Rom. 11:36. The chief passages,

the baptismal formula (Matt. 28:19) and the apostolic benediction (2

Cor. 13:14) where the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are coordinated,

he understands not of three persons, but of three dispositions of God.

In the second book be treats of the Logos, the person of Christ, and

the Spirit of God, and chiefly explains the prologue to the fourth

Gospel. The Logos is not a metaphysical being, but an oracle; the voice

of God and the light of the world. [1045] The Logos is a disposition or

dispensation in God, so understood by Tertullian and Irenaeus. [1046]

Before the incarnation the Logos was God himself speaking; after the

incarnation the Logos is Jesus Christ, who makes God known to us.

[1047] All that God before did through the Word, Christ does in the

flesh. To him God has given the kingdom and the power to atone and to

gather all things in him.

The third book is an exposition of the relation of Christ to the divine

Logos.

The fourth book discusses the divine dispositions or manifestations.

God appeared in the Son and in the Spirit. Two divine manifestations

are substituted for the orthodox tripersonality. The position of the

Father is not clear; he is now represented as the divinity itself, now

as a disposition and person. The orthodox christology of two natures in

one person is entirely rejected. God has no nature (from nasci), and a

person is not a compound of two natures or things, but a unit.

The fifth book is a worthless speculative exposition of the Hebrew

names of God. The Lutheran doctrine of justification is incidentally

attacked as calculated to make man lazy and indifferent to good works.

The sixth book shows that Christ is the only fountain of all true

knowledge of God, who is incomprehensible in himself, but revealed

himself in the person of his Son. He who sees the Son sees the Father.

The seventh and last book is an answer to objections, and contains a

new attack on the doctrine of the Trinity, which was introduced at the

same time with the secular power of the pope. Servetus probably

believed in the fable of the donation of Constantine.

It is not surprising that this book gave great offence to Catholics and

Protestants alike, and appeared to them blasphemous. Servetus calls the

Trinitarians tritheists and atheists. [1048] He frivolously asked such

questions as whether God had a spiritual wife or was without sex.

[1049] He calls the three gods of the Trinitarians a deception of the

devil, yea (in his later writings), a three-headed monster. [1050]

Zwingli and Oecolampadius died a few months after the publication of

the book, but condemned its contents beforehand. Luther's and Bucer's

views on it have already been noticed. Melanchthon felt the

difficulties of the trinitarian and christological problems and foresaw

future controversies. He gave his judgment in a letter to his learned

friend Camerarius (dated 5 Id. Febr. 1533): --

"You ask me what I think of Servetus? I see him indeed sufficiently

sharp and subtle in disputation, but I do not give him credit for much

depth. He is possessed, as it seems to me, of confused imaginations,

and his thoughts are not well matured on the subjects he discusses. He

manifestly talks foolishness when he speaks of justification. peri;

th'" triavdo" [on the subject of the Trinity] you know, I have always

feared that serious difficulties would one day arise. Good God! to what

tragedies will not these questions give occasion in times to come: ei[

ejstin uJpovstasi" oJ logvo" [is the Logos an hypostasis]? ei[ ejstin

ujpovstasi" to; pneu'ma [is the Holy Spirit an hypostasis]? For my own

part I refer to those passages of Scripture that bid us call on Christ,

which is to ascribe divine honors to him, and find them full of

consolation." [1051]

Cochlaeus directed the attention of Quintana, at the Diet of

Regensburg, in 1532, to the book of Servetus which was sold there, and

Quintana at once took measures to suppress it. The Emperor prohibited

it, and the book soon disappeared.

Servetus published in 1532 two dialogues on the Trinity, and a treatise

on Justification. He retracted, in the preface, all he had said in his

former work, not, however, as false, but as childish. [1052] He

rejected the Lutheran doctrine of justification, and also both the

Lutheran and Zwinglian views of the sacrament. He concluded the book by

invoking a malediction on "all tyrants of the Church." [1053]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1042] "Primo, hic est Jesus Christus. Secundo, hic est filius Dei.

Tertio, hic est Deus." (p. 1a.)

[1043] "Secundum carnem homo est, et spiritu est Deus, quia quod natum

est de spiritu, spiritus est, et spiritus est deus. Et ita Esaiae 9.

Puer natus est nobis, vocabitur nomen eius deus fortis. Vide clare et

dei nomen et fortitudinem nato puero attributam, cui data est omnis

potestas in coelo et in terra. Et Thomas Iohannis 20. eum appellat,

Deus meus, Dominus meus. Et Rom. nono Christusdicitur in omnibus

laudandus et benedicendus. Multisque aliis locis eius divinitas

ostenditur, quia exaltatus est, ut acciperet divinitatem, et nomen

super omne nomen." 10a.

[1044] "Notes differentiam inter hvhy proprium Dei nomen, et l' ynd'

vyhl' et alia similia Deo attributa. Et quod Thomas Iohannis 20. non

Iehovah, sed Elohim et Adonai de Christo dixerit, infra probabo."

14a."Similiter et vyl' de angelis et hominibus fortibus dicitur, Psal.

88 et Iob 41." 14b. He identifies Christ with the Elohim instead of

Jehovah.

[1045] Logos non philosophicam illam rem, sed oraculum, vocem,

sermonem, eloquium Dei sonat. Usurpatur enim a verbo lego quod est

dico." 47a.

[1046] "Per sacramentum Verbi intelligit quandam in Deo dispositionem

seu dispensationem, qua placitum est ei arcanum voluntatis suae nobis

revelare. Et hoc Tertullianus oikonomian, et Irenaeus dispositionem

scepissime appellant." 48a.

[1047] "Verbum in Deo proferente, est ipsemet Deus loquens. Post

prolationem est ipsa caro, seu Verbum Dei, antequam sermo ille caro

fieret, intelligebatur ipsum Dei oraculum intra nubis caliginem nondum

manifestatum, quia Deus erat ille sermo. Et postquam Verbum homo factum

est, per Verbum intelligimus ipsum Christum, qui est Verbum Dei, et vox

Dei, nam, quasi vox, est ex ore Dei prolatus." 48a and b. He refers for

proof to Rev. 19:13: to onoma autou Ho logos tou Theou.

[1048] "Tritheitae ... Athei, hoc est sine Deo." 21b.

[1049] "Debuissent dicere quod habebat [Deus] uxorem quandam

spiritualem, vel quod solus ipse masculo-foemineus aut Hermaphroditus,

simul erat pater et mater." 39b. This reminds one of the reasoning of

the Mohammedans that God has no wife, therefore he can have no son. He

approves of the objection of the Turks: "Nec mirum, si Turci nos

asinarios vocant, postquam nos Deum vocare asinum non erubescimus."

12a.

[1050] The last expression I could not find in the work De Trinitatis

Erroribus, but it occurs in his letters to Calvin, and in a letter to

Poupin, where he says: "Pro uno Deo habetis tricipitem cerberum."

Calvin's Opera, VIII. 750. It was made the chief ground of the charge

of blasphemy at the trial in Geneva. "Un Dieu party en trois ... est

uti diable �trois testes comme le Cerberus que les Poetesanciens ont

appell�le chien d'enfer, un monstre." Ibid. 728, Art. IX. Tollin, in

his article Der Verfasser de Trinitatis Erroribus ("Jahrb�cher f�r

protest. Theologie," 1891, p. 414), derives these offensive phrases

from the papal controversialist Cochlaeus, who in his Lutherus

septiceps, 1529, says: "Quid ad haec Janus Bifrons? Quid Geryon

Triceps? Quid Cerberus trifaux? fabulae sunt poetarum et jocosa

figmenta." Cochlaeus compared these fables with the seven-capped

Luther, who surpassed them all in monstrosity.

[1051] He adds in Greek that it is not profitable to inquire curiously

into the ideas and differences of the divine persons. Opera, ed.

Bretschneider, II. 630, and his letter to Brenz, July, 1533, II. 660.

Also Tollin, Ph. Melanchthon und M. Servet, Berlin, 1876.

[1052] "Quae nuper contra receptam de Trinitate sententiam, septem

libris, scripsi, omnia nunc, candide lector, retracto. Non quia falsa

sint, sed quia imperfecta, et tamquam a parvulo parvulis scripta ....

Quod autem ita barbarus, confusus et incorrectus, prior liber

prodierit, imperitiae meae et typographi incuriae adscribendus est."

[1053] "Perdat Dominus omnes ecclesiae tyrannos. Amen."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 142. Servetus as a Geographer.

As Servetus was repulsed by the Reformers of Switzerland and Germany,

he left for France and assumed the name of Michel de Villeneuve. His

real name and his obnoxious books disappeared from the sight of the

world till they emerged twenty years later at Vienne and at Geneva. He

devoted himself to the study of mathematics, geography, astrology, and

medicine.

In 1534 he was in Paris, and challenged the young Calvin to a

disputation, but failed to appear at the appointed hour.

He spent some time at Lyons as proof-reader and publisher of the famous

printers, Melchior and Caspar Trechsel. He issued through them, in

1535, under the name of "Villanovanus," a magnificent edition of

Ptolemy's Geography, with a self-laudatory preface, which concludes

with the hope that "no one will underestimate the labor, though

pleasant in itself, that is implied in the collation of our text with

that of earlier editions, unless it be some Zoilus of contracted brow,

who cannot look without envy upon the zealous labors of others." A

second and improved edition appeared in 1541. [1054]

The discoveries of Columbus and his successors gave a strong impulse to

geographical studies, and called forth several editions of the work of

Ptolemy the famous Alexandrian geographer and astronomer of the second

century. [1055] The edition of Villeneuve is based upon that of

Pirkheimer of N�rnberg, which appeared at Strassburg, 1525, with fifty

charts, but contains considerable improvements, and gave to the author

great reputation. It is a very remarkable work, considering that

Servetus was then only twenty-six years of age. A year later Calvin

astonished the world with an equally precocious and far more important

and enduring work--the Institutes of the Christian Religion.

The most interesting features in the edition of Villeneuve are his

descriptions of countries and nations. The following extracts give a

fair idea, and have some bearing on the church history of the times: --

"The Spaniard is of a restless disposition, apt enough of

understanding, but learning imperfectly or amiss, so that you shall

find a learned Spaniard almost anywhere sooner than in Spain. [1056]

Half-informed, he thinks himself brimful of information, and always

pretends to more knowledge than he has in fact. He is much given to

vast projects never realized; and in conversation he delights in

subtleties and sophistry. Teachers commonly prefer to speak Spanish

rather than Latin in the schools and colleges of the country; but the

people in general have little taste for letters, and produce few books

themselves, mostly procuring those they want, from France ... . The

people have many barbarous notions and usages, derived by implication

from their old Moorish conquerors and fellow-denizens ... . The women

have a custom, that would be held barbarous in France, of piercing

their ears and hanging gold rings in them, often set with precious

stones. They besmirch their faces, too, with minium and ecruse--red and

white lead--and walk about on clogs a foot or a foot and a half high,

so that they seem to walk above rather than on the earth. The people

are extremely temperate, and the women never drink wine ... . Spaniards

are notably the most superstitious people in the world in their

religious notions; but they are brave in the field, of signal endurance

under privation and difficulty, and by their voyages of discovery have

spread their name over the face of the globe."

"England is wonderfully well-peopled, and the inhabitants are

long-lived. Tall in stature, they are fair in complexion, and have blue

eyes. They are brave in war, and admirable bowmen ...."

"The people of Scotland are hot-tempered, prone to revenge, and fierce

in their anger; but valiant in war, and patient beyond belief of cold,

hunger, and fatigue. They are handsome in person, and their clothing

and language are the same as those of the Irish; their tunics being

dyed yellow, their legs bare, and their feet protected by sandals of

undressed hide. They live mainly on fish and flesh. They are not a

particularly religious people ...."

"The Italians make use in their everyday talk of the most horrid oaths

and imprecations. Holding all the rest of the world in contempt, and

calling them barbarians, they themselves have nevertheless been

alternately the prey of the French, the Spaniards, and the Germans

...." [1057]

"Germany is overgrown by vast forests, and defaced by frightful swamps.

Its climate is as insufferably hot in summer as it is bitterly cold in

winter .... Hungary is commonly said to produce oxen; Bavaria, swine;

Franconia, onions, turnips, and licorice; Swabia, harlots; Bohemia,

heretics; Switzerland, butchers; Westphalia, cheats; and the whole

country gluttons and drunkards ... . The Germans, however, are a

religious people; not easily turned from opinions they have once

espoused, and not readily persuaded to concord in matters of schism;

every one valiantly and obstinately defending the heresy he has himself

adopted." [1058]

This unfavorable account of Germany, borrowed in part from Tacitus, was

much modified and abridged in the second edition, in which it appears

as "a pleasant country with a temperate climate." Of the Swabians he

speaks as a singularly gifted people. [1059] The fling at the ignorance

and superstition of the Spaniards, his own countrymen, was also

omitted.

The most interesting part of this geographical work on account of its

theological bearing, is the description of Palestine. He declared in

the first edition that "it is mere boasting and untruth when so much of

excellence is ascribed to this land; the experience of merchants and

travellers who have visited it, proving it to be inhospitable, barren,

and altogether without amenity. Wherefore you may say that the land was

promised indeed, but is of little promise when, spoken of in everyday

terms." He omitted this passage in the second edition in deference to

Archbishop Palmier. Nevertheless, it was made a ground of accusation at

the trial of Servetus, for its apparent contradiction with the Mosaic

account of the land, flowing with milk and honey."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1054] The following is the full title of the second edition which I

found (together with a copy of the first) in the library of the

American Geographical Society at New York:-- "Claudii | Ptolemae |

Alexan | drini | Geographicoe Enarrationis, | Libri Octo. | Ex

Bilibaldi Pircke | ymheri tralatione, sed ad Graeca et prisca

exemplaria � Michaele Villanouano | secund� recogniti, et locis

innumeris denu� castigati. Adiecta insuper ab eodem scho | lia, quibus

et difficilis ille Primus Liber nunc primum explicatur, et exoleta

Urbium | nomina ad nostri seculi morem exponuntur. Quinquaginta illae

quoque cum ueterum tum | recentium Tabulae adnectantur, variisque

incolentium ritus et mores explicantur ... . Prostant Lugduni apud

Hugonem � Porta. | MDXLI." fol. Dedicated "Amplissimo illustrissimoque

ac reverendissimo D. Dno Petro Palmerio, Archiepiscopo et Comiti

Viennensi Michael Villanouanus Medicus G. D." Dated "Viennae pridie

Cal. Martii, MDXLI." The last page has the imprimatur of Caspar

Trechsel, Viennae, 1541. The work is illustrated with fifty maps.

Willis (pp. 86 sqq.) gives condensed translations of some passages,

which I have used, and compared with the original. Tollin represents

Servetus as a forerunner of Karl Ritter in comparative geography,

Michael Servet als Geograph, 1875 (pp. 182).

[1055] Editions were published at Rome, Bologna, Strassburg (1523 and

1525), Basel (1533, with a preface of Erasmus; 1546), Venice (1558).

The last and best Graeco-Latin edition of Ptolemy is by Carl M�ller,

Paris, 1883 sqq.

[1056] "Ut alibi potius quam in ipsa Hispania Hispanum doctum

invenias."

[1057] "Irrident Neapolitani Calabros, Calabri Appulos, hos autem omnes

Romani, Romanos Hetrusci, quos et alii vicissim irrident: quin et

mortales caeteros omnes irrident Itali, contemnunt et barbaros

appellant: cum sint ipsi tamen nunc Hispanis, nunc Gallis, nunc

Germanis praeda expositi .... Italia in universum magis adhuc

superstitiosa gens quam pugnat. Superba Roma, gentium imperio viduata,

sedes facta summi pontificis."

[1058] "Sunt enim Germani in Dei cultum propensi, semel tamen imbutas

opiniones non facile deserunt, nec in schisimate queunt ad concordiam

reduci, sed haeresim quisque suam valide tuetur."

[1059] "Suabia, ingenio singulari praedita, praestantissima Germaniae a

Plutarcho dicta."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 143. Servetus as a Physician, Scientist, and Astrologer.

Being supplied with the necessary funds, Servetus returned to Paris in

1536 and took his degrees as magister and doctor of medicine. He

acquired great fame as a physician.

The medical world was then divided into two schools,--the Galenists,

who followed Hippocrates and Galen, and the Averrhoists, who followed

Averrhoes and Avicenna. Servetus was a pupil of Champier, and joined

the Greek school, but had an open eye to the truth of the Arabians.

He published in 1537 a learned treatise on Syrups and their use in

medicine. It is his most popular book, and passed through four editions

in ten years. [1060]

He discovered the pulmonary circulation of the blood or the passage of

the blood from the right to the left chamber of the heart through the

lungs by the pulmonary artery and vein. He published it, not

separately, but in his work on the Restitution of Christianity, as a

part of his theological speculation on the vital spirits. The discovery

was burnt and buried with this book; but nearly a hundred years later

William Harvey (1578-1658), independently, made the same discovery.

[1061]

Servetus lectured in the University on geography and astrology, and

gained much applause, but excited also the envy and ill-will of his

colleagues, whom he treated with overbearing pride and contempt.

He wrote an "Apologetic Dissertation on Astrology," [1062] and severely

attacked the physicians as ignoramuses, who in return denounced him as

an impostor and wind-bag. The senate of the University sided with the

physicians, and the Parliament of Paris forbade him to lecture on

astrology and to prophesy from the stars (1538). [1063]

He left Paris for Charlieu, a small town near Lyons, and practised

medicine for two or three years.

At his thirtieth year he thought that, after the example of Christ, he

should be rebaptized, since his former baptism was of no value. He

denied the analogy of circumcision. The Jews, he says, circumcised

infants, but baptized only adults. This was the practice of John the

Baptist; and Christ, who had been circumcised on the eighth day, was

baptized when he entered the public ministry. The promise is given to

believers only, and infants have no faith. Baptism is the beginning of

regeneration, and the entrance into the kingdom of heaven. He wrote two

letters to Calvin on the subject, and exhorted him to follow his

example. [1064]

His arrogance made him so unpopular that he had to leave Charlieu.

[1065]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1060] Syroporum universa Ratio ad Galeni censuram diligenter exposita,

etc. Parisiis ex officina Simonis Colinaei, 1537; Venetiis, 1545 and

1548, and Lugduni, 1546 and 1547. Comp. Willis, ch. XI. 111 sq.; v. d.

Linde, pp. 53 sqq. (with the full title on p. 54).

[1061] Restit. Christ., Bk. V. p. 170. See G. Sismond, The unnoticed

Theories of Servetus, London, 1826; Flourens, Histoire de la decouverte

de la circulation du sang, Paris, 1854; sec. ed. 1857; Tollin, Die

Entdeckung des Blutkreislaufs durch Michael Servet, Jena, 1876 (comp.

his Kritische Bemerkungen �ber Harvey und seine Vorgaenger, 1882);

Willis (who is a doctor of medicine), pp. 210 sqq.; and v. d. Linde,

pp. 123 sqq. Harvey probably never saw the Restitutio, and is therefore

as much entitled to the merit of an original discovery as Columbus, who

was ignorant of the expeditions of the Norsemen to North America.

[1062] Reprinted in Berlin, 1880.

[1063] V. d. Linde, pp. 65 sqq. In this respect Servetus was behind

Calvin, who boldly attacked the superstition of astrology (see above, �

135, pp. 676 sqq.); but, strange to say, even in our days the "Vox

Stellarum" is regularly printed in England and finds thousands of

readers. Willis, p. 125.

[1064] Ep. XV. and XVI. ad Calv., in Christianismi Restitutio, pp.

613-619.

[1065] Bolsec (p. 18 sq.) reports that Servetus was "constrainct de se

partir de Charlieu pour les folies lesquelles il faisoit."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 144. Servetus at Vienne. His Annotations to the Bible.

Villeneuve now repaired to Vienne in Dauphin� and settled down as a

physician under the patronage of Pierre Palmier, one of his former

bearers in Paris, and a patron of learning, who had been appointed

archbishop of that see. He was provided with lodgings in the

archiepiscopal palace, and made a comfortable living by his medical

practice. He spent thirteen years at Vienne, from 1540 to 1553, which

were probably the happiest of his fitful life. He conformed to the

Catholic religion, and was on good terms with the higher clergy. Nobody

suspected his heresy, or knew anything of his connection with the work

on the "Errors of the Trinity."

He devoted his leisure to his favorite literary and theological

studies, and kept the publishers of Lyons busy. We have already

mentioned the second edition of his "Ptolemy", which he dedicated to

Palmier with a complimentary preface.

A year afterwards (1542) he published a new and elegant edition of the

Latin Bible of Santes Pagnini, a learned Dominican monk and pupil of

Savonarola, but an enemy of the Reformed religion. [1066] He

accompanied it with explanatory notes, aiming to give "the old

historical but hitherto neglected sense of the Scriptures." He

anticipated modern exegesis in substituting the typical for the

allegorical method and giving to the Old Testament prophecies an

immediate bearing on their times, and a remote bearing on Christ. Thus

he refers Psalms II., VIII., XXII., and CX. to David, as the type of

Christ. It is not likely that he learned this method from Calvin, and

it is certain that Calvin did not learn it from him. But Servetus goes

further than Calvin, and anticipates the rationalistic explanation of

Deutero-Isaiah by referring "the servant of Jehovah" to Cyrus as the

anointed of the Lord. Rome put his comments on the Index (1559). Calvin

brought them up against him at the trial, and, without knowing that the

text of the book was literally taken from another edition without

acknowledgment, said that he dexterously filched five hundred livres

from the publisher in payment for the vain trifles and impious follies

with which he had encumbered almost every page of the book. [1067]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1066] The first edition of Pagnini had appeared at Lyons, 1528. The

translation of the Old Testament rests on a good knowledge of Hebrew,

and was much used by Protestants, e.g. Robert Olivetan in his French

version.

[1067] Willis (p. 142) charges Servetus with gross plagiarism, since

his edition is a literal reprint of the edition of Melchior Novesianus

of Cologne, 1541, while he declared in the preface that his text was

corrected in numberless places by himself,

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 145. Correspondence of Servetus with Calvin and Poupin.

While engaged in the preparation of his last work at Vienne, Servetus

opened a correspondence with Calvin through Jean Frellon, a learned

publisher at Lyons and a personal friend of both. [1068] He sent him a

copy of his book as far as then finished, and told him that he would

find in it "stupendous things never heard of before." [1069] He also

proposed to him three questions: 1) Is the man Jesus Christ the Son of

God, and how? 2) Is the kingdom of God in man, when does man enter into

it, and when is he born again? 3) Must Christian baptism presuppose

faith, like the Lord's Supper, and to what end are both sacraments

instituted in the New Testament? [1070]

Calvin seems to have had no time to read the whole manuscript, but

courteously answered the questions to the effect, 1) that Christ is the

Son of God both according to his divine nature eternally begotten, and

according to his human nature as the Wisdom of God made flesh; 2) that

the kingdom of God begins in man when he is born again, but that the

process of regeneration is not completed in a moment, but goes on till

death;3) that faith is necessary for baptism, but not in the same

personal way as in the Lord's Supper; for according to the type of

circumcision the promise was given also to the children of the

faithful. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are related to each other as

circumcision and the passover. He referred to his books for details,

but was ready to give further explanation if desired. [1071]

Servetus was by no means satisfied with the answer, and wrote back that

Calvin made two or three Sons of God; that the Wisdom of God spoken of

by Solomon was allegorical and impersonal; that regeneration took place

in the moment of baptism by water and the spirit, but never in infant

baptism. He denied that circumcision corresponded to baptism. He put

five new theological questions to Calvin, and asked him to read the

fourth chapter on baptism in the manuscript of the Restitutio which he

had sent him. [1072]

To these objections Calvin sent another and more lengthy response.

[1073] He again offered further explanation, though he had no time to

write whole books for him, and had discussed all these topics in his

Institutes. [1074]

So far there is nothing to indicate any disposition in Calvin to injure

Servetus. On the contrary we must admire his patience and moderation in

giving so much of his precious time to the questions of a troublesome

stranger and pronounced opponent. Servetus continued to press Calvin

with letters, and returned the copy of the Institutes with copious

critical objections. "There is hardly a page," says Calvin, "that is

not defiled by his vomit." [1075]

Calvin sent a final answer to the questions of Servetus, which is lost,

together with a French letter to Frellon, which is preserved. [1076]

This letter is dated Feb. 13, 1546, under his well-known pseudonym of

Charles Despeville, and is as follows:--

"Seigneur Jehan, As your last letter was brought to me on my departure,

I had no leisure to reply to the enclosure it contained. After my

return I use the first moment of my leisure to comply with your desire;

not indeed that I have any great hope of proving serviceable to such a

man, seeing him disposed as I do. But I will try once more, if there be

any means left of bringing him to reason, and this will happen when God

shall have so wrought in him that he has become altogether another man.

Since he has written to me in so proud a spirit, I have been led to

write to him more sharply than is my wont, being minded to take him

down a little in his presumption. [1077] But I could not do otherwise.

For I assure you there is no lesson he needs so much to learn as

humility. This must come to him through the grace of God, not

otherwise. But we, too, ought to lend a helping hand. If God give such

grace to him and to us that the present answer will turn to his profit,

I shall have cause to rejoice. If he persists, however, in the style he

has hitherto seen fit to use, you will only lose your time in

soliciting me further in his behalf; for I have other affairs that

concern me more nearly, and I shall make it a matter of conscience not

to busy myself further, not doubting that he is a Satan who would

divert me from more profitable studies. Let me beg of you, therefore,

to be content with what I have already done, unless you see occasion

for acting differently."

Frellon sent this letter to Villeneuve by a special messenger, together

with a note in which be addresses him as his "dear brother and friend."

[1078]

On the same day Calvin wrote the famous letter to Farel already quoted.

He had arrived at the settled conviction that Servetus was an

incorrigible and dangerous heretic, who deserved to die. [1079] But he

did nothing to induce him to come to Geneva, as he wished, and left him

severely alone. . In 1548 he wrote to Viret that he would have nothing

more to do with this desperately obstinate heretic, who shall force no

more letters from him. [1080]

Servetus continued to trouble Calvin, and published in his Restitutio

no less than thirty letters to him, but without dates and without

replies from Calvin. [1081] They are conceived in a haughty and

self-sufficient spirit. He writes to the greatest divine of the age,

not as a learner, or even an equal, but as a superior. In the first of

these printed letters he charges Calvin with holding absurd, confused,

and contradictory opinions on the sonship of Christ, on the Logos, and

on the Trinity. In the second letter he tells him: "You make three Sons

of God: the human nature is a son to you, the divine nature is a son,

and the whole Christ is a son ... . All such tritheistic notions are a

three-headed illusion of the Dragon, which easily crept in among the

sophists in the present reign of Antichrist. Or have you not read of

the spirit of the dragon, the spirit of the beast, the spirit of the

false prophets, three spirits? Those who acknowledge the trinity of the

beast are possessed by three spirits of demons. These three spirits

incite war against the immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ (Apoc. 16). False

are all the invisible gods of the Trinitarians, as false as the gods of

the Babylonians. Farewell." [1082] He begins the third letter with the

oft-repeated warning (saepius te monui) not to admit that

impossible--monster of three things in God. In another letter he calls

him a reprobate and blasphemer (improbus et blasphemus) for

calumniating good works. He charges him with ignorance of the true

nature of faith, justification, regeneration, baptism, and the kingdom

of heaven.

These are fair specimens of the arrogant, irritating, and even

insulting tone of his letters. At last Servetus himself broke off his

correspondence with Calvin, who, it seems, had long ceased to answer

them, but he now addressed his colleagues. He wrote three letters to

Abel Poupin, who was minister at Geneva from 1543 to 1556, when he

died. The last is preserved, and was used in evidence at the trial.

[1083] It is not dated, but must have been written in 1548 or later.

Servetus charges the Reformed Christians of Geneva that they had a

gospel without a God, without true faith, without good works; and that

instead of the true God they worshipped a three-headed Cerberus. "Your

faith in Christ," he continues, "is a mere pretence and without effect;

your man is an inert trunk, and your God a fabulous monster of the

enslaved will. You reject baptismal regeneration and shut the kingdom

of heaven against men. Woe unto you, woe, woe!" [1084]

He concludes this remarkable letter with the prediction that he would

die for this cause and become like unto his Master. [1085]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1068] Frellon employed Servetus as an editor and translator, and was

probably a Protestant, as we may, infer from his friendly relation to

Calvin. But Henry (III. 129) supposes that he was a Catholic. Henry

(III. 129) thinks that the correspondence began as early as 1540.

[1069] See the letter of Calvin to Farel, quoted on p. 692.

[1070] Calvin gives the questions and answers in his Refutatio Errorum

Mich. Serveti, Opera, VIII. 482-484. Servetus omits them in the

Restitutio.

[1071] "Sed quia mihi videor omnibus objectis alibi satisfecisse,

fusiorem explicationem inde peti melim. Si quid deest, paratus sum

adjicere, si fuero admonitus." Opera, VIII. 484.

[1072] "Rogo te per Deum, postquam pollicitus es te paratum reliqua

adjicere, si fueris admonitus, doce me primo quae est vera fides, et

qualiter illa a spiritu regenerationis vivificetur. Secundo, an sine

promissione possit quis justificari. Tertio, qualis sit internus homo,

non ex sanguinibus genitus, sed ex Deo. Quarto, quis est homo ille qui

a Christo alitur in coena, an vere, an imaginarie. Quinto, quae sit

gratia adventus Christi. Annon eousque regnavit mors? annon patres

omnes fuerunt antea in inferno? Demum te precor, ne graveris iterum

legere quartum librum de Baptismo (in the printed Restitutio it is

entitled De Regeneratione superna, et de regno Antichristi, pp.

355-576]. Nam videris eum nondum legisse. Deus misereatur nostri.

Amen." Opera, VIII. 486.

[1073] VIII. 487-495.

[1074] "Quod me rogas tibi de aliis quoque capitibus respondeam, id

facerem, Si possem breviter. Neque enim satis divino quid proprie

desideres. Magis autem sum occupatas quam ut tibi uni vacet libros

integros scribere. Deinde nihil quaeris quod non reperias in mea

Institutione, si illinc petere libeat. Quanquam labori non parcerem, si

mihi notus esset scopus quo tendis." P. 494.

[1075] "Quoscunque meos libros nancisci potuit, non destitit insulsis

conviciis farcire, ut nullam paginam a suo vomitu puram relinqueret."

P. 481. Comp. the French in the fifth footnote.

[1076] Calvin's letter to Jean Frellon and Frellon's letter to

Servetus, both in French, found their way into the judicial archives of

the archbishop of Vienne, and were first published by the Abb�

d'Artigny, Paris, 1749 (in Nouveaux M�moires d'histoire, tom. II. 70),

and independently from a copy of the original, by Mosheim, Helmstadt,

1750 (in his Neue Nachrichten von Mich. Serveto, pp. 89, 90). They are

reprinted in Henry, III. 132, and in Calvin's Opera, VIII. 833 sq.

[1077] "Je luy ay bien voulu rabbatre un petit de son orgueil, parlant

�luy plus durement que ma coustume ne porte."

[1078] On the envelope is written: "A mon bon frere et amy maistre

Michel Villanovanus Docteur en Medicine soyt donn�e ceste presente a

Vienne."

[1079] See p. 692. Bolsec speaks of a similar letter to Viret, from

which he quotes this passage: "Servetus cupit huc venire, sed a me

accessitus. Egoautem nunquam committam, ut fidem meam eotenus

obstrictam habeat. lam enim constitutum habeo, si veniat, nunquam pati,

ut salvus exeat." But no such letter has been found. Perhaps it was the

same as the letter to Farel, which may have been sent first to Viret,

as Farel was at that time in Metz (Henry, III. 133). Bolsec asserts

also (p. 21) that Calvin informed the Cardinal de Tournon of the heresy

of Servetus, but that the Cardinal laughed at the idea of one heretic

accusing another.

[1080] "A me nihil posthac extorquebit." See Henry, II. 460; III. 134.

[1081] Restit. pp. 577-664; reprinted in Calvin's Opera, VIII. 645-714,

from Chr. Theoph. de Murr's ed., with marginal variations of the Paris

copy. The manuscripts are not extant.

[1082] "Draconis fuit haec triceps illusio, quae in sophistas facile

irrepsit, instante regno Antichristi. An non legisti ibi spiritum

draconis, spiritum bestiae, et spiritum pseudoprophetae tres spiritus ?

Tres sunt vere daemoniorum spiritus, a quibus occupatitenentur, qui

bestiae trinitatem agnoscunt. Orbem hi tres spiritus concitant contra

agnum immaculatum Iesum Christum, filium Dei, apo. 16. Falsi ergo sunt

trinitariorum invisibiles dii, adeo falsi, sicut dii Babyloniorum: cum

praesertim dii illi in Babylone colantur. Vale." Restit. pp. 680, 581.

[1083] It was not signed, but written very legibly by his own hand, and

was acknowledged as his. Henry gives a facsimile of it at the end of

his third volume, from the archives of Geneva. It is reprinted in

Opera, VIII. 750 sq. "Every line of this letter," as Dyer (p. 309) well

says, "betrays the heated and fanatical imagination of the writer, and

his hatred of Calvin and the Genevese Church."

[1084] "Evangelium vestrum est sine uno Deo, sine fide vera, sine bonis

operibus. Pro uno Deo habetis tricipitem cerberum, pro fide vera

habetis fatale somnium, et opera bona dicitis esse inanes picturas.

Christi fides est vobis merus fucus, nihil efficiens; homo est vobis

iners truncus, et Deus est vobis servi arbitrii chimaera.

Regenerationem ex aqua coelestem non agnoscitis, sed velut fabulam

habetis. Regnum caelorum clauditis ante homines, ut rem imaginariam a

nobis excludendo. Vae vobis, vae, vae!"

[1085] "Mihi ob eam rem moriendum esse certo scio, sed non propterea

animo deficior, ut fiam discipulum similis praeceptori. Hoc doleo, quod

per vos non licuit mihi emendare locos aliquot in scriptis meis, quae

sunt apud Calvinum. Vale, et a me non amplius literas exspecta. Super

custodiam meam stabo, contemplabor, et videbo quid sit dicturus. Nam

veniet, certe veniet, et non tardabit."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 146. "The Restitution of Christianity."

During his sojourn at Vienne, Servetus prepared his chief theological

work under the title, "The Restitution of Christianity." He must have

finished the greater part of it in manuscript as early as 1546, seven

years before its publication in print; for in that year, as we have

seen, he sent a copy to Calvin, which he tried to get back to make some

corrections, but Calvin had sent it to Viret at Lausanne, where it was

detained. It was afterwards used at the trial and ordered by the

Council of Geneva to be burnt at the stake, together with the printed

volume. [1086]

The proud title indicates the pretentious and radical character of the

book. It was chosen, probably, with reference to Calvin's, Institution

of the Christian Religion." In opposition to the great Reformer he

claimed to be a Restorer. The Hebrew motto on the title-page was taken

from Dan. 12:1: "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great

prince;" the Greek motto from Rev. 12:7: "And there was war in heaven,"

which is followed by the words, "Michael and his angels going forth to

war with the dragon; and the dragon warred, and his angels; and they

prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And

the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, he that is called the

Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world."

The identity of the Christian name of the author with the name of the

archangel is significant. Servetus fancied that the great battle with

Antichrist was near at hand or had already begun, and that he was one

of Michael's warriors, if not Michael himself. [1087]

His "Restitution of Christianity" was a manifesto of war. The woman in

the twelfth chapter of Revelation he understood to be the true Church;

her child, whom God saves, is the Christian faith; the great red dragon

with seven heads and horns is the pope of Rome, the Antichrist

predicted by Daniel, Paul, and John. At the time of Constantine and the

Council of Nicaea, which divided the one God into three parts, the

dragon began to drive the true Church into the wilderness, and retained

his power for twelve hundred and sixty prophetic days or years; but now

his reign is approaching to a close.

He was fully conscious of a divine mission to overthrow the tyranny of

the papal and Protestant Antichrist, and to restore Christianity to its

primitive purity. "The task we have undertaken," he says in the

preface, "is sublime in majesty, easy in perspicuity, and certain in

demonstration; for it is no less than to make God known in his

substantial manifestation by the Word and his divine communication by

the Spirit, both comprised in Christ alone, through whom alone do we

plainly discern how the deity of the Word and the Spirit may be

apprehended in man ... . We shall now see God, unseen before, with his

face revealed, and behold him shining in ourselves, if we open the door

and enter in. It is high time to open this door and this way of the

light, without which no one can read the sacred Scriptures, or know

God, or become a Christian." Then he gives a brief summary of topics,

and closes the preface with this prayer:--

"O Christ Jesus, Son of God, who hast been given to us from heaven, who

in thyself makest the Deity visibly manifest, open thyself to thy

servant that so great a manifestation may be truly understood. Grant

unto me now, who entreats thee, thy good Spirit, and the efficacious

word; direct my mind and my pen that I may declare the glory of thy

divinity and give expression to the true faith concerning thee. The

cause is thine, and it is by a certain divine impulse that I am led to

treat of thy glory from the Father, and the glory of thy Spirit. I once

began to treat of it, and now I am constrained to do so again; for the

time is, in truth, completed, as I shall now show to all the pious,

from the certainty of the thing itself and from the manifest signs of

the times. Thou hast taught us that a lamp must not be hidden. Woe unto

me if I do not preach the gospel. It concerns the common cause of all

Christians, to which we are all bound."

He forwarded the manuscript to a publisher in Basel, Marrinus, who

declined it in a letter, dated April 9, 1552, because it could not be

safely published in that city at that time. He then made an arrangement

with Balthasar Arnoullet, bookseller and publisher at Vienne, and

Guillaume Gu�roult, his brother-in-law and manager of his printing

establishment, who had run away from Geneva for bad conduct. He assured

them that there were no errors in the book, and that, on the contrary,

it was directed against the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon,

and other heretics. He agreed to withhold his and their names and the

name of the place of publication from the title-page. He assumed the

whole of the expense of publication, and paid them in advance the sum

of one hundred gold dollars. No one in France knew at that time that

his real name was Servetus, and that he was the author of the work, "On

the Errors of the Trinity."

The "Restitution" was secretly printed in a small house, away from the

known establishment, within three or four months, and finished on the

third of January, 1553. He corrected the proofs himself, but there are

several typographical errors in it. The whole impression of one

thousand copies was made up into bales of one hundred copies each; five

bales were sent as white paper to Pierre Martin, type-founder of Lyons,

to be forwarded by sea to Genoa and Venice; another lot to Jacob

Bestet, bookseller at Chatillon; and a third to Frankfort. Calvin

obtained one or more copies, probably from his friend Frellon of Lyons.

[1088]

The first part of the "Restitution" is a revised and enlarged edition

of the seven books "On the Errors of the Trinity." The seven books are

condensed into five; and these are followed by two dialogues on the

Trinity between Michael and Peter, which take the place of the sixth

and seventh books of the older work. The other part of the

"Restitution," which covers nearly two-thirds of the volume (pp.

287-734), is new, and embraces three books on Faith and the

Righteousness of the Kingdom of Christ (287-354), four books on

Regeneration and the Reign of Antichrist (355-576), thirty letters to

Calvin (577-664), Sixty Signs of Antichrist (664-670), and the Apology

to Melanchthon on the Mystery of the Trinity and on Ancient Discipline

(671-734). Calvin and Melanchthon are the two surviving Reformers whom

he confronts as the representatives of orthodox Protestantism. [1089]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1086] He declared at the trial in Geneva, Aug. 17, 1553, that he sent

a copy to Calvin about six years before, in order to get his judgment

("il y a environ six ans, pour en avoir son jugement"). Opera, VIII.

734. Calvin informed Farel, Feb. 13, 1646, that Servetus had sent him a

large volume of ravings, which must be the Restitutio. Baron F. de

Schickler, President of the "Soci�t� de l'Histoire du Protestantism

fran�ais," informs me (June 3, 1892) that the library of this society

(52 rue des Saint P�res, Paris) possesses a manuscript copy of the

Restitutio, which was made with great accuracy, as he thinks, in 1613,

from a copy, that existed at that time in the library of Cassel. But it

seems that it was transcribed from a printed copy, for on the first

page of the MS. is written: Hic liber erat in octavo (ut loquuntur)

impressus, et paginas continebat 734 [the number of the printed pages].

Pertinebat ad Mauricii illustratissimi Hessiae principis ac Dom.

bibliothecam quae Casellis est, urbe illius reaionis metropoli et

principis sede."

[1087] In the first Dialogue on the Trinity between Peter and Michael.

Peter says: "En adest, Servetus est, quem ego quaerebam." Restit. p.

199. This is a direct assertion of his authorship which he concealed on

the title-page, and only intimated on the last page by the initials "M.

S. V."

[1088] These facts came out at the trial of Vienne. On the few

remaining copies of the original edition of the Restitutio see above, �

136, p. 682.

[1089] Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Capito, Luther, and Bucer had died (in

this order) before 1552.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 147. The Theological System of Servetus.

Calvin, in his Refutatio Errorum Mich. Serveti, Opera, vol. VIII.

501-644, presents the doctrines of Servetus from his writings, in

thirty-eight articles, the response of Servetus, the refutation of the

response, and then a full examination of his whole system.--H. Tollin:

Das Lehrsystem Michael Servet's genetisch dargestellt. G�tersloh, 1878,

3 vols. 8�. The most complete exposition of the theological opinions of

Servetus.

Calvin and Tollin represent two opposite extremes in the doctrinal and

personal estimate of Servetus: Calvin is wholly polemical, and sees in

the Restitutio a volume of ravings ("volumen deliriorum") and a chaos

of blasphemies ("prodigiosum blasphemiarum chaos"); Tollin is wholly

apologetical and eulogistic, and admires it as an anticipation of

reverent, Christocentric theology; neither of them is strictly

historical.

Trechsel's account (I. 119-144) is short, but impartial.--Baur, in his

"History of the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation" (T�bingen,

1843, 3 vols.) devotes, with his usual critical grasp and speculative

insight, fifty pages to Servet's views on God and Christ (I. 54-103).

Dorner, in his great "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ"

(Berlin, 1853), discusses his Christology profoundly, but rather

briefly (II. 649-656). Both recognize the force of his arguments

against the dyophysitism of the Chalcedonian Christology, and compare

his Christology with that of Apollinaris.

Before we proceed to the heresy trial, we must give a connected

statement of the opinions of Servetus as expressed in his last and most

elaborate work.

To his contemporaries the Restitutio appeared to be a confused compound

of Sabellian, Samosatenic, Arian, Apollinarian, and Pelagian heresies,

mixed with Anabaptist errors and Neo-platonic, pantheistic

speculations. The best judges--Calvin, Saisset, Trechsel, Baur, Dorner,

Harnack--find the root of his system in pantheism. Tollin denies his

pantheism, although he admits the pantheistic coloring of some of his

expressions; he distinguishes no less than five phases in his theology

before it came to its full maturity, and characterizes it as an

"intensive, extensive, and protensive Panchristism, or

'Christocentricism.' " [1090]

Servetus was a mystic theosophist and Christopantheist. Far from being

a sceptic or rationalist, he had very strong, positive convictions of

the absolute truth of the Christian religion. He regarded the Bible as

an infallible source of truth, and accepted the traditional canon

without dispute. So far he agreed with evangelical Protestantism; but

he differed from it, as well as from Romanism, in principle and aim. He

claimed to stand above both parties as the restorer of primitive

Christianity, which excludes the errors and combines the truths of the

Catholic and Protestant creeds.

The evangelical Reformation, inspired by the teaching of St. Paul and

Augustin, was primarily a practical movement, and proceeded from a deep

sense of sin and grace in opposition to prevailing Pelagianism, and

pointed the people directly to Christ as the sole and sufficient

fountain of pardon and peace to the troubled conscience; but it

retained all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and especially the

doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. It should be noticed,

however, that Melanchthon, in the first edition of his Loci (1521),

omitted these mysteries as objects of adoration rather than of

speculation, [1091] and that Calvin, in the controversy with Caroli,

spoke lightly of the Nicene and Athanasian terminology, which was

derived from Greek philosophy rather than from the Bible.

Servetus, with the Bible as his guide, aimed at a more radical

revolution than the Reformers. He started with a new doctrine of God

and of Christ, and undermined the very foundations of the Catholic

creed. The three most prominent negative features of his system are

three denials: the denial of the orthodox dogma of the Trinity, as, set

forth in the Nicene Creed; the denial of the orthodox Christology, as

determined by the Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon; and the denial of

infant baptism, as practised everywhere except by the Anabaptists. From

these three sources he derived all the evils and corruptions of the

Church. The first two denials were the basis of the theoretical

revolution, the third was the basis of the practical revolution which

he felt himself providentially called to effect by his anonymous book.

Those three negations in connection with what appeared to be shocking

blasphemy, though not intended as such, made him an object of horror to

all orthodox Christians of his age, Protestants as well as Roman

Catholic, and led to his double condemnation, first at Vienne, and then

at Geneva. So far he was perfectly understood by his contemporaries,

especially by Calvin and Melanchthon. But the positive features, which

he substituted for the Nicene and Chalcedonian orthodoxy, were not

appreciated in their originality, and seemed to be simply a repetition

of old and long-condemned heresies.

There were Antitrinitarians before Servetus, not only in the

ante-Nicene age, but also in the sixteenth century, especially among

the Anabaptists--such as Hetzer, Denck, Campanus, Melchior Hoffmann,

Reed, Martini, David Joris. [1092] But he gathered their sporadic ideas

into a coherent original system, and gave them a speculative

foundation. [1093]

1. Christology.

Servetus begins the "Restitution," as well as his first book against

the Trinity, with the doctrine of Christ. He rises from the humanity of

the historical Jesus of Nazareth to his Messiahship and Divine Sonship,

and from this to his divinity. [1094] This is, we may say, the view of

the Synoptical Gospels, as distinct from the usual orthodox method

which, with the Prologue of the fourth Gospel, descends from his

divinity to his humanity through the act of the incarnation of the

second person of the Trinity. In this respect he anticipates the modern

humanitarian Christology. Jesus is, according to Servetus, begotten,

not of the first person of God, but of the essence of the one undivided

and indivisible God. He is born, according to the flesh, of the Virgin

Mary by the overshadowing cloud of the Spirit (Matt. 1:18, 20, 23; Luke

1:32, 35). The whole aim of the gospel is to lead men to believe that

Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God (comp. John 20:31). [1095] But the

term "Son of God" is in the Scriptures always used of the man Jesus,

and never of the Logos. [1096] He is the one true and natural son of

God, born of the substance of God; we are sons by adoption, by an act

of grace. We are made sons of God by faith (John 1:12; Gal. 3:26; Rom.

8:23; Eph. 1:5). He is, moreover, truly and veritably God. The whole

essence of God is manifest in him; God dwells in him bodily. [1097]

To his last breath Servetus worshipped Jesus as the Son of the eternal

God. But he did not admit him to be the eternal Son of God except in an

ideal and pantheistic sense, in which the whole world was in the mind

of God from eternity, and comprehended in the Divine Wisdom (Sophia)

and the Divine Word (Logos).

He opposed the Chalcedonian dualism and aimed (like Apollinaris) at an

organic unity of Christ's person, but made him a full human personality

(while Apollinaris substituted the divine Logos for the human spirit,

and thus made Christ only a half man). He charges the scholastic and

orthodox divines, whom he calls sophists and opponents of the truth,

with making two Sons of God--one invisible and eternal, another visible

and temporal. They deny, he says, that Jesus is truly man by teaching

that he has two distinct natures with a communication of attributes.

[1098] Christ does not consist of, or in, two natures. He had no

previous personal pre-existence as a second hypostasis: his personality

dates from his conception and birth. But this man Jesus is, at the same

time, consubstantial with God (oJmoouvsio"). As man and wife are one in

the flesh of their son, so God and man are one in Christ. [1099] The

flesh of Christ is heavenly and born of the very substance of God.

[1100] By the deification of the flesh of Christ he materialized God,

destroyed the real humanity of Christ, and lost himself in the maze of

a pantheistic mysticism.

2. Theology.

The fundamental doctrine of Servetus was the absolute unity,

simplicity, and indivisibility of the Divine being, in opposition to

the tripersonality or threefold hypostasis of orthodoxy. [1101] In this

respect he makes common cause with the Jews and Mohammedans, and

approvingly quotes the Koran. He violently assails Athanasius, Hilary,

Augustin, John of Damascus, Peter the Lombard, and other champions of

the dogma of the Trinity. [1102] But he claims the ante-Nicene Fathers,

especially Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, for

his view. He calls all Trinitarians "tritheists" and "atheists." [1103]

They have not one absolute God, but a three-parted, collective,

composite God--that is, an unthinkable, impossible God, which is no God

at all. They worship three idols of the demons,--a three-headed

monster, like the Cerberus of the Greek mythology. [1104] One of their

gods is unbegotten, the second is begotten, the third proceeding. One

died, the other two did not die. Why is not the Spirit begotten, and

the Son proceeding? By distinguishing the Trinity in the abstract from

the three persons separately considered, they have even four gods. The

Talmud and the Koran, he thinks, are right in opposing such nonsense

and blasphemy.

He examines in detail the various patristic and scholastic proof texts

for the Trinity, as Gen. 18:2; Ex. 3:6; Ps. 2:7; 110:1; Isa. 7:14; John

1:1; 3:13; 8:58; 10:18; 14:10; Col. 1:15; 2:9; 1 Pet. 3:19; Heb. 1:2.

Yet, after all, he taught himself a sort of trinity, but substitutes

the terms "dispositions," "dispensations," "economies," for hypostases

and persons. In other words, he believed, like Sabellius, in a trinity

of revelation or manifestation, but not in a trinity of essence or

substance. He even avowed, during the trial at Geneva, a trinity of

persons and the eternal personality of Christ; but he understood the

term, person "in the original sense of a mask used by players on the

stage, not in the orthodox sense of a distinct hypostasis or real

personality that had its own proper life in the Divine essence from

eternity, and was manifested in time in the man Jesus. [1105]

Servetus distinguished--with Plato, Philo, the Neo-Platonists, and

several of the Greek Fathers--between an ideal, invisible, uncreated,

eternal world and the real, visible, created, temporal world. In God,

he says, are from eternity the ideas or forms of all things: these are

called "Wisdom" or "Logos," "the Word" (John 1:1). He identifies this

ideal world with "the Book of God," wherein are recorded all things

that happen (Deut. 32:32; Ps. 139:16; Rev. 5:1), and with the living

creatures and four whirling wheels full of eyes, in the vision of

Ezekiel (1:5; 10:12). The eyes of God are living fountains in which are

reflected all things, great and small, even the hairs of our head

(Matt. 10:30), but particularly the elect, whose names are recorded in

a special book.

The Word or Wisdom of God, he says, was the seed out of which Christ

was born, and the birth of Christ is the model of all births. [1106]

The Word may be called also the soul of Christ, which comprehends the

ideas of all things. In Christ was the life, and the life was the light

of the world (John 1:4 sqq.). He goes here into speculations about the

nature of light and of the heavenly bodies, and ventilates his Hebrew

learning. He distinguishes three heavens--the two material heavens of

water and air, spoken of by Moses in the account of creation, [1107]

and a third, spiritual heaven of fire, the heaven of heavens, to which

Paul was elevated (2 Cor. 12:2), in which God and Christ dwell, and

which gives splendor to the angels. Christ has revealed the true heaven

to us, which was unknown to the Jews.

All things are one in God, in whom they consist. [1108] There is one

fundamental ground or principle and head of all things, and this is

Jesus Christ our Lord. [1109]

In the fifth book, Servetus discusses the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

He identifies him with the Word, from which he differs only in the form

of existence. God is, figuratively speaking, the Father of the Spirit,

as he is the Father of Wisdom and the Word. The Spirit is not a third

metaphysical being, but the Spirit of God himself. To receive the Holy

Spirit means to receive the anointing of God. The indwelling of the

Spirit in us is the indwelling of God (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16;

Eph. 2:22). He who lies to the Holy Spirit lies to God (Acts 5:4). The

Spirit is a modus, a form of divine existence. He is also called the

Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son (Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:9; 1 Pet.

1:11). The human spirit is a spark of the Divine Spirit, an image of

the Wisdom of God, created, yet similar. God breathes his Spirit into

man in his birth, and again in regeneration.

In connection with this subject, Servetus goes into an investigation of

the vital spirits in man, and gives a minute description of the lesser

circulation of the blood, which, as we have seen, he first discovered.

[1110] He studied theology as a physician and surgeon, and studied

medicine as a theologian.

He discusses also the procession of the Spirit, which he regards not as

a metaphysical and eternal process, but as a historical manifestation,

identical with the mission. Herein he differs from both the Greek and

the Latin theories, but unjustly charges the Greeks (who distinguish

the procession from the Father alone, and the mission from the Father

and the Son) with error in denying the Filioque. The Spirit, he says,

proceeds from the Father and the Son, and he proceeds from the Father

through the Son, who is the proper fountain of the Spirit. But he dates

this procession from the day of Pentecost. In the Old Testament the

Holy Spirit was unknown, which he proves from John 7:39 and Acts 19:2

(but contrary to such passages as Ps. 51:13; 1 Sam. 10:6; 16:13; Isa.

11:2; 61:1; 1 Pet. 1:11). The spirit in the Old Testament was only a

spirit of servitude and fear, not of adoption and love (Rom. 8:15; Gal.

4:6). Christ calls us friends and brethren (John 15:15; 20:17). The

Jews knew only a sanctification of the flesh and external things, not

of the spirit. The anointing we receive from Christ is the anointing of

the Spirit (2 Cor. 1:21; 1 John 2:20, 27). The Holy Spirit becomes ours

in regeneration. We are deified or made partakers of the divine nature

by Christ.

3. Christopantheism.

The premises and conclusions of the speculations of Servetus are

pantheistic. He adopts the conception of God as the all-embracing

substance. "All is one and one is all, because all things are one in

God, and God is the substance of all things." [1111] As the Word of God

is essentially man, so the Spirit of God is essentially the spirit of

man. By the power of the resurrection all the primitive elements of the

body and spirit have been renewed, glorified, and immortalized, and all

these are communicated to us by Christ in baptism and the Lord's

Supper. The Holy Spirit is the breath from the mouth of Christ (John

20:22). As God breathes into man the soul with the air, so Christ

breathes into his disciples the Holy Spirit with the air ... . The

deity in the stone is stone, in gold it is gold, in the wood it is

wood, according to the proper ideas of things. In a more excellent way

the deity in man is man, in the spirit it is spirit." [1112] "God

dwells in the Spirit, and God is Spirit. God dwells in the fire, and

God is fire; God dwells in the light, and God is light; God dwells in

the mind, and he is the mind itself." In one of his letters to Calvin

he says: "Containing the essence of the universe in himself, God is

everywhere, and in everything, and in such wise that he shows himself

to us as fire, as a flower, as a stone." God is always in the process

of becoming. [1113] Evil as well as good is comprised in his essence.

He quotes Isa. 45:7: "I form the light, and create darkness; I make

peace, and create evil; I am the Lord, that doeth all these things."

The evil differs from the good only in the direction.

When Calvin charged him with pantheism, Servetus restated his view in

these words: "God is in all things by essence, presence, and power, and

himself sustains all things." [1114] Calvin admitted this, but denied

the inference that the substantial Deity is in all creatures, and, as

the latter confessed before the judges, even in the pavement on which

they stand, and in the devils. [1115] In his last reply to Calvin he

tells him: "With Simon Magus you shut up God in a corner; I say, that

he is all in all things; all beings are sustained in God." [1116]

He frequently refers with approval to Plato and the NeoPlatonists

(Plotin, Jamblichus, Proclus, Porphyry). [1117]

But his views differ from the ordinary pantheism. He substitutes for a

cosmopantheism a Christopantheism. Instead of saying, The world is the

great God, he says, Christ is the great God. [1118] By Christ, however,

he means only the ideal Christ; for he denied the eternity of the real

Christ.

4. Anthropology and Soteriology. [1119]

Servetus was called a Pelagian by Calvin. This is true only with some

qualifications. He denied absolute predestination and the slavery of

the human will, as taught first by all the Reformers. He admitted the

fall of Adam in consequence of the temptation by the devil, and he

admitted also hereditary sin (which Pelagius denied), but not

hereditary guilt. Hereditary sin is only a disease for which the child

is not responsible. (This was also the view of Zwingli.) There is no

guilt without knowledge of good and evil. [1120] Actual transgression

is not possible before the time of age and responsibility, that is,

about the twentieth year. [1121] He infers this from such passages as

Ex. 30:14; 38:26; Num. 14:29; 32:11; Deut. 1:39.

The serpent has entered human flesh and taken possession of it. There

is a thorn in the flesh, a law of the members antagonistic to the law

of God; but this does not condemn infants, nor is it taken away in

baptism (as the Catholics hold), for it dwells even in saints, and the

conflict between the spirit and the serpent goes on through life.

[1122] But Christ offers his help to all, even to infants and their

angels. [1123]

In the fallen state man has still a free-will, reason, and conscience,

which connect him with the divine grace. Man is still the image of God.

Hence the punishment of murder, which is an attack upon the divine

majesty in man (Gen. 9:6). Every man is enlightened by the Logos (John

1:17). We are of divine origin (Acts 17:29). The doctrine of the,

slavery of the human will is a great fallacy (magna fallacia), and

turns divine grace into a pure machine. It makes men idle, and neglect

prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. God is free himself and gives freedom

to every man, and his grace works freely in man. It is our impiety

which turns the gift of freedom into slavery. [1124] The Reformers

blaspheme God by their doctrine of total depravity and their

depreciation of good works. All true philosophers and theologians teach

that divinity is implanted in man, and that the soul is of the same

essence with God. [1125]

As to predestination, there is, strictly speaking, no before nor after

in God, as he is not subject to time. But he is just and merciful to

all his creatures, especially to the little flock of the elect. [1126]

He condemns no one who does not condemn himself.

Servetus rejected also the doctrine of forensic justification by faith

alone, as injurious to sanctification. He held that man is justified by

faith and good works, and appealed to the second chapter of James and

the obedience of Abraham. On this point he sympathized more with the

Roman theory. Justification is not a declaratory act of imputation, but

an efficacious act by which man is changed and made righteous. Love is

greater than faith and knowledge, because God is love. It embraces all

good works which clothe, preserve, and strengthen faith and increase

the reward of future glory. He who loves is better than he who

believes. [1127]

5. The Sacraments. [1128]

Servetus admitted only two sacraments, therein agreeing with the

Protestants, but held original views on both.

(a) As to the sacrament of Baptism, he taught, with the Catholic

Church, baptismal regeneration, but rejected, with the Anabaptists,

infant baptism.

Baptism is a saving ordinance by which we receive the remission of

sins, are made Christians, and enter the kingdom of heaven as priests

and kings, through the power of the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the

water. [1129] It is the death of the old man and the birth of the new

man. By baptism we put on Christ and live a new life in him. [1130]

But baptism must be preceded by the preaching of the gospel, the

illumination of the Spirit, and repentance, which, according to the

preaching of John the Baptist and of Christ, is the necessary condition

of entering the kingdom of God. Therefore, Servetus infers, no one is a

fit subject for baptism before he has reached manhood. By the law of

Moses priests were not anointed before the thirtieth year (Num. 4:3).

Joseph was thirty years old when he was raised from the prison to the

throne (Gen. 41:46). According to the rabbinical tradition Adam was

born or created in his thirtieth year. Christ was baptized in the

Jordan when he was thirty years (Luke 3:21-23), and that is the model

of all true Christian baptism. [1131] He was circumcised in infancy,

but the carnal circumcision is the type of the spiritual circumcision

of the heart, not of water baptism. [1132] Circumcision was adapted to

real infants who have not yet committed actual transgression; baptism

is intended for spiritual infants--that is, for responsible persons who

have a childlike spirit and begin a new life.

(b) Servetus rejected Infant Baptism as irreconcilable with these

views, and as absurd. He called it a doctrine of the devil, an

invention of popery, and a total subversion of Christianity. [1133] He

saw in it the second root of all the corruptions of the Church, as the

dogma of the Trinity was the first root

By his passionate opposition to infant baptism he gave as much offence

to Catholics and Protestants as by his opposition to the dogma of the

Trinity. But while on this point he went further than the most

fanatical Anabaptists, he did not belong to their society, and rejected

the revolutionary opinions concerning obedience to government, and

holding civil and military offices.

Children are unfit to perform the office of priests which is given to

us in baptism. They have no faith, they cannot repent, and cannot enter

into a covenant. Moreover, they do not need the bath of regeneration

for the remission of sins, as they have not yet committed actual

transgression.

But children are not lost if they die without baptism. Adam's sin is

remitted to all by the merits of Christ. They are excluded from the

Church on earth; they must die and go to Sheol; but Christ will raise

them up on the resurrection day and save them in heaven. The Scripture

does not condemn the Ismaelites or the Ninevites or other barbarians.

Christ gives his blessing to unbaptized children. How could the most

merciful Lord, who bore the sins of a guilty world, condemn those who

have not committed an impiety? [1134]

Servetus agreed with Zwingli, the Anabaptists, and the Second Scotch

Confession, in rejecting the cruel Roman dogma, which excludes all

unbaptized infants, even of Christian parents, from the kingdom of

heaven.

(c) In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Servetus differs from the

Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Zwinglian theories, and

approaches, strange to say, the doctrine of his great antagonist,

Calvin. [1135] Baptism and the Lord's Supper represent the birth and

the nourishment of the new man. By the former we receive the spirit of

Christ; by the latter we receive the body of Christ, but in a spiritual

and mystical manner. Baptism kindles and strengthens faith; the

eucharist strengthens love and unites us more and more to Christ. By

neglecting this ordinance the spiritual man famishes and dies away. The

heavenly man needs heavenly food, which nourishes him to life eternal

(John 6:53). [1136]

Servetus distinguishes three false theories on the Lord's Supper, and

calls their advocates transubstantiatores (Romanists), impanatores

(Lutherans), and tropistae (Zwinglians). [1137]

Against the first two theories, which agree in teaching a carnal

presence and manducation of Christ's body and blood by all

communicants, he urges that spiritual food cannot be received by the

mouth and stomach, but only by the spiritual organs of faith and love.

He refers, like Zwingli, to the passage in John 6:63, as the key for

understanding the words of institution and the mysterious discourse on

eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ.

He is most severe against the papal doctrine of transubstantiation or

transelementation; because it turns bread into no-bread, and would make

us believe that the body of Christ is eaten even by wild beasts, dogs,

and mice. He calls this dogma a Satanic monstrosity and an invention of

demons. [1138]

To the Tropists he concedes that bread and wine are symbols, but he

objects to the idea of the absence of Christ in heaven. They are

symbols of a really present, not of an absent Christ. [1139] He is the

living head and vitally connected with all his members. A head cut off

from the body would be a monster. To deny the real presence of Christ

is to destroy his reign. [1140] He came to us to abide with us forever.

He withdrew only his visible presence till the day of judgment, but

promised to be with us invisibly, but none the less really, to the end

of the world. [1141]

6. The Kingdom of Christ, and the Reign of Antichrist. [1142]

We have already noticed the apocalyptic fancies of Servetus. He could

not find the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven, so often spoken

of in the Gospels (while Christ speaks only twice of the "Church"), in

any visible church organization of his day. The true Church flourished

in the first three centuries, but then fled into the wilderness,

pursued by the dragon; there she has a place prepared by God, and will

remain "a thousand two hundred and threescore prophetic days" or years

(Rev. 12:6)--that is, from 325 till 1585.

The reign of Antichrist, with its corruptions and abominations, began

with three contemporaneous events: the first Oecumenical Council of

Nicaea (325), which split the one Godhead into three idols; the union

of Church and State under Constantine, when the king became a monk; and

the establishment of the papacy under Sylvester, when the bishop became

a king. [1143] From the same period he dates the general practice of

infant baptism with its destructive consequences. Since that time the

true Christians were everywhere persecuted and not allowed to assemble.

They were scattered as sheep in the wilderness.

Servetus fully agreed with the Reformers in opposition to the papacy as

an antichristian power, but went much further, and had no better

opinion of the Protestant churches. He called the Roman Church "the

most beastly of beasts and the most impudent of harlots." [1144]

He finds no less than sixty signs or marks of the reign of Antichrist

in the eschatological discourses of Christ, in Daniel 7 and 12), in

Paul (2 Thess. 2:3, 4; 1 Tim. 4:1), and especially in the Apocalypse

(Rev. 13-18).

But this reign is now drawing to a close. The battle of Michael with

Antichrist has already begun in heaven and on earth, and the author of

the "Restitution" has sounded the trumpet of war, which will end in the

victory of Christ and the true Church. Servetus might have lived to see

the millennium (in 1585), but he expected to fall in the battle, and to

share in the first resurrection.

He concludes his eschatological chapter on the reign of Antichrist with

these words: "Whosoever truly believes that the pope is Antichrist,

will also truly believe that the papistical trinity, paedobaptism, and

the other sacraments of popery are doctrines of the daemons. O Christ

Jesus, thou Son of God, most merciful deliverer, who so often didst

deliver thy people from distresses, deliver us poor sinners from this

Babylonian captivity of Antichrist, from his hypocrisy, his tyranny,

and his idolatry. Amen." [1145]

7. Eschatology.

Servetus was charged by Calvin and the Council of Geneva with denying

the immortality of the soul. This was a heresy punishable by death.

Etienne Dolet was executed on the place Maubert at Paris, Aug. 2, 1546,

for this denial. [1146] But Servetus denied the charge. He taught that

the soul was mortal, that it deserved to die on account of sin, but

that Christ communicates to it new life by grace. [1147] Christ has

brought immortality to light (2 Tim. 1:10; 1 Pet. 1:21-25). This seems

to be the doctrine of conditional immortality of believers. But he held

that all the souls of the departed go to the gloomy abode of Sheol to

undergo a certain purification before judgment. This is the baptism of

blood and fire, as distinct from the baptism of water and spirit (1

Cor. 3:11-15). The good and the bad are separated in death. Those who

die without being regenerated by Christ have no hope. The righteous

progress in sanctification. They pray for us (for which he gives six

reasons, and quotes Zach. 1:12, 13; Luke 15:10; 16:27, 28; 1 Cor.

13:18); but we ought not to pray for them, for they do not need our

prayers, and there is no Scripture precept on the subject. [1148]

The reign of the pope or Antichrist will be followed by the millennial

reign of Christ on earth (Rev. 20:4-7). Then will take place the first

resurrection.

Servetus was a chiliast, but not in the carnal Jewish sense. He blames

Melanchthon for deriding, with the papal crowd, all those as chiliasts

who believe in the glorious reign of Christ on earth, according to the

book of Revelation and the teaching of the school of St. John. [1149]

The general resurrection and judgment follow after the millennium. Men

will be raised in the flower of manhood, the thirtieth year--the year

of baptismal regeneration, the year in which Christ was baptized and

entered upon his public ministry. [1150] "Then wilt thou," so he

addresses Philip Melanchthon, who, next to Calvin, was his greatest

enemy, "with all thy senses, see, feel, taste, and hear God himself. If

thou dost not believe this, thou dost not believe in a resurrection of

the flesh and a bodily transformation of thy organs." [1151]

After the general judgment, Christ will surrender his mediatorial reign

with its glories to the Father, and God will be all in all (Acts 3:21;

1 Cor. 15:24-28).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1090] He calls it "Christocentrik," III. Preface, xiii. "Was den

Servet zum Servet machte," he says, "ist seine Lehre von Christo."

Comp. II. 151-159. He assumes that Servetus composed the seven books on

the "Errors of the Trinity" at different times: books I. and II. at

Toulouse in 1528, while yet a student of seventeen (!); books III. and

IV. at Basel in 1531; the last three books at Strassburg; and that the

two Dialogues on the Trinity represent the fourth, and the

"Restitution" the fifth, phrase of his theology.

[1091] In the editions after 1543 he discussed the doctrine of the

Trinity and of the person of Christ and opposed Servetus. See Baur,

III. 19 sqq., and Dorner, II. 613 sqq.

[1092] For an account of their opinions see Trechsel, I. 13-55, and the

great works of Baur and Dorner, above quoted.

[1093] Baur (l.c., III. 54) says: Die in den genannten Irrlehrern oder

Schwarmgeistern, wie Luther sie treffend nannte, gleich Feuerfunken

ausgestreuten und bald da bald dort an einen entz�ndbaren Stoff sich

ansezenden Ideen erhielten erst in dem Spanier Michael Servet, welchen

der Zug seines Geistes demselben Kreise zuf�hrte, eine festere

Consistenz und Haltung. Diess ist es, was Servet seine historische

Bedeutung gibt. Er wurde der Mittelpunct, in welchem jene vereinzelten,

noch formlosen Elemente sich zur Einheit zusammenschlossen und durch

die Energie seines Geistes sich zu einer in sich zusammenhaengenden

Theorie ausbildeten."

[1094] "Ipse homo Iesus est ostium et via, a quo et merito exordium

sumam ... Pronomine ad sensum demonstrante ipsum hominem, verberibus

caesum et flagellatum, concedam haec tria simpliciter vera esse. Primo,

hic est lesus Christus. Secundo, hic est filius Dei. Tertio, hic

estDeus." Rest. p. 5.

[1095] "Semper dixi, et dico, et dicam, esse omnia scripta, ut

credamus, hunc Iesum esse filium Dei." Rest. 293.

[1096] "Ne unus quidem dari potest in scripturis locus, in quo ponatur

vox filius quae non accipiatur pro homine filio." Rest. 689.

[1097] "Christus est Deus. Dicitur vere Deus, substantialiter Deus, cum

in eo sit deitas corporaliter" (p. 14). He quotes in proof Isa. 9:6;

46:3; John 20:28; Rom. 9:5; Phil. 2:5-11.

[1098] "Negant, hominem esse hominem et concedunt, Deum esse asinum

.... Ad eundem modum concedunt fieri posse, ut Deus sit asinus, et

spiritus sanctus sit mulus, sustentans mulum" (p. 15). The same profane

and offensive comparisons occur in his first book, and among mediaeval

schoolmen, who illustrated the relations of the Trinity by the analogy

of horse, ass, and mule (in mulo equus et asinus; in spiritu pater et

filius). They also raised such foolish questions as, whether God might

not have become an ass or a cucumber as well as a man, and what effect

the sacrament would have upon a dog or a mouse. From reverence to

profanity, as from the sublime to the ridiculous, there is only one

step.

[1099] "Deus et homo unum sunt in Christo, quo vir et uxor unum sunt in

una filii carne .... Magnum est mysterium, quod caro illa fit Deo

homusios [homousios], in unam hypostasim ei connexa. Ita Deus coaluit

cum humana natura, ut illum extolleret filium sibi hominem generando

... Deus et homo unum in ipso sunt." Rest. 269.

[1100] "Caro ipsa Christi est coelestis de substantia Dei genita."

Rest. 74; comp. 48, 50, 72, 77.

[1101] Tollin (Thomas Aquinas, der Lehrer Servet's, in Hilgenfeld's

"Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftliche Theologie," 1892) tries to show that

Servetus only followed out consistently the view of Thomas Aquinas, who

proved the simplicity of the divine essence from reason, but the

Trinity only from the faith of the Church.

[1102] He calls Athanasius and Augustin worshippers of the beast and of

images ("Athanasium imaginum cultorem cum charactere bestiae," p. 702;

comp. p. 398). He probably confounded the first Council of Nicaea

(325), where Athanasius was present, with the second Council of Nicaea

(787), which sanctioned the worship of images. For this historical

blunder Calvin takes Servetus, who set himself up as "temporum omnium

censor," severely to task (Opera, VIII. 591 sq.).

[1103] "Veri ergo hi sunt tritoitae [for tritheitae], et veri sunt

athei, qui Deum unum non habent, nisi tripartitum et aggregativum."

Rest. 30; comp. 34.

[1104] Rest. 59, 119, etc. On these expressions, which shocked the

pious feelings of all Christendom, see above, � 141, p. 719.

[1105] In his last reply to Calvin (Opera, VIII. 536), he tells him:

"Mentiris. Trinitatem ego voco, et doceo, verissimam trinitatem ....

Reale discrimen tollo, non personale .... Realem in Deo distinctionem

ego repudio." Calvin, in his Institutes (I. ch. XIII. � 22) gives the

following account of the trinity of Servetus: "The word Trinity was so

odious and even detestable to Servetus, that he asserted all

Trinitarians, as he called them, to be atheists. I omit his impertinent

and scurrilous language, but this was the substance of his

speculations: That it is representing God as consisting of three parts,

when three persons are said to subsist in his essence, and that this

triad is merely imaginary, being repugnant to the divine unity. At the

same time he maintained the persons to be certain external ideas, which

have no real subsistence in the divine essence, but give us a

figurative representation of God under this or the other form; and,

that in the beginning there was no distinction in God, because the Word

was once the same as the Spirit; but that after Christ appeared God of

God, there emanated from him another God, even the Spirit. Though he

sometimes glosses over his impertinencies with allegories, as when he

says that the eternal Word of God was the Spirit of Christ with God,

and the reflection of his image, and that the Spirit was a shadow of

the Deity; yet he afterwards destroys the deity of both, asserting that

according to the mode of dispensation there is a part of God in both

the Son and the Spirit; just as the same Spirit substantially diffused

in us, and even on wood and stones, is a portion of the Deity."

[1106] "Verbum ipsum Dei quod erat semen generationis Christi .... Ipsa

Christi generatio sit aliorum generationum omnium specimen et

prototypus .... Vere fuit in Deo substantiate semen Christi, et in eo

rerum omnium seminales rationes, et exemplares formae." Rest. p. 146.

[1107] vymsh, the dual. "Duos coelos ad literam accipimus a�rium et

aqueum," p. 157. He regards the Hebrew word as a contraction of vsh and

vym, and equivalent to "waters " (p. 155); while it is derived from

hmsh, to be high.

[1108] "Omnia sunt unum in Deo, in quo uno consistunt." Rest. 161.

[1109] "Unicum est principium, unica verbi lux, lux omniformis, et

caput omnium, Iesus Christus dominus noster, principium creaturarum

Dei." Rest. 162.

[1110] Rest. 169: "Ut vero totam animae et spiritus rationem habeas,

lector, divinam hic philosophiam adjungam, quam facile intelligis, si

in anatome fueris exercitatus," etc. See above, � 143, p. 724.

[1111] "Ultimo ex praemissis comprobatur vetus illa sententia, omnia

esse unum, quia omnia sunt unum in Deo, in quo uno consistunt." Rest.

161.

[1112] "Deitas in lapide est lapis, in auro est aurum, in ligno lignum,

secundum proprias ideas. Excellentiore iterum modo, deitas in homine

est homo, in spiritu est spiritus: sicut adjectio hominis in Deo est

Deus, et adjectio spiritus hominis in eo est spiritus sanctus." Rest.

182.

[1113] "Semper est Deus in fieri."

[1114] Calv. Opera, VIII. 518, art. XXXIV.

[1115] Ibid. 550: "Sed hinc non sequitur in omnibus creaturis

substantialem esse deitatem. Multo minus, quod ipse coram judicibus

confessus est, pavimentum, quod pedibus calcamus, deitatis esse

particeps, et in diabolis omnia deorum esse plena." In his Institutes

(l. I. ch. 13, � 22), Calvin calls the promiscuous confusion of the Son

of God, and the Spirit with all the creatures, "the most execrable

(omnium maxime execrandum) of the opinions of Servetus.

[1116] "Cum Simone Mago tu Deum in angulo recludis: ego eum dico esse

omnia in omnibus. Entia omnia dico in Deo sustineri." In his abusive

notes on Calvin's articles, written in prison. Opera, VIII. 548.

[1117] He also quotes for the same purpose Philo, Plutarch, Parmenides,

Hermes Trismegistus, Zoroaster, and the Jewish rabbis, Aben-Ezra and

Moses Egyptius.

[1118] "Mundum Zoroaster et Trismegistus dixerunt, esse magnum Deum.

Nos Christum dicimus esse magnum Deum, mundi dominum, et omnipotentem

.... Iesus Christus, factor mundi, fuit et est in Deo substantialiter,

verius quam mundus, et per ipsum mundus secundario in Deo consistit."

Rest. 213. "Unicum est principium, unica verbi lux, lux omniformis, et

caput omnium, Iesus Christus dominus noster, principium creaturarum

Dei." P. 162.

[1119] See here the book De Regenerations superna, et de regno

Antichristi, in the Restit., pp. 355 sqq.

[1120] "Nullum est penitus nec in coelesti, nec in terrestri justitia,

crimen, sine scientia boni et mali: quanquam sine ea sint nunc

infantium animae sub tenebras in infernum deductae." Rest. 387.

[1121] "Circa vicesimum annum incipit vera peccatorum remissio, sicut

tunc incipiunt vera, et actualia secundae mortis peccata." ...

363."Peccatum mortale non committitur ante vicesimum annum, sicut nec

crimen corporali justitia capitale." 363 sq.

[1122] Rest. 366: "Quamvis autem universae carni intrusus nunc sit

serpens, et originalem habeat etiam in carne infantum nidum: hoc tamen

nec infantes illos damnat, nec tollitur per baptismum, cum sanctis

etiam insit. Nec abjiciuntur carnis sordes in baptismo, nec tollitur

lex membrorum, nec angelus Satanae. Perpetuo in nobis ipsis duos

habemus pugnantes principes, Deum in spiritu et serpentem in carne." He

calls original sin "serpentis occupatio, inhabitatio et potestas, ab

ipso Adam ducens originem."

[1123] Rest. 369: "Adventus Christi omnia innovavit, et omnibus opem

tulit, etiam parvulis, et eorum angelis. Coelestia, terrestria, et

infernalia, adventum Christi senserunt, et per eum sunt immutata."

[1124] Rest. 568:, "Impietas nostra facit arbitrium ex libero servum."

[1125] 634 sq.: "Philosophi veri, ac etiam theologi affirmant, esse

menti hominis insitam divinitatem esseque animam Deo homoousion,

consubstantialem."

[1126] Rest. 321: "Concludendum est igitur, veram Dei in omnes suas

creaturas esse justitiam et misericordiam: at in pusillum gregem suum,

solum sibi peculiariter praedestinatum, insignem gratiae sublimitatem."

Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius that Servetus "de justificatione

manifeste delirat," but Tollin (III. 194) maintains that he supplements

the one-sided forensic view of the Reformers. Comp. also Henry, III.

267-272.

[1127] See the chapter De Charitate, quid fides efficiat, quid

charitas, et opera, pp. 342 sqq., and the letters to Calvin, where he

gives ten reasons for the utility of good works, and the letter to

Poupin, where he charges the Church of Geneva that it had a gospel

without good works.

[1128] De Circumcisione vera, eum reliquis Christi et Antichristi

mysteriis, in Rest. 411 sqq., and De Baptismi efficacia, 483 sqq.

[1129] "Baptismo vere adest spiritus .... Per operationem spiritus

habet baptismus eam efficaciam, ut vere dicamus, baptismum nos salvare,

ad Tit. 3 et I. Pet. 3. Per solam enim fidem sine baptismo non

complentur omnia salutis Christi mysteria. Baptismus nos salvat et

lavat, sicut panis coenae corpore Christi nos cibat, interno mysterio."

Rest. 497.

[1130] Rest. 484 sq.

[1131] "Mysterium magnum est. Triginta annorum Christus baptismum

accepit, exemplum nobis dans, ac nos ita docens, ante eam aetatem non

esse quem satis aptum ad mysteria reqni coelorum" (p. 412).

[1132] "Circumcisio illa carnalis fuit typus secundae circumcisionis

spiritualis, quae per Christum fit, Roma. 2. et Colossen. 2." Rest.

411.

[1133] "Paedobaptismum esse dico detestandam abominationem, spiritus

sancti extinctionem, ecclesiae Dei desolationem, totius professionis

Christianae confusionem, innovationis, per Christum factae,

abolitionem, ac totius ejus regni conculcationem." Rest. 576. Tollin

(III. 136) is certainly mistaken when he asserts that Servet's view of

infant baptism was an exotic plant, foreign to his system. It is

inseparable from it, and one of his fundamental doctrines.

[1134] "Parvulis, non baptizatis, data est a Christo benedictio.

Clementissimus ille et misericors dominus, qui impiorum peccata gratis

sustulit, quomodo eos, qui impietatem non commiserunt, tam rigide

damnaret?" P. 357. A noble and truly Christian sentiment, which puts to

shame his orthodox opponents. Calvin, however, did not make water

baptism a necessary condition of salvation, and left the way open for

the doctrine of universal infant salvation by sovereign election.

[1135] De Coena Domini, Rest. 502 sqq. Tollin (III. 136): "In keiner

Lehre Servet's zeigt sich so sehr als in der Abendmahlslehre sein

vermittelnder Standpunkt. Tritt er doch wieder als Schiedsrichter auf

zwischen dem magisch-materialistischen Katholicismus und dem

quaekerischen Spiritismus, zwischen Realismus und Idealismus, zwischen

lutherischer Mystik und zwingli'scher Rationalistik." He thinks that

Servetus anticipated the eucharistic doctrine of Bucer and Calvin; but

Bucer laid it down in the Tetrapolitan Confession in 1530, before he

knew Servetus, and Calvin in his tract De Coena in 1540.

[1136] "Baptismus et coena Domini sunt vita et fomentum ipsius fidei:

sunt vita, fomentum, et nutrimentum interni hominis, per fidem ex Deo

geniti. Per praedicationem evangelii plantatur fides, quod nec sine

operatione spiritus fieri potest .... Per coenam Domini, quae baptismum

consequitur, nutritur, adolescit et incrementa vitae suscipit, ille in

baptismo genitus novus homo. Magis et magis tunc in dies in nobis

Christus formatur, et nos magis et magis in unum Christi corpus cum

aliis membris aedificamur per charitatem .... Charitatis symbolum est

coena .... Ita se habet coena adcharitatem, sicut baptismus ad fidem.

Cana igitur et charitate neglectis, recedit a nobis Christus, arescit

fides, evanescit spiritus, fame contabescit et moritur homo

Christianus." Rest. 501 sq.

[1137] Transubstantiationists, Consubstantiationists, and Tropists.

Tollin invents three corresponding German terms: Umsubstanzler,

Einbroter, Fig�rler.

[1138] He says in this connection (p. 510): "Papistica omnia dogmata

esse doctrinas daemoniorum et meras illusiones, 2 Thess. 2 et 1 Tim.

4."

[1139] "Non enim absentis rei sunt haec symbola, ut in umbris legis,

sed est visibile signum rei invisibilis, et externum symbolum rei

internae." Rest. 507 sq.

[1140] "An non monstrum erit, Christum vocari caput, si suis membris

non jungitur? Res mortua est corpus totum, si ab eo caput separes.

Pernitiosus admodum est error, et ipsissima regni Christi destructio,

negare praesentiam ejus in nobis." Rest. 508.

[1141] "Non dixit, non ero vobiscum; sed, non videbitis me, et ego

vobiscum sum." Rest. 609.

[1142] De fide et justitia regni Christi. Rest, 287 sqq. Signa

sexaginta Regni Christi et Antichristi et revelatio eius jam nunc

praesens, 664-670. Comp. above, 146.

[1143] "Quamvis post Christum mox coepit Antichristi mysterium: vere

tamen emicuit et stabilitum est regnum tempore Sylvestri et

Constantini. Quo tempore est mox oecumenico concilio a nobis ereptus

filius Dei, fugata ecclesia, et abominationes omnes legibus decretae.

Hinc transierunt tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis, anni mille

ducenti sexaginta." Rest. 666.

[1144] Rest. 462 sq.: "O bestiam bestiarum sceleratissimam, meretricum

impudentissimam .... Papa est Deus, in papatu est trinitas, draconis

bestiae et pseudoprophetae. Trinitatem papisticam faciunt tres realiter

distincti spiritus, qui Ioanni dicuntur tres immundi spiritus ranarum,

multis rationibus. Quia sunt de abyssi aquis immundis, sicut ranae,"

etc. Comp. his exposition of prophetic passages, pp. 393 sqq. and 666

sqq.

[1145] "Libera nos miseros ab hac Babylonica Antichristi captivitate,

ab hypocrisi ejus, tyrannide, et idololatria. Amen." Rest. 670.

[1146] He had translated the words of Plato: Su gar ouk ese: "Apr�s la

mort tu no seras plus rien du tout," instead of "Car tu no seras plus,"

as the Sorbonne wanted. Tollin, III. 288, mentions this fact and refers

to Reg. fac. Theol. Paris. MM. 248 in the Paris state archives.

[1147] "Christus reparator animas nostras reddidit immortales, et

vitalem eorum spiritum incorruptibilem." Rest. 551. He distinguished

between the soul and the spirit, according to the Platonic trichotomy.

After the death of the body, the soul is a mere shadow.

[1148] Rest. 718.

[1149] "Quamquam tu cum vulgo papistico seniores illos omnes, et

apostolicos viros, ut chiliastas rideas." Rest. 719.

[1150] "Dies baptismi assimilatur diei resurrectionis." Rest. 413.

[1151] "Deum ipsum tu beatus corporeis his omnibus tuis sensibus

videbis, tanges, gustabis, olfacies et audies. Si hoc non credis, non

credis carnis resurrectionem et corporeum tuorum organorum futuram

glorificationem." Rest. 718.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 148. The Trial and Condemnation of Servetus at Vienne.

See D'artigny in Nouveaux Memoires d'histoire, etc.; Mosheim's Neue

Nachrichten, etc.; and Calvin's Opera, VIII. 833-856.

Shortly after the publication of the "Restitution," the fact was made

known to the Roman Catholic authorities at Lyons through Guillaume

Trie, a native of Lyons and a convert from Romanism, residing at that

time in Geneva. He corresponded with a cousin at Lyons, by the name of

Arneys, a zealous Romanist, who tried to reconvert him to his religion,

and reproached the Church of Geneva with the want of discipline. On the

26th of February, 1553, he wrote to Arneys that in Geneva vice and

blasphemy were punished, while in France a dangerous heretic was

tolerated, who deserved to be burned by Roman Catholics as well as

Protestants, who blasphemed the holy Trinity, called Jesus Christ an

idol, and the baptism of infants a diabolic invention. He gave his name

as Michael Servetus, who called himself at present Villeneuve, a

practising physician at Vienne. In confirmation he sent the first leaf

of the "Restitution," and named the printer Balthasar Arnoullet at

Vienne. [1152]

This letter, and two others of Trie which followed, look very much as

if they had been dictated or inspired by Calvin. Servetus held him

responsible. [1153] But Calvin denied the imputation as a calumny.

[1154] At the same time he speaks rather lightly of it, and thinks that

it would not have been dishonorable to denounce so dangerous a heretic

to the proper authorities. He also frankly acknowledges that he caused

his arrest at Geneva. [1155] He could see no material difference in

principle between doing the same thing, indirectly, at Vienne and,

directly, at Geneva. He simply denies that he was the originator of the

papal trial and of the letter of Trie; but he does not deny that he

furnished material for evidence, which was quite well known and

publicly made use of in the trial where Servetus's letters to Calvin

are mentioned as pieces justificatives. There can be no doubt that

Trie, who describes himself as a comparatively unlettered man, got his

information about Servetus and his book from Calvin, or his colleagues,

either directly from conversation, or from pulpit denunciations. We

must acquit Calvin of direct agency, but we cannot free him of indirect

agency in this denunciation. [1156]

Calvin's indirect agency, in the first, and his direct agency in the

second arrest of Servetus admit of no proper justification, and are due

to an excess of zeal for orthodoxy.

Arneys conveyed this information to the Roman Catholic authorities. The

matter was brought to the knowledge of Cardinal Tournon, at that time

archbishop of Lyons, a cruel persecutor of the Protestants, and

Matthias Ory, a regularly trained inquisitor of the Roman see for the

kingdom of France. They at once instituted judicial proceedings.

Villeneuve was summoned before the civil court of Vienne on the 16th of

March. He kept the judges waiting for two hours (during which he

probably destroyed all suspicious papers), and appeared without any

show of embarrassment. He affirmed that he had lived long at Vienne, in

frequent company with ecclesiastics, without incurring any suspicion

for heresy, and had always avoided all cause of offence. His apartments

were searched, but nothing was found to incriminate him. On the

following day the printing establishment of Arnoullet was searched with

no better result. On the return of Arnoullet from a journey he was

summoned before the tribunal, but he professed ignorance.

Inquisitor Ory now requested Arneys to secure additional proof from his

cousin at Geneva. Trie forwarded on the 26th of March several autograph

letters of Servetus which, he said, he had great difficulty in

obtaining from Calvin (who ought to have absolutely refused). He added

some pages from Calvin's Institutes with the marginal objections of

Servetus to infant baptism in his handwriting. Ory, not yet satisfied,

despatched a special messenger to Geneva to secure the manuscript of

the Restitutio, and proof that Villeneuve was Servetus and Arnoullet

his printer. Trie answered at once, on the last of March, that the

manuscript of the Restitutio had been at Lausanne for a couple of years

(with Viret), that Servetus had been banished from the churches of

Germany (Basel and Strassburg) twenty-four years ago, and that

Arnoullet and Gu�roult were his printers, as he knew from a good source

which he would not mention (perhaps Frellon of Lyons).

The cardinal of Lyons and the archbishop of Vienne, after consultation

with Inquisitor Ory and other ecclesiastics, now gave orders on the 4th

of April for the arrest of Villeneuve and Arnoullet. They were confined

in separate rooms in the Palais Delphinal. Villeneuve was allowed to

keep a servant, and to see his friends. Ory was sent forth, hastened to

Vienne, and arrived there the next morning.

After dinner Villeneuve, having been sworn on the Holy Gospels, was

interrogated as to his name, age, and course of life. In his answers he

told some palpable falsehoods to mislead the judges, and to prevent his

being identified with Servetus, the heretic. He omitted to mention his

residence in Toulouse, where he had been known under his real name, as

the books of the University would show. He denied that he had written

any other books than those on medicine and geography, although he had

corrected many. On being shown some notes he had written on Calvin's

Institutes about infant baptism, he acknowledged at last the authorship

of the notes, but added that he must have written them inconsiderately

for the purpose of discussion, and he submitted himself entirely to his

holy Mother, the Church, from whose teachings he had never wished to

differ.

At the second examination, on the sixth day of April, he was shown some

of his epistles to Calvin. He declared, with tears in his eyes, that

those letters were written when he was in Germany some twenty-five

years ago, when there was printed in that country a book by a certain

Servetus, a Spaniard, but from what part of Spain he did not know! At

Paris he had heard Mons. Calvin spoken of as a learned man, and had

entered into correspondence with him from curiosity, but begged him to

keep his letters as confidential and as brotherly corrections. [1157]

Calvin suspected, he continued, that I was Servetus, to which I

replied, I was not Servetus, but would continue to personate Servetus

in order to continue the discussion. Finally we fell out, got angry,

abused each other, and broke off the correspondence about ten years

ago. He protested before God and his judges that he had no intention to

dogmatize or to teach anything against the Church or the Christian

religion. He told similar lies when other letters were laid before him.

Servetus now resolved to escape, perhaps with the aid of some friends,

after he had secured through his servant a debt of three hundred crowns

from the Grand Prior of the monastery of St. Pierre. On the 7th of

April, at four o'clock in the morning, he dressed himself, threw a

night-gown over his clothes, and put a velvet cap upon his head, and,

pretending a call of nature, he secured from the unsuspecting jailer

the key to the garden. He leaped from the roof of the outhouse and made

his escape through the court and over the bridge across the Rhone. He

carried with him his golden chain around his neck, valued at twenty

crowns, six gold rings on his fingers, and plenty of money in his

pockets.

Two hours elapsed before his escape became known. An alarm was given,

the gates were closed, and the neighboring houses searched; but all in

vain.

Nevertheless the prosecution went on. Sufficient evidence was found

that the "Restitution" had been printed in Vienne; extracts were made

from it to prove the heresies contained therein. The civil court,

without waiting for the judgment of the spiritual tribunal (which was

not given until six months afterwards), sentenced Servetus on the 17th

of June, for heretical doctrines, for violation of the royal

ordinances, and for escape from the royal prison, to pay a fine of one

thousand livres tournois to the Dauphin, to be carried in a cart,

together with his books, on a market-day through the principal streets

to the place of execution, and to be burnt alive by a slow fire. [1158]

On the same day he was burnt in effigy, together with the five bales of

his book, which had been consigned to Merrin at Lyons and brought back

to Vienne.

The goods and chattels of the fugitive were seized and confiscated. The

property he had acquired from his medical practice and literary labors

amounted to four thousand crowns. The king bestowed them on the son of

Monsieur de Montgiron, lieutenant-general of Dauphin� and presiding

judge of the court. [1159]

Arnoullet was discharged on proving that he had been deceived by

Gu�roult, who seems to have escaped by flight. He took care that the

remaining copies of the heretical book in France should be destroyed.

Stephens, the famous publisher, who had come to Geneva in 1552,

sacrificed the copies in his hands. Those that had been sent to

Frankfort were burnt at the instance of Calvin.

On the 23d of December, two months after the execution of Servetus, the

ecclesiastical tribunal of Vienne pronounced a sentence of condemnation

on him. [1160]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1152] "C'est un Espagnol Portugallois nomm�Michael Servetus de son

propre nom, mais il se nomme Villeneuve �pr�sent, faisant le M�decin.

Il a demeur�quelque temps �Lyon, maintenant il se tient �Vienne, o�le

livre dont je parle a �t�imprim�par un quidam qui a l�dress�imprimerie,

nomm�Balthazard Arnoullet. Et afin que vous ne pensiez que je en parle

�cr�dit, je vous envoye la premi�re feuille pour enseigne." The

specimens seemed to have been the title-page, the index, and, perhaps,

a few pages, which did not prove the authorship of Villeneuve, nor his

identity with Servetus. The three letters of Trie are published in

French by D'Artigny (p. 79 sq.) and Mosheim (p. 90), and in Calvin's

Opera, VIII. 835-838, 840-844.

[1153] This was also the opinion of Bolsec and the pseudonymous

Martinus Bellius, and is repeated by the Abb� d'Artigny, Wallace,

Willis, and v. d. Linde, who charge Calvin with having deliberately and

dishonorably betrayed Servetus. But this cannot be proven, and would

involve a downright falsehood, of which Calvin was incapable.

[1154] He calls it a "futilis calumnia," and thinks it preposterous to

suppose that he was in friendly correspondence with the popish

authorities. "Unde mihi tanta cum papae satellitio repente

familiaritas? unde etiam tanta gratia? Refut. error Mich. Serv., in

Opera, VIII. 479.

[1155] "Nec sane dissimulo, mea opera consilioque jure in carcerem

fuisse conjectum!' Ibid. VIII. 461.

[1156] Trechsel thinks that it can by no means be proven that Calvin

caused the letter of Trie, but that he probably gave occasion to it by

incidental and unintentional expressions. "Wenn auch Calvin," he says,

I. 144, "wahrscheinlich durch gelegentliche und unabsichtliche

Aeusserungen zur Entdeckung Servets Anlass gab, so ist es doch durchaus

unerwiesen, dass er Trie's Brief provocirt oder gar dictirt habe."

Dyer, who is not friendly to Calvin, gives as the result of his

examination of the case, this judgment (p. 314): "The Abb� d'Artigny

goes further than the evidence warrants, in positively asserting that

Trie's letter was written at Calvin's dictation, and in calling it

Calvin's letter in the name of Trie. It is just possible that Trie may

have written the letter without Calvin's knowledge, and the latter is

therefore entitled to the benefit of the doubt. He cannot absolutely be

proved to have taken the first step in delivering Servetus into the

fangs of the Roman Catholic inquisition; but what we shall now have to

relate will show that he at least aided and abetted it." Principal

Cunningham (The Reformers, pp. 323 sqq.) goes into an elaborate

argument to vindicate Calvin from the charge of complicity, in

opposition to Principal Tulloch, who denounces the conduct of Calvin,

if it could be proven (he leaves it undecided), as "one of the blackest

pictures of treachery." An evident rhetorical exaggeration.

[1157] "Sub sigillo secreti et comme fraternelles [sic] corrections."

He himself, however, published in the Restitutio, as we have seen,

thirty letters of his to Calvin without Calvin's permission.

[1158] "Estre brusl�tout vif �petit-feu, tellement que son corps soit

mis en cendre." The whole sentence of the tribunal is printed in

Calvin's Opera, VIII. 784-787. It was communicated to the Council of

Geneva, as a ground for demanding the prisoner.

[1159] See Montgiron's letter to the Council of Geneva in Opera, VIII.

791, and in Rilliet-Tweedie, p. 156.

[1160] Calvin's Opera, VIII. 851-856 (copied from d'Artigny, II. 123,

and Mosheim, Neue Nachrichten, etc., p. 100 sq.). Villanovanus is

therein condemned as "maximus haereticus," and his scripta as "erronea,

nefanda, impia, sacrilega, et plusquam haeretica."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 149. Servetus flees to Geneva and is arrested.

Rilliet: Relation du proc�s, etc., quoted above, p. 684. (Tweedie's

translation in his Calvin and Servetus, pp. 62 sqq.) Opera, VIII.

725-856.

Escaped from one danger of death, Servetus, as by "a fatal madness," as

Calvin says, rushed into another. [1161] Did he aspire to the glory of

martyrdom in Geneva, as he seemed to intimate in his letter to Poupin?

But he had just escaped martyrdom in France. Or did he wish to have a

personal interview with Calvin, which he had sought in Paris in 1534,

and again in Vienne in 1546? But after publishing his abusive letters

and suspecting him for denunciation, he could hardly entertain such a

wish. Or did he merely intend to pass through the place on his way to

Italy? But in this case he need not tarry there for weeks, and he might

have taken another route through Savoy, or by the sea. Or did he hope

to dethrone, the pope of Geneva with the aid of his enemies, who had

just then the political control of the Republic? [1162]

He lingered in France for about three months. He intended, first, as he

declared at the trial, to proceed to Spain, but finding the journey

unsafe, he turned his eye to Naples, where he hoped to make a living as

physician among the numerous Spanish residents. This he could easily

have done under a new name.

He took his way through Geneva. He arrived there after the middle of

July, 1553, alone and on foot, having left his horse on the French

border. He took up his lodging in the Auberge de la Rose, a small inn

on the banks of the lake. His dress and manner, his gold chain and gold

rings, excited attention. On being asked by his host whether he was

married, he answered, like a light-hearted cavalier, that women enough

could be found without marrying. [1163] This frivolous reply provoked

suspicion of immorality, and was made use of at the trial, but

unjustly, for a fracture disabled him for marriage and prevented

libertinage. [1164]

He remained about a month, and then intended to leave for Z�rich. He

asked his host to hire a boat to convey him over the lake some distance

eastward.

But before his departure he attended church, on Sunday, the 13th of

August. He was recognized and arrested by an officer of the police in

the name of the Council. [1165]

Calvin was responsible for this arrest, as he frankly and repeatedly

acknowledged. [1166] It was a fatal mistake. Servetus was a stranger

and had committed no offence in Geneva. Calvin ought to have allowed

him quietly to proceed on his intended journey. Why then did he act

otherwise? Certainly not from personal malice, nor other selfish

reasons; for he only increased the difficulty of his critical

situation, and ran the risk of his defeat by the Libertine party then

in power. It was an error of judgment. He was under the false

impression that Servetus had just come from Venice, the headquarters of

Italian humanists and sceptics, to propagate his errors in Geneva, and

he considered it his duty to make so dangerous a man harmless, by

bringing him either to conviction and recantation, or to deserved

punishment. He was determined to stand or fall with the principle of

purity of doctrine and discipline. Rilliet justifies the arrest as a

necessary measure of self-defence. "Under pain of abdication," he says,

"Calvin must do everything rather than suffer by his side in Geneva a

man whom he considered the greatest enemy of the Reformation; and the

critical position in which he saw it in the bosom of the Republic, was

one motive more to remove, if it was possible, the new element of

dissolution which the free sojourn of Servetus would have created ... .

To tolerate Servetus with impunity at Geneva would have been for Calvin

to exile himself ... He had no alternative. The man whom a Calvinist

accusation had caused to be arrested, tried, and condemned to the

flames in France, could not find an asylum in the city from which that

accusation had issued." [1167]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1161] "Nescio quid dicam, nisi fatali vesania fuisse correptum ut se

praecipitem jaceret." Calvin. See Henry, III. 151.

[1162] Willis (p. 284) thinks that the enemies of Calvin detained him

with the view to make political capital out of him. He infers this from

the fact that the windows of his room were nailed up. As if he could

not have passed out through the door! Moreover, it was not the windows

of his room in the tavern, as Willis says, but the windows of the

prison that were nailed up, as Servetus stated at the trial, to prove

that he had no intercourse with outsiders. See Rilliet-Tweedie, p. 154.

[1163] "On trouve bien assez de femmes sans se marrier." Comp.

Trechsel, I. 306.

[1164] He declared, Aug. 23, that he was impotent on account of a

rupture. Opera, VIII. 769.

[1165] The following is an extract from the Registers of the Company of

Pastore sub. Aug. 13 (in Opera, VIII. 725): "M. Servetus having been

recognized by some brethren (par quelques fr�res), it was found good to

cause him to be imprisoned, that he might no longer infect the world

with his blasphemies and heresies; for he is known to be wholly

incorrigible and desperate (du tout incorrigible et desesper�)."

[1166] In the Refutatio, Opera, VIII. 461, 725, and in letters to Farel

(Aug. 20) and Sulzer (Sept. 8, 1553). "Servetus," he wrote to Sulzer in

Basel, during the trial, "escaped from prison some way or other, and

wandered in Italy for nearly four months. At length, in an evil hour,

he came to this place, when, at my instigation, one of the Syndics

ordered him to be conducted to prison; for I do not disguise it that I

considered it my duty to put a check, so far as I could, upon this most

obstinate and ungovernable man, that his contagion might not spread

farther. We see with what wantonness impiety is making progress

everywhere, so that new errors are ever and anon breaking forth; we see

how very inactive those are whom God has armed with the sword for the

vindication of the glory of his name." The reference to a four months'

wandering in Italy (per Italiam erravit fere quatuor menses, that is,

from April 7th to the end of July) is an error. Servetus at the trial

denied that he had been in Italy at that time or at Venice at my time.

[1167] Translated by Tweedie, p. 87.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 150. State of Political Parties at Geneva in 1553.

Calvin's position in Geneva at that time was very critical. For in the

year 1553 he was in the fever-heat of the struggle for church

discipline with the Patriots and Libertines, who had gained a temporary

ascendency in the government. Amy Perrin, the leader of the patriotic

party, was then captain-general and chief syndic, and several of his

kinsmen and friends were members of the Little Council of Twenty-five.

[1168] During the trial of Servetus the Council sustained Philibert

Berthelier against the act of excommunication by the Consistory, and

took church discipline into its own hands. The foreign refugees were

made harmless by being deprived of their arms. Violence was threatened

to the Reformer. He was everywhere saluted as "a heretic," and insulted

on the streets. Beza says: "In the year 1553, the wickedness of the

seditions, hastening to a close, was so turbulent that both Church and

State were brought into extreme danger .... . Everything seemed to be

in a state of preparation for accomplishing the plans of the seditious,

since all was subject to their power." And Calvin, at the close of that

year, wrote to a friend: "For four years the factions have done all to

lead by degrees to the overthrow of this Church, already very weak.

Behold two years of our life have passed as if we lived among the

avowed enemies of the gospel."

The hostility of the Council to Calvin and his discipline continued

even after the execution of Servetus for nearly two more years. He

asked the assistance of Bullinger and the Church of Z�rich to come to

his aid again in this struggle. [1169] He wrote to Ambrose Blaurer,

Feb. 6, 1554: "These last few years evil disposed persons have not

ceased on every occasion to create for us new subjects of vexation. At

length in their endeavors to render null our excommunication, there is

no excess of folly they have left unattempted. Everywhere the contest

was long maintained with much violence, because in the senate and among

the people the passions of the contending parties had been so much

inflamed that there was some risk of a tumult." [1170]

We do not know whether Servetus was aware of this state of things. But

he could not have come at a time more favorable to him and more

unfavorable to Calvin. Among the Libertines and Patriots, who hated the

yoke of Calvin even more than the yoke of the pope, Servetus found

natural supporters who, in turn, would gladly use him for political

purposes. This fact emboldened him to take such a defiant attitude in

the trial and to overwhelm Calvin with abuse.

The final responsibility of the condemnation, therefore, rests with the

Council of Geneva, which would probably have acted otherwise, if it had

not been strongly influenced by the judgment of the Swiss Churches and

the government of Bern. Calvin conducted the theological part of the

examination of the trial, but had no direct influence upon the result.

His theory was that the Church may convict and denounce the heretic

theologically, but that his condemnation and punishment is the

exclusive function of the State, and that it is one of its most sacred

duties to punish attacks made on the Divine majesty.

"From the time Servetus was convicted of his heresy," says Calvin, "I

have not uttered a word about his punishment, as all honest men will

bear witness; and I challenge even the malignant to deny it if they

can." [1171] One thing only he did: he expressed the wish for a

mitigation of his punishment. [1172] And this humane sentiment is

almost the only good thing that can be recorded to his honor in this

painful trial.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1168] Pernet de Fosses, Gaspard Favre, Claude Vandel, Pierre Vandel,

and Baptiste Sept. See Opera, VIII. 737, note 6.

[1169] Letters of Nov. 26 and Dec. 30, 1553, in Bonnet-Constable, II.

422-430.

[1170] Ibid. III. 17. Comp. also his letter of Oct. 15, 1554, quoted in

� 108, p. 496, and his letter to John Wolf of Z�rich, Dec. 26, 1554.

[1171] Opera, VIII. 461: "Ex quo convictus est, me nullum de poena

verbum fecisse, non solum boni omnes viri mihi testes erunt sed malis

etiam concedo ut proferant si quid habent." Servetus complained of hard

treatment in prison, but for this the Council and the jailer alone were

responsible.

[1172] In his letter to Farel, Aug. 20, 1553: "Spero capitale saltem

judicium fore; poenae vero atrocitatem remitti cupio."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 151. The First Act of the Trial at Geneva.

Servetus was confined near the Church of St. Pierre, in the ancient

residence of the bishops of Geneva, which had been turned into a

prison. His personal property consisted of ninety-seven crowns, a chain

of gold weighing about twenty crowns, and six gold rings (a large

turquoise, a white sapphire, a diamond, a ruby, a large emerald of

Peru, and a signet ring of coralline). These valuables were surrendered

to Pierre Tissot, and after the process given to the hospital. The

prisoner was allowed to have paper and ink, and such books as could be

procured at Geneva or Lyons at his own expense. Calvin lent him

Ignatius, Polycarp, Tertullian, and Irenaeus. But he was denied the

benefit of counsel, according to the ordinances of 1543. This is

contrary to the law of equity and is one of the worst features of the

trial. He was not subjected to the usual torture.

The laws of Geneva demanded that the accuser should become a prisoner

with the accused, in order that in the event of the charge proving

false, the former might undergo punishment in the place of the accused.

The person employed for this purpose was Nicolas de la Fontaine, a

Frenchman, a theological student, and Calvin's private secretary. The

accused as well as the accuser were foreigners. Another law obliged the

Little Council to examine every prisoner within twenty-four hours after

his arrest. The advocate or "Speaker" of Nicolas de la Fontaine in the

trial was Germain Colladon, likewise a Frenchman and an able lawyer,

who had fled for his religion, and aided Calvin in framing a new

constitution for Geneva.

The trial began on the 15th of August and continued, with

interruptions, for more than two months. It was conducted in French and

took place in the Bishop's Palace, according to the forms prescribed by

law, in the presence of the Little Council, the herald of the city, the

Lord-Lieutenant, and several citizens, who had a right to sit in

criminal processes, but did not take part in the judgment. Among these

was Berthelier, the bitter enemy of Calvin.

Servetus answered the preliminary questions as to his name, age, and

previous history more truthfully than he had done before the Catholic

tribunal, and incidentally accused Calvin of having caused the

prosecution at Vienne. It is not owing to Calvin, he said, that he was

not burnt alive there.

The deed of accusation, as lodged by Nicholas de la Fontaine, consisted

of thirty-eight articles which were drawn up by Calvin (as he himself

informs us), and were fortified by references to the books of Servetus,

which were produced in evidence, especially the "Restitution of

Christianity," both the manuscript copy, which Servetus had sent to

Calvin in advance, and a printed copy. [1173]

The principal charges were, that be had published heretical opinions

and blasphemies concerning the Trinity, the person of Christ, and

infant baptism. He gave evasive or orthodox-sounding answers. He

confessed to believe in the trinity of persons, but understood the word

"person" in a different sense from that used by modern writers, and

appealed to the first teachers of the Church and the disciples of the

apostles. [1174] He denied at first that he had called the Trinity

three devils and Cerberus; [1175] but he had done so repeatedly and

confessed it afterwards. He professed to believe that Jesus Christ was

the Son of God according to his divinity and humanity; that the flesh

of Christ came from heaven and of the substance of God; but as to the

matter it came from the Virgin Mary. He denied the view imputed to him

that the soul was mortal. He admitted that he had called infant baptism

"a diabolical invention and infernal falsehood destructive of

Christianity." This was a dangerous admission; for the Anabaptists were

suspected of seditious and revolutionary opinions.

He was also charged with having, "in the person of M. Calvin, defamed

the doctrines of the gospel and of the Church of Geneva." To this he

replied that in what he had formerly written against Calvin, in his own

defence, he had not intended to injure him, but to show him his errors

and faults, which he was ready to prove by Scripture and good reasons

before a full congregation.

This was a bold challenge. Calvin was willing to accept it, but the

Council declined, fearing to lose the control of the affair by

submitting it to the tribunal of public opinion. The friends of

Servetus would have run the risk of seeing him defeated in public

debate. That charge, however, which seemed to betray personal

ill-feeling of Calvin, was afterwards very properly omitted.

On the following day, the 16th of August, Berthelier, then smarting

under the sentence of excommunication by the Consistory, openly came to

the defence of Servetus, and had a stormy encounter with Colladon,

which is omitted in the official record, but indicated by blanks and

the abrupt termination: "Here they proceeded no further, but adjourned

till to-morrow at mid-day."

On Thursday, the 17th of August, Calvin himself appeared before the

Council as the real accuser, and again on the 21st of August. [1176] He

also conferred with his antagonist in writing. Servetus was not a match

for Calvin either in learning or argument; but he showed great skill

and some force.

He contemptuously repelled the frivolous charge that, in his Ptolemy,

he had contradicted the authority of Moses, by describing Palestine as

an unfruitful country (which it was then, and is now). He wiped his

mouth and said, "Let us go on; there is nothing wrong there."

The charge of having, in his notes on the Latin Bible, explained the

servant of God in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, as meaning King

Cyrus, instead of the Saviour, he disposed of by distinguishing two

senses of prophecy--the literal and historical sense which referred to

Cyrus, and the mystical and principal sense which referred to Christ.

He quoted Nicolaus de Lyra; but Calvin showed him the error, and

asserts that he audaciously quoted books which he had never examined.

As to his calling the Trinity "a Cerberus" and "a dream of Augustin,"

and the Trinitarians "atheists," he said that he did not mean the true

Trinity, which he believed himself, but the false trinity of his

opponents; and that the oldest teachers before the Council of Nicaea

did not teach that trinity, and did not use the word. Among them he

quoted Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Rome, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and

Clement of Alexandria. Calvin refuted his assertion by quotations from

Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen. On this occasion he charges him,

unjustly, with total ignorance of Greek, because he was embarrassed by

a Greek quotation from Justin Martyr, and called for a Latin version.

[1177]

In discussing the relation of the divine substance to that of the

creatures, Servetus declared that "all creatures are of the substance

of God, and that God is in all things." Calvin asked him: "How, unhappy

man, if any one strike the pavement with his foot and say that he

tramples on thy God, wouldst thou not be horrified at having the

Majesty of heaven subjected to such indignity?" To this Servet replied:

"I have no doubt that this bench, and this buffet, and all you can show

me, are of the substance of God." When it was objected that in his view

God must be substantially even in the devil, he burst out into a laugh,

and rejoined: "Can you doubt this? I hold this for a general maxim,

that all things are part and parcel of God, and that the nature of

things is his substantial Spirit." [1178]

The result of this first act of the trial was unfavorable to the

prisoner, but not decisive.

Calvin used the freedom of the pulpit to counteract the efforts of the

Libertine party in favor of Servetus.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1173] The articles are given in full by Rilliet, and in Opera, VIII.

727-731. Calvin mentions forty articles in a letter to Farel (Aug. 20),

but they are reduced to thirty-eight by the notation.

[1174] Respond quil croit en lessence divine en troys personnes et quil

na point dogmatise en celle sorte. Vray est quil prent le nom de

personne aultrement que les modernes ne le prennent et quil le prent

comment les premiers docteurs de leglise et disciples des apotres lont

prys." Opera, VIII. 738. I retain the ancient spelling.

[1175] "Interrog�sil entend que la Trinit�soit troys diables et soit

troys [un]Cerberus, respond que non, et quil ne la point dict en ceste

sorte et quil ne le veult point maintenir." Comp. with this the passage

in his letter to Poupin which was afterwards produced in evidence and

acknowledged by him: "Pro uno Deo habetis tricipitem Cerberum."

[1176] On this and the subsequent encounter we have also an account

from Calvin in his "Defence," which is more minute than the official

report. Opera, VIII. 743 sqq.

[1177] "He could no more read Greek," says Calvin, in the Refutatio,

"than a boy learning his A B C." Opera, VIII. 498.

[1178] Opera, VIII. 496: "ex traduce Dei orta (or, une partie et

portion de Dieu) esse omnia, et rerum naturam esse substantialem Dei

spiritum."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 152. The Second Act of the Trial at Geneva.

The original prosecution being discharged, the case was handed over to

the attorney-general, Claude Rigot, in compliance with the criminal

ordinance of 1543. Thus the second act of the trial began. The prisoner

was examined again, and a new indictment of thirty articles was

prepared, which bore less on the actual heresies of the accused than on

their dangerous practical tendency and his persistency in spreading

them. [1179]

The Council wrote also to the judges of Vienne to procure particulars

of the charges which had been brought against him there.

Servetus defended himself before the Council on the 23d of August, with

ingenuity and apparent frankness against the new charges of

quarrelsomeness and immorality. As to the latter, he pleaded his

physical infirmity which protected him against the temptation of

licentiousness. He had always studied the Scripture and tried to lead a

Christian life. He did not think that his book would disturb the peace

of Christendom, but would promote the truth. He denied that he had come

to Geneva for any sinister purpose; he merely wished to pass through on

his way to Z�rich and Naples.

At the same time he prepared a written petition to the Council, which

was received on the 24th of August. He demanded his release from the

criminal charge for several reasons, which ought to have had

considerable weight: that it was unknown in the Christian Church before

the time of Constantine to try cases of heresy before a civil tribunal;

that he had not offended against the laws either in Geneva or

elsewhere; that he was not seditious nor turbulent; that his books

treated of abstruse questions, and were addressed to the learned; that

he had not spoken of these subjects to anybody but Oecolampadius,

Bucer, and Capito; that he had ever refuted the Anabaptists, who

rebelled against the magistrates and wished to have all things in

common. In case he was not released, he demanded the aid of an advocate

acquainted with the laws and customs of the country. Certainly a very

reasonable request. [1180]

The attorney-general prepared a second indictment in refutation of the

arguments of Servetus, who had studied law at Toulouse. He showed that

the first Christian emperors claimed for themselves the cognizance and

trial of heresies, and that their laws and constitutions condemned

antitrinitarian heretics and blasphemers to death. He charged him with

falsehood in declaring that he had written against the Anabaptists, and

that he had not communicated his doctrine to any person during the last

thirty years. The counsel asked for was refused because it was

forbidden by the criminal statutes (1543), and because there was "not

one jot of apparent innocence which requires an attorney." The very

thing to be proved!

A new examination followed which elicited some points of interest.

Servetus stated his belief that the Reformation would progress much

further than Luther and Calvin intended, and that new things were

always first rejected, but afterwards received. To the absurd charge of

making use of the Koran, he replied that he had quoted it for the glory

of Christ, that the Koran abounds in what is good, and that even in a

wicked book one may find some good things.

On the last day of August the Little Council received answer from

Vienne. The commandant of the royal palace in that city arrived in

Geneva, communicated to them a copy of the sentence of death pronounced

against Villeneuve, and begged them to send him back to France that the

sentence might be executed on the living man as it had been already

executed on his effigy and books. The Council refused to surrender

Servetus, in accordance with analogous cases, but promised to do full

justice. The prisoner himself, who could see only a burning funeral

pile for him in Vienne, preferred to be tried in Geneva, where he had

some chance of acquittal or lighter punishment. He incidentally

justified his habit of attending mass at Vienne by the example of Paul,

who went to the temple, like the Jews; yet he confessed that in doing

so he had sinned through fear of death. [1181]

The communication from Vienne had probably the influence of stimulating

the zeal of the Council for orthodoxy. They wished not to be behind the

Roman Church in that respect. But the issue was still uncertain.

The Council again confronted Servetus with Calvin on the first day of

September. On the same day it granted, in spite of the strong protest

of Calvin, permission to Philibert Berthelier to approach the communion

table. It thus annulled the act of excommunication by the Consistory,

and arrogated to itself the power of ecclesiastical discipline.

A few hours afterwards the investigation was resumed in the prison.

Perrin and Berthelier were present as judges, and came to the aid of

Servetus in the oral debate with Calvin, but, it seems, without

success; for they resorted to a written discussion in which Servetus

could better defend himself, and in which Calvin might complicate his

already critical position. They wished, moreover, to refer the affair

to the Churches of Switzerland which, in the case of Bolsec, had shown

themselves much more tolerant than Calvin. Servetus demanded such

reference. Calvin did not like it, but did not openly oppose it.

The Council, without entering on the discussion, decided that Calvin

should extract in Latin, from the books of Servetus, the objectionable

articles, word for word, contained therein; that Servetus should write

his answers and vindications, also in Latin; that Calvin should in his

turn furnish his replies; and that these documents be forwarded to the

Swiss Churches as a basis of judgment. All this was fair and impartial.

[1182]

On the same day Calvin extracted thirty-eight propositions from the

books of Servetus with references, but without comments.

Then, turning with astonishing energy from one enemy to the other, he

appeared before the Little Council on the 2d of September to protest

most earnestly against their protection of Berthelier, who intended to

present himself on the following day as a guest at the Lord's table,

and by the strength of the civil power to force Calvin to give him the

tokens of the body and blood of Christ. He declared before the Council

that he would rather die than act against his conscience. The Council

did not yield, but resolved secretly to advise Berthelier to abstain

from receiving the sacrament for the present. Calvin, ignorant of this

secret advice, and resolved to conquer or to die, thundered from the

pulpit of St. Peter on the 3d of September his determination to refuse,

at the risk of his life, the sacred elements to an excommunicated

person. Berthelier did not dare to approach the table. Calvin had

achieved a moral victory over the Council. [1183]

In the mean time Servetus had, within the space of twenty-four hours,

prepared a written defence, as directed by the Council, against the

thirty-eight articles of Calvin. It was both apologetic and boldly

aggressive, clear, keen, violent, and bitter. He contemptuously

repelled Calvin's interference in the trial, and charged him with

presumption in framing articles of faith after the fashion of the

doctors of the Sorbonne, without Scripture proof. [1184] He affirmed

that he either misunderstood him or craftily perverted his meaning. He

quotes from Tertullian, Irenaeus, and pseudo-Clement in support of his

views. He calls him a disciple of Simon Magus, a criminal accuser, and

a homicide. [1185] He ridiculed the idea that such a man should call

himself an orthodox minister of the Church.

Calvin replied within two days in a document of twenty-three folio

pages, which were signed by all the fourteen ministers of Geneva.

[1186] He meets the patristic quotations of Servetus with

counter-quotations, with Scripture passages and solid arguments, and

charges him in conclusion with the intention "to subvert all religion."

[1187]

These three documents, which contained the essence of the doctrinal

discussion, were presented to the Little Council on Tuesday the 5th of

September.

On the 15th of September Servetus addressed a petition to the Council

in which he attacked Calvin as his persecutor, complained of his

miserable condition in prison and want of the necessary clothing, and

demanded an advocate and the transfer of his trial to the Large Council

of Two Hundred, where he had reason to expect a majority in his favor.

[1188] This course had probably been suggested to him (as Rilliet

conjectures) by Perrin and Berthelier through the jailer, Claude de

Gen�ve, who was a member of the Libertine party.

On the same day the Little Council ordered an improvement of the

prisoner's wardrobe (which, however, was delayed by culpable neglect),

and sent him the three documents, with permission to make a last reply

to Calvin, but took no action on his appeal to the Large Council,

having no disposition to renounce its own authority.

Servetus at once prepared a reply by way of explanatory annotations on

the margin and between the lines of the memorial of Calvin and the

ministers. These annotations are full of the coarsest abuse, and read

like the production of a madman. He calls Calvin again and again a

liar, [1189] an impostor, a miserable wretch (nebulo pessimus), a

hypocrite, a disciple of Simon Magus, etc. Take these specimens: "Do

you deny that you are a man-slayer? I will prove it by your acts. You

dare not deny that you are Simon Magus. As for me, I am firm in so good

a cause, and do not fear death ... . You deal with sophistical

arguments without Scripture ... . You do not understand what you say.

You howl like a blind man in the desert .... You lie, you lie, you lie,

you ignorant calumniator .... Madness is in you when you persecute to

death ... . I wish that all your magic were still in the belly of your

mother ... . I wish I were free to make a catalogue of your errors.

Whoever is not a Simon Magus is considered a Pelagian by Calvin. All,

therefore, who have been in Christendom are damned by Calvin; even the

apostles, their disciples, the ancient doctors of the Church and all

the rest. For no one ever entirely abolished free-will except that

Simon Magus. Thou liest, thou liest, thou liest, thou liest, thou

miserable wretch."

He concludes with the remark that, his doctrine was met merely by

clamors, not by argument or any authority," and he subscribed his name

as one who had Christ for his certain protector. [1190]

He sent these notes to the Council on the 18th of September. It was

shown to Calvin, but he did not deem it expedient to make a reply.

Silence in this case was better than speech.

The debate, therefore, between the two divines was closed, and the

trial became an affair of Protestant Switzerland, which should act as a

jury.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1179] Articles du procureur-g�n�ral in Opera, VIII. 763-766.

[1180] Opera, VIII. 797.

[1181] Opera, VIII. 789:, Et puys apr�s a confess�quil avait pech�en

ce, mais que cestoit par crainte de la mort."

[1182] Opera, VIII. 796. The Latin text of the three documents is

embodied in Calvin's Refutatio Errorum, ibid. 501-553.

[1183] See above, � 109, p. 513 sq.

[1184] VIII. 607: Eam sibi jam autoritatem arrogat Calvinus, ut instar

magistrorum Sorbonicorum articulos scribat, et quidvis pro sua libidine

damnet, nullam penitus ex sacris [de l'�criture sainte]adducens

rationem."

[1185] VIII. 515: "Simonis Magi discipulus ... acctuator criminalis, et

homicida."

[1186] Calvinus, Poupinus, Gallasius, Bernardus, Bourgoinus,

Malisianus, Calvetus, Pyrerius, Copus, Baldinus, J. a Sancto Andrea,

Faber, Macarius, Colladonus.

[1187] "Ut luce sanae doctrinae, exstincta totam religionem everteret."

[1188] Opera, VIII. 797, and Rilliet-Tweedie, p. 182.

[1189] "Mentiris" occurs in almost every sentence. He naively

apologizes for writing on Calvin's own paper, because there were many

little words, such as "mentiris," which would not be otherwise

understood; and he hopes that Calvin would not be offended, as there

would have been inextricable confusion had he not adopted this method.

[1190] "Michael Servetus subscribit solus hic quidem, sed qui Christum

habet protectorem certissimum." From the MS., in Opera, VIII. 553,

note.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 153. Consultation of the Swiss Churches. The Defiant Attitude of

Servetus.

On the 19th of September the Little Council, in accordance with a

resolution adopted on the 4th, referred the case of Servetus to the

magistrates and pastors of the Reformed Churches of Bern, Z�rich,

Schaffhausen, and Basel for their judgment.

Two days afterwards Jaquemoz Jernoz, as the official messenger, was

despatched on his mission with a circular letter and the

documents,--namely the theological debate between Calvin and

Servetus,--a copy of the "Restitution of Christianity," and the works

of Tertullian and Irenaeus, who were the chief patristic authorities

quoted by both parties.

On the result of this mission the case of Servetus was made to depend.

Servetus himself had expressed a wish that this course should be

adopted, hoping, it seems, to gain a victory, or at least an escape

from capital punishment. On the 22d of August he was willing to be

banished from Geneva; but on the 22d of September he asked the Council

to put Calvin on trial, and handed in a list of articles on which he

should be interrogated. He thus admitted the civil jurisdiction in

matters of religious opinions which he had formerly denied, and was

willing to stake his life on the decision, provided that his antagonist

should be exposed to the same fate. [1191] Among the four "great and

infallible" reasons why Calvin should be condemned, he assigned the

fact that he wished to "repress the truth of Jesus Christ, and follow

the doctrines of Simon Magus, against all the doctors that ever were in

the Church." He declared in his petition that Calvin, like a magician,

ought to be exterminated, and his goods be confiscated and given to

Servetus, in compensation for the loss he had sustained through Calvin.

To dislodge Calvin from his position," says Rilliet, "to expel him from

Geneva, to satisfy a just vengeance--these were the objects toward

which Servetus rushed."

But the Council took no notice of his petition.

On the 10th of October he sent another letter to the Council, imploring

them, for the love of Christ, to grant him such justice as they would

not refuse to a Turk, and complaining that nothing had been done for

his comfort as promised, but that he was more wretched than ever. The

petition had some effect. The Lord Syndic, Darlod, and the Secretary of

State, Claude Roset, were directed to visit his prison and to provide

some articles of dress for his relief.

On the 18th of October the messenger of the State returned with the

answers from the four foreign churches. They were forthwith translated

into French, and examined by the magistrates. We already know the

contents. [1192] The churches were unanimous in condemning the

theological doctrines of Servetus, and in the testimony of respect and

affection for Calvin and his colleagues. Even Bern, which was not on

good terms with Calvin, and had two years earlier counselled toleration

in the case of Bolsec, regarded Servetus a much more dangerous heretic

and advised to remove this "pest." Yet none of the Churches consulted

expressly suggested the death penalty. They left the mode of punishment

with the discretion of a sovereign State. Haller, the pastor of Bern,

however, wrote to Bullinger of Z�rich that, if Servetus had fallen into

the hands of Bernese justice, he would undoubtedly have been condemned

to the flames.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1191] "Ie demand que mon faulx accusateur soyt puni poena talionis; et

que soyt detenu prisonier comme moy, jusques �ce que la cause soyt

definie pour mort de luy au de moy ou aultre poine." The petition

concludes: "le vous demande justice, messeigneurs, justice, justice,

justice." Opera, VIII. 805.

[1192] See above, pp. 708 sqq., and Calvin's Opera, VIII. 806 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 154. Condemnation of Servetus.

On the 23d of October the Council met for a careful examination of the

replies of the churches, but could not come to a decision on account of

the absence of several members, especially Perrin, the Chief Syndic,

who feigned sickness. Servetus had failed to excite any sympathy among

the people, and had injured his cause by his obstinate and defiant

conduct. The Libertines, who wished to use him as a tool for political

purposes, were discouraged and intimidated by the counsel of Bern, to

which they looked for protection against the hated r�gime of Calvin.

The full session of the Council on the 26th, to which all counsellors

were summoned on the faith of their oath, decided the fate of the

unfortunate prisoner, but not without a stormy discussion. Amy Perrin

presided and made a last effort in favor of Servetus. He at first

insisted upon his acquittal, which would have been equivalent to the

expulsion of Calvin and a permanent triumph of the party opposed to

him. Being baffled, he proposed, as another alternative, that Servetus,

in accordance with his own wishes, be transferred to the Council of the

Two Hundred. But this proposal was also rejected. He was influenced by

political passion rather than by sympathy with heresy or love of

toleration, which had very few advocates at that time. When he

perceived that the majority of the Council was inclined to a sentence

of death, he quitted the Senate House with a few others.

The Council had no doubt of its jurisdiction in the case; it had to

respect the unanimous judgment of the Churches, the public horror of

heresy and blasphemy, and the imperial laws of Christendom, which were

appealed to by the attorney-general. The decision was unanimous. Even

the wish of Calvin to substitute the sword for the fire was overruled,

and the papal practice of the auto-da-f� followed, though without the

solemn mockery of a religious festival.

The judges, after enumerating the crimes of Servetus, in calling the

holy Trinity a monster with three heads, blaspheming the Son of God,

denying infant-baptism as an invention of the devil and of witchcraft,

assailing the Christian faith, and after mentioning that he had been

condemned and burned in effigy at Vienne, and had during his residence

in Geneva persisted in his vile and detestable errors, and called all

true Christians tritheists, atheists, sorcerers, putting aside all

remonstrances and corrections with a malicious and perverse obstinacy,

pronounced the fearful sentence:--

"We condemn thee, Michael Servetus, to be bound, and led to the place

of Champel, there to be fastened to a stake and burnt alive, together

with thy book, as well the one written by thy hand as the printed one,

even till thy body be reduced to ashes; and thus shalt thou finish thy

days to furnish an example to others who might wish to commit the like.

"And we command our Lieutenant to see that this our present sentence be

executed." [1193]

Rilliet, who published the official report of the trial in the interest

of history, without special sympathy with Calvin, says that the

sentence of condemnation is "odious before our consciences, but was

just according to the law." Let us thank God that those unchristian and

barbarous laws are abolished forever.

Calvin communicated to Farel on the 26th of October a brief summary of

the result, in which he says: "The messenger has returned from the

Swiss Churches. They are unanimous in pronouncing [1194] that Servetus

has now renewed those impious errors with which Satan formerly

disturbed the Church, and that he is a monster not to be borne. Those

of Basel are judicious. The Z�richers are the most vehement of all ...

They of Schaffhausen agree. To an appropriate letter from the Bernese

is added one from the Senate in which they stimulate ours not a little.

Caesar, the comedian [so he sarcastically called Perrin], after

feigning illness for three days, at length went up to the assembly in

order to free that wretch [Servetus] from punishment. Nor was he

ashamed to ask that the case be referred to the Council of the Two

Hundred. However, Servetus was without dissent condemned. He will be

led forth to punishment to-morrow. We endeavored to alter the mode of

his death, but in vain. Why we did not succeed, I defer for narration

until I see you."

This letter reached Farel on his way to Geneva, where he arrived on the

same day, in time to hear the sentence of condemnation. He had come at

the request of Calvin, to perform the last pastoral duties to the

prisoner, which could not so well be done by any of the pastors of

Geneva.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1193] Opera, VIII. 827-830. See also Rilliet, and Henry (III.,

Beilage, pp. 75 sqq.). The sentence was in the usual legal form, like

that of Vienne.

[1194] "Uno consensu pronunciant omnes," etc. Opera, XIV. 657.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 155. Execution of Servetus. Oct. 27, 1553.

Farel, in a letter to Ambrosius Blaarer, December, 1553, preserved in

the library of St. Gall, and copied in the Thesaurus Hottingerianus of

the city library of Z�rich, gives an account of the last moments and

execution of Servetus. See Henry, vol. III. Beilage, pp. 72-75. Calvin,

at the beginning of his "Defence," Opera, VIII. 460, relates his own

last interview with Servetus in prison on the day of his death.

When Servetus, on the following morning, heard of the unexpected

sentence of death, he was horror-struck and behaved like a madman. He

uttered groans, and cried aloud in Spanish, "Mercy, mercy!"

The venerable old Farel visited him in the prison at seven in the

morning, and remained with him till the hour of his death. He tried to

convince him of his error. Servetus asked him to quote a single

Scripture passage where Christ was called "Son of God" before his

incarnation. Farel could not satisfy him. He brought about an interview

with Calvin, of which the latter gives us an account. Servetus, proud

as he was, humbly asked his pardon. Calvin protested that be had never

pursued any personal quarrel against him. "Sixteen years ago," he said,

"I spared no pains at Paris to gain you to our Lord. You then shunned

the light. I did not cease to exhort you by letters, but all in vain.

You have heaped upon me I know not how much fury rather than anger. But

as to the rest, I pass by what concerns myself. Think rather of crying

for mercy to God whom you have blasphemed." This address had no more

effect than the exhortation of Farel, and Calvin left the room in

obedience, as he says, to St. Paul's order (Tit. 3:10, 11), to withdraw

from a self-condemned heretic. Servetus appeared as mild and humble as

he had been bold and arrogant, but did not change his conviction.

At eleven o'clock on the 27th of October, Servetus was led from the

prison to the gates of the City Hall, to hear the sentence read from

the balcony by the Lord Syndic Darlod. When he heard the last words, he

fell on his knees and exclaimed: "The sword! in mercy! and not fire! Or

I may lose my soul in despair." He protested that if he had sinned, it

was through ignorance. Farel raised him up and said: "Confess thy

crime, and God will have mercy on your soul." Servetus replied:, I am

not guilty; I have not merited death." Then he smote his breast,

invoked God for pardon, confessed Christ as his Saviour, and besought

God to pardon his accusers. [1195]

On the short journey to the place of execution, Farel again attempted

to obtain a confession, but Servetus was silent. He showed the courage

and consistency of a martyr in these last awful moments.

Champel is a little bill south of Geneva with a fine view on one of the

loveliest paradises of nature. [1196] There was prepared a funeral pile

hidden in part by the autumnal leaves of the oak trees. The Lord

Lieutenant and the herald on horseback, both arrayed in the insignia of

their office, arrive with the doomed man and the old pastor, followed

by a small procession of spectators. Farel invites Servetus to solicit

the prayers of the people and to unite his prayers with theirs.

Servetus obeys in silence. The executioner fastens him by iron chains

to the stake amidst the fagots, puts a crown of leaves covered with

sulphur on his head, and binds his book by his side. The sight of the

flaming torch extorts from him a piercing shriek of "misericordias" in

his native tongue. The spectators fall back with a shudder. The flames

soon reach him and consume his mortal frame in the forty-fourth year of

his fitful life. In the last moment he is heard to pray, in smoke and

agony, with a loud voice: "Jesus Christ, thou Son of the eternal God,

have mercy upon me!" [1197]

This was at once a confession of his faith and of his error. He could

not be induced, says Farel, to confess that Christ was the eternal Son

of God.

The tragedy ended when the clock of St. Peter's struck twelve. The

people quietly dispersed to their homes. Farel returned at once to

Neuch�tel, even without calling on Calvin. The subject was too painful

to be discussed.

The conscience and piety of that age approved of the execution, and

left little room for the emotions of compassion. But two hundred years

afterwards a distinguished scholar and minister of Geneva echoed the

sentiments of his fellow-citizens when he said: "Would to God that we

could extinguish this funeral pile with our tears." [1198] Dr. Henry,

the admiring biographer of Calvin, imagines an impartial Christian jury

of the nineteenth century assembled on Champel, which would pronounce

the judgment on Calvin, "Not guilty"; on Servetus, "Guilty, with

extenuating circumstances." [1199]

The flames of Champel have consumed the intolerance of Calvin as well

as the heresy of Servetus.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1195] "Ut Deus accusatoribus esset propitius." Farel. This is

certainly a Christian act. Henry (III. 191) admits that Servetus in his

last moments showed some noble traits towards his enemies.

[1196] It is now covered by a beautiful villa, gardens, and vineyards.

The pleasant road of half an hour from the city to Champel is called

"the Philosophers' Way," on which Arminius, when a student of Beza, is

said to have begun his meditations on the mysteries of predestination

and free-will, which immortalized his name. So Henry reports in his

small biography of Calvin, p. 346, and in his large work, III. 198,

note 1.

[1197] Farel does not mention this, nor some other circumstances which

are more or less apocryphal (and omitted by Rilliet): for instance,

that the executioner did not understand his business, and piled up

green oak-wood; that many threw dry, bundles into the slow-burning

fire, and that Servetus suffered nearly half an hour. See the anonymous

Historia deMorte Serveti, ascribed to a Genevese, who was an enemy of

Calvin. Henry, III. 200 sq.

[1198] Jean Senebier (b. at Geneva, 1742; d. 1809), Hist. litter. de

Gen�ve (Gen. 1786, 3 vols.), I. 215: "Il seroit �souhaiter que nos

larmes eussent pu �teindre le b�cher de cet infortun�." Quoted by

Henry, III. 207.

[1199] Leben Joh. Calvin's, III. 209 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 156. The Character of Servetus.

Servetus--theologian, philosopher, geographer, physician, scientist,

and astrologer--was one of the most remarkable men in the history of

heresy. He was of medium size, thin and pale, like Calvin, his eyes

beaming with intelligence, and an expression of melancholy and

fanaticism. Owing to a physical rupture he was never married. He seems

never to have had any particular friends, and stood isolated and alone.

His mental endowments and acquirements were of a high order, and placed

him far above the heretics of his age and almost on an equality with

the Reformers. [1200] His discoveries have immortalized his name in the

history of science. He knew Latin, Hebrew, and Greek (though Calvin

depreciates his knowledge of Greek), as well as Spanish, French, and

Italian, and was well read in the Bible, the early fathers, and the

schoolmen. He had an original, speculative, and acute mind, a tenacious

memory, ready wit, a fiery imagination, ardent love of learning, and

untiring industry. He anticipated the leading doctrines of Socinianism

and Unitarianism, but in connection with mystic and pantheistic

speculations, which his contemporaries did not understand. He had much

uncommon sense, but little practical common sense. He lacked balance

and soundness. There was a streak of fanaticism in his brain. His

eccentric genius bordered closely on the line of insanity. For

"Great wits are sure to madness near allied,

And thin partitions do their bounds divide."

His style is frequently obscure, inelegant, abrupt, diffuse, and

repetitious. He accumulates arguments to an extent that destroys their

effect. He gives eight arguments to prove that the saints in heaven

pray for us; ten arguments to show that Melanchthon and his friends

were sorcerers, blinded by the devil; twenty arguments against infant

baptism; twenty-five reasons for the necessity of faith before baptism;

and sixty signs of the apocalyptic beast and the reign of Antichrist.

[1201]

In thought and style he was the opposite of the clear-headed,

well-balanced, methodical, logical, and thoroughly sound Calvin, who

never leaves the reader in doubt as to his meaning.

The moral character of Servetus was free from immorality of which his

enemies at first suspected him in the common opinion of the close

connection of heresy with vice. But he was vain, proud, defiant,

quarrelsome, revengeful, irreverent in the use of language, deceitful,

and mendacious. He abused popery and the Reformers with unreasonable

violence. He conformed for years to the Catholic ritual which he

despised as idolatrous. He defended his attendance upon mass by Paul's

example in visiting the temple (Acts 21:26), but afterwards confessed

at Geneva that he had acted under compulsion and sinned from fear of

death. He concealed or denied on oath facts which he had afterwards to

admit. [1202] At Vienne he tried to lie himself out of danger, and

escaped; in Geneva he defied his antagonist and did his best, with the

aid of the Libertines in the Council, to ruin him.

The severest charge against him is blasphemy. Bullinger remarked to a

Pole that if Satan himself should come out of hell, he could use no

more blasphemous language against the Trinity than this Spaniard; and

Peter Martyr, who was present, assented and said that such a living son

of the devil ought not to be tolerated anywhere. We cannot even now

read some of his sentences against the doctrine of the Trinity without

a shudder. Servetus lacked reverence and a decent regard for the most

sacred feelings and convictions of those who differed from him. But

there was a misunderstanding on both sides. He did not mean to

blaspheme the true God in whom he believed himself, but only the three

false and imaginary gods, as he wrongly conceived them to be, while to

all orthodox Christians they were the Father, the Son, and the Holy

Spirit of the one true, eternal, blessed Godhead.

He labored under the fanatical delusion that he was called by

Providence to reform the Church and to restore the Christian religion.

He deemed himself wiser than all the fathers, schoolmen, and reformers.

He supported his delusion by a fanciful interpretation of the last and

darkest book of the Bible.

Calvin and Farel saw, in his refusal to recant, only the obstinacy of

an incorrigible heretic and blasphemer. We must recognize in it the

strength of his conviction. He forgave his enemies; he asked the pardon

even of Calvin. Why should we not forgive him? He had a deeply

religious nature. We must honor his enthusiastic devotion to the

Scriptures and to the person of Christ. From the prayers and

ejaculations inserted in his book, and from his dying cry for mercy, it

is evident that he worshipped Jesus Christ as his Lord and Saviour.

[1203]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1200] Mosheim compares him with Calvin in genius, yet calls his method

"a model of confusion." Staehelin (I. 428) likewise thinks that in

intellectual endowment he was equal (ebenb�rtig) to the greatest men of

his great century, even to Calvin, but that he lacked the chief

qualification of a reformer--moral character. Tollin puts him on a par

with Calvin and Luther. But such exaggeration is refuted by history.

The fruits are the test of a man's true greatness.

[1201] Restit. pp. 564, 570, 586, 664, 700, 718.

[1202] Tollin (Charakterbild, p. 38) defends Servetus's veracity by

resolving his contradictory statements into innocent errors of memory

and comparing them to the variations in the four Gospel narratives!

[1203] Rest. p. 356: "O Christe Jesu, domine Deus noster, adesto, veni,

vide, et pugna pro nobis." P. 576: "O pater omnipotens, pater

misericordiae, eripe nos miseros ab his tenebris mortis, per nomen

filii tui Jesu Christi domini nostri. O fili Dei, Jesu Christe, qui pro

nobis mortuus es, ne moreremur, succurre, ne moriamur," etc. Comp. also

the prayer at the beginning of his book, quoted above in � 146.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 157. Calvin's Defence of the Death Penalty for Heretics.

The public sentiment, Catholic and Protestant, as we have seen,

approved of the traditional doctrine, that obstinate heretics should be

made harmless by death, and continued unchanged down to the close of

the seventeenth century.

But there were exceptions. As in the case of the execution of the

Spanish Priscillianists in the fourth century, the genuine spirit of

Christianity and humanity raised a cry of indignation and horror

through the mouths of St. Ambrose of Milan, and St. Martin of Tours; so

there were not a few in the sixteenth century who protested against the

burning of Servetus. Most of these--Lelio Socino, Renato, Curio,

Biandrata, Alciati, Gribaldo, Gentile, Ochino, and Castellio--were

Italian refugees and free-thinkers who sympathized more or less with

his heretical opinions. It was especially three professors in the

University of Basel Borrhaus (Cellarius), Curio, and Castellio--who

were suspected at Geneva of being followers of Servetus. For the same

reason some Anabaptists, like David Joris, who lived at that time in

Basel under the assumed name of John von Bruck, took his part.

Anonymous libels in prose and verse appeared against Calvin. He was

denounced as a new pope and inquisitor, and Geneva, heretofore an

asylum of religious liberty, as a new Rome, [1204] A hundred Servetuses

seemed to arise from the ashes at Champel; but they were all inferior

men, and did not understand the speculative views of Servetus, who had

exhausted the productive powers of antitrinitarianism. [1205]

Not only dissenters and personal enemies, but also, as Beza admits,

some orthodox and pious people and friends of Calvin were dissatisfied

with the severity of the punishment, and feared, not without reason,

that it would justify and encourage the Romanists in their cruel

persecution of Protestants in France and elsewhere.

Under these circumstances Calvin felt it to be his disagreeable duty to

defend his conduct, and to refute the errors of Servetus. He was urged

by Bullinger to do it. He completed the work in a few months and

published it in Latin and French in the beginning of 1554. [1206] It

had an official character and was signed by all the fifteen ministers

of Geneva. [1207]

Beza aided him in this controversy and undertook to refute the pamphlet

of Bellius, and did so with great ability and eloquence. [1208]

Calvin's work against Servetus gave complete satisfaction to

Melanchthon. It is the strongest refutation of the errors of his

opponent which his age produced, but it is not free from bitterness

against one who, at last, had humbly asked his pardon, and who had been

sent to the judgment seat of God by a violent death. It is impossible

to read without pain the following passage: "Whoever shall now contend

that it is unjust to put heretics and blasphemers to death will

knowingly and willingly incur their very guilt. This is not laid down

on human authority; it is God who speaks and prescribes a perpetual

rule for his Church. It is not in vain that he banishes all those human

affections which soften our hearts; that he commands paternal love and

all the benevolent feelings between brothers, relations, and friends to

cease; in a word, that he almost deprives men of their nature in order

that nothing may hinder their holy zeal. Why is so implacable a

severity exacted but that we may know that God is defrauded of his

honor, unless the piety that is due to him be preferred to all human

duties, and that when his glory is to be asserted, humanity must be

almost obliterated from our memories?"

Calvin's plea for the right and duty of the Christian magistrate to

punish heresy by death, stands or falls with his theocratic theory and

the binding authority of the Mosaic code. His arguments are chiefly

drawn from the Jewish laws against idolatry and blasphemy, and from the

examples of the pious kings of Israel. But his arguments from the New

Testament are failures. He agrees with Augustin in the interpretation

of the parabolic words: "Constrain them to come in" (Luke 14:23).

[1209] But this can only refer to moral and not to physical force, and

would imply a forcible salvation, not destruction. The same parable was

afterwards abused by the French bishops to justify the abominable

dragoonades of Louis XIV. against the Huguenots. Calvin quotes the

passages on the duty of the civil magistrate to use the sword against

evil-doers (Rom. 13:4); the expulsion of the profane traffickers from

the temple (Matt. 21:12); the judgment on Ananias and Sapphira (Acts

5:1 sqq.); the striking of Elymas with blindness (13:11); and the

delivery of Hymenaeus and Alexander to Satan (1 Tim. 1:20). He answers

the objections from the parables of the tares and of the net (Matt.

13:30, 49), and from the wise counsel of Gamaliel (Acts 5:34). But he

cannot get over those passages which contradict his theory, as Christ's

rebuke to John and James for wishing to call down fire from heaven

(Luke 9:54), and to Peter for drawing the sword (Matt. 26:52), his

declaration that his kingdom is not of this world (John 18:36), and his

whole spirit and aim, which is to save and not to destroy.

In his juvenile work on Seneca and in earlier editions of his

Institutes, Calvin had expressed noble sentiments on toleration; [1210]

even as Augustin did in his writings against the Manichaeans, among

whom he himself had lived for nine years; but both changed their views

for the worse in their zeal for orthodoxy.

Calvin's "Defence" did not altogether satisfy even some of his best

friends. Zurkinden, the State Secretary of Bern, wrote him Feb. 10,

1554: "I wish the former part of your book, respecting the right which

the magistrates may have to use the sword in coercing heretics, had not

appeared in your name, but in that of your council, which might have

been left to defend its own act. I do not see how you can find any

favor with men of sedate mind in being the first formally to treat this

subject, which is a hateful one to almost all." [1211] Bullinger

intimated his objections more mildly in a letter of March 26, 1554, in

which he says: "I only fear that your book will not be so acceptable to

many of the more simple-minded persons, who, nevertheless, are attached

both to yourself and to the truth, by reason of its brevity and

consequent obscurity, and the weightiness of the subject. And, indeed,

your style appears somewhat perplexed, especially in this work." Calvin

wrote in reply, April 29, 1554: "I am aware that I have been more

concise than usual in this treatise. However, if I should appear to

have faithfully and honestly defended the true doctrine, it will more

than recompense me for my trouble. But though the candor and justice

which are natural to you, as well as your love towards me, lead you to

judge of me favorably, there are others who assail me harshly as a

master in cruelty and atrocity, for attacking with my pen not only a

dead man, but one who perished by my hands. Some, even not

self-disposed towards me, wish that I had never entered on the subject

of the punishment of heretics, and say that others in the like

situation have held their tongues as the best way of avoiding hatred.

It is well, however, that I have you to share my fault, if fault it be;

for you it was who advised and persuaded me to it. Prepare yourself,

therefore, for the combat." [1212]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1204] The Sicilian, Camillo Renato wrote a long poem, De injusto

Serveti incendio, which is copied by Trechsel, I. 321-28, from the

Simler collection in Z�rich. Several poems came from Italian refugees

in the Grisons.

[1205] On these later Antitrinitarians, see the preceding chapter. They

were deistic; Servetus pantheistic. Trechsel says (I. 269): "In Servet

schien sich die produktive Kraft des Antitrinitarianismus erschoepft zu

haben. Von der Hoehe der Genialitaet und speculativer Weltbetrachtung

sank er zu der Stufe des trivialen ohnmaechtigen Zweifels hinunter, und

die jugendliche Frische und F�lle, die sich in den Ideen des spanischen

Arztes offenbarte, wich einem altklugen, verstaendelnden,

halbaufgeklaerten Wesen, das sich in einer Fluth von subjektiven

Meinungen ohne Halt und innere Bedeutung zu erkennen gab. Nicht wenig

wurde der kirchlichen Parthei und Calvin an ihrer Spitze durch die

geistige Bedeutungslosigkeit ihrer Gegner der Kampf und Widerstand

erleichtert, und doch dauerte er noch dreizehn Jahre und endigte mit

einer aehnlichen gewaltsamen Katastrophe, wie diejenige, mit welcher er

begonnen hatte." He means the execution of Gentile at Bern, 1566.

[1206] Zurkinden in Bern received a copy Feb. 10, 1564; Sulzer in

Basel, Feb. 26.

[1207] Defensio orthodoxae fidei de sacra Trinitate, contra prodigiosos

errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani: ubi ostenditur haereticos jure

gladii co�rcendos esse, et nominatim de homine hoc tam impio juste et

merito sumptum Genevae fuisse supplicium. Per Johannem Calvinum. Oliva

Roberti Stephani (261 pages). It is also quoted under the subtitle:

Fidelis Expositio errorurm Mich. Serveti et brevis eorundem Refutatio,

etc., or simply as Refutatio Errorum M. S. The French version is

entitled: Declaration pour maintenir la vraye foy que tiennent tous

Chr�stiens de la Trinit�des personnes en un seul Dieu. Par Jean Calvin.

Contre les erreurs d�testables de Michel Servet, Espaignol. O�il est

aussi monstr�, qu'il est licite de punir les heretiques; et qu'�bon

droict ce meschant a est�execut�par justice en la ville de Gen�ve (356

pages). The work is accordingly cited under different titles--Defensio,

Refutatio, Declaration. See the bibliographical notices in Calvin's

Opera, VIII. Proleg. xxix-xxxiii.

[1208] See succeeding section.

[1209] In his commentary on that passage (Harm. Evang., Pars. II. 43,

Tholuck's edition), Calvin says: "Non improbo, quod Augustinus hoc

testimonio saepius contra Donatistas usus est, ut probaret, piorum

principum edictis ad veri Dei cultum et fidei unitatem licite cogi

praefractos et rebelles: quia, etsi voluntaria est fides, videmus

tamen, iis mediis utiliter domari eorum pervicaciam, qui non nisi

coacti parent."

[1210] See Henry, II. 121-124; III. 224.

[1211] "Ego non video gratiam aliquam te inire posse apud sedati animi

homines, quod primus omnium ex professo fere hoc argumentum tractandum

susceperis, omnibus ferme invisum." Bibl. Gen. Cod. 114. Trechsel, I.

269; Opera, XV. 22.

[1212] "Alii me durius exagitant, quod saevitiae et atrocitatis sim

magister, quod mortum hominem, qui manibus meis periit, calamo

proscindam. Sunt etiam quidam non malevoli, qui argumentum illud

nunquam me attigisse cuperent, de haereticis puniendis. Dicunt enim

alios omnes, ut invidiam fugerent, data opera tacuisse. Sed bene se

habet, quod te habes culpae socium, si quae tamen culpa est, quia mihi

auctor et hortator fuisti. Vide igitur, ut te ad certamen compares."

Henry, III. 236 and Beilage, p. 87; Opera, XV. 124.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 158. A Plea for Religious Liberty. Castellio and Beza.

Cf. � 126, p. 627, and especially Ferd. Buisson, S�bastien Castellion.

Paris (Hachette et Cie), 1892. 2 vols. 8vo (I. 358-413; II. 1-28).

A month after Calvin's defence of the death penalty of heretics, there

appeared at Basel a pseudonymous book in defence of religious liberty,

dedicated to Duke Christopher of W�rtemberg. [1213] It was edited and

prefaced professedly by Martinus Bellius, whose real name has never

been discovered with certainty. Perhaps it was Martin Borrhaus of

Stuttgart (1499-1564), professor of Hebrew learning in the University

of Basel, and known under the name of "Cellarius," in honor of his

first protector, Simon Cellarius (not to be confounded with Michael

Cellarius of Augsburg). He studied at Heidelberg and Wittenberg,

appeared first among the Zwickau Prophets, and then in connection with

Carlstadt (who ended his days likewise as a professor at Basel). [1214]

The book was misdated from Magdeburg, the stronghold of the orthodox

Lutherans, in opposition to the tyranny of the Imperial Interim. A

French edition appeared, nominally at Rouen, but was probably printed

at Lyons, where Castellio had a brother in the printing business.

[1215]

Calvin at once suspected the true authors, and wrote to Bullinger,

March 28, 1554: "A book has just been clandestinely printed at Basel

under false names, in which Castellio and Curio pretend to prove that

heretics should not be repressed by the sword. Would that the pastors

of that church at length, though late, aroused themselves to prevent

the evil from spreading wider." [1216] A few days afterwards Beza wrote

to Bullinger about the same book, and gave it as his opinion that the

feigned Magdeburg was a city on the Rhine [Basel], and that Castellio

was the real author, who treated the most important articles of faith

as useless or indifferent, and put the Bible on a par with the Ethics

of Aristotle. [1217]

Castellio wrote, however, only a part of the book. He adopted the

pseudonym of Basilius (i.e. Sebastian) Montfortius (i.e. Castellio).

[1218]

The body of this work consists of a collection of testimonies in favor

of religious toleration, extracted from the writings of Luther (his

book, Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, 1523), Brenz (who maintain that heresy

as long as it keeps in the intellectual sphere should be punished only

by the Word of God), Erasmus, Sebastian Frank, several Church Fathers

(Lactantius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustin, in his antiManichaean

writings), Otto Brunsfeld (d. at Bern, 1534), Urbanus Rhegius (Lutheran

theologian, d. 1541), Conrad Pellican (Hebrew professor at Z�rich, d.

1556), Caspar Hedio, Christoph Hoffmann, Georg Kleinberg (a pseudonym)

and even Calvin (in the first edition of his Institutes). This

collection was probably made by Curio.

The epilogue is written by Castellio, and is the most important part of

the book. He examines the different biblical and patristic passages

quoted for and against intolerance. He argues against his opponents

from the multiplicity of sects which disagree on the interpretation of

Scripture, and concludes that, on their principles, they should all be

exterminated except one. He justly charges St. Augustin with

inconsistency in his treatment of the Donatists, for which, he says, he

was punished by the invasion of the Arian Vandals. The lions turned

against those who had unchained them. Persecution breeds Christian

hypocrites in place of open heretics. It provokes counter-persecution,

as was just then seen in England after the accession of Queen Mary,

which caused the flight of English Protestants to Switzerland. In

conclusion he gives an allegorical picture of a journey through the

centuries showing the results of the two conflicting principles of

force and liberty, of intolerance and charity, and leaves the reader to

decide which of the two armies is the army of Jesus Christ.

Castellio anticipated Bayle and Voltaire, or rather the Baptists and

Quakers. He was the champion of religious liberty in the sixteenth

century. He claimed it in the name of the gospel and the Reformation.

It was appropriate that this testimony should come from the Swiss city

of Basel, the home of Erasmus. [1219]

But the leaders of the Swiss Reformation in Geneva and Z�rich could see

in this advocacy of religious freedom only a most dangerous heresy,

which would open the door to all kinds of errors and throw the Church

of Christ into inextricable confusion.

Theodore Beza, the faithful aid of Calvin, took up his pen against the

anonymous sceptics of Basel, and defended the right and duty of the

Christian magistrate to punish heresy. His work appeared in September,

1554; that is, five months after the book of Martinus Bellius. It was

Beza's first published theological treatise (he was then thirty-five

years of age). [1220]

The book has a polemic and an apologetic part. In the former, Beza

tries to refute the principle of toleration; in the latter, to defend

the conduct of Geneva. He contends that the toleration of error is

indifference to truth, and that it destroys all order and discipline in

the Church. Even the enforced unity of the papacy is much better than

anarchy. Heresy is much worse than murder, because it destroys the

soul. The spiritual power has nothing to do with temporal punishments;

but it is the right and duty of the civil government, which is God's

servant, to see to it that he receives his full honor in the community.

Beza appeals to the laws of Moses and the acts of kings Asa and Josiah

against blasphemers and false prophets. All Christian rulers have

punished obstinate heretics. The oecumenical synods (from 325 to 787)

were called and confirmed by emperors who punished the offenders.

Whoever denies to the civil authority the right to restrain and punish

pernicious errors against public worship undermines the authority of

the Bible. He cites in confirmation passages from Luther, Melanchthon,

Urbanus Rhegius, Brenz, Bucer, Capito, Bullinger, Musculus, and the

Church of Geneva. He closes the argument as follows: "The duty of the

civil authority in this matter is hedged about by these three

regulations: (1) It must strictly confine itself to its own sphere, and

not presume to define heresy; that belongs to the Church alone. (2) It

must not pass judgment with regard to persons, advantages, and

circumstances, but with pure regard to the honor of God. (3) It must

proceed after quiet, regular examination of the heresy and mature

consideration of all the circumstances, and inflict such punishment as

will best secure the honor due to the divine Majesty and the peace and

unity of the Church."

This theory, which differs little from the papal theory of intolerance,

except in regard to the definition of heresy and the mode and degree of

punishment, was accepted for a long time in the Reformed Churches with

few dissenting voices; but, fortunately, there was no occasion for

another capital punishment of heresy in the Church of Geneva after the

burning of Servetus.

The evil which Calvin and Beza did was buried with their bones; the

greater good which they did will live on forever. Dr. Willis, though a

decided apologist of Servetus, makes the admission: "Calvin must

nevertheless be thought of as the real herald of modern freedom.

Holding ignorance to be incompatible with the existence of a people at

once religious and free, Calvin had the schoolhouse built beside the

Church, and brought education within the reach of all. Nor did he

overlook the higher culture." [1221]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1213] De haereticis, an sint persequendi, et omnino quomodo sit cum

eis agendum multorum tum veterum tum recentiorum sententiae. Liber hoc

tam turbulento tempore pernecessarius. Magdeburgi [false name for

Basel] per Georgium Rausch, anno Domini 1554, mense Martio (173 pp.,

8vo). The name of the editor who wrote the dedicatory preface is given

as Martinus Bellius (in French, Martin Bellie), which was explained by

the contemporaries as "Guerre �la guerre, guerre �ceux qui usent du

glaive." Buisson, I. 358. A copy which belonged to Boniface Amerbach,

is in the University Library of Basel (II 15).

[1214] See Riggenbach in Herzog,2 III. 166, and Buisson, II. 10 sq.

[1215] Traict�des h�r�tiques, �savoir si on les doit pers�cuter, et

comme on se doit conduire avec eux, selon l'advis, opinion, et sentence

de pleusieurs auteurs tant anciens que modernes: grandement n�cessaire

en ce temps plein de troubles, et tris utile �tous, et principalement

aux Princes et Magistrats, pour cognoistre quel est leur office en une

chose tant difficile et p�rilleuse. Rouen, Pierre Freneau, 1554 (139

pp., 8vo). I copy the title from Buisson, I. 358. He gives a full

analysis and extracts (pp. 360 sqq.). The book is exceedingly rare.

[1216] Opera, XV. 96.

[1217] Opera, XV. 97.

[1218] As Schweizer has shown, see above, p. 627. Buisson ignores

Schweizer, but comes to the same conclusion (I. 404): "Basile est un

�quivalent tr�s plausible de S�bastien, et Montfort�veille une id�e

toute voisine de celle de Castellumou de Chatillon."

[1219] Michelet (Renaissance) says: "Un pauvre prote d'imprimerie,

S�bastien Chateillon, posa pour tout l'avenir la grande loi de la

tol�rance." Buisson has chosen this sentence as the motto of his work.

He calls Castellio (II. 268) "dans le protestantisme fran�ais, le

premier des modernes."

[1220] It was entitled: De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis

libellus, adversus Martini Bellii farraginem et novorum Academicorum

sectam, TheodoroBezaVezelioauctore. Oliva Roberti Stephani, MDLIIII

(271 pp., 8vo). Reprinted in his Tractationes Theologicae, 2d ed.,

1582, pp. 85-169. Nicolas Colladon published a French translation:

Traitt�de l'authorit�du magistrat en la punition des h�r�tiques, etc.,

1560. Buisson, II. 19.

[1221] Servetus and Calvin, p. 614. See below, � 161.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XVII.

CALVIN ABROAD.

Calvin's Correspondence in his Opera, vols. X.-XX.--Henry, III. 395-549

(Calvin's Wirksamkeit nach aussen).--St�helin, I. 505-588; II. 5 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 159. Calvin's Catholicity of Spirit.

Calvin was a Frenchman by birth and education, a Swiss by adoption and

life-work, a cosmopolitan in spirit and aim.

The Church of God was his home, and that Church knows no boundaries of

nationality and language. The world was his parish. Having left the

papacy, he still remained a Catholic in the best sense of that word,

and prayed and labored for the unity of all believers. Like his friend

Melanchthon, he deeply deplored the divisions of Protestantism. To heal

them he was willing to cross ten oceans. Thus he wrote, in reply to

Archbishop Cranmer, who had invited him (March 20, 1552), with

Melanchthon and Bullinger, to a meeting in Lambeth Palace for the

purpose of drawing up a consensus creed for the Reformed Churches.

[1222] After expressing his zeal for the Church universal, he continues

(Oct. 14, 1552):--

"I wish, indeed, it could be brought about that men of learning and

authority from the different churches should meet somewhere, and after

thoroughly discussing the different articles of faith, should, by a

unanimous decision, deliver down to posterity some certain rule of

doctrine. But amongst the chief evils of the age must be reckoned the

marked division between the different churches, insomuch that human

society can hardly be said to be established among us, much less a holy

communion of the members of Christ, which, though all profess it, few

indeed really observe with sincerity. But if the clergy are more

lukewarm than they should be, the fault lies chiefly with their

sovereigns, who are either so involved in their secular affairs, as to

neglect altogether the welfare of the Church, and indeed religion

itself, or so well content to see their own countries at peace as to

care little about others; and thus the members being divided, the body

of the Church lies lacerated.

"As to myself, if I should be thought of any use, I would not, if need

be, object to cross ten seas for such a purpose. If the assisting of

England were alone concerned, that would be motive enough with me. Much

more, therefore, am I of opinion, that I ought to grudge no labor or

trouble, seeing that the object in view is an agreement among the

learned, to be drawn up by the weight of their authority according to

Scripture, in order to unite Churches seated far apart. But my

insignificance makes me hope that I may be spared. I shall have

discharged my part by offering up my prayers for what may have been

done by others. Melanchthon is so far off that it takes some time to

exchange letters. Bullinger has, perhaps, already answered you. I only

wish that I had the power, as I have the inclination, to serve the

cause." [1223]

This noble project was defeated or indefinitely postponed by the death

of Edward VI. and the martyrdom of Cranmer, but it continues to live as

a pium desiderium. In opposition to a mechanical and enforced

uniformity, Calvin suggested the idea of a spiritual unity with

denominational variety, or of one flock in many folds under one

shepherd. [1224] This idea was taken up in our age by the Evangelical

Alliance, the Pan-Anglican Council, the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, the

Pan-Methodist Conference, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the

Christian Endeavor Societies, and similar voluntary associations, which

bring Christians of different churches and nationalities together for

mutual conference and co-operation, without interfering with their

separate organization and denominational preferences.

A lasting monument of Calvin's catholicity is his immense

correspondence, which fills ten quarto volumes of the last edition of

his works, and embraces in all no less than forty-two hundred and

seventy-one letters. He left to Beza a collection of manuscripts with

discretionary power to publish from it what he deemed might promote the

edification of the Church of God. Accordingly, Beza edited the first

collection of Calvin's letters eleven years after his death, at Geneva,

1575. This edition was several times republished, and gradually

enriched by letters discovered in various libraries by Liebe, Mosheim,

Bretschneider, Crottet, Jules Bonnet, Henry, Reuss, and Herminjard.

No theologian has left behind him a correspondence equal in extent,

ability, and interest. In these letters Calvin discusses the

profoundest topics of religion; he gives advice as a faithful pastor;

administers comfort to suffering brethren; pours out his heart to his

friends; solves difficult political questions, as a wise statesman, in

the complications of the little Republic with Bern, Savoy, and France.

Among his correspondents are all the surviving Reformers--Melanchthon,

Bucer, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, Cranmer, Knox, Beza, Peter Martyr, John

� Lasco; crowned heads--Queen Marguerite of Navarre, the Duchess Ren�e

of Ferrara, King Sigismund Augustus of Poland, the Elector Otto

Heinrich of the Palatinate, Duke Christopher of W�rtemberg; statesmen

and high officers, like Duke Somerset, the Protector of England, Prince

Radziwil of Poland, Admiral Coligny of France, the magistrates of

Z�rich, Bern, Basel, St. Gall, and Frankfort; and humble confessors and

martyrs to whom he sent letters of comfort in prison.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1222] See Cranmer's letter of invitation in Calvin's Opera, XIV. 306.

[1223] "Quantum ad me attinet, si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne

decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat. Si de

juvando tantum Angliae regno ageretur, jam mihi ea satis legitima ratio

foret. Nunc cum quaeratur gravis et ad Scripturae normam probe

compositus doctorum hominum consensus, quo ecclesiae procul alioqui

dissitae inter se coalescant, nullis vel laboribus vel molestiis

parcere fas mihi esse arbitror. Verum tenuitatem meam facturam spero,

ut mihi parcatur. Si votis prosequar, quod ab aliis susceptum erit,

partibus meis defunctus ero. D. Philippuslongius obest, quam ut ultro

citroque commeare brevi tempore literae queant. D. Bullingerustibi

forte jam rescripsit. Mihi utinam par studii ardori suppeteret

facultas!" See Opera, XIV. 312 sqq.; Cranmer's Works (Parker Soc. ed.),

vol. II. pp. 430-433.

[1224] John 10:16, mia poimne(not aule), heis poimen The E. V.,

following the Latin Vulgate, wrongly translates, " one fold," which

suggests the Roman idea of one external organization, like the papacy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 160. Geneva an Asylum for Protestants from all Countries.

Calvin gave to Geneva a cosmopolitan character which it retains to this

day. It became, through him, as already stated, the capital of the

Reformed Churches, and was called the Protestant Rome. Philip II. of

Spain wrote to the French king: "Geneva is the source of all misfortune

to France, the refuge of all heretics, the most terrible enemy of Rome.

I am ready at any time, with all the power of my kingdom, to aid in its

destruction." That city was, indeed, in the sixteenth century what

North America has become, on a much larger scale, since the seventeenth

century. It was an asylum for persecuted confessors of the evangelical

faith without distinction of nationality, an impregnable moral fortress

built upon the rock of the Bible. [1225]

Z�rich, Basel, and Strassburg were the only places in that age which

can be compared with Geneva in generous hospitality to strangers.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the city of Geneva numbered

12,000 souls, in 1543 not more than 13,000; but in the seven years from

1543 to 1550 it increased to 20,000, or at the rate of 1000 a year.

This increase was chiefly due to the continuous influx of persecuted

Protestants from France, Italy, and England. Some came also from Spain

and Holland. [1226] Most of them were educated men and not a few of

them distinguished for learning and social position, as Cordier,

Colladon, Etienne (Stephens), Marot, Ochino, Carraccioli, Knox,

Whittingham. They had made sacrifices for the sake of religion, and

thereby acquired the honor of confessors with the spirit of martyrs.

There were special congregations for Italians and Englishmen, who were

provided by the city with suitable places of worship. Calvin treated

the refugees with great hospitality. He secured to them as far as

possible the rights of citizenship. Some of them were even elected to

the Large Council. An insult to a refugee from religious persecution

was as punishable as an insult to a minister of the gospel. The favor

and privileges accorded to these foreigners excited the envy and

jealousy of the native Genevese, who opposed their admission to

citizenship and their right to carry arms. This exclusive nativism gave

Calvin a great deal of trouble.

The little Republic of Geneva was continually exposed to the danger of

absorption by Savoy, France, and Spain, which hated her as the

stronghold of heresy. It was in a large measure due to the wisdom and

firmness of Calvin that in those critical times she preserved her

liberty and independence. He also resisted the repeated attempts of

Bern to interfere with the doctrine and discipline of the Church.

Geneva offers a wonderful aspect in modern history.

Embracing the �lite of three nations, melted into one whole by the

spirit of one man, it continues in the midst of mighty and bitter foes,

without any external support, simply through its moral force. It has no

territory, no army, no treasures, no temporal, no material resources.

There it stands, a city of the spirit, built of Christian stoicism on

the rock of predestination."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1225] Michelet (Histoire de France, vol. X. 414) calls Calvinistic

Geneva "la cite de l'esprit b�tie de stoicisme sur le roc de la

pr�destination," and (in vol. XI. 93) "la fabrique des saints et des

martyrs, la sombre forge o�se forgeaissent les �lus de la mort."

[1226] Fourteen hundred French families settled in Geneva in eight

years, during the reign of Henri II. Gaberel, Histoire de l'�glise de

Gen�ve, I. 346; Michelet, X. 414.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 161. The Academy of Geneva. The High School of Reformed Theology.

I. Calvin: Leges Academiae Genevensis, or L'Ordre du Coll�ge de Gen�ve,

first published in Latin and French. Geneva, 1559. Republished by

Charles Le Fort, professor of law at Geneva, on the third centennial of

the founding of the Academy, June 5, 1859, and in Opera, X. 65-90.

II. Berthault: Mathurin Cordier. L'enseignement chez les premiers

Calvinistes. Paris, 1876 (85 pp.).--Massebieau: Les colloques scolaires

du seizi�me si�cle et leurs auteurs. Paris, 1878.--Amiel et Bouvier:

L'enseignement superieur � Gen�ve depuis la fondation de l'acad�mie

jusqu'� 1876. Gen., 1878. Comp. Henry, III. 386 sqq.; St�helin, II.

487-498; Gaberel, II. 109 sqq.; Buisson: S�b. Castellion (Paris, 1892),

I. 121-151.

One of the most important institutions of Geneva which strengthened the

Reformed religion at home, and extended it abroad, is the Academy

founded by Calvin. Knowing that the ignorance of the Roman priesthood

was a source of much superstition and corruption, he labored zealously

for the education of the ministry and the whole people, and secured the

best teachers, as Cordier, Saunier, Castellio, and Beza.

There was a college in Geneva, since 1428, called after its founder

"College Versonnex," for the training of the clergy; but it had fallen

into decay, and was reorganized after Calvin's return in 1541. Tuition

was free. To avoid overcrowding and to bring the facilities of

education within the reach of every youth, four elementary schools were

established for each of the four quarters of the city. At first a small

fee was charged, but it was abolished by the council after 1571, at the

request of Beza. A much larger attendance was the effect. Calvin is

sometimes called the founder of the common school system.

He wished to establish a full university with four faculties, but the

limited means of the little Republic would not permit that; so he

confined himself to an Academy. He himself collected for it from house

to house 10,024 gold guilders, a very large sum for that time. Several

foreign residents contributed liberally: Carraccioli, 2954; Pierre

Orsi�res, 312; Matthieu de la Roche, 260 guilders. Of the native

Genevese, Bonivard, the old champion of liberty, bequeathed his whole

fortune to the institution. [1227] The Council put up a commodious

building. Calvin drew up the programme of studies and the academic

statutes, which, after careful examination, were unanimously approved.

The Academy was solemnly dedicated on June 5, 1559, in the church of

St. Peter, in the presence of the whole Council, the ministers, and six

hundred students. Calvin invoked the blessing of God upon the

institution, which was to be forever dedicated to science and religion,

and made some short and weighty remarks in French. Michael Roset, the

Secretary of State, read the Confession of Faith and the statutes by

which the institution was to be guided. Theodore Beza was proclaimed

rector and delivered an inaugural address in Latin. Calvin closed with

prayer. Ten able and experienced professors were associated with him

for the different departments of grammar, logic, mathematics, physics,

music, and the ancient languages. Calvin himself was to continue his

theological lectures in connection with Beza.

The statutes which were read on this occasion lay great stress on

French and Latin composition. The Latin authors to be studied are:

Caesar, Livy, Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid; the Greek authors: Herodotus,

Xenophon, Homer, Demosthenes, Plutarch, and Plato. There was also a

special chair of Hebrew which was assigned to Chevalier, a pupil of

Vatable and formerly tutor of Queen Elizabeth. Teachers and pupils had

to sign the Apostles' Creed and a confession of faith, which, however,

wisely omitted the favorite dogma of predestination, and was abolished

in 1576 in order to admit, Papists and Lutherans." Religious exercises

opened and closed the daily instructions.

The success of the school was extraordinary. No less than nine hundred

young men from almost all the nations of Europe were matriculated in

the first year as regular scholars, and almost as many, mostly refugees

from France and England, prepared themselves by the theological

lectures of Calvin for the work of evangelists and teachers in their

native land. Among these was John Knox, the great Reformer of Scotland.

The Academy continued to flourish with some interruptions. It attracted

students from all parts of Protestant Europe, and numbered among its

teachers such men as Casaubon, Spangenheim, Hotoman, Francis and

Alphonse Turretin, Leclerc, Pictet de Saussure, and Charles Bonnet It

was the chief nursery of Protestant ministers and teachers for France,

and the principle school of reformed theology and literary culture for

more than two hundred years. A degree from that Academy was equivalent

in Holland to a degree of any University. Arminius was sent there by

the city of Amsterdam to be educated under Beza (1582), who gave him a

good testimonial, not knowing that he would become the leader of a

mighty reaction against Calvinism.

In 1859 the third centennial of the Academy was celebrated in Geneva.

The evangelistic work of that Academy was resumed and is successfully

carried on in the spirit of Calvin by the Evangelical Society and the

Free Theological Seminary of Geneva, which numbered among its first

teachers Merle D'Aubign�, the distinguished historian of the

Reformation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1227] Senebier, Hist. lit. I. 48 sq.; Henry, III. 386.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 162. Calvin's Influence upon the Reformed Churches of the Continent.

Calvin's moral power extended over all the Reformed Churches, and over

several nationalities--Swiss, French, German, Polish, Bohemian,

Hungarian, Dutch, English, Scotch, and American. His religious

influence upon the Anglo-Saxon race in both continents is greater than

that of any native Englishman, and continues to this day. [1228]

Calvin and France.

Calvin never entered French soil after his settlement in Geneva, and

was not even a citizen of the Republic till 1559; but his heart was

still in France. From the time he wrote that eloquent letter to Francis

the First, in dedicating to him his Institutes, he followed the

Protestant movement with the liveliest interest. He was the head of the

French Reformation and consulted at every step. He was called as pastor

to the first Protestant church in Paris, but declined. He gave to the

Huguenots their creed and form of government. The Gallican Confession

of 1559, also called the Confession of Rochelle, was, in its first

draft, his work, and his pupil Antoine de la Roche Chandieu (also

called Sadeel) brought it into its present enlarged shape, in which it

was presented by Beza to Charles IX. at the Colloquy at Poissy, 1561,

and signed at the Synod of La Rochelle, 1571, by the Queen Jeanne

d'Albret of Navarre; her son, Prince Henry of Navarre (Henry IV.);

Prince Cond�; Prince Louis, Count of Nassau; Admiral Coligny;

Chatillon; several nobles, and all the preachers present. [1229]

The history of French Protestantism down to 1564 is largely identified

with Calvin's name. He induced the Swiss Cantons and the princes of the

Smalkaldian League to intercede for the persecuted Huguenots. He sent

messengers and letters of comfort to the prisoners. "The reverence,"

says one of his biographers, "with which his name was mentioned, the

boundless confidence reposed in his person, the enthusiasm of the

disciples who hastened to him, or came from him, surpasses all the

usual experience of men. Congregations appealed to him for preachers;

princes and noblemen for decisive counsel in political complications;

those in doubt for instruction; the persecuted for protection; the

martyrs for exhortation and encouragement in cheerful suffering and

dying. And as the eye of a father watches over his children, Calvin

watched with untiring care of love over all these relations in their

manifold ramifications, and sought to be the same to the great

community of his brethren in France what he was to the little Republic

at home." [1230]

Roman Catholic writers have made Calvin responsible for the civil wars

in France, as they have made Luther responsible for the Peasants' War

and the Thirty Years' War. But the Reformers preached reformation by

the word and the spirit, not revolution by the sword. The chief cause

of the religious wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was

the intolerance of the papacy. Bossuet charges Calvin with complicity

in the conspiracy of Amboise, which was a political coup d'�tat to

check the power of the Guises (1560). Calvin was indeed informed of the

plot, but warned against it, first privately, then publicly, and

predicted its disastrous failure. He constantly upheld the principle of

obedience to the rightful magistrate, and opposed violent measures.

"The first drop of blood," he said, "which we shed will cause streams

of blood to flow. Let us rather a hundred times perish than bring such

disgrace upon the name of Christianity and the cause of the gospel."

[1231] Afterwards when a war in self-defence was inevitable, he

reluctantly gave his consent, but protested against all excesses.

[1232]

Calvin did not live to weep over the terrible massacre of St.

Bartholomew's day, nor to rejoice over the Edict of Nantes; but his

spirit accompanied "the Church of the Desert," whose motto was the

burning bush (Ex. 3:2); and every Huguenot who left France for the sake

of his faith, carried to his new home in Switzerland, or Brandenburg,

or Holland, or England, or America, a profound reverence for the name

of John Calvin.

Calvin and the Waldenses.

The Waldenses are the only mediaeval sect which survives to this day,

because they progressed with the Reformation and adhered to the Bible

as their rule of faith. [1233] They sent a deputation of two of their

pastors, in 1530, to Oecolampadius at Basel, Bucer and Capito at

Strassburg, and Berthold Haller at Bern, for information concerning the

principles of the Reformation, and made common cause with the

Protestants. [1234] They were distinguished for industry, virtue, and

simple, practical piety, but their heresy attracted the attention of

the authorities. They were cited before the Parliament at Aix, and the

heads of their families were condemned to death in November, 1540. The

execution of the atrocious sentence was delayed till the king's wishes

should be ascertained. In February, 1541, Francis granted them pardon

for the past, but required them to recant within three months. They

adhered to their faith. On the 28th of April, 1545, a fiendish scheme

of butchery--under the direction of Baron d'Opp�de, military governor

of Provence, and Cardinal Tournon, the bigoted and bloodthirsty

archbishop of Lyons--was carried out against these innocent people.

Their chief towns of Merindol and Cabri�res, together with twenty-eight

villages, were destroyed, the women outraged, and about four thousand

persons slaughtered.

Great numbers of the Waldenses sought refuge in flight. The noble and

humane Bishop Sadolet of Carpentras, received them kindly, and

interceded for them with the King. Four thousand went to Geneva. Calvin

started a subscription for them, provided them with lodging and

employment at the fortifications, and made every effort to get the

Swiss Cantons to intercede with King Francis in behalf of those

Waldenses who remained in France. He travelled to Bern, Z�rich, and

Aarau for this purpose. He even intended to go to Paris, but was

prevented by sickness. The Cantons actually wrote to the king in the

strongest terms, but he rebuked them for meddling with his affairs.

Viret visited the French court with letters of recommendation from the

Swiss Cantons and the Smalkaldian League, but likewise without result.

[1235]

Since that time there has been a fraternal intercourse between the

Waldenses and the French Swiss, and many of their most useful pastors

were educated at Geneva and Lausanne. The Waldensian Confession of 1655

is Calvinistic and based upon the Gallican Confession of 1559. [1236]

After many persecutions in their mountain homes in Piedmont, the

Waldenses obtained freedom in 1848, and since that time, and especially

since 1870, they have become zealous evangelists in the united kingdom

of Italy, with a church even in Rome and a flourishing theological

college in Florence.

Calvin in Germany.

Calvin labored three years in Germany; he felt closely allied to the

Lutheran Church; he had the profoundest regard for Luther, in spite of

his infirmities; he was the intimate friend of Melanchthon; he attended

three colloquies between Lutheran and Roman Catholic divines; he once

signed, the Augsburg Confession (1541), as understood, explained, and

improved by its author. He followed the progress of the Reformation in

Germany step by step with the warmest interest, as is shown in his

correspondence and various writings.

He did not labor for a separate Reformed Church in Germany, but for a

free confederation of the Swiss and Lutheran Churches. But the

fanatical bigotry of such men as Flacius, Westphal, and Heshusius

produced a reaction and drove a large part of the moderate or

Melanchthonian Lutherans into the Reformed communion.

The Reformed Church in the Electoral Palatinate was the result of a

co-operation of Melanchthonian and Calvinistic influences under the

pious Elector, Frederick III. The Heidelberg Catechism is the joint

work of Ursinus, a pupil of Melanchthon, and Olevianus, a pupil of

Calvin. It appeared in 1563, three years after Melanchthon's death, one

year before Calvin's death, and became the leading symbol of the

Palatinate and the Reformed Churches in Germany and Holland. [1237] It

gives the best expression to Calvin's views on the Lord's Supper, and

on Election, but wisely omits all reference to an eternal decree of

reprobation and preterition; following in this respect Calvin's own

catechism. The well-known first question is a gem and presents the

bright and comforting side of the doctrine of Election: --

"What is thy only comfort in life and in death?"

"That I, with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own,

but belong to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with His precious

blood has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed me from all the

power of the devil; and so preserves me, that without the will of my

Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things

must work together for my salvation. Wherefore, by His Holy Spirit, He

also assures me of eternal life, and makes me heartily willing and

ready henceforth to live unto Him."

The influence of Calvinism and Presbyterian Church government extended,

indirectly, also over the Lutheran Church and was modified in turn by

Lutheranism.

John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, and ancestor of the Kings of

Prussia and Emperors of Germany, adopted the Calvinistic faith in a

moderate form (1613). [1238] Frederick William, "the great Elector,"

the proper founder of the Prussian Monarchy, secured the legal

recognition of the Reformed Church in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648),

and answered the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) by a

hospitable invitation of the persecuted Huguenots to his country, where

they settled in large numbers. King Frederick William III. introduced,

at the third centenary of the Reformation (1817), the Evangelical Union

of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Prussia; and among the chief

advocates of the union was Schleiermacher, the son of a Calvinistic

minister, the pupil of the Moravians, and the renovator of German

theology, which itself is the result of a commingling of Lutheran and

Reformed elements with a decided advance upon narrow confessionalism.

We may add that, while Calvin's rigorous doctrine of predestination in

its dualistic form will never satisfy the German mind, his doctrine of

the sacraments has made great progress in the Lutheran Church and seems

to offer a solid basis for a satisfactory theory on the mystery of the

spiritual real presence and fruition of Christ in the Holy Supper.

Calvin and Holland.

The Netherlands derived the Reformation first from Germany, and soon

afterwards from Switzerland and France. The Calvinists outnumbered the

Lutherans and Anabaptists, and the Reformed Church became the State

religion in Holland.

Two Augustinian monks were burned for heresy in Brussels in 1523, and

were celebrated by Luther in a stirring hymn as the first evangelical

martyrs. This was the fiery signal of a fearful persecution, which

raged during the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., and resulted at

last in the establishment of national independence and civil and

religious liberty. During that memorable struggle of eighty years, more

Protestants were put to death for their conscientious belief by the

Spaniards than Christians suffered martyrdom under the Roman Emperors

in the first three centuries. William of Orange, the hero of the war

and a liberal Calvinist, was assassinated by an obscure fanatic (1584).

[1239] His second son, Maurice, a strict Calvinist (d. 1625), carried

on and completed the conflict (1609). The horrible barbarities

practised upon men, women, and unborn children, especially during the

governorship of that bloodhound, the Duke of Alva, from 1567-1573, are

almost beyond belief. We quote from the classical history of Motley:

"The number of Netherlanders who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or

buried alive, in obedience to the edicts of Charles V., and for the

offences of reading the Scriptures, of looking askance at a graven

image, or of ridiculing the actual presence of the body and blood of

Christ in a wafer, have been placed as high as one hundred thousand by

distinguished authorities, and have never been put at a lower mark than

fifty thousand. The Venetian envoy Navigero placed the number of

victims in the provinces of Holland and Friesland alone at thirty

thousand, and this in 1546, ten years before the abdication, and five

before the promulgation of the hideous edict of 1550." [1240] Of the

administration of the Duke of Alva, Motley says: "On his journey from

the Netherlands, he is said to have boasted that he had caused eighteen

thousand six hundred inhabitants of the provinces to be executed during

the period of his government. The number of those who had perished by

battle, siege, starvation, and massacre, defied computation ... . After

having accomplished the military enterprise [in Portugal] entrusted to

him, he fell into a lingering fever, at the termination of which he was

so much reduced that he was only kept alive by milk which he drank from

a woman's breast. Such was the gentle second childhood of the man who

had almost literally been drinking blood for seventy years. He died on

the 12th of December, 1582." [1241]

The Bible, with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, was

the spiritual guide of the Protestants, and inspired them with that

heroic courage which triumphed over the despotism of Spain, and raised

Holland to an extraordinary degree of political, commercial, and

literary eminence. [1242]

The Belgic Confession of 1561 was prepared by Guido de Br�s, and

revised by Francis Junius, a student of Calvin. It became the

recognized symbol of the Reformed Churches of Holland and Belgium.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Arminianism rose as a

necessary and wholesome reaction against scholastic Calvinism, but was

defeated in the Synod of Dort, 1619, which adopted the five knotty

canons of unconditional predestination, limited atonement, total

depravity, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of saints. The

Dutch Reformed Church in the United States still holds to the Canons of

Dort. But Arminianism, although. temporarily expelled, was allowed to

return to Holland after the death of Maurice, and gradually pervaded

the national Church. It largely entered the Church of England under the

Stuarts. It assumed new vigor through the great Methodist Revival,

which made it a converting and missionary agency in both hemispheres,

and the most formidable rival of Calvinism in the Anglo-American

Churches. A greater man and more abundant in self-denying and fruitful

apostolic labors has not risen in the Protestant churches since the

death of Calvin than John Wesley, whose "parish was the world." But he

was aided in the great Anglo-American Revival by George Whitefield, who

was both a Calvinist and a true evangelist.

Calvinism emphasizes divine sovereignty and free grace; Arminianism

emphasizes human responsibility. The one restricts the saving grace to

the elect: the other extends it to all men on the condition of faith.

Both are right in what they assert; both are wrong in what they deny.

If one important truth is pressed to the exclusion of another truth of

equal importance, it becomes an error, and loses its hold upon the

conscience.

The Bible gives us a theology which is more human than Calvinism, and

more divine than Arminianism, and more Christian than either of them.

[1243]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1228] It is interesting to read the judgment on Calvin's influence by

a highly accomplished lady, who moved in the best society of England

and the Continent. The Baroness Bunsen, whose husband was successively

Prussian Ambassador in Italy, Switzerland, and England, writes in one

of her letters (Aug. 19, 1865): "I read in the winter a life of Calvin

by Bungener, and a very painful book it is, but the subject is of grand

effect from the display of moral power almost unequalled .... The merit

of Calvin is his own, and he has been the creative instrument of the

strength of England, of Scotland, of the United States of America, not

to speak of the Protestants of France, who have been scattered abroad

to sow good seed in every country into which they fled, as not being

suffered to build up their own."

[1229] Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. I 490-501.

[1230] St�helin, I. 607.

[1231] See Letters in Bonnet, II. 382-391; his letter to Bullinger, May

11, 1560; Basnage, Hist. de la Religion des �gl. r�f. II. 192-200;

Henry, III, 546 sqq.; Dyer, 478 sqq.; St�helin, I. 615-619.

[1232] St�helin, I. 626 sqq.

[1233] The cognate Bohemian Brethren continued under a new name in the

Moravian Brotherhood (Unitas Fratrum, Br�dergemeinde).

[1234] Creeds of Christendom, I. 565 sqq. See also a report of

conversations which Calvin had at Strassburg with Matthias Czervenka, a

Bohemian, about the Bohemian Brethren in Gindely, Quellen zur Gesch.

der b�hmischen Br�der, Wien, 1859, p. 68, quoted in Annal. Calv. XXI.

260 sqq. Calvin objected to the Waldenses at that time, that they

claimed merit and did not leave room for the doctrine of justification

by faith in Christ.

[1235] Baum, Beza, I. 240 sqq.; St�helin, I. 609-512; Dyer, 193-198.

[1236] Creeds of Christendom, III. 767-770 (French and English).

[1237] See Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, vol. I. pp. 529 sqq.

[1238] Creeds of Christendom, I. 555 sqq.

[1239] Motley (The Rise of the Dutch Republic, III. 617) thus

characterizes William of Orange, the Washington of Holland: "He was

more than anything else a religious man. From his trust in God, he ever

derived support and consolation in the darkest hours. Implicitly

relying upon Almighty wisdom and goodness, he looked danger in the face

with a constant smile, and endured incessant labors and trials with a

serenity which seemed more than human. While, however, his soul was

full of piety, it was tolerant of error. Sincerely and deliberately

himself a convert to the Reformed Church, he was ready to extend

freedom of worship to Catholics on the one hand, and to Anabaptists on

the other, for no man ever felt more keenly than he that the Reformer

who becomes in his turn a bigot is doubly odious."

[1240] J. L. Motley, The Rise of the Dutch Republic, vol. I. p. 114.

[1241] Ibid. vol. II. 497. Comp. the description of Alva's cruelties

and the sufferings of the Protestants under his reign of terror on pp.

503 sq., and B. ter Haar's History of the Reformation (German

translation from the Dutch), II. 86 sqq. and 127 sqq.

[1242] Motley, who was a Unitarian, does at least this justice to the

practical effects of Calvinism in Holland and elsewhere: "The doctrine

of predestination, the consciousness of being chosen soldiers of

Christ, inspired those Puritans who founded the commonwealths of

England, of Holland, and of America with a contempt of toil, danger,

and death which enabled them to accomplish things almost supernatural.

No uncouthness of phraseology, no unlovely austerity of deportment,

could, except to vulgar minds, make that sublime enthusiasm ridiculous,

which on either side the ocean ever confronted tyranny with dauntless

front, and welcomed death on battlefield, scaffold, or rack with

perfect composure. The early Puritan at least believed. The very

intensity of his belief made him--all unconsciously to himself, and

narrowed as was his view of his position--the great instrument by which

the widest human liberty was to be gained for all mankind." History of

the United Netherlands, vol. IV. 548.

[1243] See Creeds of Christendom, I. 602 sqq. and 508 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 163. Calvin's Influence upon Great Britain.

Calvin and the Church of England.

Calvin first alludes to the English Reformation in a letter to Farel,

dated March 15, 1539, where he gives the following judgment of Henry

VIII.: "The King is only half wise. He prohibits, under severe

penalties, besides depriving them of the ministry, the priests and

bishops 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

mutilated and tom gospel, and a church stuffed full as yet with many

toys and trifles. Then he does not suffer the Scripture to circulate in

the language of the common people throughout the kingdom, and he has

lately put forth a new verdict by which he warns the people against the

reading of the Bible. He lately burned a worthy and learned man [John

Lambert] for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the bread. Our

friends, however, though sorely hurt by atrocities of this kind, will

not cease to have an eye to the condition of his kingdom."

With the accession of Edward VI. he began to exercise a direct

influence upon the Anglican Reformation. He addressed a long letter to

the Protector Somerset, Oct. 22, 1548, and advised the introduction of

instructive preaching and strict discipline, the abolition of crying

abuses, and the drawing up of a summary of articles of faith, and a

catechism for children. Most of his suggestions were adopted. It is

remarkable that in this letter, as well as that to the king of Poland,

he makes no objection to the Episcopal form of government, nor to a

liturgy. At the request of Archbishop Cranmer, he wrote also letters to

Edward VI., and dedicated to him his Commentary on Isaiah. He sent them

by a private messenger who was introduced to the King by the Duke of

Somerset His correspondence with Cranmer has been already alluded to.

[1244] As a consensus creed of Reformed Churches was found to be

impracticable, he encouraged the archbishop to draw up the articles of

religion for the Church of England.

These articles which appeared first in 1553, and were afterwards

reduced from forty-one to thirty-nine under Queen Elizabeth, in 1563,

show the influence of the Augsburg Confession in the doctrines of the

Trinity, justification and the Church, and the influence of Calvin in

the doctrines of the Eucharist, and of predestination, which, however,

is stated with wisdom and moderation (Art. XVII.), without reprobation

and preterition. [1245]

During the reign of Queen Mary, many leading Protestants fled to

Geneva, and afterwards obtained high positions in the Church under

Queen Elizabeth. Among them were the translators of the Geneva version

of the Bible, which owes much to Calvin and Beza, and continued to be

the most popular English version till the middle of the seventeenth

century, when it was superseded by the version of 1611.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth Calvin's theological influence was

supreme, and continued down to the time of Archbishop Laud. His

Institutes were translated soon after the appearance of the last

edition, and passed through six editions in the life of the translator.

They were the textbook in the universities, and had as great an

authority as the Sentences of Peter the Lombard, or the Summa of Thomas

Aquinas, in the Middle Ages. We have previously quoted the high

tributes of the "judicious" Hooker and Bishop Sanderson to Calvin.

[1246] Heylyn, the admirer and biographer of Archbishop Laud, says that

"Calvin's book of Institutes was for the most part the foundation on

which the young divines of those times did build their studies."

Hardwick, speaking of the latter part of the Elizabethan period,

asserts that "during an interval of nearly thirty years, the more

extreme opinions of the school of Calvin, not excluding his theory of

irrespective reprobation, were predominant in almost every town and

parish." [1247]

The nine Lambeth Articles of 1595, and the Irish Articles of Archbishop

Ussher of 1615, give the strongest symbolical expression to the

Calvinistic doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation, but

lost their authority under the later Stuarts. [1248]

Calvin, however, always maintained his commanding position as a

commentator among the scholars of the Anglican Church. His influence

revived in the evangelical party, and his sense of the absolute

dependence on divine grace for comfort and strength found classical

expression in some of the best hymns of the English language, notably

in Toplady's

"Rock of Ages cleft for me."

Calvin and the Church of Scotland.

Still greater and more lasting was Calvin's influence upon Scotland. It

extended over discipline and church polity as well as doctrine.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, under the sole headship of Christ,

is a daughter of the Reformed Church of Geneva, but has far outgrown

her mother in size and importance, and is, upon the whole, the most

flourishing of the Reformed Churches in Europe, and not surpassed by

any denomination in general intelligence, liberality, and zeal for the

spread of Christianity at home and abroad.

The hero of the Scotch Reformation, though four years older than

Calvin, sat humbly at his feet and became more Calvinistic than Calvin.

John Knox, the Scot of the Scots, as Luther was the German of the

Germans, spent the five years of his exile (1554-1559), during the

reign of the Bloody Mary, mostly at Geneva, and found there "the most

perfect school of Christ that ever was since the days of the Apostles."

[1249] After that model he led the Scotch people, with dauntless

courage and energy, and the perfervidum ingenium Scotorum, from

mediaeval semi-barbarism into the light of modern civilization, and

acquired a name which, next to those of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, is

the greatest in the history of the Protestant Reformation. [1250]

In the seventeenth century Scotch Presbyterianism and English

Puritanism combined to produce a second and more radical reformation,

and formulated the rigorous principles of Puritanic Calvinism in

doctrine, discipline, and worship. The Westminster standards of 1647

have since governed the Presbyterian, and, in part, also the

Congregational or Independent, and the regular Baptist Churches of the

British Empire and the United States, with such modifications and

adaptations as the progress of theology and church life demands. [1251]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1244] � 159, pp. 799 sq.

[1245] See Creeds of Christendom, vol. I. 613 sqq.; 633 sqq.

[1246] See above, p. 286 sq.

[1247] A History of the Articles of Religion (1859), p. 167.

[1248] See above, p. 564, and Creeds of Christendom, I. 658 sqq.

[1249] See above, � 110, p. 518.

[1250] Creeds of Christendom, I. 669-685, and the literature there

given.

[1251] Ibid. I. 685-813.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CLOSING SCENES IN CALVIN'S LIFE.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 164. Calvin's Last Days and Death.

Calvin had labored in Geneva twenty-three years after his second

arrival,--that is, from September, 1541, till May 27, 1564, [1252] --

when he was called to his rest in the prime of manhood and usefulness,

and in full possession of his mental powers; leaving behind him an able

and worthy successor, a model Reformed Church based on the law of Moses

and the gospel of Christ; a flourishing Academy, which was a nursery of

evangelical preachers for Switzerland and France, and survives to this

day; and a library of works from his pen, which after more than three

centuries are still a living and moulding power. [1253]

He continued his labors till the last year, writing, preaching,

lecturing, attending the sessions of the Consistory and the Venerable

Company of pastors, entertaining and counselling strangers from all

parts of the Protestant world, and corresponding in every direction. He

did all this notwithstanding his accumulating physical maladies, as

headaches, asthma, dyspepsia, fever, gravel, and gout, which wore out

his delicate body, but could not break his mighty spirit.

When he was unable to walk he had himself transported to church in a

chair. On the 6th of February, 1564, he preached his last sermon. On

Easter day, the 2d of April, he was for the last time carried to church

and received the sacrament from the hands of Beza.

On the 25th of April, he made his last will and testament. It is a

characteristic document, full of humility and gratitude to God,

acknowledging his own unworthiness, placing his whole confidence in the

free election of grace, and the abounding merits of Christ, laying

aside all controversy, and looking forward to the unity and peace in

heaven. [1254]

Luther, defying all forms of law, begins his last will with the words:,

I am well known in heaven, on earth, and in hell," and closes: "This

wrote the notary of God and the witness of his gospel, Dr. Martin

Luther."

On the 26th of April, Calvin wished to see once more the four Syndics

and all the members of the Little Council in the Council Hall, but the

Senators in consideration of his health offered to come to him. They

proceeded to his house on the 27th in solemn silence. As they were

assembled round him he gathered all his strength and addressed them

without interruption, like a patriarch, thanking them for their

kindness and devotion, asking their pardon for his occasional outbreaks

of violence and wrath, and exhorting them to persevere in the pure

doctrine and discipline of Christ. He moved them to tears. [1255] In

like manner, on the 28th of April, he addressed all the ministers of

Geneva whom he had invited to his house, in words of solemn exhortation

and affectionate regard. He asked their pardon for any failings, and

thanked them for their faithful assistance. He grasped the hands of

every one. "They parted," says Beza, "with heavy hearts and tearful

eyes." [1256]

These were sublime scenes worthily described by an eyewitness, and

represented by the art of a painter. [1257]

On the 19th of May, two days before the pentecostal communion, Calvin

invited the ministers of Geneva to his house and caused himself to be

carried from his bed-chamber into the adjoining dining-room. Here he

said to the company: "This is the last time I shall meet you at

table,"--words that made a sad impression on them. He then offered up a

prayer, took a little food, and conversed as cheerfully as was possible

under the circumstances. Before the repast was quite finished he had

himself carried back to his bed-room, and on taking leave said, with a

smiling countenance: "This wall will not hinder my being present with

you in spirit, though absent in body."

From that time he never rose from his bed, but he continued to dictate

to his secretary.

Farel, then in his eightieth year, came all the way from Neuch�tel to

bid him farewell, although Calvin had written to him not to put himself

to that trouble. He desired to die in his place. Ten days after

Calvin's death, he wrote to Fabri (June 6, 1564): "Oh, why was not I

taken away in his place, while he might have been spared for many years

of health to the service of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ! Thanks

be to Him who gave me the exceeding grace to meet this man and to hold

him against his will in Geneva, where he has labored and accomplished

more than tongue can tell. In the name of God, I then pressed him and

pressed him again to take upon himself a burden which appeared to him

harder than death, so that he at times asked me for God's sake to have

pity on him and to allow him to serve God in a manner which suited his

nature. But when he recognized the will of God, he sacrificed his own

will and accomplished more than was expected from him, and surpassed

not only others, but even himself. Oh, what a glorious course has he

happily finished!

Calvin spent his last days in almost continual prayer, and in

ejaculating comforting sentences of Scripture, mostly from the Psalms.

He suffered at times excruciating pains. He was often heard to exclaim:

"I mourn as a dove" (Isa. 38:14); "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth;

because thou didst it" (Ps. 39:9); "Thou bruisest me, O Lord, but it is

enough for me that it is thy hand." His voice was broken by asthma, but

his eyes remained bright, and his mind clear and strong to the last. He

admitted all who wished to see him, but requested that they should

rather pray for him than speak to him.

On the day of his death he spoke with less difficulty. He fell

peacefully asleep with the setting sun towards eight o'clock, and

entered into the rest of his Lord. "I had just left him," says Beza, "a

little before, and on receiving intimation from the servants,

immediately hastened to him with one of the brethren. We found that he

had already died, and so very calmly, without any convulsion of his

feet or hands, that he did not even fetch a deeper sigh. He had

remained perfectly sensible, and was not entirely deprived of utterance

to his very last breath. Indeed, he looked much more like one sleeping

than dead." [1258]

He had lived fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days.

"Thus," continues Beza, his pupil and friend, "withdrew into heaven, at

the same time with the setting sun, that most brilliant luminary, which

was the lamp of the Church. On the following night and day there was

immense grief and lamentation in the whole city; for the Republic had

lost its wisest citizen, the Church its faithful shepherd, the Academy

an incomparable teacher--all lamented the departure of their common

father and best comforter, next to God. A multitude of citizens

streamed to the death-chamber and could scarcely be separated from the

corpse. Among them were several foreigners, as the distinguished

Ambassador of the Queen of England to France, who had come to Geneva to

make the acquaintance of the celebrated man, and now wished to see his

remains. At first all were admitted; but as the curiosity became

excessive and might have given occasion to calumnies of the enemies,

[1259] his friends deemed it best on the following morning, which was

the Lord's Day, to wrap his body in linen and to enclose it in a wooden

coffin, according to custom. At two o'clock in the afternoon the

remains were carried to the common cemetery on Plain Palais (Planum

Palatium), followed by all the patricians, pastors, professors, and

teachers, and nearly the whole city in sincere mourning." [1260]

Calvin had expressly forbidden all pomp at his funeral and the erection

of any monument over his grave. He wished to be buried, like Moses, out

of the reach of idolatry. This was consistent with his theology, which

humbles man and exalts God.

Beza, however, wrote a suitable epitaph in Latin and French, which he

calls "Parentalia" (i.e. offering at the funeral of a father):--

"Shall honored Calvin to the dust return,

From whom e'en Virtue's self might learn;

Shall he--of falling Rome the greatest dread,

By all the good bewailed, and now (tho' dead)

The terror of the vile--lie in so mean,

So small a tomb, where not his name is seen?

Sweet Modesty, who still by Calvin's side

Walked while he lived, here laid him when he died.

O happy tomb with such a tenant graced!

O envied marble o'er his ashes placed!" [1261]

On the third centennial of the Reformation of Geneva, in 1835, a

splendid memorial medal was struck, which on the one side shows

Calvin's likeness, with his name and dates of birth and death; on the

other, Calvin's pulpit with the verse: "He held fast to the invisible

as if he saw Him" (Heb. 11:27), and the circular inscription: "Broken

in body; Mighty in spirit; Victor by faith; the Reformer of the Church;

the Pastor and Protector of Geneva." [1262]

At the third centenary of his death (1864), his friends in Geneva,

aided by gifts from foreign lands, erected to his memory the "Salle de

la Reformation," a noble building, founded on the principles of the

Evangelical Alliance, and dedicated to the preaching of the pure gospel

and the advocacy of every good cause.

The Reformed Churches of both hemispheres are the monument of Calvin,

more enduring than marble.

Zwingli, of all the Reformers, died first (1531), in the prime of life,

on the battlefield, with the words trembling on his lips: "They can

destroy the body, but not the soul." The star of the Swiss Reformation

went down with him, but only to rise again.

Next followed Luther (1546). He, too, died away from home, at Eisleben,

his birthplace, disgusted with the disorders of the times, weary of the

world and of life, but holding fast to the faith of the gospel,

repeating the precious words: "God so loved the world as to give His

only begotten Son," and, in the language of the 31st Psalm, committing

his spirit into the hands of his faithful God, who had redeemed him.

Melanchthon left this world at his own home (1560), like Calvin; his

last and greatest sorrow was the dissensions in the Church for which he

could shed tears as copious as the waters of the Elbe. He desired to

die that he might be delivered first of all from sin, and also from

"the fury of theologians." He found great comfort in the fifty-third

chapter of Isaiah, and the first, and seventeenth chapters of John; and

when asked by his son-in-law (Peucer), whether he desired anything, he

replied: "Nothing but heaven."

John Knox, the Calvin of Scotland, "who never feared the face of man,"

survived his friend eight years (till 1572), and found his last comfort

likewise in the Psalms, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and the

sacerdotal prayer of our Saviour.

The providence of God, which rules and overrules the movements of

history, raised up worthy successors for the Reformers, who faithfully

preserved and carried forward their work: Bullinger for Zwingli,

Melanchthon for Luther, Beza for Calvin, Melville for Knox.

The extraordinary episcopal power which Calvin, owing to his

extraordinary talents and commanding character, had exercised without

interruption, ceased with his death. Beza was elected his successor on

the 29th of May, 1564, as "mod�rateur" of the ecclesiastical affairs of

Geneva, only for one year. [1263] But he was annually re-elected till

1580, when he felt unequal to carrying any longer the heavy burden of

duty. He was willing, however, to continue the correspondence with

foreign Churches. He divided his untiring activity between Switzerland

and France, and exercised a controlling influence on the progress of

the Reformation in those two countries. He saw a Huguenot prince, Henry

IV., ascend the throne of France; he lamented his abjuration of the

evangelical faith, but rejoiced over the Edict of Nantes which gave

legal existence to Protestantism; and he carried, as the last survivor

of the noble race of the Reformers, the ideas of the Reformation to the

beginning of the seventeenth century. His theology marks the transition

from the broad Calvinism of Calvin to the narrow, scholastic, and

supralapsarian Calvinism of the next generation, which produced the

reaction of Arminianism not only in Holland and England, but also in

France and Geneva.

NOTE. A CALUMNY.

It is painful to notice that sectarian hatred and malice followed the

Reformers to their death-beds. Fanatical Romanists represented

Zwingli's heroic death as a judgment of God, and invented the myths

that Oecolampadius committed suicide and was carried off by the devil;

that Luther hung himself by his handkerchief on the bed-post and

emitted a horrible stench; and that Calvin died in despair.

The myth of Luther's suicide was soberly and malignantly repeated by an

ultramontane priest (Majunke, editor of the "Germania" in Berlin), and

gave rise to a lively controversy in 1890. It must be added, however,

that learned and honest Catholics indignantly protested against the

calumny. (Cf. my article, Did Luther commit Suicide? in "Magazine of

Christian Literature," New York, for December, 1890.)

As to Calvin, it is quite probable that his body, broken by so many

diseases, soon showed signs of decay, which put a stop to the reception

of strangers, and may have given rise to some "calumnies," of which

Beza vaguely speaks. But it was not till fifteen years after his death,

that Bolsec, the Apostate monk, fastened upon Calvin's youth an odious

vice (see above, p. 302), and spread the report that he died of a

terrible malady,--that of being eaten by worms,--with which the just

judgment of God destroys His enemies. He adds that Calvin even invoked

the devils and cursed his studies and writings. ("Il mourut invoquant

les diables ... . M�me il maudissait l'heure qu'il avait jamais �tudi�

et �crit.") But he gives no authority, living or dead.

Audin (Life of Calvin, p. 632, Engl. transl.) repeats this infamous

fabrication with some variations and dramatic embellishments, on the

alleged testimony of an unknown student, who, as he says, sneaked into

the death-chamber, lifted the black cloth from the face of Calvin and

reported: "Calvinus in desperatione furiens vitam obiit turpissimo et

faedissimo morbo quem Deus rebellibus et maledictis comminatus est,

prius excruciatus et consumptus, quod ego verissime attestari audeo,

qui funestum et tragicum illius exitum et exitium his meis oculis

praesens aspexi. Joann. Harennius, apud Pet. Cutzenum!"

We regret to say that a Roman Catholic archbishop, Dr. Spalding, whose

work on the Reformation gives no evidence of any acquaintance with the

writings of Calvin or Beza, retails the slanders of Bolsec and Audin,

and informs American readers that Calvin was "a very Nero" and "a

monster of impurity and iniquity!" (See above, � 110, p. 520.)

Calvin's whole life and writings, his testament, and dying words to the

senators and ministers of Geneva, and the minute account of his death

by his friend Beza, who was with him till his last moments, ought to be

sufficient to convince even the most incredulous who is not incurably

blinded by bigotry.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1252] In the same year (1564) Michelangelo died, and Shakespeare and

Galileo were born. Adding the two years of his first sojourn, from 1536

to 1538, Calvin spent twenty-five years in Geneva.

[1253] He lived, says a Scotch divine, "somewhat less than fifty-five

years, but into that period the work of centuries was compressed."

Tweedie, l.c., p. 57.

[1254] Beza's Vita, in Opera, XXI. pp. 162 sqq. (in Latin); Henry, III.

p. 171 (in French); translation in the next section.

[1255] See, besides the account of Beza, the entry in the R�g. du

Conseil, April 27, Annal. XXI. 815.

[1256] See the Discours d'adieu aux membres du Petit Conseil, and the

Discours d'adieu aux ministres, in his Opera, Tom. IX. 887-890, in

Beza's Vita, and in the appendix to Bonnet's French Letters, Tom. II.

573. Comp. also Henry, III. 582 sqq.; St�helin, II. 462-468.

Translation in the next section.

[1257] Hornung's picture of Calvin on his death-bed, addressing the

senators.

[1258] The original entry in the Register of the Council of Geneva

under date "Samedi, Mai 27, 1564," relative to the death of Calvin, is

this: "Ce iourd'huy environ huit heures du soir le sp. Ian Calvin est

all�a Dieu, sain et entier, graces a Dieu, de sens et entendement."

Under date of "Lundi, Mai 29," the succession of Beza to the place of

Calvin is thus announced in the same Register: "De B�ze succ�de a la

place de Calvin. Il aura la charge quil avoit oultre ce quil a faire

les le�ons. Arreste quon luy baille le gage quavoit M. Calvin. Et au

reste quand se viendra ceans quon se contente quil soit assis au banc

dabas et quon luy presente la maison dudit Sr. Calvin sil y veult

aller." Calvin's Opera, XXI. 815.

[1259] What these calumnies were, is not stated; they were first made

public by Bolsec fifteen years later (see Note below). Francis Junius,

in his animadversions upon Bellarmin, says that he was at Geneva when

Calvin closed his life, but that he never saw, heard, knew, thought, or

even dreamed of the blasphemies and curses which the papists said he

uttered at his death.

[1260] "Pomeridiana vero secundo, sequentibus funus patriciis, una cum

pastoribus professoribusque scholae omnibus totaque paene civitate non

sine uberibus lacrymis prosequente elatus est, communique coemiterio,

quod Planum Palatium vocant, nulla penitus extraordinaria pompa

nulloque addito cippo (sic enim mandarat) conditus, cui propterea, his

versiculis parentavi." Then follow the Parentalia and a description of

Calvin's character and habits. In his French biography, which is dated

Aug. 19, 1564, Beza says that Calvin was buried, comme il l'avait

ordonn�, au cemetiere commun appel�Plein palais sans pompe ni appareil

quelconques-l�o�il gist auiourd'huy attendant la resurrection qu'il

nous a enseig�e et a si constamment esper�e," etc. He closes both

biographies with a list of Calvin's works. Opera, XXI. 47-50.

[1261] In his Latin Vita:-- "Romae ruentis terror ille maximus, Quem

mortuum lugent boni, horrescunt mali, Ipsa a quo potuit virtutem

discere virtus, Cur adeo exiguo ignotoque in cespite clausus Calvinus

lateat, rogas? Calvinum adsidue comitata modestia vivum, Hoc tumulo

manibus condidit ipsa suis. O te beatum cespitem tanto hospite ! O cui

invidere cuncta possint marmora !" There are besides one Hebrew, ten

Greek, two Latin, and three French "Epitaphia in Calvinum scripta," in

Beza's Poemata, 1597, and in Calvin's Opera, vol. XXI. 169, 173-178.

The three French sonnets are from Chandieu, a pupil of Calvin.

[1262] On the obverse: Johannes Calvinus Natus Novioduni, 1509. Mortuus

Genevae, 1564. On the reverse: "Il tint ferme comme s'il eust veu celuy

qui est invisible" (Heb. 11:27). Genev. Jubil Ann., 1835. And the

inscription: "Corpore fractus: Animo potens: Fide victor: Ecclesiae

Reformator: Geneva Pastor et Tutamen." See Henry, III. 592.

[1263] He himself suggested a similar change in an address before the

Venerable Company of Pastors and Professors, June 2, 1604. Annales, in

Opera, XXI. 816.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 165. Calvin's Last Will, and Farewells.

Calvin's Last Will and Testament, April 25, 1564.

In Beza's Vita Calv., French and Latin; in Opera, XX. 298 and XXI. 162.

Henry gives the French text, III., Beilage, 171 sqq. The English

translation is by Henry Beveridge, Edinburgh, 1844.

"In the name of God, Amen. On the 25th day of April, in the year of our

Lord 1564, I, Peter Chenalat, citizen and notary of Geneva, witness and

declare that I was called upon by that admirable man, John Calvin,

minister of the Word of God in this Church of Geneva, and a citizen of

the same State, who, being sick in body, but of sound mind, told me

that it was his intention to execute his testament, and explain the

nature of his last will, and begged me to receive it, and to write it

down as he should rehearse and dictate it with his tongue. This I

declare that I immediately did, writing down word for word as he was

pleased to dictate and rehearse; and that I have in no respect added to

or subtracted from his words, but have followed the form dictated by

himself.

" 'In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, John Calvin, minister of the Word

of God in this Church of Geneva, being afflicted and oppressed with

various diseases, which easily induce me to believe that the Lord God

has deter-mined shortly to call me away out of this world, have

resolved to make my testament, and commit my last will to writing in

the manner following: First of all, I give thanks to God, that taking

mercy on me, whom He had created and placed in this world, He not only

delivered me out of the deep darkness of idolatry in which I was

plunged, that He might bring me into the light of His gospel, and make

me a partaker in the doctrine of salvation, of which I was most

unworthy; and not only, with the same mercy and benignity, kindly and

graciously bore with my faults and my sins, for which, however, I

deserved to be rejected by Him and exterminated, but also vouchsafed me

such clemency and kindness that He has deigned to use my assistance in

preaching and promulgating the truth of His gospel. And I testify and

declare, that it is my intention to spend what yet remains of my life

in the same faith and religion which He has delivered to me by His

gospel; and that I have no other defence or refuge for salvation than

His gratuitous adoption, on which alone my salva-tion depends. With my

whole soul I embrace the mercy which He has exer-cised towards me

through Jesus Christ, atoning for my sins with the merits of His death

and passion, that in this way He might satisfy for all my crimes and

faults, and blot them from His remembrance. I testify also and declare,

that I suppliantly beg of Him, that He may be pleased so to wash and

purify me in the blood which my Sovereign Redeemer has shed for the

sins of the human race, that under His shadow I may be able to stand at

the judgment-seat. I likewise declare, that, according to the measure

of grace and good-ness which the Lord hath employed towards me, I have

endeavored, both in my sermons and also in my writings and

commentaries, to preach His Word purely and chastely, and faithfully to

interpret His sacred Scriptures. I also testify and declare, that, in

all the contentions and disputations in which I have been engaged with

the enemies of the gospel, I have used no impos-tures, no wicked and

sophistical devices, but have acted candidly and sin-cerely in

defending the truth. But, woe is me! my ardor and zeal (if indeed

worthy of the name) have been so careless and languid, that I confess I

have failed innumerable times to execute my office properly, and had

not He, of His boundless goodness, assisted me, all that zeal had been

fleeting and vain. Nay, I even acknowledge, that if the same goodness

had not assisted me, those mental endowments which the Lord bestowed

upon me would, at His judgment-seat, prove me more and more guilty of

sin and sloth. For all these reasons, I testify and declare that I

trust to no other security for my salvation than this, and this only,

viz. that as God is the Father of mercy, He will show Himself such a

Father to me, who acknowledge myself to be a miserable sinner. As to

what remains, I wish that, after my departure out of this life, my body

be committed to the earth (after the form and manner which is used in

this Church and city), till the day of a happy resurrection arrive. As

to the slender patrimony which God has bestowed upon me, and of which I

have determined to dispose in this will and testament, I appoint

Anthony Calvin, my very dear brother, my heir, but in the way of honor

only, giving to him for his own the silver cup which I received as a

present from Varanius, and with which I desire he will be contented.

Everything else belonging to my succession I give him in trust, begging

he will at his death leave it to his children. To the Boys' School I

bequeath out of my succession ten gold pieces; as many to poor

strangers; and as many to Joanna, the daughter of Charles Constans, and

myself by affinity. To Samuel and John, the sons of my brother, I

bequeath, to be paid by him at his death, each four hundred gold

pieces; and to Anna, and Susanna, and Dorothy, his daughters, each

three hundred gold pieces; to David, their brother, in reprehension of

his juvenile levity and petulance, I leave only twenty-five gold

pieces. This is the amount of the whole patrimony and goods which the

Lord has bestowed on me, as far as I can estimate, setting a value both

on my library and mova-bles, and all my domestic utensils, and,

generally, my whole means and effects; but should they produce a larger

sum, I wish the surplus to be divided proportionally among all the sons

and daughters of my brother, not excluding David, if, through the

goodness of God, he shall have returned to good behavior. But should

the whole exceed the above-mentioned sum, I believe it will be no great

matter, especially after my debts are paid, the doing of which I have

carefully committed to my said brother, having confi-dence in his faith

and good-will; for which reason I will and appoint him exe-cutor of

this my testament, and along with him my distinguished friend, Lawrence

Normand, giving power to them to make out an inventory of my effects,

without being obliged to comply with the strict forms of law. I empower

them also to sell my movables, that they may turn them into money, and

execute my will above written, and explained and dictated by me, John

Calvin, on this 25th day of April, in the year 1564.' [1264]

"After I, the aforesaid notary, had written the above testament, the

afore-said John Calvin immediately confirmed it with his usual

subscription and handwriting. On the following day, which was the 26th

day of April of same year, the same distinguished man, Calvin, ordered

me to be sent for, and along with me, Theodore Beza, Raymond Chauvet,

Michael Cop, Lewis Enoch, Nicholas Colladon, and James Bordese,

ministers and preachers of the Word of God in this Church of Geneva,

and likewise the distinguished Henry Scrimger, Professor of Arts, all

citizens of Geneva, and in presence of them all, testified and declared

that he had dictated to me this his instrument in the form above

written; and, at the same time, he ordered me to read it in their

hearing, as having been called for that purpose. This I declare I did

articulately, and with clear voice. And after it was so read, he

testified and dec-lared that it was his last will, which he desired to

be ratified. In testimony and confirmation whereof, he requested them

all to subscribe said testament with their own hands. This was

immediately done by them, month and year above written, at Geneva, in

the street commonly called Canon Street, and at the dwelling-place of

said testator. In faith and testimony of which I have written the

foresaid testament, and subscribed it with my own hand, and sealed it

with the common seal of our supreme magistracy.

"Peter Chenalat."

Calvin's Farewell to the Syndics and Senators of Geneva, April 27,

1564.

From Beza's Vita Calvini. The Latin text in Opera, XXI. 164 sqq. The

French text in vol. IX. 887-890. Comp. R�g. du Conseil, fol. 38, in

Annales, XXI. 815. Translated by Henry Beveridge, Esq., for "The Calvin

Translation Society," 1844 (Calvin's Tracts, vol. I. lxxxix-xciii).

"This testament' being executed, Calvin sent an intimation to the four

syndics, and all the senators, that, before his departure out of life,

he was desirous once more to address them all in the Senate house, to

which he hoped he might be carried on the following day. The senators

replied that they would rather come to him, and begged that he would

consider the state of his health. On the following day, when the whole

Senate had come to him in a body, after mutual salutations, and he had

begged pardon for their having come to him when he ought rather to have

gone to them, first premising that he had long desired this interview

with them, but had put it off until he should have a surer presentiment

of his decease, he proceeded thus:--

" 'Honored Lords,--I thank you exceedingly for having conferred so many

honors on one who plainly deserved nothing of the kind, and for having

so often borne patiently with my very numerous infirmities. This I have

always regarded as the strongest proof of your singular good-will

toward me. And though in the discharge of my duty I have had various

battles to fight, and various insults to endure, because to these every

man, even the most excellent, must be subjected, I know and acknowledge

that none of these things happened through your fault; and I earnestly

entreat you that if, in anything, I have not done as I ought, you will

attribute it to the want of ability rather than of will; for I can

truly declare that I have sincerely studied the interest of your

Republic. Though I have not discharged my duty fully, I have always, to

the best of my ability, consulted for the public good; and did I not

acknowledge that the Lord, on His part, hath sometimes made my labors

profitable, I should lay myself open to a charge of dissimulation. But

this I beg of you, again and again, that you will be pleased to excuse

me for having performed so little in public and in private, compared

with what I ought to have done. I also certainly acknowledge, that on

another account also I am highly indebted to you, viz. your having

borne patiently with my vehemence, which was sometimes carried to

excess; my sins, in this respect, I trust, have been pardoned by God

also. But in regard to the doctrine which I have delivered in your

hearing, I declare that the Word of God, intrusted to me, I have

taught, not rashly nor uncertainly, but purely and sincerely; as well

knowing that His wrath was otherwise impending on my head, as I am

certain that my labors 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 referring to the great blessings with which the Lord had favored

them, 'I,' says he, I am the best witness from how many and how great

dangers the hand of Almighty God hath delivered you. You see, moreover,

what your present situation is. Therefore, whether in prosperity or

adversity, have this, I pray you, always present before your eyes, that

it is He alone who establishes kings and states, and on that account

wishes men to worship Him. Remember how David declared that he had

fallen when he was in the enjoyment of profound peace, and assuredly

would never have risen again, had not God, in His singular goodness,

stretched out His hand to help him. What, then, will be the case with

such diminutive mortals as we are, if it was so with him who was so

strong and powerful? You have need of great humbleness of mind, that

you may walk carefully, setting God always before you, and leaning only

on His protection; assured, as you have often already experienced,

that, by His assistance, you will stand strong, although your safety

and security hang, as it were, by a slender thread. Therefore, if

prosperity is given you, beware, I pray you, of being puffed up as the

wicked are, and rather humbly give thanks to God. But if adversity

befalls you, and death surrounds you on every side, still hope in Him

who even raises the dead. Nay, consider that you are then especially

tried by God, that you may learn more and more to have respect to Him

only. But if you are desirous that this republic may be preserved in

its strength, be particularly on your guard against allowing the sacred

throne on which He hath placed you to be polluted. For He alone is the

supreme God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who will give honor

to those by whom He is honored, but will cast down the despisers.

Worship Him, therefore, according to His precepts; and study this more

and more, for we are always very far from doing what it is our duty to

do. I know the disposition and character of each of you, and I know

that you need exhortation. Even among those who excel, there is not one

who is not deficient in many things. Let every one examine himself, and

wherein he sees himself to be defective, let him ask of the Lord. We

see how much iniquity prevails in the counsels of this world. Some are

cold; others, negligent of the public good, give their whole attention

to their own affairs; others indulge their own private affections;

others use not the excellent gifts of God as is meet; others

ostentatiously display themselves, and, from overweening confidence,

insist that all their opinions shall be approved of by others. I

admonish the old not to envy their younger brethren, whom they may see

adorned, by God's goodness, with some superior gifts. The younger,

again, I admonish to conduct themselves with modesty, keeping far aloof

from all haughtiness of mind. Let no one give disturbance to his

neighbor, but let every one shun deceit and all that bitterness of

feeling which, in the administration of the Republic, has led many away

from the right path. These things you will avoid if each keeps within

his own sphere, and all conduct themselves with good faith in the

department which has been intrusted to them. In the decision of civil

causes let there be no place for partiality, or hatred; let no one

pervert justice by oblique artifices; let no one, by his

recommendations, prevent the laws from having full effect; let no one

depart from what is just and good. Should any one feel tempted by some

sinister affection, let him firmly resist it, having respect to Him

from whom he received his station, and supplicating the assistance of

His Holy Spirit.

" 'Finally, I again entreat you to pardon my infirmities, which I

acknowledge and confess before God and His angels, and also before you,

my much respected lords.'

"Having thus spoken, and prayed to Almighty God that He would crown

them more and more with His gifts, and guide them by His Holy Spirit,

for the safety of the whole Republic, giving his right hand to each, he

left them in sorrow and tears, all feeling as if they were taking a

last farewell of their common parent."

Calvin's Farewell to the Ministers of Geneva, April 28, 1564.

From Beza's Vita Calvini. The Latin text in Opera, XXI. 166 sq.

Translation by Henry Beveridge for "The Calvin Translation Society,"

Edinburgh, 1844 (I. xciii), from the Latin text. There is another

report, in French, by minister Jean Pinaut, dated May 1, which is

fuller as regards Calvin's persecutions, and the confession of his

infirmities, which always displeased him and for which he asks

forgiveness. It also makes grateful mention of Farel, Viret, and Beza,

and an unpleasant allusion to Bern, which always more feared than loved

Calvin. It is printed in Opera, vol. IX. 891, 892, and in the Letters

of John Calvin by Jules Bonnet, transl. by Gilchrist, vol. IV. 372-377.

"On the 28th of April, when all of us in the ministry of Geneva had

gone to him at his request, he said:--

" 'Brethren, after I am dead, persist in this work, and be not

dispirited; for the Lord will save this Republic and Church from the

threats of the enemy. Let dissension be far away from you, and embrace

each other with mutual love. Think again and again what you owe to this

Church in which the Lord hath placed you, and let nothing induce you to

quit it. It will, indeed, be easy for some who are weary of it to slink

away, but they will find, to their experience, that the Lord cannot be

deceived. When I first came to this city, the gospel was, indeed,

preached, but matters were in the greatest confusion, as if

Christianity had consisted in nothing else than the throwing down of

images; and there were not a few wicked men from whom I suffered the

greatest indignities; but the Lord our God so confirmed me, who am by

no means naturally bold (I say what is true), that I succumbed to none

of their attempts. I afterwards returned thither from Strassburg in

obedience to my calling, but with an unwilling mind, because I thought

I should prove unfruitful. For not knowing what the Lord had

determined, I saw nothing before me but numbers of the greatest

difficulties. But proceeding in this work, I at length perceived that

the Lord had truly blessed my labors. Do you also persist in this

vocation, and maintain the established order; at the same time, make it

your endeavor to keep the people in obedience to the doctrine; for

there are some wicked and contumacious persons. Matters, as you see,

are tolerably settled. The more guilty, therefore, will you be before

God, if they go to wreck through your indolence. But I declare,

brethren, that I have lived with you in the closest bonds of true and

sincere affection, and now, in like manner, part from you. But if,

while under this disease, you have experienced any degree of

peevishness from me, I beg your pardon, and heartily thank you, that

when I was sick, you have borne the burden imposed upon you.'

"When he had thus spoken, he shook hands with each of us. We, with most

sorrowful hearts, and certainly not unmoistened eyes, departed from

him."

Beza modestly omits Calvin's reference to himself which is as follows

"Quant � nostre estat interieur, vous avez esleu Monsieur de Beze pour

tenir ma place. Regardez de le soulager, car la charge est grande et a

de la peine, en telle sorte qu'il faudroit qu'il fust accabl� soubs le

fardeau. Mais regardez � le supporter. De luy, ie s�ay qu'il a bon

vouloir et fera ce qu'il pourra." Pinaut's report, in Calv. Opera, IX.

894.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1264] A part of Calvin's furniture belonged to the Republic of Geneva,

as is proved by the inventory preserved in the archives. His books were

purchased after his death by the Council. In spite of his poverty he

could not escape the charge of avarice. See below, p. 838.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 166. Calvin's Personal Character and Habits.

Calvin is one of those characters that command respect and admiration

rather than affection, and forbid familiar approach, but gain upon

closer acquaintance. The better he is known, the more he is admired and

esteemed. Those who judge of his character from his conduct in the case

of Servetus, and of his theology from the "decretum horribile," see the

spots on the sun, but not the sun itself. Taking into account all his

failings, he must be reckoned as one of the greatest and best of men

whom God raised up in the history of Christianity.

He has been called by competent judges of different creeds and schools,

"the theologian" par excellence, "the Aristotle of the Reformation,"

"the Thomas Aquinas of the Reformed Church," "the Lycurgus of a

Christian democracy," "the Pope of Geneva." He has been compared, as a

church ruler, to Gregory VII. and to Innocent III. The sceptical Renan

even, who entirely dissents from his theology, calls him the most

Christian man of his age." Such a combination of theoretic and

practical pre-eminence is without a parallel in history. But he was

also an intolerant inquisitor and persecutor, and his hands are stained

with the blood of a heretic. [1265] Take these characteristics

together, and you have the whole Calvin; omit one or the other of them,

and you do him injustice. He will ever command admiration and even

reverence, but can never be popular among the masses. No pilgrimages

will be made to his grave. The fourth centennial of his birth, in 1909,

is not likely to be celebrated with such enthusiasm as Luther's was in

1883, and Zwingli's in 1884. But the impression he made on the Swiss,

French, Dutch, and especially on the Anglo-Saxon race in Great Britain

and America, can never be erased. [1266]

Calvin's bodily presence, like that of St. Paul, was weak. His earthly

tent scarcely covered his mighty spirit. He was of middle stature, dark

complexion, thin, pale, emaciated, and in feeble health; but he had a

finely chiseled face, a well-formed mouth, pointed beard, black hair, a

prominent nose, a lofty forehead, and flaming eyes which kept their

lustre to the last. He seemed to be all bone and nerve. He looked in

death, Beza says, like one who was asleep. A commanding intellect and

will shone through the frail body. There are several portraits of him;

the best is the oil painting in the University Library of Geneva, which

presents him in academic dress and in the attitude of teaching, with

the mouth open, one hand laid upon the Bible, the other raised. [1267]

He calls himself timid and pusillanimous by nature; but his courage

rose with danger, and his strength was perfected in weakness. He

belonged to that class of persons who dread danger from a distance, but

are fearless in its presence. In his conflict with the Libertines he

did not yield an inch, and more than once exposed his life. He was

plain, orderly and methodical in his habits and tastes, scrupulously

neat in his dress, intemperately temperate, and unreasonably

abstemious. For many years he took only one meal a day, and allowed

himself too little sleep.

Calvin's intellectual endowments were of the highest order and

thoroughly disciplined: a retentive memory, quick perception, acute

understanding, penetrating reason, sound judgment, complete command of

language. He had the classical culture of the Renaissance, without its

pedantry and moral weakness. He made it tributary to theology and

piety. He was not equal to Augustin and Luther as a creative genius and

originator of new ideas, but he surpassed them both and all his

contemporaries as a scholar, as a polished and eloquent writer, as a

systematic and logical thinker, and as an organizer and disciplinarian.

His talents, we may say, rose to the full height of genius. His mind

was cast in the mould of Paul, not in that of John. He had no mystic

vein, and little imagination. He never forgot anything pertaining to

his duty; he recognized persons whom he had but once seen many years

previously. He spoke very much as he wrote, with clearness, precision,

purity, and force, and equally well in Latin and French. He never wrote

a dull line. His judgment was always clear and solid, and so exact,

that, as Beza remarks, it often appeared like prophecy. His advice was

always sound and useful. His eloquence was logic set on fire. But he

lacked the power of illustration, which is often, before a popular

audience, more effective in an orator than the closest argument.

His moral and religious character was grounded in the fear of God,

which is "the beginning of wisdom." Severe against others, he was most

severe against himself. He resembled a Hebrew prophet He may be called

a Christian Elijah. His symbol was a hand offering the sacrifice of a

burning heart to God. The Council of Geneva were impressed with "the

great majesty" of his character. [1268] This significant expression

accounts for his overawing power over his many enemies in Geneva, who

might easily have crushed him at any time. His constant and sole aim

was the glory of God, and the reformation of the Church. In his eyes,

God alone was great, man but a fleeting shadow. Man, he said, must be

nothing, that God in Christ may be everything. He was always guided by

a strict sense of duty, even in the punishment of Servetus. In the

preface to the last edition of his Institutes (1559), he says: "I have

the testimony of my own conscience, of angels, and of God himself, that

since I undertook the office of a teacher in the Church, I have had no

other object in view than to profit the Church by maintaining the pure

doctrine of godliness; yet I suppose there is no man more slandered or

calumniated than myself." [1269]

Riches and honors had no charms for him. He soared far above filthy

lucre and worldly ambition. His only ambition was that pure and holy

ambition to serve God to the best of his ability. He steadily refused

an increase of salary, and frequently also presents of every

description, except for the poor and the refugees, whom he always had

at heart, and aided to the extent of his means. He left only two

hundred and fifty gold crowns, or, if we include the value of his

furniture and library, about three hundred crowns, which he bequeathed

to his younger brother, Antoine, and his children, except ten crowns to

the schools, ten to the hospital for poor refugees, and ten to the

daughter of a cousin. When Cardinal Sadolet passed through Geneva in

disguise (about 1547), he was surprised to find that the Reformer lived

in a plain house instead of an episcopal palace with a retinue of

servants, and himself opened the door. [1270] When Pope Pius IV. heard

of his death he paid him this tribute: "The strength of that heretic

consisted in this,--that money never had the slightest charm for him.

If I had such servants, my dominions would extend from sea to sea." In

this respect all the Reformers were true successors of the Apostles.

They were poor, but made many rich.

Calvin had defects which were partly the shadow of his virtues. He was

passionate, prone to anger, censorious, impatient of contradiction,

intolerant towards Romanists and heretics, somewhat austere and morose,

and not without a trace of vindictiveness. He confessed in a letter to

Bucer, and on his death-bed, that he found it difficult to tame "the

wild beast of his wrath," and he humbly asked forgiveness for his

weakness. He thanked the senators for their patience with his often

"excessive vehemence." His intolerance sprang from the intensity of his

convictions and his zeal for the truth. It unfortunately culminated in

the tragedy of Servetus, which must be deplored and condemned, although

justified by the laws and the public opinion in his age. Tolerance is a

modern virtue.

Calvin used frequently contemptuous and uncharitable language against

his opponents in his polemical writings, which cannot be defended, but

he never condescended to coarse and vulgar abuse, like so many of his

contemporaries. [1271]

He has often been charged with coldness and want of domestic and social

affection, but very unjustly. The chapter on his marriage and home

life, and his letters on the death of his wife and only child show the

contrary. [1272] The charge is a mistaken inference from his gloomy

doctrine of eternal reprobation; but this was repulsive to his own

feelings, else he would not have called it "a horrible decree."

Experience teaches that even at this day the severest Calvinism is not

seldom found connected with a sweet and amiable Christian temper. He

was grave, dignified, and reserved, and kept strangers at a respectful

distance; but he was, as Beza observes, cheerful in society and

tolerant of those vices which spring from the natural infirmity of men.

He treated his friends as his equals, with courtesy and manly

frankness, but also with affectionate kindness. And they all bear

testimony to this fact, and were as true and devoted to him as he was

to them. The French martyrs wrote to him letters of gratitude for

having fortified them to endure prison and torture with patience and

resignation. [1273] "He obtained," says Guizot, "the devoted affection

of the best men and the esteem of all, without ever seeking to please

them." "He possessed," says Tweedie, "the secret and inexplicable power

of binding men to him by ties that nothing but sin or death could

sever. They treasured up every word that dropped from his lips."

Among his most faithful friends were many of the best men and women of

his age, of different character and disposition, such as Farel, Viret,

Beza, Bucer, Grynaeus, Bullinger, Knox, Melanchthon, Queen Marguerite,

and the Duchess Ren�e. His large correspondence is a noble monument to

his heart as well as his intellect, and is a sufficient refutation of

all calumnies. How tender is his reference to his departed friend

Melanchthon, notwithstanding their difference of opinion on

predestination and free-will: "It is to thee, I appeal, who now livest

with Christ in the bosom of God, where thou waitest for us till we be

gathered with thee to a holy rest. A hundred times hast thou said,

when, wearied with thy labors and oppressed by thy troubles, thou

reposedst thy head familiarly on my breast, 'Would that I could die in

this bosom!' Since then I have a thousand times wished that it had

happened to us to be together." How noble is his admonition to

Bullinger, when Luther made his last furious attack upon the Zwinglians

and the Z�richers (1544), not to forget "how great a man Luther is and

by what extraordinary gifts he excels." And how touching is his

farewell letter to his old friend Farel (May 2, 1564): "Farewell, my

best and truest brother! And since it is God's will that you should

survive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, of which, as

it was useful to the Church of God, the fruits await us in heaven.

Pray, do not fatigue yourself on my account. It is with difficulty that

I draw my breath, and I expect that every moment will be my last. It is

enough that I live and die for Christ, who is the reward of his

followers both in life and in death. Again, farewell, with the

brethren."

Calvin has also unjustly been charged with insensibility to the

beauties of nature and art. It is true we seek in vain for specific

allusions to the earthly paradise in which he lived, the lovely shores

of Lake Leman, the murmur of the Rhone, the snowy grandeur of the

monarch of mountains in Chamounix. But the writings of the other

Reformers are equally bare of such allusions, and the beauties of

Switzerland were not properly appreciated till towards the close of the

eighteenth century, when Haller, Goethe, and Schiller directed

attention to them. Calvin, however, had a lively sense of the wonders

of creation and expressed it more than once. "Let us not disdain," he

says, "to receive a pious delight from the works of God, which

everywhere present themselves to view in this very beautiful theatre of

the world"; and he points out that "God has wonderfully adorned heaven

and earth with the utmost possible abundance, variety, and beauty, like

a large and splendid mansion, most exquisitely and copiously furnished,

and exhibited in man the masterpiece of his works by distinguishing him

with such splendid beauty and such numerous and great privileges."

[1274]

He had a taste for music and poetry, like Luther and Zwingli. He

introduced, in Strassburg and Geneva, congregational singing, which he

described as "an excellent method of kindling the heart and making it

burn with great ardor in prayer," and which has ever since been a most

important part of worship in the Reformed Churches. He composed also a

few poetic versifications of Psalms, and a sweet hymn to the Saviour,

to whose service and glory his whole life was consecrated.

NOTE.

Calvin's "Salutation � I�sus Christ" was discovered by Felix Bovet of

Neuch�tel in an old Genevese prayer-book of 1545 (Calvin's Liturgy),

and published, together with eleven other poems (mostly translations of

Psalms), by the Strassburg editors of Calvin's works in 1867. (See vol.

VI. 223 and Prolegg. XVIII. sq.) It reveals a poetic vein and a

devotional fervor and tenderness which one could hardly expect from so

severe a logician and polemic. A German translation was made by Dr. E.

St�helin of Basel, and an English translation by Mrs. Henry B. Smith of

New York, and published in Schaff's Christ in Song, 1868. ("I greet

Thee, who my sure Redeemer art." New York ed. p. 678; London ed. p.

549.) We give it here in the original old French: --

"Ie te salue, mon certain Redempteur,

Ma vraye franc' et mon seul Salvateur,

Qui tant de labeur,

D'ennuys et de douleur

As endur� pour moy:

Oste de noz cueurs

Toutes vaines langueurs,

Fol soucy et esmoy.

"Tu es le Roy misericordieux;

Puissant par tout et regnant en tous lieux;

Vueille donc regner

En nous, et dominer

Sur nous entierement,

Nous illuminer,

Ravyr et nous mener

A ton haut Firmament.

"Tu es la vie par laquelle vivons,

Toute sustanc' et toute forc' avons:

Donne nous confort

Contre la dure mort,

Que ne la craignons point,

Et sans desconfort

La passons d'un cueur fort

Quand ce viendra au point.

"Tu es la vraye et parfaite douceur,

Sans amertume, despit ne rigueur:

Fay nous savourer,

Aymer et adorer,

Ta tresdouce bont�;

Fay nous desirer,

Et tousiours demeurer

En ta douce unit�.

"Nostre esperanc' en autre n'est qu'en toy,

Sur ta promesse est fond�e nostre foy:

Vueilles augmenter,

Ayder et conforter

Nostre espoir tellement,

Que bien surmonter

Nous puissions, et Porter

Tout mal patiemment.

"A toy cryons comme povres banys,

Enfans d'Eve pleins de maux infinis:

A toy souspirons,

Gemissons et plorons,

En la vall�e de plours;

Pardon requerons

Et salut desirons,

Nous confessans pecheurs.

"Or avant donq, nostre Mediateur,

Nostre advocat et propiciateur,

Tourne tes doux yeux

Icy en ces bas lieux,

Et nous vueille monstrer

Le haut Dieu des Dieux,

Et aveq toy '�s cieux

Nous faire tous entrer.

"O debonnair', o pitoyabl' et doux,

Des ames saintes amyabl' espoux,

Seigneur Iesus Christ,

Encontre L'antechrist

Remply de cruaut�,

Donne nous L'esprit

De suyvir ton escript

En vraye verit�."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1265] His enemies in Geneva even started the proverb, if we are to

believe the untrustworthy Baudouin: "Better with Beza in hell than with

Calvin in heaven."

[1266] See the collection of remarkable tributes in � 68, pp. 270 sqq.

I will only add two more from Dr. Baur and Dr. M�hler, the great

historians who were colleagues and antagonists, the champions, indeed,

of opposite creeds in one of the most important theological

controversies of the nineteenth century. The Protestant Baur, in his

Kirchengeschichte (IV. 374), calls Calvin a man "von seltener

Gelehrsamkeit, feiner, vielseitiger Bildung, scharfem, durchdringendem

Geiste, kr�ftigem, aber strengem Charakter, vollkommen w�rdig, den

�brigen H�uptern der Reformation zur Seite zu stehen, an Sch�rfe des

Geistes zum Theil ihnen noch �berlegen." The Roman Catholic M�hler, the

author of the Symbolik, which caused a great sensation in its day, says

in his posthumous Kirchengeschichte (III. 189): "Calvin besass sehr

viel Scharfsinn und eine ausnehmende Beredtsamkeit, und war weit

gelehrter als alle �brigen Reformatoren, so dass Lehren, die bei einem

andern abscheulich gewesen w�ren, aus seinem Munde wohl klingen;" but

he adds: "Zu bedauern aber ist, dass eine so grosse geistige Kraft im

Dienste des Irrthums war."

[1267] It is reproduced on p. 256. Mr. Theophile Dufour, the librarian,

assured me in 1886 that it is the most authentic portrait. Professor

Diodati, a former librarian, wrote to Dr. Henry (III. P. I. Preface, p.

vii): "Quant au portrait que l'on voit �notre biblioth�que, il

atoujours pass�pour authentique et fid�le. Nos peintres s'accordent

�reconna�tre qu'il est bien de l'�poque de Calvin et qu'il est peint

d'une mani�re remarquable. On l'a souvent attribu�a Holbein; mais cette

opinion n'est pas constat�e. Ce que l'on peut dire c'est qu'on y

retrouve sa mani�re. En l'�tudiant attentivement on lui trouve un air

de v�rit�frappant."

[1268] Dieu lui avait imprim�un charact�re d'une si grande majest�."

Registres, June 8, 1564. Grenus, Fragments Biographiques.

[1269] He meets these calumnies in a letter to Christopher Piperin,

Oct. 18, 1555 (Opera, XV. 825 sq.), from which I quote the following

passage: "When I hear that I am everywhere so foully defamed, I have

not such iron nerves as not to be stung with pain. But it is no slight

consolation to me that yourself and many other servants of Christ and

pious worshippers of God sympathize with me in my injuries ... . Why

should I worry honest people with my zeal for vindicating my own

reputation? Did there exist a greater necessity for it, having

entreated their indulgence, I might lay my defence before them. But the

scurrilous calumnies with which malignant men bespatter me are too

unfounded and too silly to require any labored refutation on my part.

The authors of them would tax me with self-importance, and laugh at me

as being too anxiously concerned for my character. One example of these

falsehoods is that immense sum of money which you mention. Everybody

knows how frugally I live in my own house. Every one sees that I am at

no expense for the splendor of my dress. It is well known everywhere

that my only brother is far from being rich, and that the little which

he has, he acquired without any influence of mine. Where, then, was

that hidden treasure dug up? But they openly give out that I have

robbed the poor. Well, this charge also, these most slanderous of men

will be compelled to confess, was falsely got up without any grounds. I

have never had the handling of one farthing of the money which

charitable people have bestowed on the poor. About eight years ago, a

man of rank [David de Busanton, a refugee; see Calvin's letter to

Viret, Aug. 17, 1545, Opera, XII. 139] died in my house who had

deposited upwards of two thousand crowns with me, and without demanding

one scrap of writing to prove the deposit. When I perceived that his

life was in danger, though he wished to intrust that sum to my

management, I refused to undertake so responsible a charge. I

contrived, however, that eight hundred crowns should be sent to

Strassburg to relieve the wants of the exiles. By my advice he chose

men above suspicion to distribute the remainder of the sum. When he

wished to appoint me one of their number, to which the others made no

objections, I refused; but I see what nettles my enemies. As they form

an estimate of my character from their own, they feel convinced that I

must amass wherever I find a good opportunity. But if during my

lifetime I do not escape the reputation of being rich, death will at

last vindicate my character from this imputation." See his testament,

p. 829. Nevertheless Bolsec (ch. XI.) unscrupulously repeated and

exaggerated the calumny about the misappropriation of the legacy of two

thousand crowns. Comp. the editorial notes in Opera, XV. 825 and 826.

[1270] This incident is related by Drelincourt, Bungener, and others,

and believed in Geneva.

[1271] Comp. above, � 118, p. 595.

[1272] � See above, � 92, pp. 413-424.

[1273] Michelet (XI. 95): "Les martyrs, �leur dernier jour, se

faisaient une consolation, un devoir d'�crire �Calvin. Ils n'auraient

pas quitt�la vie sans remercier celui dont la parole les avait men�s

�la mort. Leurs lettres, respectueuses, nobles et douces, arrachant les

larmes."

[1274] Institutes, bk. I. ch. XIV. 20. This whole chapter on Creation

is replete with admiration for the beauty and order of God's universe.

"Were I desirous," he says (21), "of pursuing the subject to its full

extent, there would be no end; since there are as many miracles of

divine power, as many monuments of divine goodness, as many proofs of

divine wisdom as there are species of things in the world, and even as

there are individual things either great or small."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XIX.

THEODORE BEZA.

Sources: Beza's Correspondence, mostly unprinted, but many letters are

given in the Beilagen zu Baum's Theodor Beza (see below), and in

Herminjard's Correspondance des r�formateurs dans les pays de langue

fran�aise (vols. VI. sqq.); and his published works (the list to the

number of ninety is given in the article "B�ze, Th�odore de," in Haag,

La France Protestante, 2d ed. by Bordier, vol. II., cols. 620-540). By

far the most important of them are, his Vita J. Calvini, best ed. in

Calvin's Opera, XXI., and his Tractationes theologicae (1582). He also

had much to do with the Histoire ecclesiastique des �glises reform�es

au royaume de France, best ed. by Baum, Cunitz, and Rodolphe Reuss (the

son of Edward Reuss, the editor of Calvin), Paris, 1883-1889. 3 vols.

small quarto.

Antoine de La Faye: De vita et obitu Th. Bezae, Geneva,

1606.--Friedrich Christoph Schlosser: Leben des Theodor de Beza und des

Peter Martyr Vermili, Heidelberg, 1809.--\*Johann Wilhelm Baum: Theodor

Beza nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt, Leipzig, I. Theil,

1848, with Beilagen to bks. I. and II. II. Theil, 1861, with Anhang die

Beilagen enthaltend, 1862 (unfortunately this masterly book only

extends to 1663).--\*Heinrich Heppe: Theodor Beza. Leben und ausgew�hlte

Schriften, Elberfeld, 1861 (contains the whole life, but is inferior in

style to Baum).--Art. Beza by Bordier in La France Protestante.

Jerome Bolsec: Histoire de la vie, moeurs, doctrine, et d�portements de

Theodore de B�ze, Paris, 1682; republished by an unnamed Roman Catholic

in Geneva, 1836, along with Bolsec's "Life of Calvin," to counteract

the effect of the celebration of the third centennial of the

Reformation. It has no historical value, but is a malignant libel, like

his so-called "Life of Calvin," as this specimen shows: "B�ze, toute so

jeunesse, a �t� un tr�sd�bauch� et dissolu, sodomite, adult�re et

suborneur de femmes mari�es [Bolsec elsewhere asserts that Claudine

Denosse was married when Beza seduced her], larron, trompeur, homicide

de so propre g�niture, tra�tre, vanteur, cause et instigateur d'infinis

meurtres, guerres, invasions, br�lemens de villes, palais et maisons,

de saccagemens de temples, et infinies autres ruines et malheurs (ed.

1835, p. 188).

Much use has been made of the allusions to Beza in Henry M. Baird's

Rise of the Huguenots (New York, 1879), and Huguenots and Henry of

Navarre (1886), also of the article on "B�ze, Theodore de," in Haag, La

France Protestante, mentioned above. See also Principal Cunningham: The

Reformers, Edinburgh, 1862; "Calvin and Beza," pp. 345-413 (theological

and controversial).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 167. Life of Beza to his Conversion.

The history of the Swiss Reformation would not be complete without an

account of Calvin's faithful friend and successor, Theodore Beza, who

carried on his work in Geneva and France to the beginning of the

seventeenth century.

In the ancient duchy of Burgundy is the village of Vezelay. It was once

the scene of a great gathering, for to it in 1146 came Louis VII. and

his vassals, to whom Bernard preached the duty of rescuing the Holy

Sepulchre from the infidels so convincingly, that the king and his

knights then and there took the oath to become crusaders. Four and

forty years later (1190), in the same place, Philip Augustus of France

and Richard the Lionheart of England, under similar pleadings, made the

same vow.

The village clusters around the castle in which, in 1519, lived the

rich Pierre de Besze, [1275] the bailiff of the county, a descendant of

one of the proudest families of the duchy. His wife was Marie

Bourdelot, beloved and renowned for her intelligence and her charities.

They had already two sons and four daughters, when on the 24th of June

in that year, 1519, another son was born who was destined to render the

name illustrious to the end of time. This son was christened Theodore.

Thus the future reformer was of gentle birth -- a fact which was

recognized when in after years he pleaded for the Protestant faith

before kings, and princes, and members of the nobility and of the

fashionable world.

But the providential preparation for the part he was destined to play

extended far beyond the conditions of his birth. Gentle breeding

followed. His mother died when he was not quite three years old, but

already was he a stranger to his father's house; for one of his uncles,

Nicolas de Besze, seigneur de Cette et de Chalonne, and a councillor in

the Parliament of Paris, had taken him with him to Paris and adopted

him, so great was the love he bore him, and when the time came he was

put under the best masters whom money and influence could secure. The

boy was precocious, and his uncle delighted in his progress. One day at

table he entertained a guest from Orleans, who was a member of the

royal council. The conversation turned upon the future of Theodore,

whereupon the friend commended Melchior Wolmar, the famous Greek

scholar at Orleans, who was also the teacher of Calvin, as the best

person to educate the lad. The uncle listened attentively, and sent

Theodore thither and secured him admission into Wolmar's family. This

was in 1528, when Theodore was only nine years old. With Wolmar he

lived till 1535, first at Orleans and then at Bourges, and doubtless

learned much from him. Part of this learning was not at all to the mind

of his father or his uncle Claudius, the Abbot of the Cistercian

monastery of Froimont in the diocese of Beauvais, who, on the death of

his brother Nicolas, on Nov. 29, 1532, had undertaken the pious duty of

superintending the boy's education; for Wolmar, in common with many

sober-minded scholars of that day, had broken with the Roman Church and

taken up the new ideas inculcated by Luther, and which were beginning

to make a stir in France. Indeed, it was his known adherence to these

views which compelled his flight to Germany in the year 1535. Thus the

future reformer, in his tenderest and most susceptible years, had

impressed upon him the doctrine of justification by faith in the

righteousness of Christ, heard much of the corrupt state of the

dominant Church, and was witness to the efforts of that Church to put

to death those who differed from her teaching.

Nothing was further from the mind of the father and uncle, and also

from that of Theodore himself, than that he should be an advocate of

the new views. The career marked out for him was that of law, in which

his uncle Nicolas had been so distinguished. To this end he was sent to

the University of Orleans. Although very young, he attracted attention.

He joined the German nation--for the students in universities then were

divided into factions, according to their ancestry, and Burgundy was

accounted part of Germany--and rapidly became a favorite. But he did

not give himself up to mere good-fellowship. He studied hard, and on

Aug. 11, 1539, attained with honor the degree of licentiate of the law.

His education being thus advanced, Beza, now twenty years old, came to

Paris, there, as his father desired, to prosecute further law studies;

but his reluctance to such a course was pronounced and invincible, so

much so that at length he won his uncle to his side, and was allowed by

his father to pursue those literary studies which afterwards accrued so

richly to the Reformed Church; but at the time he had no inkling of his

subsequent career. By his uncle Claudius' influence the possessor of

two benefices which yielded a handsome income, and enriched further by

his brother's death in 1541, well-introduced and well-connected, a

scholar, a wit, a poet, handsome, affable, amiable, he lived on equal

terms with the best Parisian society, and was one of the acknowledged

leaders. [1276]

That he did not escape contamination he has himself confessed, but that

he sinned grossly he has as plainly denied. [1277] In 1544 he made in

the presence of two friends, Laurent de Normandie and Jean Crespin,

eminent jurists, an irregular alliance with Claudine Denosse, [1278] a

burgher's daughter, and at the time declared that when circumstances

favored he would publicly marry her. His motive in making a secret

marriage was his desire to hold on to his benefices. But he was really

attached to the woman, and was faithful to her, as she was to him; and

there was nothing in their relationship which would have seriously

compromised him with the company in which he lived. The fact that they

lived together happily for forty years shows that they followed the

leading of sincere affection, and not a passing fancy. In 1548 he

published his famous collection of poems--Juvenilia. This gave him the

rank of the first Latin poet of his day, and his ears were full of

praises. He dedicated his book to Wolmar. It did not occur to him that

anybody would ever censure him for his poems, least of all on moral

grounds; but this is precisely what happened. Prurient minds have read

between his lines what he never intended to put there, and imagined

offences of which he was not guilty even in thought. [1279] And what

made the case blacker against him was his subsequent Protestantism.

Because he became a leader of the Reformed Church, free-thinkers and

livers and the adherents of the old faith have brought up against him

the fact that in the days of his worldly and luxurious life he had used

their language, and been as pagan and impure as they.

The book had scarcely begun its career, and the praises had scarcely

begun to be received, ere Beza fell seriously sick. Sobered by his gaze

into the eyes of death, his conscience rebuked him for his duplicity in

receiving ecclesiastical benefices as if he was a faithful son of the

Church, whereas he was at heart a Protestant; for his cowardice in

cloaking his real opinions; for his negligence in not keeping the

promise he had voluntarily made to the woman he had secretly married

four years before; and for the general condition of his private and

public life. The teachings of Wolmar came back to him. This world

seemed very hollow;. its praises and honors very cloying. The call to a

higher, purer, nobler life was heard, and he obeyed; and, although only

convalescent, leaving father and fatherland, riches and honors, he fled

from the city of his triumphs and his trials, and, taking Claudine

Denosse with him, crossed the border into Switzerland, [1280] and on

Oct. 23, 1548, entered the city of Geneva. He was doubtless attracted

thither because his intimate friend Jean Crespin, one of the witnesses

of his secret alliance, was living there, likewise a fugitive for

religion's sake--and there lived John Calvin.

From being the poet of the Renaissance, bright, witty, free, Beza, from

the hour he joined the Reformed Church, became a leader in all its

affairs and one of the chiefs of Protestantism. [1281]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1275] This was the old spelling as appears from Beza's signature. The

modern French spell it B�ze, the English and Germans Beza, which is the

Latin form.

[1276] The Jesuit Maimbourg, a declared enemy, in his Histoire du

Calvinisme (Paris, 1682, 18mo, p. 217), has thus described him at this

time: "Homme bien fait, de belle taille, ayant le visage fort agr�able,

l'air fin et d�licat, et toutes les mani�res d'un homme du monde qui le

faisoient estimer des Grands et surtout des dames, ausquelles il

prenoit grand soin de ne pas d�plaire. Pour l'esprit, on ne peut nier

qu'il ne l'eust tr�s-beau, vif, ais�, subtil, enjo��et poli, ayant pris

peine de le cultiver par l'�tude des belles lettres, et

particuli�rement de la po�sie, o�il excelloit en fran�ois et en latin,

s�achant avec cela un peu de philosophie et de droit qu'il avoit appris

aux �coles d'Orleans." "He was well made, of good size, having a very

agreeable countenance, a refined and delicate air, and the carriage of

a man of the world, who had won the esteem of the great, and especially

of the ladies, whom he took much pains not to displease. It cannot be

denied that he was very attractive, lively, easy, subtle, playful, and

polished, having cultivated his mind by reading literature,

particularly poetry, wherein he himself excelled both in French and

Latin, mingling with it a little philosophy and law which he had taken

in at Orleans."

[1277] Baum, I. 60-63.

[1278] Anciently spelled Desnosze.

[1279] Thus they have taken the characters mentioned in them as actual,

whereas they are purely imaginary.

[1280] He adopted the alias of Thibaud de May. So Heppe, p. 20.

[1281] For having left France because he was a Protestant he was

condemned by the Parliament of Paris to death, and all his property

confiscated to the State (May 31, 1550). By special royal mandate his

property was restored to him in 1564, although he was at the time at

the head of the Reformed Church of France. Cf. Baum, I. 66 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 168. Beza at Lausanne and as a Delegate to the German Princes.

Beza's earliest business after greeting Calvin was to marry in church

Claudine Denosse. Then he looked around for an occupation that would

support him. He considered for a time going into the printing business

with Crespin, but on his return from a visit to Wolmar at T�bingen he

yielded to the persuasions of Pierre Viret, who entertained him as he

was passing through Lausanne, and on Nov. 6, 1549, became professor of

Greek in the Academy there, [1282] and entered upon a course of great

usefulness and influence. He showed his zeal as well as biblical

learning by giving public lectures on the Epistle to the Romans and on

the Epistles of Peter; and that he still was a poet, and that, too, of

the Renaissance, only in the religious and not usual sense (of

regeneration and not renascence), by continuing the translation of the

Psalms begun by Clement Marot, and by publishing a drama, classically

constructed, on the Sacrifice of Abraham. [1283] All these performances

were in the French language.

While at Lausanne, Beza was taken sick with the plague. Calvin in

writing of this to Farel, under date of June 15, 1551, thus pays his

tribute to the character of Beza: "I would not be a man if I did not

return his love who loves me more than a brother and reveres me as a

father: but I am still more concerned at the loss the church would

suffer if in the midst of his career he should be suddenly removed by

death, for I saw in him a man whose lovely spirit, noble, pure manners,

and open-mindedness endeared him to all the righteous. I hope, however,

that he will be given back to us in answer to our prayers."

Lausanne was then governed by Bern. It was therefore particularly

interested in Bern's alliance with Geneva, and when this was renewed in

1557, after it had been suffered to lapse a year, Beza considered it

very providential. In the spring of that year, 1557, persecution broke

out against the neighboring Waldenses, and on nomination of the German

clergy and with special permission of Bern, Beza, and Farel began a

series of visits through Switzerland and upon the Protestant princes of

Germany in the interest of the persecuted. The desire was to stir up

the Protestants to unite in an appeal to the king of France. Beza was

then thirty-eight years old and had been for eight years a successful

teacher and preacher. He was therefore of mature years and established

reputation. But what rendered the choice of him still more an ideal one

was his aristocratic bearing and his familiarity with court life. He

accepted his appointment with alacrity, as a man enters upon a course

particularly suited to him. Thus Beza started out upon the first of the

many journeys which furnished such unique and invaluable services to

the cause of French Protestantism.

The two delegates made a favorable impression everywhere. The Lutherans

especially were pleased with them, although at first inclined to look

askance upon two such avowed admirers and followers of Calvin. But when

they had returned full of rejoicing that they had accomplished their

design and that the Protestant princes and cantons would unite in

petitioning the French king on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses,

albeit to small effect, alas! they were called to sharp account because

at G�ppingen on May 14, 1557, they had defined their doctrine of the

Eucharist in terms which emphasized the points of agreement and passed

by those of disagreement. [1284] This was in the interest of peace.

They rightly felt that it would be shameful to shipwreck their

Christian attempt upon the shoals of barren controversy. But the odium

theologicum compelled their home friends to charge them with disloyalty

to the truth! Calvin, however, raised his voice in defence of Beza's

conduct, and the strife of tongues quickly ceased,

How little Beza had suffered in general reputation, or at least in the

eyes of the powerful Calvin, was almost immediately manifest.

On the evening of the 4th of September, 1557, three or four hundred

Protestants in Paris who had quietly assembled in the Rue St. Jaques to

celebrate the Lord's Supper were set upon by a mob, and amid insults

and injuries haled to prison. Their fate deeply stirred the Protestants

everywhere, and Beza with some companions was again sent to the

Protestant cantons and princes to invoke their aid as before, and

because the princes were quicker at promising than performance he went

again the next year. But Henry II. paid small attention to the note of

the Protestant powers.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1282] His colleague in the Latin chair was the distinguished Fran�ois

Hotman (Latin, Hotomanus), who afterwards founded a law school at

Geneva.

[1283] It was performed by the students of the Lausanne academy and

elsewhere and translated into several languages.

[1284] See the text in Baum, I. 405-409.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 169. Beza at Geneva.

In 1558 the city of Geneva established a high school, and Beza was

called, at Calvin's suggestion, to the Greek professorship. Much to the

regret of Viret and his colleagues, he accepted. He was influenced by

various considerations, the chief of which were his desire to escape

from the trouble caused by Viret's establishment of the Genevan church

discipline, which had led to a falling out with Bern, Lausanne's ruler,

and from the embarrassments still resulting from his well-meant

attempts at union among the Protestants, and probably still more by his

desire to labor at the side of Calvin, whom he so greatly revered and

whose doctrines he so vigorously and honestly defended. He was

honorably dismissed to Geneva and warmly commended to the confidence of

the brethren there. When on June 5, 1559, the Academy was opened, he

was installed as rector. Thus, in his fortieth year, he entered upon

his final place of residence and upon his final labors. Henceforward he

was inseparable from the work of Calvin, and however far and frequently

he might go from Geneva, it was there that he left his heart.

On Calvin's nomination, Beza was admitted to citizenship at Geneva, and

shortly afterwards (March 17, 1559) he succeeded to the pastorate of

one of the city churches. [1285] But each new labor imposed upon him

only demonstrated his capacity and zeal. The Academy and the

congregation flourished under his assiduous care, and Calvin found his

new ally simply invaluable. There was soon a fresh call upon his

diplomacy. Anne Du Bourg, president of the Parliament of Paris, boldly

avowed his Protestantism before Henry II., and was arrested. When the

news reached Calvin, he despatched Beza to the Elector Palatine,

Frederick III., to interest this powerful prince. The result of his

mission was a call on Du Bourg from the Elector to become professor of

law in his university at Heidelberg. But the intervention availed

nothing. Du Bourg was tried, and executed Dec. 23, 1559.

Shortly after his return, Beza was sent forth again, July 20, 1560. The

occasion was, however, quite different. The Prince de Cond�, shorn of

his power by the Guises, had fled to N�rac. He desired to attach to the

Protestant party his brother, Antoine de Bourbon-Vend�me, king of

Navarre. Calvin had already, by letter, made some impression on the

irresolute and fickle king, but Cond� induced his brother to send for

Beza, who, with his eloquence and his courtly bearing, quite captivated

the king, who declared that he would never hear the mass again, but

would do all he could to advance the Protestant cause. His zeal was,

however, of very short duration; for no sooner did his brother, the

cardinal of Bourbon, arrive, than he and his queen, Jeanne d'Albret,

who afterwards was a sincere convert to Protestantism, heard mass in

the convent of the Cordeliers at N�rac. Beza, seeing that Antoine would

not hold out, but was certain to fall into the power of the Catholic

party, quietly left him, Oct. 17, and after many dangers reached Geneva

early in November. The journey had taken three weeks, and had, for the

most part, to be performed at night. [1286]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1285] Pierre Viret had followed him to Geneva, Jan. 13, 1559, and was

one of his colleagues in ecclesiastical service.

[1286] Baum, II. 122. Unfortunately Beza's account of it is lost.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 170. Beza at the Colloquy of Poissy. [1287]

Beza was now considered by all the French Reformed as their most

distinguished orator, and next to Calvin their most celebrated

theologian. This commanding position he had attained by many able

services. When, therefore, the queen-mother Catherine determined to

hold a discussion between the French prelates and the most learned

Protestant ministers, the Parisian pastors, seconded by the Prince of

Cond�, the Admiral Coligny, and the king of Navarre, implored Beza to

come, and to him was committed the leadership. At first he declined.

But in answer to renewed and more urgent appeals he came, and on Aug.

22, 1561, he was again in Paris, for the first time since his

precipitate flight, in October, 1548--thirteen years before. The

preliminary meeting was in the famous ch�teau of St. Germain-en-Laye,

on the Seine, a few miles below Paris. There, on Aug. 23, he made his

appearance. On the evening of that day he was summoned to the

apartments of the king of Navarre, and in the presence of the

queen-mother and other persons of the highest rank, he had his first

encounter in debate with Cardinal Lorraine. The subject was

transubstantiation. The Cardinal was no match for Beza, and after a

weak defence, yielded the floor, saying that the doctrine should not

stand in the way of a reconciliation. On Tuesday, Sept. 9, 1561, the

parties to the Colloquy assembled in the nuns' refectory at Poissy,

some three miles away. It was soon evident that there was not to be any

real debate. The Catholic party had all the advantages and acted as

sole judges. [1288] It was a foregone conclusion that the verdict was

to be given to the Catholic party, whatever the arguments might be.

Nevertheless, Beza and his associates went through the form of a

debate, and courageously held their ground. In characteristic fashion

they first knelt, and Beza prayed, commencing his prayer with the

confession of sins used in the Genevan liturgy of Calvin. He then

addressed the assembly upon the points of agreement and of disagreement

between them, and was quietly listened to until he made the assertion

that the Body of Christ was as far removed from the bread of the

Eucharist as the heavens are from the earth. Then the prelates broke

out with the cry "Blasphemavit! blasphemavit!" ("he has blasphemed"),

and for a while there was much confusion. Beza had followed the

obnoxious expression with a remark which was intended to break its

force, affirming the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist; but

the noise had prevented its being heard. Instead, however, of yielding

to the clamor the queen-mother insisted that Beza should be heard out,

and he finished his speech. The Huguenots claimed the victory, but the

Roman Catholics spread the story that they had been easily and

decidedly beaten. The prelates requested the points in writing, and it

was not till Sept. 16 that they made a reply. The Cardinal of Lorraine

was the spokesman. No opportunity was given the Protestants to rejoin,

as they were ready to do at once.

On Sept. 24 a third conference was held, but in the small chamber of

the prioress, not in the large refectory, and a fourth in the same

place on Sept. 26. But the Colloquy had degenerated into a rambling

debate, and its utterly unprofitable character was manifest to all. The

queen-mother did, it is true, flatter herself that there might be an

agreement, and zealously labored to produce it. But in vain. Her

expectation really showed how shallow were her religious ideas.

Beza stayed at St. Germain until the beginning of November, [1289] and

then, worn out, and threatened with a serious illness, he sought rest

in Paris. There he had a visit from his oldest step-brother, and also a

pressing and affectionate letter from his father, who had learned to

what honor his son had come, forgave him for his persistence in heresy,

and expressed a great desire to see him. Beza started for Vezelay, but

on the way met a courier with the intelligence that the Protestants

required his instant attendance to help them at a crisis in their

affairs, because acts of violence against them had taken place in all

parts of France. And Beza, ever subordinating private to public duties,

turned back to Paris, and no further opportunity of seeing his father

ever came to him. [1290]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1287] Baum, II. 168-419, Heppe, 104-148, Baird (Rise of the

Huguenots), I. 493-577, give full, accurate, and interesting accounts

of the famous Colloquy of Poissy, to which the reader is referred. Only

the briefest mention can be made in this place.

[1288] The entirely proper request of the Protestants that the bishops

should not be at the same time parties and judges, that the questions

in debate should be decided solely by the Word of God in the originals,

and that the minutes should not be accepted unless signed by the

secretary on each side, had been refused. With studied indignity the

Protestant ministers, who numbered twelve, all distinguished men, were

required to appear as culprits brought to the bar, for they were

separated by a railing from the prelates and courtiers.

[1289] His leave of absence from Geneva had been much extended in

answer to the request of the king of Navarre, Cond�, and Coligny.

Heppe, 161.

[1290] Cf. the touching account of these events in Heppe, 158-61.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 171. Beza as the Counsellor of the Huguenot Leaders,

On the 20th of December an assembly of notables, including

representatives from each of the parliaments, the princes of the blood,

and members of the Council, had been called to suggest some decree of

at least a provisional nature upon the religious question. It was

January, 1562, before it convened. It enacted on Jan. 17 the famous law

known as the "Edict of January," whereby the Huguenots were recognized

as having certain rights, chief of which was that of assembling for

worship by day outside of the walled cities. [1291] The churches which

they had seized were, however, not restored to them, and they were

forbidden to build others.

Beza counselled the Protestants to accept the edict, although it gave

them very much less than their rights; and they obeyed.

On Jan. 27, 1562, he was again at St. Germain by command of Catherine,

to argue with Catholic theologians upon the use of images and the

worship of saints. As before, the gulf between Protestants and Roman

Catholics stood revealed, and the conference did no good except to show

that the Protestants had some reason, at all events, for their

opinions. Yet they did entertain hopes of maintaining the peace, when

the news that on March 1 the Duke of Guise had massacred hundreds of

defenceless Protestants, in a barn at Vassy, while engaged in peaceful

worship, spread consternation far and wide. The court was then at

Monceaux, and there Beza appeared as deputy of the Protestants of Paris

to demand of the king of Navarre punishment for this odious violation

of the Edict of January. The queen-mother received the demand

graciously and promised compliance, but the king responded roughly and

laid all the blame on the Protestants, who, he declared, had excited

the attack by throwing stones at the Duke of Guise. "Well then," said

Beza, "he should have punished only those who did the throwing." And

then he added these memorable words: "Sire, it is in truth the lot of

the Church of God, in whose name I am speaking, to endure blows, and

not to strike them. But also may it please you to remember that it is

an anvil that has worn out many hammers." [1292]

Civil war now broke out, Cond� on one side and the Guises on the other;

and Beza, although so unwilling, was fairly involved in it.

In a lull in the strife the third national Synod of the Reformed Church

was held at Orleans on April 25. Beza was present, and his translation

of the Psalms was sung upon the streets.

On May 20, 1562, the Prince of Cond� sent a memorable answer to the

petition of the Guises that King Charles would take active measures to

extirpate heresy in his domains. The reply was really the work of Beza,

and is a masterpiece of argument and eloquence. [1293]

The necessity of securing allies induced Cond� to send Beza to Germany

and Switzerland. He went first to Strassburg, then to Basel, and at

length on Friday, Sept. 4, he arrived at Geneva. How earnest must have

been the conversations between him and Calvin! How glad must his many

friends have been to welcome back home the leader of French

Protestantism!

Beza resumed his former mode of life. Two weeks passed and he had just

begun to feel himself able in peace to carry out his plans for the

Academy and the Genevan churches, when a messenger riding post haste

from D'Andelot, a brother of Coligny, and his fellow-deputy to the

German princes, announced the fresh outbreak of trouble in France. Beza

was at first inclined to stay at home, mistrusting the necessity of his

presence among the Huguenot troops, but Calvin urged him to go, and so

he went, and for the next seven months Beza was with the Huguenot army.

He acted as almoner and treasurer. He followed Cond� to the battle of

Dreux, Dec. 19, 1562, at which Cond� was taken prisoner. It was made a

matter of reproach that he took an active part in the battle. He did

indeed ride in the front rank, but he denied that he struck a blow. He

was in citizen's dress. He then retired to Normandy with Coligny. The

expected help from England did not arrive, and it was determined to

send him to London. So utterly sick was Beza of the military life that

he seriously meditated going directly back to Geneva from London. But

the Pacification Edict of March 12, 1563 freed Cond� and ended

hostilities, and Beza did not make his contemplated English journey.

This unexpected turn in his affairs was brought about by an untoward

event. On the 18th of February, 1563, the Duke of Guise was

assassinated by a poor fanatical Huguenot wretch, who, under torture,

accused Beza of having instigated him by promising him Paradise and a

high place among the saints if he died for his deed. [1294] The calumny

was afterwards denied by the man who had made it, but Beza considered

himself obligated to make a formal reply. He called upon all who had

heard him to declare if he had ever favored any other than strictly

legal measures against the late Duke. And as for his alleged promise,

he said that he was too good a Bible student to declare that any one

could win Paradise by works. [1295]

Peace having come, Beza was at liberty to return home. But his heart

was heavy because the affairs in France were in a very unsatisfactory

condition. Still, there was nothing to be accomplished by staying, and

so, loaded down with thanks and praises from the leading Huguenots for

his invaluable services in the field, in the camp, at the

council-board, and in the religious assembly, surrounded with the

leaders of the Huguenot army and the preachers and nobles, amid shouts

and sighs, Beza, on Tuesday, March 30, 1563, took his departure from

Orleans. On the Sunday before, he had preached his farewell sermon, in

which he expressed his disappointment that the Edict of Pacification

had brought the Huguenots so little advantage. [1296]

On his way back he passed through Vezelay. His father was dead, but

there must have been many associations of childhood which endeared the

place to him. Here he learned that his wife was safe at Strassburg with

Cond�'s mother-in-law. Bending his steps thither, he rejoined her, and

together they made the journey home, where they arrived May 5, 1563.

[1297]

As they journeyed they knew that they were in perpetual danger, but

they did not know that some of their enemies were looking for them to

turn towards the Netherlands. But so it was. In June of that year a

rumor was circulated at Brussels that there had been a quarrel between

him and Calvin, and that in consequence he would not return to Geneva.

Margaret of Parma, then regent of the Netherlands, thought to do a

splendid deed, and gave orders that if he entered her domains he was to

be taken, dead or alive, and offered to his capturer or murderer a

thousand florins. But there having been no such break, Beza, on the

contrary, took the shortest practicable route for Geneva. [1298]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1291] Baird, I. 576 sq.

[1292] "Sire, c'est �la v�rite �l'�glise de Dieu, au nom de laquelle je

parle, d'endurer les coups, et non pas d'en donner. Mais aussi vous

plaira-t-il vous souvenir que c'est une enclume qui a us�beaucoup de

marteaux." Quoted by Baird, II. 28; cf. Baum, II. 567.

[1293] Baum says (II. 642) that it may with confidence be placed by the

side of the most eloquent passages in the French language. A judgment

in which Baird (II. 61) concurs.

[1294] Baum, II. 711; Baird, II. 105.

[1295] Baum, II. 714, 716.

[1296] Baird, II. 118.

[1297] Referring to the entire length of service in France, Baum says:

"He had been absent twenty-two months. They were the most wearing and

the most perilous, but also the most fruitful months in his life. For

during that period, with courage and dignity, with learning and

acuteness, with penetrating force and charming eloquence, he had before

princes and kings preached the gospel and exalted the name of Christ.

As the representation in this work has abundantly shown, amid incessant

struggles against unwise or faint-hearted friends, against cunning and

powerful foes, many times and most daringly at the risk of his own

life, he developed into one of the great leaders who procured for the

Reformed Church of France its soul-liberty, which, though, it is true,

less than it claimed should have been given, was still secured to it by

law." With these words Baum (II. 731) closes his authoritative but,

alas, unfinished work upon Beza.

[1298] Baird, II. 388. In the regent's proclamation, Beza was described

as "homme de mo�enne stature, ayant barbe �demy blanche, et le visage

hault et large."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 172. Beza as the Successor of Calvin, down to 1586.

Beza received his warmest welcome from Calvin, who was already under

the shadow of death. There was no one else whom the great Reformer

could so confidentially take into his counsels. And as the time of his

departure drew near, he relied more and more upon him. Their friendship

was based upon respect and affection and was never disturbed. The

relation of the two men resembled that between Zwingli and Bullinger,

and was most useful to the Church.

It was of course perfectly understood by Beza that he was to be

Calvin's successor, so the year which passed before Calvin died was a

year of preparation for the new duties. At last the time came, and

Calvin passed away. Beza conducted the funeral, and shortly after wrote

his classical life of his patron, friend, and predecessor. The city

Council elected him Calvin's successor; the Venerable Company of

Pastors, as the presbytery of Geneva called itself, elected him their

moderator, and continued him in this office till 1580, when he

compelled them to allow him to retire. So he continued Calvin's

leadership in city and church affairs. He preached and lectured to the

students. He received the fugitives from France, and the visitors from

other lands. He gave his advice and opinion upon the innumerable things

which turned up daily. He conducted an enormous correspondence. And

every now and then he had to enter the field of controversy and repel

"heretics," like Ochino and Castellio, or Lutherans like Andre� and

Selnecker.

Nor could this leadership have fallen into better hands. For Beza,

although inferior to Calvin in theological acquirements and acumen, was

his superior in knowledge and experience of court life and in grace of

manner. He was eminently fitted to be the host of the Protestant

scholars and martyrs, who flocked or fled to Geneva from every quarter.

And so the theological school became under him the most famous of its

kind in the world, and the little republican city was the virtual

capital of Continental Protestantism.

Incessantly occupied as he was by public affairs, but bearing his

burdens with courage and faith, he was suddenly called upon to transact

delicate business of a private nature. In 1568 the plague entered

Geneva and carried off his stepbrother Nicolas, [1299] who had

succeeded his father as bailiff of Vezelay, joined the Huguenots, and

come as a fugitive to Geneva with his wife, Perrette Tribol�, when

Vezelay fell into Roman Catholic hands. He had been only a few days in

the city when he died. Beza felt it incumbent upon him to go to

Burgundy to see whether he could not save at least a part of their

inheritance for his two nephews; and this errand, after a great deal of

trouble, he accomplished successfully.

In 1571, after an absence of some eight years, he was again summoned to

France, this time by Coligny and the young Prince de B�arn, to attend

the seventh national Synod of the Reformed Church of France convened in

La Rochelle. The Venerable Company of Pastors would not part with him

without a protest, but yielded to the express wish of the Syndics of

the Republic. Beza himself was reluctant to go, and indeed had declined

a previous summons; but the crisis demanded an authoritative expression

of the views of the Swiss Churches upon the proposed reforms in the

discipline of the Church, and so he went. The Synod lasted from the 2d

to the 17th of April. He was elected its moderator. A revised

Confession of Faith was drawn up, and a vigorous reply made to the

demand for increased authority on the part of the temporal chiefs. On

his way back to Geneva he took part in another Synod, held at Nismes,

and was specially charged with the refutation of the opponents to the

established discipline.

On St. Bartholomew's Day, Sunday, Aug. 24, 1572, very many Protestants

were murdered in Paris, and for days thereafter the shocking scenes

were repeated in different parts of France. [1300] On the 1st of

September the first company of fugitives, many covered with wounds,

made their appearance in Geneva. A day of fasting and prayer was

ordered, and Beza exhorted his Swiss hearers to stand firm and to

provide all needed help to their stricken brethren. Four thousand

livres were collected in Geneva, and the wants of the crowd of

sufferers attended to. [1301]

In 1574 Beza met Henry of Cond� by appointment at Strassburg, and

successfully undertook the negotiations which resulted in enlisting

John Casimir to come with an army to the succor of the Huguenots.

But Beza's advice was not always considered prudent by the city

authorities, who were more alive than he to the great risk the city ran

of reprisals in view of its connivance with the Huguenot schemes. Thus

in December of this year, 1574, Beza countenanced a bootless military

errand in the direction of M�con and Ch�lons, and the magistrates

gently but firmly called him to account, and plainly told him that he

should never act so imprudently. [1302]

On Nov. 26, 1580, the Peace of Fleix brought rest to France for a

little while. Beza showed his courage and fidelity on this occasion by

writing to King Henry of Navarre, the Protestant leader, a letter in

which he candidly informed the king that he himself and his court stood

in great need of reformation. It is proof of the respect in which the

Reformer was held that the king received the rebuke in good part, and

of the king's light-mindedness that he did not attempt to reform.

[1303]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1299] Also called by some Pierre.

[1300] The whole number of the massacred is reckoned at about thirty

thousand. Cf. the monograph of Henri Bordier: La Saint-Barth�lemy et la

critique moderne. Gen�ve et Paris, 1879.

[1301] Heppe, 248. Baird (II. 554-557) gives a graphic description of

the Genevese reception of the refugees, and shows how the city for so

doing was exposed to the revenge of Charles IX.

[1302] Baird, The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre, I. 50.

[1303] Baird, ibid., I. 213 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 173. Beza's Conferences with Lutherans.

The bitter theological differences between Lutherans and Reformed had

long been a disgrace. Beza had in early life brought trouble upon

himself by minimizing them, as has been already recorded, but in his

old age he made one more attempt in that direction. Count Frederick of

W�rtemberg, a Lutheran, but a friend of reconciliation, called a

conference at Montb�liard (or M�mpelgard), a city in his domains in

which were many Huguenot refugees, with whom the Lutherans would not

fraternize. The count hoped that a discussion between the leaders on

each side might mend matters. Accordingly he summoned Beza, confessedly

the ablest advocate of Calvinism. On March 21, 1586, the conference

began. It took a wide range, but it came to nothing. Beza showed a

beautiful spirit of reconciliation, but Andre�, the Lutheran leader, in

the very spirit of Luther at the famous Marburg Conference with Zwingli

(1529), refused to take Beza's hand at parting (March 29). [1304]

Undeterred by this churlish exhibition, Beza left Montb�liard for

another round of visits at German courts to induce them once more to

plead with France to restore to the Huguenots their rights of worship;

for the Peace of Fleix had not lasted long, and the country was again

plunged in the horrors of civil war.

The Montb�liard conference had an echo in the Bern Colloquy of April

15th to 18th, 1588, in which Samuel Huber, pastor at Burgdorf, near

Bern, a notorious polemic, and Beza represented the Lutheran and

Calvinist parties, respectively. It was Beza's last appearance as a

public disputant, and the hero of so many wordy battles once more

carried off the palm. In fact, his victory was much more decided than

such contests were usually, as the Bernese Council condemned Huber for

misrepresenting Beza and Calvinism generally.

Beza had left Geneva with a heavy heart because his faithful and

beloved wife had just died, and when he returned, found public matters

in a critical condition. The magistrates had felt themselves compelled

by the condition of the city treasury to economize as much as possible,

and had dismissed two of the professors in the Academy, and

contemplated other retrenchments. Beza knew that these extreme measures

would probably greatly cripple the institution, and so, old as he was,

and failing, he undertook to give a full course of instruction in

theology, and persisted with it for more than two years,--until the

crisis was passed,--and for these extra duties he would not take any

compensation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1304] Heppe, 287. Although he could not greet him as a brother, Andre�

kindly offered to give Beza his hand as a mark of his love toward him

as a fellow-man--a condescension which not unnaturally the Genevese

reformer at once declined. Baird, ibid., I. 401.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 174. Beza and Henry IV.

In the course of his long life Beza had few joys, aside from the

abiding one of his religion, and many sorrows. His heart was bound up

with the fortunes of the Reformed Church in France, and they were

usually bad. Still he took courage every time a little improvement was

noticeable. Much hope had he cherished in consequence of the accession

of Henry of Navarre (1589), because he was a Protestant. But early in

the summer of 1593, the news reached Geneva that the king, upon whom

religion and morality sat very lightly, in the interests of peace and

national prosperity, was determined to abjure the Protestant faith.

Alas for all their hopes! Beza was greatly moved, and addressed the

monarch a letter in which he set forth the eternal consequences of the

change the king was about to make. [1305] He felt assured, however,

that Henry would be delivered from the machinations of his and their

enemies, and not take the fatal step. But ere Beza's letter reached him

the deed was done. In the ancient abbey church at St. Denis on the

morning of Sunday, July 25, 1593, King Henry of Navarre, the son of

Jeanne d'Albret, the only Huguenot who ever sat upon the throne of

France, abjured his faith, and took a solemn oath to protect the Roman

Catholic, and Apostolic religion.

Beza was deeply grieved at this apostasy. But when he learned that the

king favored his old co-religionists in many ways, and especially, when

in 1598, he published the Edict of Nantes, which put the Protestants on

a nearly common footing with the Roman Catholics in France, Beza took a

more hopeful view of the king's condition. In 1599 the king, in the

course of a war with Charles Emmanuel, approached near Geneva. The city

saw in this a chance to obtain from the king the promise of his

protection, especially against the Duke of Savoy, who had built a fort

called St. Catherine, quite near Geneva. To effect this the city sent a

delegation headed by Beza, and the interview between the monarch and

the reformer was honorable to both. The king gladly gave his promise,

and the next year the fort was destroyed. He also came to Geneva and

received its hospitality.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1305] See the letter in Heppe, 294-299.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 175. Beza's Last Days.

Beza's life was now drawing to its close. The weight of years had

become a grievous burden. His bodily powers gradually deserted him. He

partially lost his hearing. His memory became so enfeebled that the

past only remained to him, while recent events made no lasting

impression. It was the breaking up of an extraordinarily vigorous

constitution, which had so supported him for sixty-five years that he

had scarcely known what it was to be sick. Then he took the prudent

course of giving up one by one the duties which he had so long

discharged. In 1586 he was excused from preaching daily, and henceforth

till 1600 preached only on Sunday. In 1598 he retired from active duty

in the Academy, and sold his library, giving part of the proceeds,

which were considerable, to his wife, and part to the poor. In 1600 he

rendered his last public services in the Academy, and preached his last

sermon--the only one preached in the seventeenth, by a reformer of the

sixteenth, century. [1306]

Occasionally something of the old wit flashed forth. As when he made

his reply to the silly rumor that he had yielded to the argumentation

of Fran�ois de Sales and had gone over to Rome. The facts are these:

Fran�ois came to Geneva in 1597 with the express purpose of converting

Beza. He was then thirty years old, very zealous, very skilful, and in

many other cases had been successful. But he met his match in the old

Reformer, who however listened to him courteously. What argument failed

to accomplish, the priest thought money might do, and so he offered

Beza in the name of the pope a yearly pension of four thousand gold

crowns and a sum equal to twice as much as the value of all his

personal effects! This brought matters to a climax, and Beza dismissed

him with the polite but sarcastic and decisive rebuke, "Go, sir; I am

too old and too deaf to be able to hear such words." [1307]

But from some quarter the report got abroad that Beza had yielded. This

was added to as it passed along until it was confidently asserted that

Beza and many other former Genevan Protestants were on their way to

Rome to enter the papal fold. Their very route was told, and on an

evening in the middle of September, 1597, the faithful people of Siena

waited by the gate of their city to receive the great leader! But for

some reason he did not come. Then it was said that he was dead; but

that ere he died he had made his peace with the Church and had received

extreme unction.

When the friends of Beza heard these idle tales, they merely smiled.

But Beza concluded to give convincing proof of two facts: first, that

he was not dead, and second, that he was still a Protestant of the

straitest Calvinistic school; and so quite in the old manner he nailed

the lie by a biting epigram.

When in 1600 Fran�ois would hold a public discussion with the Genevans,

Beza, knowing how unprofitable such discussions were, forbade it.

Whereupon it was given out that the Reformers were afraid to meet their

opponents!

Another flare of the old flame of poetry was occasioned by the visit

from King Henry IV., already alluded to. It was a poem of six stanzas,

Ad inclytum Franciae et Navarrae regem Henricum IV. ("to the renowned

King of France and Navarre, Henry IV.") "It was his last, his swan

song." [1308]

Wearied by the vigils of a perilous and exciting time, Beza had long

anxiously looked for his final rest. He had fought a good fight and had

kept the faith and was ready to receive his crown. On Sunday, Oct. 13,

1605, he died.

In his will [1309] Beza ordered his burial to be in the common cemetery

of Plain Palais, where Calvin was buried, and near the remains of his

wife. But in consequence of a Savoyard threat to carry off his body to

Rome, by order of the magistrates, he was buried in the cloister of the

cathedral of St. Peter, in the city of Geneva.

Of the six great Continental Reformers,--Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli,

Bullinger, Calvin, and Beza,--Beza was the most finished gentleman,

according to the highest standard of his time. He was not lacking in

energy, nor was he always mild. But he was able to hold court with

courtiers, be a wit with wits, and show classical learning equal to

that of the best scholars of his age. Yet with him the means were only

valued because they reached an end, and the great end he had ever in

mind was the conservation of the Reformed Church of Geneva and France.

His public life was an extraordinary one. Like the Apostle Paul he

could say that he had been "in journeyings often, in perils of rivers,

in perils of robbers, in perils from my own countrymen, in perils in

the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren;

in labor and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in

fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things that are

without, there is that which presseth upon me daily, anxiety for all

the churches" (2 Cor. 11:26-28). It was indeed a brilliant service

which this versatile man rendered. Under his watchful care the city of

Geneva enjoyed peace and prosperity, the Academy flourished and its

students went everywhere preaching the Word, while the Reformed Church

of France was built up by him. Calvin lived again and in some respects

lived a bolder life in his pupil and friend.

It is pleasant to get glimpses of Beza's home life. Men like him are

seldom able to enjoy their homes. But Beza had for forty years the love

and devotion of the wife of his youth. They had no children, but his

fatherly heart may have found some expression in adopting his wife's

niece Genevieve Denosse, whom he educated with great care, and also in

his parental solicitude for his brother's children. It is perhaps to be

taken as indicative of the domestic character of the man that, on the

advice of friends, within a year after his wife died (1589), he married

Catherine del Piano, a widow of a Genevese. He also adopted her

grand-daughter. It is probable that he always lived in some state; at

all events his will proves that he had considerable property.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1306] Heppe, 307.

[1307] Ibid. 314.

[1308] Heppe, 310.

[1309] Given at length in a German translation by Heppe, 304-306.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 176. Beza's Writings.

Beza's name will ever be most honorably associated with biblical

learning. Indeed, to many students his services in this department will

constitute his only claim to notice. Every one who knows anything of

the uncial manuscripts of the Greek New Testament has heard of the

Codex Bezae, or of the history of the printed text of the New Testament

has heard of Beza's editions and of his Latin translation with notes.

The Codex Bezae, known as D in the list of the uncials, also as Codex

Cantabrigiensis, is a manuscript of the Gospels and Acts, originally

also of the Catholic Epistles, dating from the sixth century. [1310]

Its transcriber would seem to have been a Gaul, ignorant of Greek. Beza

procured it from the monastery of St. Irenaeus, at Lyons, when the city

was sacked by Des Adrets, in 1562, but did not use it in his edition of

the Greek Testament, because it departed so widely from the other

manuscripts, which departures are often supported by the ancient Latin

and Syriac versions. He presented it to the University of Cambridge in

1581, and it is now shown in the library among the great treasures.

Beza was also the possessor of an uncial manuscript of the Pauline

Epistles, also dating from the sixth century. How he got hold of it is

unknown. He merely says (Preface to his 3d ed. of the N. T., 1582) that

it had been found at Clermont, near Beauvais, France. It may have been

another fortune of war. After his death it was sold, and ultimately

came into the Royal (now the National) Library in Paris, and there it

is preserved. [1311] Beza made some use of it. Both these manuscripts

were accompanied by a Latin version of extreme antiquity.

Among the eminent editors of the Greek New Testament, Beza deserves

prominent mention. He put forth four folio editions of Stephen's Greek

text; viz. 1565, 1582, 1589, with a Latin version, the Latin Vulgate,

and Annotations. He issued also several octavo editions with his Latin

version, and brief marginal notes (1565, 1567, 1580, 1590, 1604).

[1312]

What especially interests the English Bible student is the close

connection he had with the Authorized Version. Not only were his

editions in the hands of King James' revisers, but his Latin version

with its notes was constantly used by them. He had already influenced

the authors of the Genevan version (1557 and 1560), as was of course

inevitable, and this version influenced the Authorized. As Beza was

undoubtedly the best Continental exegete of the closing part of the

sixteenth century, this influence of his Latin version and notes was on

the whole beneficial. But then it must be confessed that he was also

responsible for many errors of reading and rendering in the Authorized

Version. [1313]

Beza was the chief theologian of the Reformed Church after Calvin.

Principal Cunningham has shown [1314] the part Beza played in bringing

about the transition from the original Calvinism to the scholastic

form, hard and mechanical, and so unconsciously preparing the way for

the great reaction from Calvinism, viz. Arminianism; for Arminius had

been a student in the Genevan Academy under Beza. Beza drew up in the

form of a chart a curious scheme of a system of theology, and he

published it in his Tractationes (mentioned below) along with a

commentary, Summa totius Christianismi sive descriptio et distributio

causarum salutis electorum et exitii reproborum, ex sacris literis

collecta et explicata, pp. 170 sqq. Heppe reprints the chart.

The chief work published by Beza, though not acknowledged by him, is

the famous and invaluable Histoire eccl�siastique des �glises R�form�es

au royaume de France, originally issued at Antwerp in 1580, 3 vols.

8vo. The best edition of which is that by Baum (d. 1881), Cunitz (d.

1886), and Rodolphe Reuss, Paris, 1883-89, 3 vols. small quarto. It is

well known to scholars that the first four books are in a great degree

composed of extracts from contemporaneous works, especially the

Histoire des Martyrs by Crespin, and the Histoire de l'estat de France,

attributed to Regnier de la Planc�e, but no indication is given whence

the extracts are taken. This defect in modern eyes is removed in the

edition spoken of. The genesis of the work seems to be this, that Beza

received reports from all parts of France in reply to the Synod's

recommendation that the churches write their histories for the benefit

of posterity, that he arranged these, and inserted much

autobiographical matter, but as he had to employ unknown persons to

assist him, he modestly refused to put his name to the book.

Beza's "Life of Calvin" was written in French, and immediately

translated by himself into Latin (Geneva, 1565). It is the invaluable,

accurate, and sympathetic picture of the great Reformer by one who knew

him intimately and revered him deeply. It has been constantly used in

the former chapters of this volume. It is by far the best of the

contemporary biographies of any of the Reformers.

Beza collected his miscellanies under the title Tractationes

theologicae, Geneva, 1570, 2d ed. 1582, 3 vols. folio. In these volumes

will be found united his chief essays, including the De haereticis �

civili magistratu puniendis, adversus M. Bellium (I. 85-169), already

analyzed. The first part was reprinted as late as 1658 under the new

title Opuscula, in quibus pleraque Christianae religionis dogmata

adversus haereses nostris temporibus renovatas solide ex verbo Dei

defenduntur.

In 1573 he published a curious volume of correspondence on theological

subjects, Epistolarum Theologicarum. The letters are written to

different persons and are variously dated from 1556 to 1572. The volume

is printed in small italics and was so popular that the third edition

appeared at Hanover in 1597. But the number of his letters published is

greatly exceeded by those still in manuscript.

In 1577 he published Lex Dei, moralis, ceremonialis, et politica, ex

libris Mosis excerpta, et in certas classes distributa. This is simply

the legal portions of the Pentateuch classified, without note or

comment, apparently under the theory that the Mosaic law is still

binding.

In 1581 Beza, in connection with Daneau and Salnar, issued the Harmonia

Confessionum Fidei, designed to promote Christian union among the

evangelical churches. [1315]

Mention has already been made of Beza as a poet His Po�mata, Paris,

1548, commonly called Juvenilia, consists of epigrams, epitaphs,

elegies, and bucolics. They are classical in expression, and erotic in

sentiment, though not so vicious as such a libeller as Bolsec would

have us believe. His Abraham's Sacrifice, already alluded to, was

written in French (Geneva, 1550), and translated into Italian

(Florence, 1572), English (London, 1577), and Latin (Geneva, 1597). It

was republished along with the Po�mata, Geneva, 1597. Of much more

importance is his translation of the Psalms, completing that begun by

Cl�ment Marot. It was undertaken at Calvin's request, and published in

sections, and finished at Geneva in 1560.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1310] A very full description of it is given by Scrivener,

Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, 3d ed. 120-127; cf.

Gregory, Prolegomena in N. T. Tischendorfianum ed. viii. maior,

369-374; Schaff, Companion to the Greek Testament, 122-124.

[1311] For full description, see Scrivener, ibid. 163-166; cf. Gregory,

ibid. 419-422.

[1312] Schaff, ibid. 237-238, and his tract on the Revision of the N.

T., p. 28 sq.

[1313] The late Ezra Abbot, the biblical textual critic, at Dr.

Schaff's request, made a very careful collation of the different

editions of Beza with the Authorized Version, and found that "the

Authorized Version agrees with Beza's text of 1589 against Stephen's of

1550 in about ninety places; with Stephen's against Beza in about

forty; and in from thirty to forty places, in most of which the

variations are of a trivial character, it differs from both." Schaff:

The Revision of the English Version of the New Testament, New York,

1873 (Introd. p. xxviii). Cf. Farrar, History of Interpretation, p.

342, note 3.

[1314] See his Reformers (pp. 345-413) mentioned at the head of this

chapter.

[1315] See Schaff, Creeds, I. 354; II. 193 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX.

LITERATURE ON THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

Comp. the literature in � 58, pp. 223-230; and Schaff's Creeds of

Christendom, vol. I. 490 sq.

The best libraries on the history of Protestantism in France are in

Paris (Soci�t� de l'histoire du Protestantisme fran�ais, 54 rue des

Saint-P�res), Geneva, Z�rich, Basel, and Strassburg. The most important

works are in the library of the Union Theological Seminary at New York.

I. Ecclesiastical History of Protestantism in France.

\*A. L. Herminjard: Correspondance des R�formateurs dans les pays de

langue fran�aise. Gen�ve and Paris, 1866-1886. 7 vols. From 1512 to

1542. To be continued.

\*Calvin's Correspondence from 1528 to his death in 1564, in his Opera,

vols. X.-XX.

[\*Theodore Beza.]: Histoire eccl�siastique des �glises r�form�es au

royaume de France, from the beginning of the Reformation to the first

civil war (1521-1563). Anvers, 1580, 3 vols.; Toulouse, 1882, in 2

vols.; best ed. by Baum, Cunitz, and Rodolphe Reuss, with ample

commentary and bibliographical notices. Paris (Fischbacher), 1883-1889,

3 vols. Part of Les Classiques du Protestantisme fran�ais, XVIe, XVIIe,

et XVIIIe si�cles, published with the patronage of the Soci�t� de

l'histoire du Protestantisme fran�ais.

This work was formerly ascribed to Beza, but is a compilation by

several anonymous authors under the direction and with the co-operation

of Beza. Some portions are literally borrowed from Crespin's

"Martyrology." Senebier thinks that the first part was prepared by

Beza, the other two under his direction. See Soldan, I. 88; Heppe,

Theod. Beza, p. 382 sq.; La France Prot. (2d ed.), II. 535; and

especially the notice bibliographique, etc., of R. Reuss in the third

volume of Baum's edition.

\* Jean Crespin (a friend of Beza and publisher in Geneva; d. 1572):

Livre des martyrs (Acta Martyrum), depuis le temps de Wiclif et de Jean

Hus jusqu'� present, 1554. Latin ed.: Acta Martyrum, or Actiones et

Monimenta Martyrum, etc. 1st ed. 1556. Enlarged edition, Gen�ve, 1619,

2 vols. fol.; Amsterd., 1684. Several French, Latin, Dutch, English,

and German editions. See Polenz, Gesch. des franz. Calvinismus, I.

723-735, and La France Protest., IV. 885-910. Latest and best edition,

under the title Histoire des martyrs persecutez et mis hi mort pour la

v�rit� de l'�vangile depuis le temps des apostres jusqu'� pr�sent

(1619), Toulouse, 1889. 3 large vols. 8vo. With notes, etc., by M.

Leli�vre.

Florimond De Raemond (Rom. Cath.): L'histoire de la naissance, progr�s

et decadence de l'her�sie de ce si�cle. Paris, 1610.

Louis Maimbourg (Jesuit historian and controversialist, 1620-1686)

Histoire du calvinisme. Paris, 2d ed., 1682, 2 vols. 12mo. He presents

Calvinism as the direct road to atheism. Calvin's doctrine of

predestination, he says, (I. 110) "d�truit absolument toute l'id�e

qu'on doit avoir de Dieu, et ensuite conduit tout droit � l'Ath�isme."

Peter Jurieu (Protestant historian and controversialist, 1637-1713)

Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en parall�le, ou

apologie pour les r�formateurs, pour la r�formation, et pour les

r�formez. Rotterdam, 1683. 3 vols. An answer to Maimbourg. He wrote

also against Bossuet.

Pierre Bayle (sceptic): Critique g�n�rale de l'histoire du calvinisme.

Rotterdam, 1684.

Bishop Bossuet: Histoire des variations des �glises protestantes.

Paris, 1688. 2 vols. Several editions and translations--not historical,

but polemical and partial. The ablest French work against

Protestantism, containing arguments derived from its divisions and

changes.

\*Elie Benoit (1640-1728): Histoire de l'�dit de Nantes. Delft,

1693-1695. 5 vols. 4to. English and Dutch translations. The first

volume goes to the death of Henri IV. in 1610; vols. II., III., and IV.

to 1683; vol. V. to 1688.

Serranus (Jean de Serres, historiographer of France, 1540-1598):

Commentarii de statu religionis et reipublicae in regno Galliae,

1571-1580 (five parts).

Theod. Agrippa d'Aubign� (Albinaeus), a Huguenot in the service of

Henry IV.; d. at Geneva, 1630): Histoire universelle (from 1550 to the

end of the sixteenth century). Maill�, 1616-1620. 3 vols. Amsterd.

(Geneva), 1626, 2 vols. Also in his Oeuvres compl�tes, Paris, 1873.

Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay: M�moires. Paris, 1624-1625, 2 vols. 4to;

Amsterd., 1651. M�moires et Lettres. Paris, 1824. 12 vols. Mornay was

the most accomplished and influential Protestant nobleman of his age, a

fertile author, soldier, diplomatist, and statesman, who lived under

six reigns from Henry II. to Louis XIII.--Mme. Du Plessis-Mornay:

M�moires et Correspondance. Paris, 1868. 2 vols. On the life of her

husband.

Jean Aymon (d. 1712): Tous les synodes nationaux des �glises r�form�es

de France. La Haye, 1710. 2 vols. 4to.

\*John Quick (a learned Non-conformist, d. 1706): Synodicon in Gallia

reformata; or the Acts, Decisions, and Canons of the National Councils

of the Reformed Churches in France. London, 1692. 2 vols. fol. (with a

history of the Church till 1685). Much more accurate than Aymon

E. A. Laval: Compendious History of the Reformation in France ... to

the Repealing of the Edict of Nantes. London, 1737-1741. 7 vols. 8 vo.

W. S. Browning: A History of the Huguenots. 1829-1839. 3 vols. 8 vo.

Reprinted at Philadelphia (Lea & Blanchard), 1845.

Edward Smedley (d. 1836): History of the Reformed Religion in France.

London, 1832-1834. 3 vols. 12 mo. Reprinted New York (Harper & Bros.).

Charles Coquerel (1797-1851): Histoire des �glises du D�sert chez les

Protestants de France depuis la fin du r�gne de Louis XIV. jusqu'� la

revolution fran�aise. Paris, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo. New ed. 1857.

N. Peyrat: Histoire des pasteurs du D�sert. Paris, 1842. 2 vols. 8vo.

Guill. de F�lice (Prof. at Montauban, d. 1871): Histoire des

protestants de France. Toulouse, 1851; with supplement by F. Bonifas,

1874. English translation by Lobdell, 1851. By the same: Histoire des

synodes nationaux des �glises reform�es de France. Paris, 1864.

C. Drion: Histoire chronologique de l'�glise protestante de France

jusqu'� la R�vocation. Paris, 1855. 2 vols. 12 mo.

\*W. G. Soldan: Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich bis zum

Tode Karl's IX. Leipzig, 1855. 2 vols. Frankreich und die

Bartholom�usnacht, 1854. The same, translated by Charles Schmidt: La

France et la St. Barth�lemy. Paris, 1855. 147 pp.

E. St�helin: Der Uebertritt Heinrich's IV. Basel, 1856. (The change of

Henry IV. was dictated by political and patriotic motives to secure

himself on the throne, to give peace to France, and liberty to the

Huguenots.)

\*G. von Polenz: Geschichte des franz�sischen Calvinismus bis zur

Nationalversammlung i. J. 1789, zum Theil aus handschriftl. Quellen.

Gotha, 1857-1869. 5 vols. 8vo.

\*Eugene and �mile Haag (brothers): La France protestante. Paris, 1856

sqq. 10 vols.; 2d ed. revised, published under the auspices of the

"Soci�t� de l'histoire du Protestantisme fran�ais," and under the

direction of Henri Bordier, Paris (Sandoz et Fischbacher), 1877 sqq.

Biographies of distinguished Huguenots in alphabetical order. Very

important. So far (till 1888) 6 vols. (The sixth volume ends with

Gasparin.)

E. Castel: Les Huguenots et la Constitution de l'�glise r�form�e de

France en 1559. Paris and Geneva, 1859. 16 mo.

J. M. Dargaud: La Libert� religieuse en France. Paris, 1859. 4 vols.

8vo.

H. de Triqueti: Les premiers jours du Protestantisme en France depuis

son origine jusqu'au premier synode national de 1559. Paris, 1859. 16

mo (302 pp.). Popular.

Henri Lutteroth: La Reformation en France pendant so premi�re p�riode.

Paris, 1859. 8vo (233 pp.).

\*Merle D'Aubign�: Histoire de la R�formation en Europe au temps de

Calvin. Paris, 1862-1878. English translation by William L. R. Cates.

London (Longmans, Green, & Co.), 1863-1878. 8 vols. (Republished by the

Carters in New York.) This great work comes down to 1542, and embraces

the Reformation in French Switzerland, France, England, Scotland, and

Spain. The author intended to carry it down to the death of Calvin,

1564, but died (1872) before he completed it.

H. White: Massacre of St. Bartholomew. London, 1868. 8vo. New York,

1868.

F. Puaux: Histoire de la Reformation fran�aise. Paris, 1868. 7 vols. 12

mo.

W. M. Blackburn: Admiral Coligny and the Rise of the Huguenots.

Philadelphia, 1869. 2 vols. 8vo.

Adolphe Schaeffer: Les Huguenots du seizi�me si�cle. Paris, 1870. (331

pp.).

\*W. Henley Jervis: A History of the Church of France, from the

Concordat of Bologna, a.d. 1516, to the Revolution. London, 1872. 2

vols. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 476, xi, 452.

Felix Bovet: Histoire du psautier des �glises r�form�es. Neuch�tel,

1872.

\*O. Douen: Cl�ment-Marot et le Psautier Huguenot. Paris, 1878 sq. 2

vols. (� l'imprimerie nationale). Very important for the history of

worship in the French Reformed Church, with a history of Marot and his

relation to Calvin. The second volume contains les harmonistes du

Psautier, a discussion of the influence of the Reformation on music,

the Psalms of Goudimel, and the French bibliography on the Psalter.

O. Douen: Les premiers pasteurs du D�sert (1685-1700) d'apr�s des

documents pour la plupart in�dits. Paris (Grassart), 1879. 2 vols. 8

vo.

\*Henri Bordier: La Saint-Barth�lemy et la critique moderne. Gen�ve and

Paris, 1879 (116 pp., with illustrations).

Jules Delaborde: Gaspar de Coligny, Amiral de France. Paris

(Fischbacher), 1879. 3 vols.

\*Henry M. Baird (Professor in the University of the City of New York):

History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France (1515-1574). New York,

1879. 2 vols. 8vo. The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre (1574-1610). New

York, 1886. 2 vols. 8vo. The Edict of Nantes and its Recall. In the

"Commemoration of the Bi-centenary of the Revocation of the Edict of

Nantes" (Oct. 22, 1885), by the Huguenot Society of America. New York,

1886.

E. Muhlenbeck: Claude Rouget Une �glise Calviniste au XVIme si�cle

(1551-1581). Histoire de la communaut� r�form�e de Ste-Marie-aux-Mines

(Alsace). Paris and Strasbourg, 1881 (515 pp.). 8 vo.

H. Baumgarten: Vor der Bartholom�usnacht. Strassburg, 1882 (263 pp.).

Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove: Les Huguenots et les Gueux (1560-1585).

Bruges, 1883-1885. 6 vols. Includes the contemporary history of the

Netherlands. A very partial book.

Eugene Bersier (Reformed pastor in Paris, d. 1889): Coligny avant les

guerres de religion. Paris, 1884.

Ernest Gaullieur (archiviste de la ville de Bordeaux): Histoire de la

r�formation � Bordeaux et dans le ressort du parlement de Guyenne.

Bordeaux and Paris, 1884 sqq. The first vol. extends from 1523-1563.

Theo. Schott: Die Aughebung des Ediktes von Nantes im Oktober, 1685.

Halle, 1885. 8vo.

[L�on Pilatte]: �dits, D�clarations et Arrests concernant la religion

pr�tendue r�form�e, 1662-1751, pr�c�d�s de l'�dit de Nantes. Paris,

1885.

\*L. Aguesse (d. 1862): Histoire de l'�tablissement du Protestantisme en

France contenant l'histoire politique et religieuse de la nation depuis

Fran�ois Ier jusqu'� l'�dit de Nantes. Paris, 1886. 4 vols. A

posthumous work of twenty years' labor, published by Charles Menetrier

and Mme. Menetrier, n�e Aguesse.

\*Edmond Hugues: Antoine Court. Histoire de la restauration du

Protestantisme en France, Paris, 4th ed. revised, 1875, 2 vols.--Les

Synodes du D�sert. Actes et r�glements des synodes nationaux et

provinciaux tenus au d�sert de France de l'an 1715 � l'an 1793. Paris

(Fischbacher), 1885-1886. 3 large vols. Suppl�ment au tome premier,

1887.

N. Weiss (librarian and ed. of the Bulletin of the Soc. of the Hist. of

French Prot.): La chambre ardente, �tude sur la liberte de conscience

en France sous Fran-�ois Ier et Henri II (1540-1550) suivie d'environ

500 arr�ts in�dits, rendus par le parlement de Paris de Mai 1547 � Mars

1550. Paris, 1889 (432 pp.). 8 vo.

Philip Schaff: History of the Edict of Nantes. An address delivered

before the Huguenot Society of America, March 21, 1889. New York, 1890.

\*Charles Dardier: Paul Rabaut: Ses lettres � Antoine Court (1739-1755),

Paris, 1884, 2 vols.; and Ses Lettres � Divers (1744-1794), avec

pr�face, notes et pi�ces justificatives. Paris, 1892. 2 vols.

\*Bulletin historique et litt�raire. A monthly periodical published by

the Soci�t� de l'histoire du Protantisme fran�ais. Paris (54 rue des

Saints-P�res), 1853 sqq. (39e ann�e, 1890). Contains historical studies

and important documents of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth

centuries.

II. General Histories of France.

Franciscus Belcarius Peguilio (Beaucaire De Peguillon, bishop of Metz):

Rerum Gallicarum Commentarii ab anno 1461 ad annum 1580. Lugd. 1625

fol. 1026 pp. Strongly anti-Calvinistic.

Choix de chroniques et m�moires sur l'histoire de France, in the

Pantheon litt�raire of J. A. Buchon. Paris, 1836-1838. 8 vols.

Nouvelle collection des m�moires pour servir � l'histoire de France, by

Petitot, Michaud, and Poujoulat. 1er serie, tom. VI. Paris, 1839.

\*Thuanus (Jacques Auguste de Thou, 1553-1617): Historiarum sui temporis

libri 138, from 1546-1607 (several editions in 5, 7, and 16 vols.). The

author was a moderate Catholic, witnessed the massacre of St.

Bartholomew, and helped to prepare the Edict of Nantes. His history was

put in the Index Expurg. 1609, but survived the papal condemnation.

Lacretelle: Histoire de France pendant les guerres de religion. Paris,

1814-1816. 4 vols.

Simonde de Sismondi: Histoire des Fran�ais. Par. 1821-1844. 31 vols. 8

vo (from vol. XVI.).

\*Jules Michelet (1798-1876): Histoire de France. 1833-1862 (new ed.

1879). 14 vols. (Vols. IX. La Renaissance; X, La R�forme; XI. Les

Guerres de Religion.)

Sir James Stephen: Lectures on the History of France. 1857, 3d ed. 2

vols.

\* Leop. v. Ranke: Franz�sische Geschichte namentlich im 16. und 17.

Jahrh. Stuttgart and T�bingen, 1852-1868; 3d ed. 1877. 6 vols. (English

translation in part, London, 1852. 2 vols.)

\*Henri Martin: Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus recul�s

jusqu'en 1789. Paris, 1837; 4th ed. 1854-1878. 17 vols. (vols.

VIII.-X.)

\*Bordier and Charton: Histoire de France. Paris, 1858, 1872; nouvelle

�d. 1881. 2 vols. with numerous illustrations. Gives very accurate

information on the Protestant Reformation.

III. History of the Huguenot Refugees.

Charles Weiss (Prof. au lyc�e Bonaparte, d. 1881): Histoire des

r�fugi�s Protestants de France depuis la revocation de l'�dit de Nantes

jusqu'� nos jours. Paris, 1853. 2 vols. English translation by W. H.

Herbert. London and] New York, 1854. 2 vols.

Samuel Smiles: The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches, and

Industries in England and Ireland. London, 1867 (Am. ed. with Appendix

by G. P. Disosway, New York, 1867).

W. H. Foote (pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Romney, W. Va.): The

Huguenots; or, Reformed French Church; their principles delineated;

their characters illustrated; their sufferings and successes recorded.

In three parts. I. The Huguenot in France, at home. II. The Huguenot

dispersed in Europe. III. The Huguenot at home in America. With an

Appendix. Richmond, 1870. pp. xx, 627.

David C. A. Agnew (Of the Free Church of Scotland): Protestant Exiles

from France in the Reign of Louis XIV.; or, the Huguenot Refugees and

their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland. 2d ed. (corrected and

enlarged), 1871-1874. 3 vols. 3d ed. (remodelled and greatly enlarged),

including the French-speaking refugees in former reigns. London and

Edinburgh, 1886. 2 vols. pp. 457 and 548.

R. Lane Poole: A History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion at the

Recall of the Edict of Nantes. London, 1880.

Charles W. Baird (brother of Henry M. B.): History of the Huguenot

Emigration to America. New York, 1885.2 vols.

Le Baron F. de Schickler (President of the Soc. of the Hist. of French

Protestantism): Les �glises du refuge en Angleterre. Paris, 1892. 3

vols. (pp. 431, 536, 432).

Henry Tollin (minister of the Huguenot Church in Magdeburg): Geschichte

des hugenottischen Refuges in Deutschland; Geschichte der franz�sichen

Colonieen der Provinz Sachsen, Halle, 1892; Geschichte der franz�sichen

Colonie von Magdeburg. Magdeburg, 1893. 3 vols.

Geschichtsblt�tter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins. Magdeburg, 1892

sq. (Ten numbers till 1893.) Historical sketches of Huguenot churches

in Germany.

The Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London of which three

volumes, 8vo, have appeared (1885-1892) contain many historical papers

of importance. Of the Publications of the same Society, six volumes,

quarto, have appeared up to 1891. Vol. VI. contains the despatches of

the Venetian ambassadors from France, 1560-1563.

Bulletin de la Commission de l'Histoire des �glises Wallonnes. The

Hague. Five volumes, 8 vo, have appeared (1885-1892). Contains many

articles on French Protestant Church History.

The Publications of the Huguenot Society of America. New York, 1886

sqq.

Lichtenberger's Encyclop�die des Sciences Religieuses (13 vols.)

contains many good articles on French Protestantism, especially vol. V.

186-191.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Indexes

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Scripture References

Genesis

[1]1:26 [2]1:28 [3]3 [4]3:7 [5]3:15 [6]3:15 [7]9 [8]9:6

[9]17:1 [10]18:2 [11]27:39-40 [12]29:30 [13]29:31 [14]33:4

[15]41:46 [16]50:13 [17]1786 [18]1878 [19]1880 [20]1888

Exodus

[21]3:2 [22]3:6 [23]4:21 [24]7:13 [25]8:15 [26]8:32

[27]9:34 [28]12:46 [29]22:20 [30]30:14 [31]32 [32]38:26

Leviticus

[33]24:16

Numbers

[34]4:3 [35]14:29 [36]23:10 [37]32:11

Deuteronomy

[38]1:39 [39]13:5-15 [40]13:6-10 [41]29:29 [42]29:29

[43]32:8-9 [44]32:32

1 Samuel

[45]10:6 [46]16:13

1 Kings

[47]18:21 [48]21:10 [49]21:13

Job

[50]19:36

Psalms

[51]2 [52]2:7 [53]6:3 [54]8 [55]16 [56]22 [57]25

[58]33:6 [59]33:6 [60]36 [61]39:9 [62]40 [63]43 [64]45

[65]46 [66]51:13 [67]68 [68]69:9 [69]73:2 [70]82:1

[71]82:6 [72]88 [73]103 [74]106:4-5 [75]110 [76]110:1

[77]139:16

Proverbs

[78]8:15 [79]16:4

Isaiah

[80]3:4 [81]4:2 [82]5:8 [83]6:9-10 [84]6:9-10 [85]7:14

[86]9:6 [87]11:2 [88]11:2-3 [89]25:8 [90]37:32 [91]38:14

[92]44:18 [93]44:25 [94]45:7 [95]49:15 [96]49:23 [97]56:10

[98]61:1

Jeremiah

[99]6:21 [100]7:4 [101]7:11 [102]18:18

Ezekiel

[103]1:5 [104]10:12 [105]13:9 [106]18:23 [107]18:23

[108]18:32 [109]18:32 [110]33:11 [111]33:11

Daniel

[112]7 [113]12:1

Hosea

[114]11:1

Joel

[115]2:32

Amos

[116]3:6 [117]6:1 [118]13

Zechariah

[119]1:12-13

Malachi

[120]1:2-3 [121]2:7

Matthew

[122]1:18 [123]1:20 [124]1:23 [125]2:15 [126]2:23 [127]4:10

[128]5:44 [129]7:6 [130]7:6 [131]7:15 [132]7:15 [133]10:30

[134]10:33 [135]10:37 [136]11:25 [137]12:6 [138]13:11

[139]13:13-15 [140]13:14-15 [141]13:24-30 [142]13:29-30

[143]13:30 [144]13:47 [145]13:49 [146]15:14 [147]16:16-18

[148]16:18 [149]16:18 [150]18:1 [151]18:14 [152]18:15-17

[153]21:12 [154]22:21 [155]22:21 [156]22:30 [157]23:8

[158]23:37 [159]24:35 [160]25:15 [161]25:34 [162]26:26

[163]26:52 [164]27:9 [165]28:19 [166]28:19 [167]28:19-20

Mark

[168]9:24 [169]14:22 [170]16:15 [171]16:15 [172]16:16

[173]16:16

Luke

[174]1:32 [175]1:35 [176]2:5 [177]3:21-23 [178]6:24-25

[179]9:54 [180]9:55 [181]14:23 [182]14:23 [183]14:26

[184]15:10 [185]16:27-28 [186]17:34

John

[187]1:1 [188]1:1 [189]1:1 [190]1:4 [191]1:9 [192]1:12

[193]1:17 [194]1:29 [195]1:33 [196]1:51 [197]3:5 [198]3:8

[199]3:13 [200]3:16 [201]3:16 [202]3:16 [203]3:16 [204]3:16

[205]6:53 [206]6:55 [207]6:63 [208]6:63 [209]7:39 [210]8:47

[211]8:58 [212]9:31 [213]10:4-5 [214]10:16 [215]10:18

[216]10:30 [217]10:34-36 [218]10:35 [219]12:32 [220]12:39-40

[221]12:40 [222]14:10 [223]14:11 [224]15:15 [225]17:3

[226]18:36 [227]20:17 [228]20:22 [229]20:28 [230]20:31

Acts

[231]2:24 [232]2:39 [233]3:21 [234]5:1 [235]5:4 [236]5:29

[237]5:34 [238]6:1-3 [239]6:9 [240]7 [241]7:16 [242]9:25

[243]10:35 [244]13:11 [245]13:48 [246]14:17 [247]16:18

[248]16:33 [249]17:28 [250]17:29 [251]19:2 [252]20:17

[253]20:28 [254]20:28 [255]20:29 [256]20:31 [257]21:26

Romans

[258]1:16 [259]1:19 [260]1:28 [261]2:14 [262]2:14-15

[263]2:14-15 [264]2:26 [265]2:28 [266]2:28-29 [267]2:29

[268]4:11 [269]4:25 [270]5:12 [271]5:12-21 [272]5:17

[273]5:17-19 [274]5:20-21 [275]6:3-4 [276]6:11 [277]6:17

[278]7:14 [279]7:23 [280]8:9 [281]8:15 [282]8:23

[283]8:28-39 [284]8:29 [285]8:36 [286]9 [287]9 [288]9

[289]9 [290]9 [291]9:5 [292]9:10-23 [293]9:13 [294]9:13

[295]9:14 [296]9:17 [297]9:22-23 [298]9:22-23 [299]10

[300]10:6 [301]11 [302]11:7-8 [303]11:25 [304]11:32

[305]11:32 [306]11:36 [307]12:8 [308]12:20-21 [309]13:1

[310]13:1 [311]13:3-4 [312]13:4 [313]14 [314]14:1-3

[315]15:1-2 [316]15:5-6 [317]1885

1 Corinthians

[318]1:16 [319]1:17 [320]2:2 [321]2:4 [322]3:11

[323]3:11-15 [324]3:16 [325]3:21-23 [326]4:1 [327]6:19

[328]7:14 [329]7:14 [330]7:14 [331]7:21 [332]7:23 [333]8:1

[334]8:8 [335]9:5 [336]9:16 [337]9:27 [338]10:16 [339]10:25

[340]11 [341]11:19 [342]11:24 [343]11:29-30 [344]12:28

[345]13:18 [346]14:1 [347]14:3 [348]14:6-9 [349]14:29

[350]15:19 [351]15:21 [352]15:24-28

2 Corinthians

[353]1:21 [354]2:7 [355]2:8 [356]6:16 [357]7:1 [358]10:4-5

[359]11:6 [360]11:26-28 [361]12:2 [362]12:7 [363]13:5-7

[364]13:6-7 [365]13:14

Galatians

[366]1:4 [367]2:5 [368]3:22 [369]3:26 [370]3:26-27

[371]3:27 [372]4:6 [373]4:6 [374]4:22-26 [375]5:1

Ephesians

[376]1:4-11 [377]1:5 [378]1:5 [379]2:8-10 [380]2:20

[381]2:22 [382]4:4-6 [383]4:9 [384]4:11 [385]4:11 [386]4:11

[387]4:12-15 [388]5:26 [389]5:26 [390]5:27 [391]5:28-33

[392]5:30 [393]5:32

Philippians

[394]1:1 [395]1:1 [396]1:1 [397]2:5-11 [398]2:13 [399]3:2

[400]4:11-12

Colossians

[401]1:15 [402]2:9 [403]2:11 [404]2:11 [405]2:16 [406]122

1 Thessalonians

[407]1:4

2 Thessalonians

[408]1:6-7 [409]2 [410]2:3 [411]2:3-4 [412]2:4 [413]2:11

[414]2:13-14

1 Timothy

[415]1:20 [416]2:1-2 [417]2:4 [418]2:4 [419]2:4 [420]3:2

[421]3:8 [422]4 [423]4:1 [424]4:1 [425]4:14 [426]4:14

[427]5:17 [428]5:22

2 Timothy

[429]1:9 [430]1:10 [431]2:2 [432]2:24 [433]3:8 [434]3:8

Titus

[435]1:5 [436]1:5 [437]1:7 [438]1:12 [439]1:15 [440]1:16

[441]2:11 [442]3 [443]3:1 [444]3:5 [445]3:5 [446]3:10-11

Hebrews

[447]1:2 [448]2:6-8 [449]5:6 [450]7:21 [451]9:26 [452]10:14

[453]10:26 [454]11:27 [455]11:27 [456]12:17 [457]13:4

1 Peter

[458]1:1 [459]1:2 [460]1:11 [461]1:11 [462]1:21-25 [463]2:8

[464]2:9 [465]2:13-14 [466]3:19 [467]3:19 [468]3:21

[469]5:1-3 [470]5:3

2 Peter

[471]2:1 [472]2:22 [473]3:9 [474]3:9 [475]3:9

1 John

[476]2:2 [477]2:2 [478]2:18 [479]2:19 [480]2:20 [481]2:27

[482]4:2-3 [483]4:14 [484]5:6 [485]5:7 [486]5:8 [487]5:21

Jude

[488]1:4

Revelation

[489]5:1 [490]7:17 [491]12:6 [492]12:7 [493]13 [494]16

[495]17:5 [496]19:13 [497]20:4-7 [498]22:15

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Greek Words and Phrases

\* adokimos: [499]1

\* apo tes theogo-: [500]1

\* artolatria: [501]1

\* en ho: [502]1

\* epi touto hoti: [503]1

\* epi touto hoste: [504]1

\* epiklesis pneumatos hagiou: [505]1

\* episkopoi,: [506]1

\* hepta kai dekato: [507]1

\* Eremou tes makarias theo-: [508]1

\* hina tous pantas: [509]1

\* ho theologos: [510]1

\* homoousion: [511]1

\* hosper onos en sphekiais: [512]1

\* Eutichos: [513]1

\* Logos: [514]1

\* Prographo: [515]1

\* Su gar ouk ese: [516]1

\* Skiras: [517]1

\* Skirophoria: [518]1

\* Tautai hai Epistolai: [519]1

\* Cheirotonesantes: [520]1

\* aule: [521]1

\* ai: [522]1

\* brabeutes: [523]1

\* gio helbetio, chilio-: [524]1

\* grapheisai: [525]1

\* dioti: [526]1

\* didaskaloi: [527]1

\* heis poimen: [528]1

\* eudokias: [529]1

\* eutuchos: [530]1

\* theotes tou logou: [531]1

\* kai: [532]1

\* katachresis: [533]1

\* katertismena: [534]1

\* kleroi: [535]1

\* koruphaio: [536]1

\* kuberneseis: [537]1

\* lego: [538]1

\* mia poimne: [539]1

\* monontheleson, kai theos proapanta: [540]1

\* metanoia: [541]1

\* nias , menos: [542]1

\* oikonomian: [543]1

\* ousia, hupostasis, prosopon: [544]1

\* pachutera: [545]1

\* pneuma: [546]1

\* poimenes: [547]1

\* polloi: [548]1

\* progegrammenoi: [549]1

\* rucho Zunglio Dog-: [550]1

\* skirrhophori-: [551]1

\* sto pentakosiosto: [552]1

\* to hegemonikon: [553]1

\* to onoma autou Ho logos tou Theou: [554]1

\* tokou, para to Hulde-: [555]1

\* philoneikotatos: [556]1

\* onos: [557]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Hebrew Words and Phrases

\* hvhy: [558]1

\* hmsh: [559]1

\* vyhl': [560]1

\* vyl': [561]1

\* vym: [562]1

\* vsh: [563]1

\* l' ynd' vyhl': [564]1

\* , to be high: [565]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of German Words and Phrases

\* "Herr, nun heb den Wagen selb'!': [566]1

\* "Wir koennen in unseren Gewissen nicht finden: [567]1

\* ). Werke: [568]1

\* , Cruciger und andere furneme Theologi Kundtschafft mit Calvino

gemacht, dass sie ihn, per Excellentiam, 'den Theologum' genannt:

[569]1

\* , Wie es scheint, war Blaurock der eigentlich popul�re T�ufer und

wandte den Gebrauch allgemeiner an auf den ersten Besten, der

weinend zu ihm kam: [570]1

\* Actensammlung: [571]1 [572]2 [573]3 [574]4 [575]5

\* All todtendienst, als vigil, seelmess, seelgr�t, sibend, dryssgest,

jarzyt, kerzen, und derglychen: [576]1

\* All unser Fahrt.: [577]1

\* Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie: [578]1

\* Auch jetzt wieder musste zun�chst das Princip, dass beide

Confessionen Geltung haben, das Princip der Parit�t, den

verschiedenen eidgen�ssischen St�nden gegen�ber anerkannt werden.

Aber die Form, wie das geschah, war verletzend f�r die Reformirten.

Es lag darin offenbar ein Hohn gegen diese, dass sie zu einem

Vert?--age ihre Zustimmung geben mussten, in welchem der

katholische Glaube als der 'reine, unbezweifelte, christliche

Glaube,' die Confession der Reformirten dagegen nur als 'ein

Glaube,' schlechthin bezeichnet ward; ein Spott, der immerhin von

ungleicher W�rdigung der beiden Confessionen ausging und insofern

dem wahren Geiste des parit�tischen Staatsprincips widersprach.

Diese Herabsetzung und Dem�thigung der Reformirten lag zwar nur in

dem Ausdruck, nicht in dem Inhalt dieser Bestimmung. Aber gerade

darum war sie um so weniger zu rechtfertigen. Sie reizte und

erbitterte bloss den einen Theil, und kitzelte nur den Hochmuth des

andern Theils. Wollte man ernstlich und auf die Dauer Frieden, so

durfte man nicht solcher Geh�ssigkeitden Lauf lassen: [579]1

\* Auff welchem Colloquio auch Philippus: [580]1

\* Beitr�ge zur Kirchen- und Reformationsgesch. des Schweitzerlandes:

[581]1

\* Bekanthnuss unseres heyl. christenlichen Gloubens, wie es die Kylch

von Basel haldt: [582]1

\* Bergell.: [583]1

\* Bern klagt: Z�rich ist zu hitzig,: [584]1

\* Brest: [585]1

\* Briefe aus der Reformationszeit: [586]1

\* Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken: [587]1

\* Bucer or Butzer: [588]1

\* Bundesstaat: [589]1 [590]2

\* Calvin besass sehr viel Scharfsinn und eine ausnehmende

Beredtsamkeit, und war weit gelehrter als alle �brigen

Reformatoren, so dass Lehren, die bei einem andern abscheulich

gewesen w�ren, aus seinem Munde wohl klingen: [591]1

\* Calvin ist der groesste Exeget seiner Zeit ... der Schoepfer der

aechten Exegese: [592]1

\* Calvin ist ein dogmatischer Dante: dieselbe grauenvolle Lust, die

Majestaet Gottes auch in der Hoelle anzuerkennen und zu preisen,

diese grauenvolle Macht, welche fuehlende Wesen geschaffen hat zu

ewiger Qual: [593]1

\* Calvin's Commentare zum N. T. gehoeren zu den nie veraltenden

Werken. Und so gut wie Bengel's 'Gnomon' immer wieder gedruckt und

gelesen werden wird, so lange es eine gesunde und fromme

Schrifterklaerung giebt, so werden auch Calvin's Commentare nie

vergessen werden: [594]1

\* Central-dogmen: [595]1

\* Centraldogmen: [596]1 [597]2 [598]3 [599]4

\* Centraldogmen der Ref. Kirche: [600]1

\* Charakterbild: [601]1

\* Christocentrik: [602]1

\* Chronicon Helveticum: [603]1

\* Chronik: [604]1 [605]2

\* Chronik der Stadt Aarau: [606]1

\* Conflicte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums, und Calvinismus in der

Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558: [607]1

\* Da k�me Wilhelm (Reubli) und toufte ihn (H�bmaier), und liessend

sich uf dasselb mal mit ihm bi 60 personen toufen. Darnach habe er

die Osterfirtag f�r und f�r und ob 300 menschen getouft: [608]1

\* Darauf habe ihn Blaurock bespritzt: [609]1

\* Das Deutsche Kirchenlied: [610]1 [611]2

\* Das Gyrenrupfen: [612]1

\* Das Leben Val. Andreae: [613]1

\* Das Testament des Erasmus vom 22 Jan. 1527: [614]1

\* Das br�cht Lust: [615]1

\* Das ganze Summarium und der herrliche Schlussstein des ganzen

bisherigen Brieftheils: [616]1

\* Dass Lupulus eine uneheliche Tochter hatte: [617]1

\* Dass alle und jede Widertaeuffer und Widergetaufte, Mann und

Weibspersonen verstaendigs Alters vom nat�rlichen Leben zum Tode

mit Feuer, Schwert oder dergleichen nach Gelegenheit der Personen

ohne vorgehende der geistlichen Richter Inquisition gerichtet oder

gebracht werden: [618]1

\* Dass unser v�tterlicher getr�wer rat und fr�ntlich ernstlich pitt

ist, ir w�llen die �rgenuss und widerw�rtigkeit by �ch selbs, den

�wern und andern f�rkommen und �ch obgemeldten der hailigen kirchen

ordnungen und guoten gewonhaiten in cristenlicher geainter

gehorsami verglychen, die vollziechen und solichs by den �wern zuo

gesche(h)en, sovil an �ch, verschaffen. Das halten wir dem

Evangelio, der leer Pauli und dem hailigen unserm cristenlichen

glouben glychm�ssig. Ir tuond ouch daran �ch und den �wern wolfart,

von uns gn�digklich und fr�ntlich zuo erkennen und zuo verdienen:

[619]1

\* Dass wir: [620]1

\* De Risu Paschali: [621]1

\* Dem schwachen Wybe! Amen: [622]1

\* Den menschen ein recht gm�t: [623]1

\* Denkschrift der historischen u. antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu

Basel. Zur Erinnerung an den Bund der Eidgenossen vom 1. Aug. 1291:

[624]1

\* Denn wir uff blutvergiessen nit uszogen: [625]1

\* Der Frauen Anna Reinhartin in Z�rich, seiner lieben Hausfrau:

[626]1

\* Der Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus,: [627]1

\* Der Grundgedanke, von dem der Gesetzgeber Genfs ausgeht, ist die

Theokratie. Er will in Genf den Gottesstaat herstellen: [628]1

\* Der Hirt, wie man die waren christenlichen hirten und widerum die

falschen erkennen ... s�lle: [629]1

\* Der Humanismus in Wien: [630]1

\* Der Pfarrer: [631]1

\* Der Schoepfer der aechten Exegese: [632]1

\* Der Verfasser de Trinitatis Erroribus: [633]1

\* Der Widerpart,: [634]1

\* Der armen Frow Zwinglin Klag: [635]1

\* Der b�sen B�ck!: [636]1

\* Des ersten von w�gen des G�ttlichen worts, diewyl und nieman zum

glouben bezwungen sol werden, das dann die f�nff ort und die iren,

des selben ouch nitt gen�tiget. Aber die z�gewandten und vogthien,

wo man mitt einandern z� beherschen hat, belangend, wo die selben

die mess abgestellt und die bilder verbr�nt oder abgethan, das die

selben an lib eer und g�t, nitt gestraaft s�llind werden. Wo aber

die mess and ander ceremonien noch vorhanden, die s�llend nitt

gezwungen, ouch inen keine predicanten, so es nitt durch den

meertheyl erkendt wirt, geschickt, uffgestellt oder geg�ben werden,

sunder was under inen den kylchgenossen die uff oder abz�th�nd,

dessglychen mitt der Spys, die Gott nitt verbotten z� essen,

gemeret wird, daby sol es biss uff der kylchgenossen gefallen

blyben; und dhein teyl dem andern sinen glouben, weder smehen noch

straafen: [637]1

\* Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation: [638]1

\* Deutsche Schriften: [639]1

\* Die Anf�nge der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft: [640]1

\* Die Beichtvaeter Kaiser Karls V: [641]1

\* Die Br�dergemeinde in B�nden: [642]1

\* Die Bundesbriefe der alten Eidgenossen von 1201 bis 1513: [643]1

\* Die Disputation: [644]1

\* Die Entdeckung des Blutkreislaufs durch Michael Servet: [645]1

\* Die Gesch. der drei Lander Uri, Schwyz und Unterwalden: [646]1

\* Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz vor St. Gallus: [647]1

\* Die H�he nach der die p�pst und bishof strytend, hat keinen Grund:

[648]1

\* Die Hilf in Jesu Namen!: [649]1

\* Die Hochschule Z�rich in d. Jahren 1833-1883: [650]1

\* Die Lutherische Kirche und die Union: [651]1

\* Die Mann: [652]1 [653]2

\* Die Politik der Kaiser Rudolf von Habsburg und Albrecht I. und die

Entstehung der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft: [654]1

\* Die Prot. Centraldogmen: [655]1

\* Die R�mischen P�pste: [656]1

\* Die Reformation: [657]1 [658]2

\* Die Reformation im Kanton Thurgau: [659]1

\* Die Welt hat nach Gottes Wort keinen lieblicheren Schatz auf Erden,

denn den heiligen Ehestand. Gottes h�chste Gabe ist ein fromm,

freundlich, gottesf�rchtig und h�uslich Gemahl haben, mit der du

friedlich lebest, der du darfst alle dein Gut, ja dein Leib und

Leben vertrauen, mit der du Kinderlein zeugest: [660]1

\* Die Wyber: [661]1 [662]2

\* Die Z�rcher Wiedert�ufer: [663]1

\* Die besonnenen Katholiken haben diese schauerliche Selbsth�lfe,

wodurch viele Unschuldige als Opfer der Rache gefallen, niemals

gebilligt, andererseits konnten und k�nnen billig denkende

Protestanten das arge Treiben der Pr�dicanten und reformirten

Machthaber im Veltlin und Umgebung ebensowenig gutheissen, denn

dieses arge Treiben war die erste und letzte Ursache der

verzweifelten Selbsth�lfe: [664]1

\* Die dich: [665]1

\* Die dick: [666]1

\* Die eigenh�ndige Handschrift der eidgen�ss. Chronik des Aeg.

Tschudi in der Stadt-Bibl. in Z�rich: [667]1

\* Die erste Z�rcher Disputation: [668]1

\* Die in den genannten Irrlehrern oder Schwarmgeistern, wie Luther

sie treffend nannte, gleich Feuerfunken ausgestreuten und bald da

bald dort an einen entz�ndbaren Stoff sich ansezenden Ideen

erhielten erst in dem Spanier Michael Servet, welchen der Zug

seines Geistes demselben Kreise zuf�hrte, eine festere Consistenz

und Haltung. Diess ist es, was Servet seine historische Bedeutung

gibt. Er wurde der Mittelpunct, in welchem jene vereinzelten, noch

formlosen Elemente sich zur Einheit zusammenschlossen und durch die

Energie seines Geistes sich zu einer in sich zusammenhaengenden

Theorie ausbildeten: [669]1

\* Die sind beide von Rom.: [670]1

\* Diese Dinge haben sich wenige Tage nach der Disputation des 18.

Januar zugetragen, und rasch, noch ehe dieVerbannten ihren Abschied

genommen hatten, ist, zum Theil mit ihrer H�lfe, der Gebrauch der

Taufe und des Herrn Brodes nach Zollikon und �ber die ganze

Genossenschaft verbreitet worden: [671]1

\* Diese milde, vers�hnliche Haltug nach seiner R�ckkehr bildet eines

dersch�nsten Bl�tter in der Geschichte Calvin's: [672]1

\* Dieses Lied wurde hernach weit und breit, auch an der F�rsten H�fen

und in den St�dten von Musicis gesungen und geblasen: [673]1

\* Dodekachordon: [674]1

\* Dogmatik: [675]1

\* Dogmatik der evang. reform. Kirche: [676]1 [677]2

\* Dogmatische Abhandlungen: [678]1

\* Dogmengeschichte: [679]1 [680]2 [681]3 [682]4 [683]5 [684]6

\* Du armes Herz, ist's nit genuog,: [685]1

\* Du scheinst zu f�rchten, dass die Druckbogen mir eine Last seien.

Im Gegentheil, sie sind mir eine Freude und Belehrung gewesen. Ich

habe nie etwas so Befriedigendes �ber den Gegenstand gelesen.

Calvin tritt hervor mit seinem wahren Gesicht und in seiner hehren

Gestalt. Ich danke Dir herzlich f�r diese Mittheilung.": [686]1

\* Dyne Schaaf: [687]1

\* Eck: [688]1

\* Eer sye gott in den h�hinnen: [689]1

\* Egid. Tschudi als Staatsmann und Geschichtschreiber. Mit dessen

Bildniss: [690]1

\* Eidgen�ssische Chronik: [691]1

\* Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott: [692]1

\* Ein graeulich boes Buch: [693]1

\* Ein kurz christenliche ynleitung, die ein eersamer rat der statt

Z�rich den soelsorgern und pr�dicanten ... zugesandt habend: [694]1

\* Entwicklungsgeschichte des Protestantismus: [695]1

\* Erinnerungsbl�tter zur Einweihung des Zwingli-Denkmals in Z�rich.

Herausqegeben vom Denkmal-Komite: [696]1

\* Erst die Reformation: [697]1

\* Es ist in Wahrheit eine der gl�nzendsten Streitschriften, die je

aus seiner Feder geflossen, und auch wer seine Anschauungen nicht

theilt, wird ihm in diesem Streite die Palme zuerkennen m�ssen ....

Er entwickelt in der Vortheidigung des neuen Glaubenssystems eine

Kraft der Rede, eine Gewandtheit der Beweisf�hrung und eine F�lle

der Gedanken, welche die rhetorischen, sentimentalen, oft auch

inhaltsarmen Phrasen des Gegners um so mehr in ihrer Schw�che

zeigen. Den Glanzpunkt der Schrift Calvin's bildet aber vielleicht

seine eigene Vertheidigung. Mit Recht durfte er den versteckten

Angriffen des Cardinals gegen�ber auf sein vergangenes Leben

hinweisen, um den Beweis zu liefern, dass nicht die Aussicht auf

irdischen Gewinn oder �ussere Ehren, sondern seine ernste

Ueberzeugung seine Schritte geleitet, dass er erst nach schweren

K�mpfen von der katholischen Kirche sich losgesagt. Diese Schrift

war es, welche auch Luther's Herz f�r den w�lschen Rivalen

erw�rmte. Damals konnte Melanchthon nach Strassburg melden, dass

Calvin in Wittenberg 'hoch in Gnaden stehe: [698]1

\* Es ist nicht allein mein Bedenken, sondern auch dem�thiges Bitten,

E. F. G. wollten sie [die Wiedertaeufer] ernstlich des Landes

verweisen, denn est ist gleichwol des Teufels Samen: [699]1

\* Es ist nicht recht und mir wahrlich leid, dass man solche elende

Leute so jaemmerlich ermordet, verbrennet und graeulich umbringt;

man sollte ja einen jeglichen lassen glauben, was er wollt; glaubt

er unrecht, so hat er genug Strafen an dem ewigen Feuer in der

Hoellen. Warum will man sie denn auch noch zeitlich martern, so

ferne sie allein im Glauben irren und nicht auch daneben

aufruehrerisch sind oder sonst der Obrigkeit widerstreben! Lieber

Gott, wie bald ist's geschehen, dass einer irre wird und dem Teufel

in Stricke faellt? Mit der Schrift und Gottes Wort sollt man ihnen

wehren und widerstehen, mit Feuer wird man wenig ausrichten: [700]1

\* Es macht einen eigenth�mlichen Eindruck: [701]1

\* Evang. Reform. Kirchenzeitung: [702]1

\* Ewig tobsingen Dir.": [703]1

\* F�r den Empfang eines F�rsten h�tte nicht mehr Theilnahme bewiesen

werden k�nnen .... Am 13: [704]1

\* Fabelgedicht vom Ochsen und etlichen Thieren, Op.: [705]1

\* Fand Hilf bei ihr.: [706]1

\* Feigenfresser: [707]1

\* Festrede zu Zwingli's 400 j�hrigem Geburtstag 1 Jan., 1484,

gehalten in der Universit�tsaula zu Z�rich 7 Jan., 1884: [708]1

\* Festrede zur 50 j�hrigen Stiftungsfeier der Z�richer Universit�t:

[709]1

\* Frei und selbstherrlich sind viele V�lker geworden, aber wenige auf

so rechtliche und ruhige Weise als das B�ndner Volk: [710]1

\* Freistaat der drei B�nde: [711]1

\* Gebrechen, i.e: [712]1

\* Geiger des heil. Evangeliums und Lautenschl�ger des Alten und Neuen

Testaments: [713]1

\* Gemeindekirche: [714]1

\* Gemeine drei B�nde: [715]1

\* Gesch. der Schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft: [716]1

\* Gesch. der protestTheol: [717]1

\* Geschichte der Protest. Theologie: [718]1

\* Geschichte der Reformation: [719]1

\* Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass: [720]1

\* Geschichte der Republik Z�rich: [721]1

\* Geschichte der Schweiz. Eidgenossenschaft: [722]1

\* Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft: [723]1 [724]2

\* Geschichte der Wiedertaeufer und ihres Reichs zu M�nster: [725]1

\* Geschichte der heil. Schriften des Neuen Test: [726]1

\* Geschichte der protest. Theologie: [727]1

\* Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christl. Kirche: [728]1

\* Geschichte des Thurgau's: [729]1

\* Geschichte des deutschen Volkes: [730]1

\* Geschichte des schweizerischen Bundesrechtes: [731]1

\* Geschichte des schweizerischen Bundesrechts: [732]1

\* Gevatter: [733]1

\* Geyerrupfen: [734]1

\* Gib Muoth und St�rk: [735]1

\* Gnad und Fried von Gott. Liebste Hausfrau, ich sage Gott Dank, dass

er dir eine fr�hliche Geburt verliehen hat; der wolle uns die nach

seinem Willen zu erziehen verleihen. Schicke meiner Base ein oder

zwei T�chli [T�chlein], solcher Mass und Weise, als du sie tr�gst.

Sie kommt ziemlich [sittsam], doch nicht beginlich [i. e., wie eine

Nonne, eine Beghine], ist eine Frau von 40 Jahren in alle Weis und

Mass, wie sie Meister J�rgen Frau beschrieben hat. Thut mir und uns

Allen �ber die Mass g�tlich. Bis [Sei] hiemit Gott befohlen. Gr�sse

mir Gevatter Schaffnerin, Ulmann Trinkler, Schulthess Effingerin

und wer dir lieb sei. Bitt Gott f�r mich und uns Alle. Gegeben zu

Bern 11. Tag J�nners. Gr�sse mir alle deine Kinder. Besonders

Margreth tr�ste in meinem Namen. Huldreich Zwingli, dein Hauswirth:

[736]1

\* Gott, erhoch den Namen dyn: [737]1

\* Gotteshausbund: [738]1

\* Graue Bund: [739]1

\* Grobber: [740]1

\* Hast du mich gar verlassen: [741]1

\* Helvetische Kirchengeschichte: [742]1

\* Herr, nun heb den Wagen selbst: [743]1

\* Herr, zeige mir: [744]1

\* Hier das Schwert in meiner Hand: [745]1

\* Hilf, dass alle Bitterkeit: [746]1

\* Historische Nachricht: [747]1

\* Ich ring die Hand:: [748]1

\* Ich sage, dass unter dem Papst die wahre Christenheit ist; ja der

rechte Ausbund der Christenheit, und viel frommer grosser Heiligen:

[749]1

\* Ihr Vaterland in Amerika und die englische Sprache geben dem Werke

ein Gepr�ge, welches dasselbe von deutschen �hnlichen Schriften

eindr�cklich unterscheidet--es liegt ein so unmittelbares Auffassen

und Erfassen der Hauptsache, auf die es ank�mmt, ein so bestimmtes

Losgehen auf das Leben, das Praktische, darin--dass mich dieser

charakteristische Zug Ihrer gewaltigen Arbeit ungemein anzieht. Wie

verschieden sind doch die Anlagen und die Bed�rfnisse der V�lker!

Wer wollte deutsches, franz�sisches, englisches, amerikanisches

Blut und Wesen (ich nenne sie nach der historischen Reihenfolge)

zusammenschmelzen k�nnen! �berall ein eigenth�mlicher Zug! Jeder

werthvoll und lieb, wenn er nicht �bertrieben wird! Wer soll die

Einheit bilden? Dar�ber sind wir, mein hochverehrter Freund (ich

bin gl�cklich, so sagen zu d�rfen), einig. Aber was wird es einst

sein, wenn wir diese Einigung in ihrer vollen Verwirklichung, �ber

dieser Erde, erblicken werden!"--"Ich lese die Probebogen allezeit

mit dem gr�ssten Vergn�gen. Die Klarheit, Bestimmtheit und

Genauigkeit Ihrer Darstellung (bis in's Einzelnste) und der Geist

von dem sie getragen ist, gew�hren mir die gr�sste Befriedigung....

Was Zwingli in seiner Expositio Fidei an K�nig Franz I. �ber die

Weit jenseits des Grabes sagt, ist mir von allen seinen

Aeusserungen stets das Liebste, und in nichts f�hle ich mich ihm

mehr verwandt als gerade darin,--sowie in der Liebe, die ihn zu

Bullinger zog."--: [750]1

\* Im XIII. Jahrhundert erfolgt ueberall die rechtliche staatliche

Feststellung der Todesstrafe und Vermoegensconfiscation f�r

Ketzerei, und die Kirche hat diese staatlichen Strafen nicht nur

gebilligt, sondern auch verlangt, und die weltliche Obrigkeit, die

sie nicht verhaenge, selbst mit der Strafe der Ketzereibedroht:

[751]1

\* In Servet schien sich die produktive Kraft des Antitrinitarianismus

erschoepft zu haben. Von der Hoehe der Genialitaet und speculativer

Weltbetrachtung sank er zu der Stufe des trivialen ohnmaechtigen

Zweifels hinunter, und die jugendliche Frische und F�lle, die sich

in den Ideen des spanischen Arztes offenbarte, wich einem

altklugen, verstaendelnden, halbaufgeklaerten Wesen, das sich in

einer Fluth von subjektiven Meinungen ohne Halt und innere

Bedeutung zu erkennen gab. Nicht wenig wurde der kirchlichen

Parthei und Calvin an ihrer Spitze durch die geistige

Bedeutungslosigkeit ihrer Gegner der Kampf und Widerstand

erleichtert, und doch dauerte er noch dreizehn Jahre und endigte

mit einer aehnlichen gewaltsamen Katastrophe, wie diejenige, mit

welcher er begonnen hatte: [752]1

\* In der Straf: [753]1

\* In ihm ist bereits das Princip der Parit�t, d.h. der staatlichen

Gleichberechtigung, beider christlichen Confessionenenthalten. Es

ist anerkannt, dass kein Ort [Canton] den andern, dass auch die

Eidgenossenscha ft nicht einzelne Orte zur Beibehaltung oder zur

Ab�nderung ihres christlichen Glaubens zwingen d�rfe. Die

katholischen St�nde verzichteten somit hierin den reformirten

gegen�ber ausdr�cklich auf die Festhaltung des alten Rechtes des

Mittelalters, wornach jede energische Abweichung von dem

katholischen Glauben als ein Verbrechen behandelt und der Krieg

gegen die Ketzer als Pflicht angesehen ward. Sie erkannten das

Princip der Glaubensfreiheit, welches von den Reformirten zuerst

verk�ndigt worden war, nun den Reformirten Orten gegen�ber an,

nahmen es aber gleichzeitig auch f�r sich selber in Anspruch. Und

hin wieder gestanden die Reformirten St�nde dieFolgerichtigkeit

dieses Schlusses zu, und verzichteten darauf, die Orte zur Annahme

der Reformation zu n�thigen: [754]1

\* In keiner Lehre Servet's zeigt sich so sehr als in der

Abendmahlslehre sein vermittelnder Standpunkt. Tritt er doch wieder

als Schiedsrichter auf zwischen dem magisch-materialistischen

Katholicismus und dem quaekerischen Spiritismus, zwischen Realismus

und Idealismus, zwischen lutherischer Mystik und zwingli'scher

Rationalistik: [755]1

\* Inventarium �ber die Hinterlassenschaft des Erasmus vom 22 Juli,

1536: [756]1

\* Ist das Schwert, das mich erschlug: [757]1

\* J�rg Jenatsch: [758]1

\* Ja, H�ngg und K�ssnacht ist ein gew�ssere Kilch denn all z�sammen

gerottet bishof und p�pst: [759]1

\* Jahrhunderts: [760]1

\* Jetzst geht's �ber die Geistlichen, dann kommt es an die Junker:

[761]1

\* Joannes Calvinus so ein gel�hrter frommer Gesell sein soll und zu

Zeiten auch in Theologia lese, zudem auch zu den Reuwern

franz�sisch predige, haben die Herren ... ist beschlossen dasz man

demselben nuhn f�rter ein Jar lang die 52 fl. alsz ein zuhelffer

geben und soll prima Maij angehen: [762]1

\* Johann Sturm, der erste Rektor der Strassburger Akademie: [763]1

\* Johannes Calvin ragt ebensowohl durch den Umfang seiner

exegetischen Arbeiten wie durch eine seltene Genialitat in der

Auslegung hervor; unuebertroffen in seinem Jahrhundert, bieten

seine Exegesen fuer alle folgenden Zeiten noch bis heute einen

reichen Stoff der Schriftkenntniss dar: [764]1

\* Justus Menius, der Reformator Th�ringens: [765]1

\* K�m' doch myn End!: [766]1

\* Kannst du noch nicht verbluoten?: [767]1

\* Karl V. hier f�r den Sieg eines Mannes mith�tig zu sehen, dessen

Wirksamkeit, wie kaum eine andere, dazu beigetragen hat, die

Grundlagen seiner Macht zu untergraben: [768]1

\* Ketzerei kann man nimmermehr mit Gewalt wehren, es gehoert ein

ander Griff dazu, und ist hie ein ander Streit und Handel, denn mit

dem Schwert. Gottes Wortsoll hie streiten; wenn das nicht

ausreicht, so wird's wohl unausgerichtet bleiben von weltlicher

Gewalt, ob sie gleich die Welt mit Blut f�llet. Ketzerei ist ein

geistlich Ding, das kann man mit keinem Eisen hauen, mit keinem

Feuer verbrennen, mit keinem Wasser ertraenken. Es ist aber allein

das Wort Gottes da, das thut's, wie Paulus sagt 2 Cor. 10:4, 5:

[769]1

\* Kirchendieb: [770]1

\* Kirchengeschichte: [771]1 [772]2 [773]3 [774]4 [775]5

\* Klosterkirche der Reuerinnen: [776]1

\* Komm du, o Buoch du warst syn Hort,: [777]1

\* Kriegszug: [778]1

\* Kritische Bemerkungen �ber Harvey und seine Vorgaenger: [779]1

\* Landsfriede: [780]1

\* Lehrbuch des katholischen und evangelischen Kirchenrechts: [781]1

\* Lehre vom freien Willen: [782]1

\* Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte: [783]1

\* Lieb haben inniglich!: [784]1

\* Literatur-blatt: [785]1

\* Luther warf von Anfang an Zwingli mit M�nzer und Karlstadt

zusammen. Kein Vorwurf und Vorurtheil gegen Zwingli ist

ungerechter, aber auch kein Vorwurf gl�nzender widerlegt, als

dieser, und zwar eben durch die Klarheit und Bestimmtheit, mit

welcher Zwingli seine Principien gegen die Wiedert�ufer entfaltet.

Im Gegentheil; die maasslose Subjectivit�t die bei M�nzer,

Karlstadt, bei den Wiedert�ufern zum Ausbruch kommt, und die solche

Willk�hr bleibt, auch wenn sie sich auf den Buchstaben der Schrift

beruft, ist das vollst�ndige Gegentheil der Principien Zwingli's:

[786]1

\* Luther's Lebensende: [787]1

\* M. Luther und M. Servet: [788]1

\* M. Servet und Martin Butzer: [789]1

\* Magazin f�r die Lit. des Auslandes: [790]1 [791]2

\* Magdalenen Kirche: [792]1

\* Man spricht dietsch: [793]1

\* Man spricht mehr deutsch: [794]1

\* Mich dynes Zornes Ruthen!: [795]1

\* Michael Servet und Martin Butzer: [796]1 [797]2

\* Mit dem n�mlichen Gesetz �ber freie Aus�bung des evangelischen

Glaubens wurde die ganze Kezerei der Wiedertaufe streng untersagt

und alle ihre Anh�nger mit Verbannung bedroht. Die strenge

Ueberwachung der erstern dieser zwei Verordnungen hatte in Bezug

auf �ffentliche Ruhe und Frieden zwischen beiden Confessionen

�usserst wohlth�tige Folgen, indem beide Theile sich lange Zeit

hindurch der gr�ssten M�ssigung beflissen, hiserst in den letzten

Jahren bei den katholischen Geistlichen sich abermals eine

feindselige Stimmung gegen die evangelischen Prediger in

Schm�hungen aller Art kund gab, wor�ber mannigfache Klagen vor dem

Beitag laut wurden: [798]1

\* Mit unglaublicher Begeisterung, wie im Triumphe, wurde er von dem

Folk und dem Magistrate empfangen: [799]1

\* Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evang. Kirche des Elsasses:

[800]1

\* Myconius hatte keine kirchliche Ordination erhalten, noch viel

weniger etwas von dem was man einen akademischen Grad nennt. Er war

weder Baccalaureus, noch Licentiat, noch Magister, noch Doctor

geworden: [801]1

\* Myn Gott, Myn Gott,: [802]1

\* Neben Luther: [803]1

\* Neujahrsblatt: [804]1

\* Nicht �berdisputirt, aber �berschrieen ist er: [805]1

\* Nicht ohne Bewunderung: [806]1

\* Nirgends, auch nicht in seiner spaeteren Zeit, that Luther

Aeusserungen, in welchen er den Grundsatz des damaligen allgemeinen

Rechts (auch der Carolina), dass z. B. Bestreitung der

Trinitaetslehre oder andere bloss dogmatische Irrlehre schon als

solche mit dem Tod bestraft werden sollte, sich angeeignet hatte.

So weit wir sehen, hat er darin doch immer sehr von Calvin und auch

von Melanchthon, ja von allen anderen Hauptlehrern der Reformation

sich unterschieden. Insbesondere beschraenkt er sich, z. B. einem

Antitrinitatier wie Joh. Campan gegen�ber ('filium Satanae,

adversarium Dei, quem plus etiam quam Arius blasphemat'), doch auf

den Wunsch, dass die Obrigkeit 'tales furias non vocatas' nicht

zulassen moege. Briefe v. De Wette IV. 321. Auch die schaerfsten

Ausserungen der Tischreden (cf. auch die Colloquien ed. Bindseil)

gehen nie weiter, soweit sie dogmatische Irrlehren betreffen:

[807]1

\* Noch h�her w�rde die Nachwelt sein Verdienst anschlagen, wenn er

sich selbst desselben weniger bewusst gewesen w�re: [808]1

\* O Herre Gott, wie heftig shluog: [809]1

\* Obere Bund: [810]1

\* Ohne alle Frage der groesste Exeget des: [811]1

\* Papstthum und Kaiserthum: [812]1

\* Peter MartyrVermigli. Leben und ausgew�hlte Schriften: [813]1

\* Pflug, Plough: [814]1

\* Pfuch der Schand: [815]1

\* Pfui der Schande: [816]1

\* Ph. Melanchthon und M. Servet: [817]1

\* Quellen zur Gesch. der b�hmischen Br�der: [818]1

\* R�tische Geschichte: [819]1

\* Rede bei der Bundesfeier der Eidgen�ssischen polytechn. Schule, und

der Hochschule Z�rich am 25 Juli 1891: [820]1

\* Reform. Glaubenslehre: [821]1

\* Reformation im Kanton Aargau: [822]1

\* Reis: [823]1

\* Reislaufen: [824]1 [825]2

\* Ruh: [826]1

\* Sammilung alter und neuer Urkunden: [827]1

\* Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der

Kirchengeschichte: [828]1

\* Sammlung rh�tischer Geschlechter: [829]1

\* Scheide feer [fern],: [830]1

\* Schelb [schief] wird sust [sonst]: [831]1

\* Schweizergeschichte: [832]1

\* Sept. hielt er unter dem Jubel der Bev�lkerung seinen feierlichen

Einzug in Genf: [833]1

\* Servet auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg: [834]1

\* Servet und die oberlaendischen Reformatoren: [835]1 [836]2

\* Servet's Kindheit und Jugend: [837]1

\* Sie pfl�gen: [838]1

\* So griff er nach der Bibel,: [839]1

\* So manche Erfahrung von Calvin's Schroffheit Lelio sowohl an sich

selbst als an andern gemacht hatte, so war doch nichts im Stande,

sein achtungsvolles Zutrauen zu dem ausserordentlichen Manne zu

schw�chen. Gerade wie ein Pol den entgegensetzten anzieht, so wurde

Lelio's negative Natur von der positiven Calvin's unaufh�rlich

angezogen, so konnte der Mann des Zweifels aus einer Art von

Instinkt nicht umhin, bei dem Felsenmann des Glaubens, der mit

beispielloser K�hnheit und Consequenz die Tiefen der Gottheit

erforschte, gleichsam seine Erg�nzung zu suchen, ohne dass die

totale Divergenz beider Naturen eine Uebereinstimmung des Denkens

und der Ansichten jemals erwarten liess: [840]1

\* Sonderbunds-Krieg: [841]1 [842]2

\* Sonderbundskrieg: [843]1

\* Staatenbund: [844]1 [845]2

\* Stadtbibliothek in Z�rich auf das Jahr 1889: [846]1

\* Strassburg hatte in Kurzem eine bl�hende wohlgeordnete franz�sische

Fl�chtlingsgemeinde mit Predigt und Bibelstunden, mit regelm�ssiger

Abendmahlsfeier und Psalmengesang, insbesondere aber mit einer

strenge gehandhabten Disciplin, und nicht ohne Staunen erz�hlten

die deutschen Pastoren bald einander von den Einrichtungen und dem

merkw�rdigen Eifer der neuen Emigrantenkirche in Strassburg: [847]1

\* Strassburger Kirchenordnung: [848]1

\* Studien und Kritiken: [849]1

\* Symbolik: [850]1 [851]2

\* Syn Trost in allem Uebel.: [852]1

\* System der christl. Glaubenslehre: [853]1

\* Taufbuechlein: [854]1

\* Theologie der Concordienformel: [855]1

\* Thomas Aquinas, der Lehrer Servet's: [856]1

\* Tschudi als Geschichtschreiber: [857]1

\* U. Zwingli's Lehrbuchlein, oder wie man die Jugend in guten Sitten

und christlicher Zucht auferziehen und lehren solle: [858]1

\* Ueber Leben, Lehre und Sekte des David Joris: [859]1

\* Uff den 30 tag Julij Anno 39 ist Johannes Calvinus uff unser Herren

der statt Straszburg Saal erschinnen, und sich angeben lut der

Ordnung und will dienen mit den schnydern: [860]1

\* Umsubstanzler, Einbroter, Fig�rler: [861]1

\* Und alte TreuWiederkeer: [862]1

\* Und doch hatte Erasmus diesen Einfaltspinsel von Schulmeister

fr�her seines Umgangs gew�rdigt und ihn vor Vielen ausgezeichnet!

Aber der gr�mliche Mann war jetzt gegen alles erbittert, was mit

der von ihm verkannten und gehassten Reformation in Verbindung

stand und glaubte sich, vom alten Ruhme seines Namens zehrend,

berechtigt, seinem Unwillen jeden beliebigen Ausdruck zu geben:

[863]1

\* Und es hat sich begeben, dass sie bei einander gewesen sind, bis

die Angst auf sie kam und sie in ihren Herzen gedrungen wurden; da

haben sie angefangen ihre Kniee zu beugen vor dem h�chsten Gott im

Himmel, und ihn angerufen, dass er ihnen geben wolle, seinen

g�ttlichen Willen zu vollbringen. Darauf hat J�rg [Blaurock] sich

erhoben und um Gottes willen gebeten, dass Conrad [Grebel] ihn

taufe mit der rechten wahren christlichen Taufe auf seinen Glauben

und seine Erkenntniss; ist wieder auf die Kniee gefallen und von

Conrad getauft worden; und alle �brigen Anwesenden haben sich dann

von J�rg taufen lassen. Hiern�chst hat derselbe, seinem eigenen

Bericht zufolge, damit die Br�der des Todes Christi allweg

eingedenk w�ren und sein vergossen Blut nicht verg�ssen, ihnen den

Brauch Christi angezeigt,den er in seinem Nachtmal gehalten hat,

und zugleich mit ihnen das Brot gebrochen und den Trank getrunken,

damit sie sich erinnerten, dass sie alle durch den einigen Leib

Christi erl�st und durch sein einiges Blut abqewaschen seien, auf

dass sie alle eins und je einer des anderen Bruder und Schwester in

Christo ihrem Herrn w�ren: [864]1

\* Und frid uf erden: [865]1

\* Unde werde neu:: [866]1

\* Unitas Fratrum, Br�dergemeinde: [867]1

\* Urkunden zur Geschichte der eidgen�ssischen B�nde: [868]1

\* Uslegung: [869]1 [870]2

\* Veracht so freventlich.: [871]1

\* Vogteien: [872]1

\* Volkskirche: [873]1

\* Von Erkiesen und Fryheit der Spysen (: [874]1

\* Von dem Christlichen Touff der Gl�ubigen: [875]1

\* Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern: [876]1

\* Von der Wiedertaufe an zwei Pfarrherrn: [877]1

\* Von irgend einem Anschlag gegen den Kaiser: [878]1

\* Von weltlicher Obrigkeit wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei:

[879]1

\* Ward er verfolgt mit That und Wort,: [880]1

\* Was Zwingli verneint hatte, das verneinte auch er [Myconius]

fortw�hrend. Nie h�tte er zugegeben, dass Leib und Blut Christi

ihrer leiblichen Substanz nach in den Elementen des Abendmahls

vorhanden seien; nie zugegeben, dass sie auch von den Ungl�ubigen

genossen werden. Was dagegen Zwingli mehr zugegeben, als in den

Vordergrund gestellt hatte, den geistlichen Genuss durch den

Glauben, das hob er mit Nachdruck hervor. Mit gutem Gewissen

glaubte er in den Fusstapfen seines Meisters fortzuwandeln, der so

redlich und tapfer in Marburg die Hand zum Frieden geboten hatte:

[881]1

\* Was den Servet zum Servet machte: [882]1

\* Weisse Buch: [883]1

\* Wenn �ber jemand der Geist Gottes kam, beklagte und beweinte er

seine S�nden und bat den ersten besten, ihn zu taufen; dieser

bespritzte oder �bersch�ttete ihn unter Nennung der drei g�ttlichen

Personen mit Wasser. Einem f�rmlichen Untertauchen, wie es sp�ter

wohl vorkommt, begegnen wir zun�chst nicht ...Meistens wurde die

Taufe in irgend einem Hause vollzogen; aber auch im Freien wurde

getauft: so Rudolph Breitinger bei Gelegenheit eines Spazierganges

am Neppelbach, ein anderer beim Brunnen zu Hirslanden.": [884]1

\* Wenn auch Calvin: [885]1

\* Wer misst die Not ?: [886]1

\* Wer nag myn Elendfassen?: [887]1

\* Westphal wird zum Selbstankl�ger in der Vorrede zu der Collectanea

aus Augustin, r�hmt die That der Unbarmherzigkeit als eine gute

That, und stellt Nebuchadnezzar als Vorbild f�r solche F�lle auf:

[888]1

\* Wie mir M. Luther uff der strass [Reise] gen Wittenberg begegnet

ist: [889]1

\* Wiedrum erweck,: [890]1

\* Wiewol es crudele anzusehen, dass man sie mit dem Schwert straft,

so ists doch crudelius, dass sie ministerium verbi damniren und

keine gewisse Lehre treiben, und rechte Lehre unterdr�cken, und

dazu regna mundi zerstoeren wollen: [891]1

\* Wir betend dich an, wir verehrend dich: [892]1

\* Wir lobend dich, wir prysend dich: [893]1

\* Wirrkopf: [894]1

\* Z�rich am Ausgange des 13ten Jahrh.: [895]1

\* Z�rich am Ausgange des dreizehnten Jahrh: [896]1

\* Z�rich klagt: Bern ist zu witzig: [897]1

\* Zehngerichtenbund: [898]1

\* Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch: [899]1

\* Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte: [900]1

\* Zu bedauern aber ist, dass eine so grosse geistige Kraft im Dienste

des Irrthums war: [901]1

\* Zum ersten sollent und wollent Wir, die von Z�rich, unsre getr�we

liebe Eydgenossen von den V Orten: [902]1

\* Zum schweren Werk: [903]1

\* Zwar hatte darin Zwingli ein richtiges politisches Princip

ausgesprochen, dass im wirklichen ernsten Conflict zwischen der

innern Berechtigung und dem �ussern, formellen Recht am Ende dieses

jener weichen m�sse. Aber er hatte dieses Princip weder richtig

angewendet; denn ein solcher Widerspruch lag in dem eidgen�ssischen

Bundesrecht denn doch nicht oder lange nicht in dem angegebenen

Masse vor, noch waren die Mittel, welche er vorschlug, um ein

vermeintlich besseres, weil nat�rlicheres Recht herzustellen, zu

rechtfertigen. Und musste ein gerechter Mann zugeben, dass die F�nf

Orte auch ihre Stellung nicht rein erhielten von Missbrauch, so war

doch nicht zu l�ugnen, dass damals auf Seite der St�dte und

insbesondere Z�richs der Missbrauch ihrer Stellung in

eidgen�ssischen Dingen gr�sser war, dass somit die St�dte sich

durchaus nicht eigneten, als Vertreter der 'g�ttlichen

Gerechtigkeit und Strafe' die F�nf Orte von ihren hergebrachten

Rechten zu entsetzen. Auch in der ausw�rtigen Politik verliess

Zwingli nun die Grunds�tze des eidgen�ssischen Rechtes, die er

selber vorher mit Nachdruck vertheidigt hatte. Er ging in

reformatorischem Eifer Verbindungen ein und nahm an politischen

Planen Theil, welche den Frieden und selbst die Existenz der

Eidgenossenschaft gef�hrden mussten: [904]1

\* Zwingli blieb in n�chster N�he bei den K�mpfenden stehen, machte

aber nach dem Zeugniss von Freund und Feind von seinen Waffen

keinen Gebrauch: [905]1

\* Zwingli erinnert in seinem Wesen immer wieder an seine helle

Heimath; wir haben stets den in frischer Bergluft gest�rkten und

gest�hlten Alpensohn vor uns: [906]1

\* Zwingli und Bullinger--welche Verschiedenheit! Zwingli's rasches,

feuriges Temperament, Bullinger's Ruhe und Gelassenheit; Zwingli's

schneidender, stechender Witz, Bullinger's einl�ssliche

Gr�ndlichkeit; daher auch Zwingli's K�rze, Bullinger's

Ausf�hrlichkeit in den meisten seiner Arbeiten. Wie geeignet zur

gegenseitigen Erg�nzung!: [907]1

\* Zwingli und Landgraf Philipp: [908]1

\* Zwingli ward funden ligend uf sim angsicht: [909]1

\* Zwingli wur von Anfang an und durch sein ganzes Leben hindurch kaum

viel weniger darauf bedacht, politisch einzugreifen als die Kirche

zu reformiren. W�hrend Luther mit ganzer Seele die Wiederbelebung

und Reinigung des christlichen Glaubens anstrebte und sich

ausschliesslich dieser Aufgabe widmete, wollte Zwingli nicht bloss

Kirchen-, sondern zugleich auch Staatsmann sein. Indem sich Zwingli

der kirchlichen Reformation in der Schweiz bem�chtigte und diese

von Z�rich aus �ber die ganze Schweiz zu verbreiten trachtete, ging

er zugleich mit Planen um, die Schweiz politisch umzugestalten:

[910]1

\* Zwingli's Bedeutung neben Luther: [911]1

\* blieb nicht ohne alle Frucht. Sie hatte wenigstens dieFolge, dass

ein Gesetz erlassen wurde, wonach es in den drei B�nden Jedermann,

wess Standes oder Geschlechts er auch war, freigestellt wurde, nach

Gutd�nken zu einer der beiden Confessionem, der katholischen oder

evangelischen, sich zu bekennen und an ihr festzuhalten. Hiebei

wurde, unter Androhung einer angemessenen Strafe, Jedem streng

untersagt, irgend Jemanden um seines Glaubens willen zu schm�hen

oder, sei es �ffentlich oder heimlich, zu verfolgen, wie diess von

der andern Partei schon oft genug geschehen war. Bei dieser

Gelegenheit wurde ein altes Landesgesetz den Geistlichen aufs Neue

eingesch�rft, wonach selbe durchaus keine andere, als die in der h.

Schrift enthaltene Lehre dem Volke vortragen sollten: [912]1

\* dessglichen auch ihr lieb Mitb�rger und Landl�t von Wallis und alle

ihre Mithaften, si syegent geistlich oder weltlich, by ihrem waaren

ungezwyffleten, christenlichen Glauben jetzt und hernach in ihren

eignen St�dten, Landen, Gebieten und Herrlichkeiten g�nzlich

ungearguirt und ungedisputirt blyben lassen, all b�ss F�nd, Usz�g,

Gef�hrd und Arglist vermieden und hintangesetzt.--Hinwiderum so

w�llent Wir, von den V Orten, unser Eydgnossen von Z�rich und ihre

eigne Mitverwandten by ihrem Glauben auch blyben lassen. Wir von

den V Orten behaltend uns in diesem Frieden luter vor alle, die uns

sampt und sonders mit Burg und Landrecht, auch in ander W�g

verwandt sind, auch all die, so uns Hilf, Rath, Bystand und Zuzug

bewiesen und gethan, also dass die harin luter mit uns begriffen

und verfaszt syn s�llent.--Hinwiederum so behaltent Wir von Z�rich

uns vor, das die, so uns Hilf, Rath, Bystand und Zuzug gethan vor

und in disem Krieg es sye in Abschlagung der Profiant oder in ander

Weg, dass die auch in diesem Frieden vergriffen syn s�llent.--Wyter

so behaltend Wir, von den V Orten uns vor und durgent luter us, die

us den fryen Aemptern im Erg�uw, Bremgarten, und Mellingen, so sich

denen von Bern anh�ngig gemacht, ihnen zuzogen, und, uns zu

�berziehen, Vorschub gethan, dessglychen sie die Berner noch

ufenthaltend, desshalben ihnen viellichter der Frieden nit

annehmlich syn, zudem unsser Nothdurft zu Usf�hrung des Kriegs

gegen den Berneren will erforderen, dass man dosselbst Durchzug

haben m�cht, desshalb wir sie jetzmalen zu diesem Frieden nit

begriffen lassent. Dessglychen behaltend Wir auch luter vor, die

von Rapperschwyl, Toggenburg, Gastern und die von Wesen, so unsser

Eydgnossen von Z�rich nutzit angahnt noch verwandt sind, dass die

in disem Frieden auch usgeschlossen und nit begriffen syn s�llent,

doch dass nach Gnaden und in Ziemlichkeit mit ihnen gehandlet werd,

mit Straf oder mit Recht: [913]1

\* die Verherrlichung Gottes durch die wirkliche volle Herrschaft

seines Wortes im Leben der Christenheit: [914]1

\* die aergerlichste aller Streitigkeiten: [915]1

\* ebenb�rtig: [916]1

\* eggen: [917]1

\* ein Martin Luther ebenb�rtiger Zeuge des evangelischen Glaubens:

[918]1

\* ein rationalistischer Gef�hlstheologe mit ausgepr�gt aesthetischem

Anstrich: [919]1

\* ein redlicher alter Christ: [920]1

\* eine Mitarbeiterin am Wort, welche dir, dem Apostel, beh�lflich

ist: [921]1

\* einer der widerw�rtigsten lutherischen Pfaffen seiner Zeit: [922]1

\* er habe sich lassen beg�ssen mit Wasser, und syg [sei] Felix Manz

t�ifer gesin [T�ufer gewesen]: [923]1

\* ersonnene Verleumdungen, wie rechtschaffene Katholiken laengst

zugeben, anderen aber gut genug zum Wiederabdrucken: [924]1

\* gemeine Herrschaften: [925]1

\* gewesenen Landammanns zu Glarus Chronicon Helveticum oder

gr�ndliche Beschreibung der merkw�rdigsten Begegnussen l�blicher

Eidgenossenschaft: [926]1

\* gottlose Heiden: [927]1

\* graben: [928]1

\* greuliche Numa": [929]1

\* hat eine rh�to-romanische Literatur geschaffen. Die M�nche und

Priester behaupteten, der Engadiner Dialect sei so verdorben, dass

er keines schriftlichen Ausdruckes f�hig sei: [930]1

\* in dem Rhin von dem Grebel under getr�ckt und bedeckt: [931]1

\* in grossen und vielen S�nden und Gottesl�sterung: [932]1

\* ist seine Lehre von Christo: [933]1

\* jemanden des Glaubens halben, wo wir nicht sonst genugsam Ursache

der Verwirkung haben moegen, mit dem Schwert richten zu lassen.

Denn so es die Meinung haben sollte, m�ssten wir keinen Juden noch

Papisten, die Christum am hoechsten blasphemiren, bei uns dulden

und sie dergestalt richten lassen: [934]1

\* kriegsr�stig: [935]1

\* mich und mengen eeren man [manchen Ehrenmann] wirt es kosten, und

wirt die wahrheit und Kylch [Kirche] nodt lyden; doch von Christus

werdent wir nit verlassen: [936]1

\* parteiische Verst�mmelung und Entstellung: [937]1

\* putzen: [938]1

\* reisig: [939]1

\* sechszehnten: [940]1

\* sehen wir in ihnen den gelehrten Verfasser der Institution selbst

den untergeordneten Fragen der st�dtischen Verwaltung und Polizei

seine Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden. Da finden wir ausf�hrliche

Instructionen f�r den Bauaufseher, Anordnungen f�r den Fall einer

Feuersbrunst, Anweisungen f�r den Aufseher des st�dtischen

Gesch�tzwesens, Verhaltungsregeln sogar f�r den Nachtw�chter, f�r

die Ketten-, Thor-, und Thurmh�ter: [941]1

\* ten: [942]1

\* und backen: [943]1

\* und richten nichts aus: [944]1

\* und verharet mitt sinem Gesicht zu stunen am hymel: [945]1

\* volksth�mlich: [946]1

\* von seltener Gelehrsamkeit, feiner, vielseitiger Bildung, scharfem,

durchdringendem Geiste, kr�ftigem, aber strengem Charakter,

vollkommen w�rdig, den �brigen H�uptern der Reformation zur Seite

zu stehen, an Sch�rfe des Geistes zum Theil ihnen noch �berlegen:

[947]1

\* wahrscheinlich durch gelegentliche und unabsichtliche Aeusserungen

zur Entdeckung Servets Anlass gab, so ist es doch durchaus

unerwiesen, dass er Trie's Brief provocirt oder gar dictirt habe:

[948]1

\* war auch gar nie und von keiner Seite die Rede: [949]1

\* wurde ihm leicht verziehen: [950]1

\* zugewandte Orte: [951]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of French Words and Phrases

\* " Nostre Dieu est ferme appuy,: [952]1

\* "Ici, dit le ministre quelques paroles de l'�criture pour consoler

les consciences, et fait l'absolution en cette mani�re:: [953]1

\* "L'homme du midi [Farel] �tait fait pour conqu�rir; l'homme du nord

[Calvin] pour conserver et discipliner la conqu�te. Farel en eut le

sentiment si distinct, qu'il s'effa�a spontan�ment devant Calvin le

jour o�il le contraignit par les 'tonnerres' de sa parole de

demeurer �Gen�ve, qui avait besoin de son g�nie: [954]1

\* "Toutefois, Seigneur, nous avons d�plaisir en nous-m�mes, de

t'avoir offens�, et condamnons nous et nos vices, avec vraie

repentance, d�sirant que to gr�ce [et aide] subviennent �notre

calamit�: [955]1

\* "Un chacunde vous se reconnaisse vraiment p�cheur, s'humiliant

devant Dieu, et croie que le Pare c�leste lui veut �tre propice en

J�sus-Christ. A tous ceux qui, en cette mani�re se repentent, et

cherchent J�sus-Christ pour leur salut, je d�nonce l'absolution au

nom du P�re, du Fils, et du Saint-Esprit. Amen: [956]1

\* "les articles donn�s par M: [957]1

\* �veille une id�e toute voisine de celle de: [958]1

\* , et: [959]1

\* . Contre les erreurs d�testables de Michel Servet, Espaignol. O�il

est aussi monstr�, qu'il est licite de punir les heretiques; et

qu'�bon droict ce meschant a est�execut�par justice en la ville de

Gen�ve: [960]1

\* ."Qu'il nous soit donn��tous deux avant de quitter cette vie de

pouvoir terminer nos travaux commenc�s,--toi, ton Histoire ... moi,

mon Introduction au Nouveau Testament.... Le premier volume, les

�pitres de Paul, sera, j'esp�re, termin�et imprim�avec la fin de

Pann�e (1892) si ...: [961]1

\* : "Calvin fut tellement receu de singuli�re affection par ce poure

peuple recognoissant so faute, et qui estoit affam�d'ouir son

fidele Pasteur, qu'on ne cessa point qu'il ne fut arrest�pour

tousiours: [962]1

\* : "Le trait saillant du caract�re de Marguerite c'est d'avoir

alli�toute sa vie les id�es religieuses et les id�es d'amour

mondain: [963]1

\* : "le vous demande justice, messeigneurs, justice, justice,

justice: [964]1

\* A mon bon frere et amy maistre Michel Villanovanus Docteur en

Medicine soyt donn�e ceste presente a Vienne: [965]1

\* Articles du procureur-g�n�ral: [966]1

\* Au reste, ceulx qui me cognoissent, savent bien que nay iamais

aspire davoir entree aux courtz des princes, dautant que ie nestois

pas tent�de parvenir aux estatz: [967]1

\* Auquel aurons en notre ennuy,: [968]1

\* Bastien de Chatillon: [969]1

\* Bolsec seroit un homme tout-�-fait plong�dans les t�n�bres de

l'oubli, s'il ne s'�tait rendu fameux par certains ouvrages

satiriques: [970]1

\* C'�tait le r�ceptacle des bannis de la France: [971]1

\* C'est ici comme le point final appos��tout ce qui pr�cede; ce

dernier mot rend compte de tout le plan de Dieu, dont les phases

principales viennent d'�tre esquiss�es: [972]1

\* C'est un Espagnol Portugallois nomm�Michael Servetus de son propre

nom, mais il se nomme Villeneuve �pr�sent, faisant le M�decin. Il a

demeur�quelque temps �Lyon, maintenant il se tient �Vienne, o�le

livre dont je parle a �t�imprim�par un quidam qui a

l�dress�imprimerie, nomm�Balthazard Arnoullet. Et afin que vous ne

pensiez que je en parle �cr�dit, je vous envoye la premi�re feuille

pour enseigne: [973]1

\* Calvin �pousa la veuve de Jean Lestordeur, natif de Li�ge, de

religion anabaptiste; il l'a chang�e �son opinion: elle �tait

appel�e Idelette de Bure: [974]1

\* Calvin a �t�le magistrat supr�me d'une democratie: [975]1

\* Calvin and La Place: [976]1

\* Calvin au Val d'Aosta: [977]1

\* Calvin eut d�s 1541 et exer�a jusqu'�sa mort un pouvoir absolu. Il

organisa le gouvernement de Gen�ve au profit presque exclusif des

ministres du culte r�form�: [978]1

\* Calvin mourant ne laissa que 125 �cus de fortune �ses h�ritiers. Le

petit tr�sor de Farel trouv�apr�s sa mort se montait �120 livres du

pays: [979]1

\* Calvin r�unissait tons les fils du pouvoir supr�me en sa personne:

[980]1

\* Calvin se rendit le maistre, l'�vesque, le seigneur, disposant de

la religion, de l'estat, de la ville, du gouvernement, de la

police, comme bon luy sembloit: [981]1

\* Ce iourd'huy environ huit heures du soir le sp. Ian Calvin est

all�a Dieu, sain et entier, graces a Dieu, de sens et entendement:

[982]1

\* Ce qui ressort d'une �tude attentive des faits, c'est que Calvin

est sorti d�ja protestant de sa ville natale. C'est dans ce centre

qu'il puisa ses id�es. Il y trouva tout d'abord l'appui le plus

ferme, ses amis les plus chauds et ses lieutenants les plus

d�vou�s. A un moment donn�, la moiti�de la population se d�clara

pour lui. Chose remarquable, un nombre consid�rable des ses

compatriots, et parmi eux les personnages les plus en vue, le

suivirent jusqu'�Gen�ve. Durant toute sa vie, Calvin conserva

d'actifs rapports avec sa villenatale et ceux de ses fid�les qui y

�taient rest�s: [983]1

\* Cerberus, respond que non, et quil ne la point dict en ceste sorte

et quil ne le veult point maintenir: [984]1

\* Chant de Victoire chant�a Jesus Christ: [985]1

\* Charles et mon fr�r�, avec ma femme et les autres se portoyent

bien: [986]1

\* Chateillon: [987]1

\* Chroniqueur en l'an 1536: [988]1

\* Cinq cens florins, douze coppes de froment et deux bossot de vin:

[989]1

\* Conseil �la France d�sol�e, auquel est montr�e la cause de la

guerre pr�sente et le rem�de qui y pourroit �tre mis, et

principalement est avis�si on doit forcer les consciences: [990]1

\* Conseil des Deux-cents (Lundi 19 Mars). Fuit propositum negotium

illorum Katabaptistarum sur lesquelz a est�advis�que iceulx et tous

aultres de leur secte soyent perpetuellement bannys de ceste cit�et

terres dicelle sus poenne de la vye: [991]1

\* Correspond. des R�f: [992]1

\* Correspondance de Calvin avec L. du Tillet: [993]1

\* Correspondance des R�f: [994]1

\* D'autres, dans ces derniers temps surtout, s'�levant au-dessus

d'�troits pr�jug�s dogmatiques, moins homines de parti que

philosophes, ont entrepris de juger cette grande figure historique

avec l'impartialit�que commande l'histoire; ilsont vu en Calvin,

non pas le fondateur d'une secte, mais une de ces hautes

intelligences qui apparaissent de loin en loin pour dominer une

�poque, 'et r�pandent sur les plus grandes choses l'�clat de leur

propre grandeur: [995]1

\* Dans un act de se jour: [996]1

\* De B�ze succ�de a la place de Calvin. Il aura la charge quil avoit

oultre ce quil a faire les le�ons. Arreste quon luy baille le gage

quavoit M. Calvin. Et au reste quand se viendra ceans quon se

contente quil soit assis au banc dabas et quon luy presente la

maison dudit Sr. Calvin sil y veult aller: [997]1

\* De la confession: que l'on donne ordre faire que tous les

dizenniers ameneront leurs gens dizenne par dizzenne en l'�glise S.

Pierre et la leur seront leuz les articles touchant la confession

en dieu et seront interrogu�s s'ils veulent cela tenir; aussi sera

faict le serment de fidelit��la ville: [998]1

\* De la maison de Calvin: [999]1

\* De notaire apostolique, la premi�re charge qu'il obtint, il devint

successivement notaire du chapitre, greffier de l'officialit�,

procureur fiscal du comt�et promoteur du chapitre. C'est�Noyon, en

quelque sorte, le fac-totum du clerg�: [1000]1

\* Declaration pour maintenir la vraye foy que tiennent tous

Chr�stiens de la Trinit�des personnes en un seul Dieu. Par: [1001]1

\* Dieu lui avait imprim�un charact�re d'une si grande majest�:

[1002]1

\* Discours d'adieu aux membres du Petit Conseil: [1003]1

\* Discours d'adieu aux ministres: [1004]1

\* Dixi�me s�ance du Consistoire, premi�re dont il existe un proc�s

verbal, lequel mentionne entre autres la pr�sence de Calvin et de

Viret. Les autres ministres membres du C., sont Bernard, Henri, et

Champeraux. Viret est mentionn�pour la derni�re fois le 18 juillet.

Calvin assiste r�guli�rement aux s�ances pendant tout l'exercice

1542-43, except�cinq fois: [1005]1

\* En laquelle cure il a depuis presch�par fois, avans qu'il se

retirast de France: [1006]1

\* Estre brusl�tout vif �petit-feu, tellement que son corps soit mis

en cendre: [1007]1

\* Et puys apr�s a confess�quil avait pech�en ce, mais que cestoit par

crainte de la mort: [1008]1

\* Faire les corrections fraternelles: [1009]1

\* Fragments Biographiques: [1010]1

\* Fragments historiques: [1011]1

\* G. Farel et les aultres predicans: [1012]1

\* Gesch. des N. T: [1013]1

\* Grand Dictionnaire: [1014]1

\* Hist. de France: [1015]1

\* Hist. de la Religion des �gl. r�f: [1016]1

\* Hist. de la naissance de l'her�sie: [1017]1

\* Hist. litter. de Gen�ve: [1018]1

\* Hist. litter. de la Suisse fran�aise: [1019]1

\* Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition: [1020]1

\* Histoire de Calvin: [1021]1

\* Histoire de France: [1022]1 [1023]2 [1024]3 [1025]4

\* Histoire de l'�glise de Gen�ve: [1026]1

\* Histoire de l'�glise de Gen�ve: [1027]1

\* Histoire de la decouverte de la circulation du sang: [1028]1

\* Histoire de la reformation et du refuge dans le pays de Neuch�tel:

[1029]1

\* Histoire des Variations: [1030]1

\* Histoire du Calvinisme: [1031]1

\* Histoire du Gymnase protestant de Strasbourg: [1032]1

\* Histoire du canton de Vaud: [1033]1

\* Homme bien fait, de belle taille, ayant le visage fort agr�able,

l'air fin et d�licat, et toutes les mani�res d'un homme du monde

qui le faisoient estimer des Grands et surtout des dames,

ausquelles il prenoit grand soin de ne pas d�plaire. Pour l'esprit,

on ne peut nier qu'il ne l'eust tr�s-beau, vif, ais�, subtil,

enjo��et poli, ayant pris peine de le cultiver par l'�tude des

belles lettres, et particuli�rement de la po�sie, o�il excelloit en

fran�ois et en latin, s�achant avec cela un peu de philosophie et

de droit qu'il avoit appris aux �coles d'Orleans: [1034]1

\* Icy est parl�de: [1035]1

\* Ie demand que mon faulx accusateur soyt puni poena talionis; et que

soyt detenu prisonier comme moy, jusques �ce que la cause soyt

definie pour mort de luy au de moy ou aultre poine.": [1036]1

\* Ierosme fut banni �son de trompe des terres de Gen�ve: [1037]1

\* Il chante un beau psaume: [1038]1

\* Il estoit en bonne estim�et r�putation, aim�de tous ceux qui

aimoient les lettres: [1039]1

\* Il prescha: [1040]1

\* Il seroit �souhaiter que nos larmes eussent pu �teindre le b�cher

de cet infortun�: [1041]1

\* Il y a pourtant quelque lieu de douter si ces religieuses �taient

aussi simples que la soeur de Jussi voudrait nous le faire

accroire. Les chemins souterrains qu'on d�couvrit apr�s leur d�part

sous leur couvent (et qui conduissaient �celui des Cordeliers qui

�tait a quelques pas de l�), donnent tout lieu de soup�onner

qu'elles recevaient de temps en temps des visites de ces bons

fr�res, et qu'ainsi elles n'�taient pas tant novices dans les

affaires du monde: [1042]1

\* Interrog�sil entend que la Trinit�soit troys diables et soit troys:

[1043]1

\* Je renonce le cresme, et retient mon Baptesme: [1044]1

\* Jean Calvin obtient une portion du revenue de la chapelle de la

G�sine de la Vierge fond�e dans la cath�drale de Noyon: [1045]1

\* L'�glise et l'�tat �Gen�ve du vivant de Calvin: [1046]1

\* L'Etat devenait une th�ocratie et les citoyens de Gen�ve n'etaient

plus que les sujets d'un petit nombre de ministres, sujets

eux-m�mes de Calvin, lequel dominait les trois Conseils du sein du

Consistoire et paraissait it la fois le: [1047]1

\* L'ecole historique de J�r�me Bolsec: [1048]1

\* La Conf. de Foy n'a paru que quelques mois plus tard: [1049]1

\* La France Protest: [1050]1

\* La France Protestante: [1051]1 [1052]2

\* La France Protestante par MM. Eug�ne et �mile Haag: [1053]1

\* La Saint-Barth�lemy et la critique moderne: [1054]1

\* La Suisse fran�aise: [1055]1

\* La confession accept�e. Vers la m�me �poque premi�re edition du

cat�chisme: [1056]1

\* La liturgie usit�e dans l'�glise genevoise �tait, selon toutes les

vraisemblances, celle de Farel, publi�e �Neuch�tel, le 29 ao�t

1533, sous le titre suivant: 'La Mani�re et Fasson qu'on tient en

baillant le sainct baptesme ... �s lieux que Dieu de sa gr�ce a

visites.' Nous avons constat�que la liturgie bernoise offre les

plus grands rapports avec 'La Mani�re et Fasson,' et qu'elle en

diff�re seulement par la bri�vet�: [1057]1

\* La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm: [1058]1

\* Le Chroniqueur: [1059]1 [1060]2

\* Le Consistoire ne pouvait infliger aucune peine, et, chose

remarquable, il n'avait aucune attribution doctrinale. L'ancien

syndic Cramer, dans l'excellente pr�face qu'il a plac�e en t�te des

extraits des Registres du Consistoire, a fait observer que Gruet,

Bolsec et Servet ne sant pas m�me nomm�s dans les documents qu'il a

analys�s; toutes les fois qu'un proc�s de doctrine est instruit,

c'est le Conseil qui prononce, sur le pr�avis des pasteurs: [1061]1

\* Le canton de Vaud: [1062]1

\* Le commencement de l'h�r�sie en G�n�ve: [1063]1

\* Le miroirde l'�me p�cheresse: [1064]1

\* Le point de vue soutenu par Calvin dans la question de la c�ne

avait enfin triomph�irr�vocablement et, d�s 1555, nous trouvons le

Consistoire en possession, d'une mani�re incontest�e, du droit

d'accorder ou de refuser la participation aux sacrements.

Toutefois, le Conseil et les ministres ne sont pas compl�tement

d'accord sur les consequences que doit entrainer l'excommunication:

[1065]1

\* Les Commencements de la Conf�d�ration suisse: [1066]1

\* Les Suisses et Gen�ve, ou l'emancipation de la communaut�genevoise

au XVI: [1067]1

\* Les corrections ne soient sinon medicines pour reduyre les pecheurs

a nostre Seigneur: [1068]1

\* Les deux mouvements contraires, la R�forme fran�aise et ce qui la

combattit avec le plus d'acharnement, la Ligue, sont n�s dans le

m�me pays: [1069]1

\* Les martyrs, �leur dernier jour, se faisaient une consolation, un

devoir d'�crire �Calvin. Ils n'auraient pas quitt�la vie sans

remercier celui dont la parole les avait men�s �la mort. Leurs

lettres, respectueuses, nobles et douces, arrachant les larmes:

[1070]1

\* Les ministres ont pri�que ton advise de fere venyr les gens aut

sermon et specialement les dimanches et le iour des prieres affin

de prier Dieu qui nous assiste, voyeant le trouble quest en leglise

de Dieu et la machination dress�contre les fidelles.: [1071]1

\* Les origines de la conf�d�ration suisse, histoire et l�gende:

[1072]1

\* Lettre �Mr. Merle d'Aubign�sur deux points obscure de la vie de

Calvin: [1073]1

\* Lundi, Mai 29: [1074]1

\* M: [1075]1

\* M�chant homme, vous voulez boire le sang de notre famille, mais

vous sortirez de Gen�ve avant nous: [1076]1

\* M�moires d'Arch�ologie: [1077]1

\* Memoire de Calvin et Farel sur l'organisation de l'�glise de

Gen�ve.: [1078]1

\* Mes fr�res, qu'un chacun de nous se pr�sente devant la face du

Seigneur, avec confession de ses fautes et p�ch�s, suivant de son

coeur mea paroles: [1079]1

\* Mon fils, Dieu renouvellera le monde et tu en seras le t�moin:

[1080]1

\* Nouveaux M�moires d'histoire: [1081]1

\* Nul livre plus amusant que la chronique de Froment, hardi

colporteur de la gr�ce, naif et mordant satirique que les d�votes

g�nevoises, plaisamment d�voil�es par lui, essay�rent de jeter au

Rh�ne: [1082]1

\* On parle toujours fran�ais �Strasbourg: [1083]1

\* On paya au voiturier, Emoz Daiz, pour: [1084]1

\* On peut consid�rer l'oeuvre de Zwingli comme le plus puissant

effort qui ait �t�fuit pour sanctifier la Renaissance et l'unir �la

R�forme en Jesus-Christ: [1085]1

\* Ordonnances sus l�glise: lesquelles hont est�pass�par petit grand

et g�n�ral conseyl touteffoys hont estes corrig�s, et avant quil

soyent mys �limprymerie Resoluz que en ung conseyl extraordinaire

lesdictes ordonnances soyent vehues [vues] affin que telle quest

passe par le g�n�ral ne soyt chang�: [1086]1

\* Par jceste nostre diffinitive sentence, laquelle donnons icy par

escript, toy Jaque Gruet condampnons a debvoyr estre mene au lieu

de Champel et illect debvoyer avoyer tranche la teste de dessus les

espaules, et ton corps attache aut gibet et la teste cloye en

jcelluy et ainsy finiras tes jours pour donner exemple aux aultres

qui tel cas vouldroyent commestre: [1087]1

\* Perrin est condamn�par contumace quil ayt le poing du bras droit

duquel il a attent�aux bastons sindicalz cop�: et tous tans ledit

Perrin que Belthesard, Chabod, Verna, et Michalet la teste cop�:

les testes et ledit poing clou�s au gibet et les corps mis en

quartier iouxte la coustume et condamnez a tous despens damps et

interestz: [1088]1

\* Perrin est rel�ch�vu sa long detention et crie merci: [1089]1

\* Petite Chronique Protestante de France: [1090]1

\* Peuple de Gen�ve: [1091]1

\* Philibert Bertellier, P. Vandel, et. J. B. Sept condamnes �mort par

contumace, Michael Sept au banissement perp�tuel, sans peine de

mort; six autres �la m�me peine; deux �dix ans de banissement, et

tous aux d�pens: [1092]1

\* Postridie reperitur charta in suggestu qua mortem nobis minantur:

[1093]1

\* Pour excuser envers les princes protestants les pers�cutions qu'on

faisait contre l'Evangile: [1094]1

\* Pour gens de bien et de Dieu: [1095]1

\* Pr�sent r�fuge et tr�s bon port.": [1096]1

\* Quant �ses moeurs, il estoit sur tout fort consciencieux, ennemi

des vices, et fort adonn�au service de Dieu qu'on appeloit pour

lors: tellement que son coeur tendoit entierement �la Theologie, et

son p�re pretendoit de l'y faire employer: [1097]1

\* Quant au portrait que l'on voit �notre biblioth�que, il atoujours

pass�pour authentique et fid�le. Nos peintres s'accordent

�reconna�tre qu'il est bien de l'�poque de Calvin et qu'il est

peint d'une mani�re remarquable. On l'a souvent attribu�a Holbein;

mais cette opinion n'est pas constat�e. Ce que l'on peut dire c'est

qu'on y retrouve sa mani�re. En l'�tudiant attentivement on lui

trouve un air de v�rit�frappant: [1098]1

\* Quelq. pages d'Hist: [1099]1

\* R�g. du Conseil: [1100]1 [1101]2 [1102]3

\* R�gisters du Conseil: [1103]1

\* Ramus, sa vie, ses �crits et ses opinions: [1104]1

\* Recherches critiques sur Guillaume Tell: [1105]1

\* Reg. du Conseil: [1106]1 [1107]2 [1108]3

\* Registre du Conseil: [1109]1

\* Registres du Cons: [1110]1

\* Ren�e of France, Duchess of Ferrara: [1111]1

\* Resoluz quil luy soyt donn�ung bossot de vin vieulx de celluy de

l'hospital: [1112]1

\* Rien de plus saint, de plus pur, que les origines du protestantisme

fran�ais. Rien de plus �loign�de la sanglante orgie de Munster:

[1113]1

\* Rien de touchant comme cette correspondance o�le grave r�formateur

montre une indulgence et une souriante bonhomie qui ne lui sont pas

habituelles .... Cet �change de lettres r�v�le veritablement un

Calvin affectueux et d�licat qu'on a trop souvent m�connu, sur la

foi des Bolsec et des Audin: [1114]1

\* Rien ne flattait davantage Calvin que la gloire de bien �crire.

Donnons lui donc, puisqu'il le veut tant cette gloire, d'avoir

aussi bien �crit qu'homme de son si�cle.... Sa plume �tait plus

correcte, surtout en latin, que celle de Luther; et son style, qui

�tait plus triste, �tait aussi plus suivi et plus ch�ti�. Ils

excellaient l'un et l'autre �parler la langue de leur pays: [1115]1

\* Rudimenta grammaticae; le miroir de la jeunesse; commentarius

puerorum: [1116]1

\* Samedi, Mai 27, 1564: [1117]1

\* Seigneur Dieu, P�re �ternal et tout-puissant, nous confessons [et

reconnaissons] sans feintise, devant ta Sainte Majest�, que nous

sommes pauvres p�cheurs, con�us et n�s en iniquit�et corruption,

enclins �mal faire, inutiles �tout bien, et que par notre vice,

nous transgressons sans fin et sans cesse tes saints commandements.

En quoi faisant, nous acqu�rons, par ton juste jugement, ruine et

perdition sur nous: [1118]1

\* Sire, c'est �la v�rite �l'�glise de Dieu, au nom de laquelle je

parle, d'endurer les coups, et non pas d'en donner. Mais aussi vous

plaira-t-il vous souvenir que c'est une enclume qui a us�beaucoup

de marteaux: [1119]1

\* Storder Leodinensis: [1120]1

\* Tout exc�s appelle une reaction en sens contraire, Calvin

subordonne l'Etat �l'Eglise: [1121]1

\* Toute sa succession se monta �120 livres, preuve de son enti�re

desint�ressement: [1122]1

\* Traict�des h�r�tiques, �savoir si on les doit pers�cuter, et comme

on se doit conduire avec eux, selon l'advis, opinion, et sentence

de pleusieurs auteurs tant anciens que modernes: grandement

n�cessaire en ce temps plein de troubles, et tris utile �tous, et

principalement aux Princes et Magistrats, pour cognoistre quel est

leur office en une chose tant difficile et p�rilleuse: [1123]1

\* Traitt�de l'authorit�du magistrat en la punition des h�r�tiques:

[1124]1

\* Trois partis religieux, divis�'s par des animosit�s que le temps

n'a pas encore assoupies, nous ont transmis des documents sur la

vie de cet homme illustre. Les uns, depuis l'apostat Bolsec

jusqu'au n�o-catholique romantique, Audin, depuis le lutherien

fanatique Westphal jusqu'aux 'vieux genevois' Galiffe pere et fils.

n'�coutant que la voix d'une haine implacable ou d'une jalousie

furieuse, nous le peignent comme une esp�ce de sc�l�rat souill�des

vices les plus honteux, comme un despote alt�r�de sang, tandis que

les autres, depuis Th�odore de B�ze, son coll�gue, jusqu'au pasteur

Paul Henry, de Berlin, son z�l�disciple, c�dant �l'entra�nenent

d'une amit�e trop indulgente on d'une admiration un peu exalt�e,

nous le pr�sentent comme un parfait type de la vertu: [1125]1

\* Un �'crit violent contre Calvin et ses coll�gues est trouv�dans la

chaire d'un des temples: [1126]1

\* Un Dieu party en trois ... est uti diable �trois testes comme le

Cerberus que les Poetesanciens ont appell�le chien d'enfer, un

monstre: [1127]1

\* Un chien abaye, sil voyt quon assaille son maistre; ie serois bien

lasche, si en voyant la verite de dieu ainsi assallye, ie faisois

du muet sans sonner mot: [1128]1

\* Un pauvre prote d'imprimerie, S�bastien Chateillon, posa pour tout

l'avenir la grande loi de la tol�rance: [1129]1

\* Vertue, fortresse et seur confort,: [1130]1

\* Veuille donc avoir piti�de nous, Dieu et P�re tr�s b�nin, et plein

de mis�ricorde, au nom de ton Fils J�sus-Christ, notre Seigneur;

effa�ant donc nos vices et macules, �largis nous et augmente de

jour en jour les gr�ces de ton Saint-Esprit, afin que,

reconnaissant de tout notre coeur notre injustice, nous soyons

touches de d�plaisir, qui engendre droite p�nitence en nous:

laquelle nous mortifiant �tous p�ch�s produise en nous fruits de

justice et innocence qui te soient agr�ables par ice-lui

Jesus-Christ. Amen: [1131]1

\* a d�g�n�r�en ivraie (ivresse: [1132]1

\* afin de mieux garder la distinction qui nous est monstr�e en

l'Escriture saincte entre le qlaive et authorit�du Magistrat, et la

superintendence qui doit estre en Eglise: [1133]1

\* as "Guerre �la guerre, guerre �ceux qui usent du glaive: [1134]1

\* assez �toute vostre necessit�: [1135]1

\* avec l�gitime �lection et approbation: [1136]1

\* avec son b�ton: [1137]1

\* ce d�cret qui nous doit espouvanter: [1138]1

\* cite ce passage pour en rire. Mais qui a un coeur le retiendra it

jamais: [1139]1

\* comme il l'avait ordonn�, au cemetiere commun appel�Plein palais

sans pompe ni appareil quelconques-l�o�il gist auiourd'huy

attendant la resurrection qu'il nous a enseig�e et a si constamment

esper�e: [1140]1

\* constrainct de se partir de Charlieu pour les folies lesquelles il

faisoit: [1141]1

\* crime de leze majeste meritant pugnition corporelle: [1142]1

\* crime du temps plus que de l'homme m�me: [1143]1

\* dans la seconde moiti�de l'ann�e 1532: [1144]1

\* dans le protestantisme fran�ais, le premier des modernes: [1145]1

\* de Gen�ve: [1146]1

\* de l'�criture sainte: [1147]1

\* de point se mesler du magistrat: [1148]1

\* declar�Pasteur et Docteur en caste Eglise: [1149]1

\* dizennier: [1150]1

\* du tout incorrigible et desesper�: [1151]1

\* e: [1152]1 [1153]2 [1154]3

\* est nomm�maistre Jean: [1155]1

\* est un �quivalent tr�s plausible de: [1156]1

\* et le: [1157]1

\* faux proph�tes, damnables trompeurs, apostats, loups, faux

pasteurs, menteurs, blasph�mateurs, meurtriers des �mes, renonceurs

de J�sus Christ, ravisseurs de l'honneur de Dieu, et plus

d�testables queles diables: [1158]1

\* florins,: [1159]1

\* fondateur de in R�forme en France et un des p�res de notre langue:

[1160]1

\* fut grand sans cesser d'�tre bon; il unit les qualit�s du coeur aux

dons du g�nie; il ressentit et il inspira les plus pures amiti�s;

il connut, enfin, les f�licita domestiques dans une union trop

courte, dont le myst�re, �demi r�v�l�par sa correspondance, r�pand

un jour m�lancolique et doux sur sa vie: [1161]1

\* homme de mo�enne stature, ayant barbe �demy blanche, et le visage

hault et large: [1162]1

\* il y a environ six ans, pour en avoir son jugement: [1163]1

\* journ�es: [1164]1

\* jouvenceau et follet: [1165]1

\* l'Alcoran ou plut�t le Talmud de l'h�r�sie: [1166]1

\* l'un des esprits les plus profonds et les plus puissants de cette

Renaissance qui compta tant de g�nies universels: [1167]1

\* la Suisse romande: [1168]1

\* la cite de l'esprit b�tie de stoicisme sur le roc de la

pr�destination: [1169]1

\* la fabrique des saints et des martyrs, la sombre forge o�se

forgeaissent les �lus de la mort: [1170]1

\* la jeunesse de cette cit�sont pires que les brigands, meurtriers,

larrons, luxurieux, ath�ists: [1171]1

\* le chant des femmes, se m�lant �celui des hommes, produit un effet

ravissant: [1172]1

\* le grand diable: [1173]1

\* licenci�es lois: [1174]1

\* licenti��s loix: [1175]1

\* ou de: [1176]1

\* par la dur�e et l'influence de sa langue, de son style: [1177]1

\* par quelques fr�res: [1178]1

\* personnage d'un grand esprit et merveilleusement eloquent: [1179]1

\* pontife: [1180]1

\* potcass�: [1181]1

\* qu'il na encore gu�re re�eu et est�arrest�que l'on luy d�livre ung

six escus soleil: [1182]1

\* que le Consistoire n'ait ni jurisdiction ni puissance de d�fendre

la c�ne, sinon seulement d'admonester et puis faire relation en

Conseil, afin que la Seigneurie avise de juger sur les d�linquants

suivant leur demerites: [1183]1

\* que les moines et les missionnaires citent encore: [1184]1

\* quelquefois en une petite ville du pays de Berry, nomm�e Ligni�res,

et eut entr�e en la maison du seigneur du lieu qui estoit pour

lors: lequel ... disait ... qu'il lui semblait que, M. Jean Calvin

preshoit mieux que les moines: [1185]1

\* qui porte en lui la plus large pens�e et le plus grand coeur de la

R�formation: [1186]1

\* r�fl�chi: [1187]1

\* renonceur de Dieu: [1188]1

\* s'en alla vers Allemaigne et Itallie: cherchant son adventure, et

passa par la ville de Ferrare, ou il receut quelque aumone de

Madame la Duchesse: [1189]1

\* si�cle: [1190]1

\* sols: [1191]1

\* souverain de la cite: [1192]1

\* tant homine que femme avec un bel accord: [1193]1

\* un: [1194]1

\* un brouillon: [1195]1

\* un livre de musique: [1196]1

\* un pays f�cond en r�volutionnaires, en brouillants amis de

l'humanit�: [1197]1

\* un tr�s-ex�crable blasph�mateur de Dieu: [1198]1

\* une petite ville de la Gueldre: [1199]1

\* usurier: [1200]1

\* ville �tonnante o�tout �tait flamme et pri�re, lecture, travail,

austerit�: [1201]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

This document is from the Christian Classics Ethereal

Library at Calvin College, http://www.ccel.org,

generated on demand from ThML source.

References

1. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1&scrV=26#iv.xiv.i-p43.2

2. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1&scrV=28#iv.xiii.xi-p29.1

3. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xx-p17.2

4. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=7#iv.xiii.iv-p29.1

5. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=15#iv.xiv.i-p46.2

6. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=3&scrV=15#iv.xiv.i-p49.1

7. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=9&scrV=0#iv.vi.ii-p37.1

8. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=9&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p81.1

9. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=17&scrV=1#iv.xii.iii-p32.2

10. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=18&scrV=2#iv.xvi.xii-p42.1

11. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=27&scrV=39#iv.xiv.iv-p48.3

12. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=29&scrV=30#iv.xiv.iv-p50.3

13. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=29&scrV=31#iv.xiv.iv-p50.2

14. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=33&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p48.4

15. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=41&scrV=46#iv.xvi.xii-p97.2

16. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=50&scrV=13#iv.xiv.i-p53.2

17. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1786&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xx-p17.2

18. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1878&scrV=0#iv.vii.i-p52.1

19. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1880&scrV=0#iv.vii.i-p79.1

20. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=1888&scrV=0#iv.viii.iii-p12.1

21. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=3&scrV=2#iv.xvii.iv-p16.1

22. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=3&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p42.2

23. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=4&scrV=21#iv.xiv.iv-p44.1

24. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=7&scrV=13#iv.xiv.iv-p44.1

25. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=8&scrV=15#iv.xiv.iv-p51.2

26. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=8&scrV=32#iv.xiv.iv-p51.2

27. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=9&scrV=34#iv.xiv.iv-p51.2

28. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=12&scrV=46#iv.xiv.i-p56.11

29. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=22&scrV=20#iv.xvi.iii-p11.1

30. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=30&scrV=14#iv.xvi.xii-p77.1

31. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=32&scrV=0#iv.xv.xv-p21.1

32. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=38&scrV=26#iv.xvi.xii-p77.1

33. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Lev&scrCh=24&scrV=16#iv.xvi.iii-p12.1

34. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=4&scrV=3#iv.xvi.xii-p97.1

35. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=14&scrV=29#iv.xvi.xii-p77.2

36. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=23&scrV=10#iv.xiv.iii-p150.1

37. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=32&scrV=11#iv.xvi.xii-p77.2

38. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=1&scrV=39#iv.xvi.xii-p77.3

39. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=13&scrV=5#iv.xvi.iii-p11.2

40. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=13&scrV=6#iv.xvi.iii-p19.1

41. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=29&scrV=29#iv.ix.xi-p87.1

42. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=29&scrV=29#iv.xiv.iv-p81.2

43. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=32&scrV=8#iv.ix.xi-p88.1

44. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=32&scrV=32#iv.xvi.xii-p45.2

45. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Sam&scrCh=10&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p55.4

46. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Sam&scrCh=16&scrV=13#iv.xvi.xii-p55.4

47. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Kgs&scrCh=18&scrV=21#iv.xv.vii-p7.1

48. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Kgs&scrCh=21&scrV=10#iv.xvi.iii-p12.2

49. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Kgs&scrCh=21&scrV=13#iv.xvi.iii-p12.2

50. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=19&scrV=36#iv.xiv.i-p56.12

51. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=2&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

52. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=2&scrV=7#iv.xvi.xii-p42.3

53. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=6&scrV=3#iv.xiv.i-p43.3

54. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=8&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

55. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=16&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

56. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=22&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

57. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=25&scrV=0#iv.xi.iii-p30.1

58. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=33&scrV=6#iv.xiv.i-p44.1

59. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=33&scrV=6#iv.xiv.i-p49.3

60. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=36&scrV=0#iv.xi.iii-p30.1

61. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=39&scrV=9#iv.xviii.i-p19.2

62. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=40&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

63. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=43&scrV=0#iv.xi.iii-p30.1

64. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=45&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

65. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=46&scrV=0#iv.xi.iii-p30.1

66. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=51&scrV=13#iv.xvi.xii-p55.3

67. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=68&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

68. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=69&scrV=9#iv.xv.i-p4.1

69. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=73&scrV=2#iv.ix.xi-p70.6

70. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=82&scrV=1#iv.xiii.iv-p9.3

71. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=82&scrV=6#iv.xiii.iv-p9.3

72. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=88&scrV=0#iv.xvi.vi-p10.5

73. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=103&scrV=0#iv.iii.xi-p8.1

74. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=106&scrV=4#iv.xiii.ii-p11.5

75. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=110&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p46.1

76. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=110&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xii-p42.3

77. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=139&scrV=16#iv.xvi.xii-p45.3

78. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=8&scrV=15#iv.xiii.iv-p9.2

79. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=16&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p44.5

80. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=3&scrV=4#iv.iii.viii-p33.3

81. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=4&scrV=2#iv.xiv.i-p49.2

82. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=5&scrV=8#iv.ix.xi-p78.4

83. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=6&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iii-p38.1

84. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=6&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iv-p44.2

85. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=7&scrV=14#iv.xvi.xii-p42.4

86. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=9&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p28.1

87. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=11&scrV=2#iv.xvi.xii-p55.5

88. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=11&scrV=2#iv.ix.v-p10.1

89. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=25&scrV=8#iv.ix.xi-p70.3

90. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=37&scrV=32#iv.xiii.ii-p11.2

91. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=38&scrV=14#iv.xviii.i-p19.1

92. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=44&scrV=18#iv.xiv.iv-p44.2

93. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=44&scrV=25#iv.xv.xviii-p12.1

94. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=45&scrV=7#iv.xvi.xii-p62.1

95. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=49&scrV=15#iv.xiv.iv-p50.1

96. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=49&scrV=23#iv.xiii.iv-p12.1

97. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=56&scrV=10#iv.xv.i-p6.1

98. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=61&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xii-p55.5

99. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=6&scrV=21#iv.xiv.iv-p44.3

100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=7&scrV=4#iv.xiii.ii-p35.1

101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=7&scrV=11#iv.xiii.ii-p35.2

102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=18&scrV=18#iv.xiii.ii-p30.1

103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iv.xvi.xii-p45.5

104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=10&scrV=12#iv.xvi.xii-p45.5

105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=13&scrV=9#iv.xiii.ii-p11.4

106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=18&scrV=23#iv.xiv.iii-p81.1

107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=18&scrV=23#iv.xiv.iv-p74.1

108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=18&scrV=32#iv.xiv.iii-p81.1

109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=18&scrV=32#iv.xiv.iv-p74.1

110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=33&scrV=11#iv.xiv.iii-p81.1

111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=33&scrV=11#iv.xiv.iv-p74.1

112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=7&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xii-p128.1

113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=12&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xi-p6.1

114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Hos&scrCh=11&scrV=1#iv.xiv.i-p47.2

115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Joel&scrCh=2&scrV=32#iv.xiii.ii-p11.3

116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Amos&scrCh=3&scrV=6#iv.xiv.iv-p44.4

117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Amos&scrCh=6&scrV=1#iv.ix.xi-p78.3

118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Amos&scrCh=13&scrV=0#iv.xii.iii-p17.2

119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Zech&scrCh=1&scrV=12#iv.xvi.xii-p137.4

120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mal&scrCh=1&scrV=2#iv.xiv.iv-p48.2

121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mal&scrCh=2&scrV=7#iv.xiii.ii-p38.1

122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=18#iv.xvi.xii-p25.1

123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=20#iv.xvi.xii-p25.1

124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=1&scrV=23#iv.xvi.xii-p25.1

125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=15#iv.xiv.i-p49.4

126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=23#iv.xiv.i-p48.1

127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=4&scrV=10#iv.xv.vii-p22.1

128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=5&scrV=44#iv.xiv.iv-p50.5

129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=6#iv.x.ii-p14.1

130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=6#iv.xv.i-p6.2

131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=15#iv.vii.vii-p8.1

132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=7&scrV=15#iv.xi.vii-p51.1

133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=30#iv.xvi.xii-p45.6

134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=33#iv.xv.vii-p22.3

135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=10&scrV=37#iv.xiv.iv-p50.6

136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=11&scrV=25#iv.xiv.iv-p44.6

137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=6#iv.xi.vii-p32.1

138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=11#iv.xiv.iii-p46.1

139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=13#iv.xiv.iii-p38.2

140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=14#iv.xiv.iv-p44.6

141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=24#iv.xiii.iii-p7.1

142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=29#iv.xvi.iii-p14.2

143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=30#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.6

144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=47#iv.xiii.ix-p9.1

145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=13&scrV=49#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.6

146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=15&scrV=14#iv.xi.vii-p62.1

147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iii-p11.1

148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#iv.iv.viii-p22.2

149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#iv.xiv.i-p31.1

150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=1#iv.iii.viii-p29.1

151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=14#iv.xiv.iii-p62.1

152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=18&scrV=15#iv.xiii.ix-p16.1

153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=21&scrV=12#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.2

154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=21#iv.iii.viii-p31.2

155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=21#iv.xiii.vi-p11.1

156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=22&scrV=30#iv.xiii.ii-p11.1

157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=8#iv.vi.iv-p10.1

158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=37#iv.xiv.iv-p78.1

159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=35#iv.xi.vii-p50.1

160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=15#iv.xiv.iv-p67.4

161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=34#iv.xiv.iv-p29.1

162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=26#iv.xv.vi-p19.1

163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=52#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.9

164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=9#iv.xiv.i-p51.1

165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#iv.xiv.iv-p78.3

166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#iv.xvi.vi-p11.4

167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=28&scrV=19#iv.xiv.ii-p31.3

168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=9&scrV=24#iv.xiv.v-p7.2

169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=14&scrV=22#iv.xv.vi-p19.2

170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=15#iv.xiv.ii-p31.2

171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=15#iv.xiv.iv-p78.2

172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#iv.iii.xv-p39.2

173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iii-p57.2

174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=32#iv.xvi.xii-p25.2

175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=35#iv.xvi.xii-p25.2

176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=5#iv.iii.viii-p31.1

177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=3&scrV=21#iv.xvi.xii-p97.3

178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=6&scrV=24#iv.ix.xi-p78.2

179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=54#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.8

180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=55#iv.xvi.i-p33.1

181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=14&scrV=23#iv.xvi.iii-p14.1

182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=14&scrV=23#iv.xvi.xxii-p15.1

183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=14&scrV=26#iv.xiv.iv-p50.4

184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=15&scrV=10#iv.xvi.xii-p137.5

185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=16&scrV=27#iv.xvi.xii-p137.5

186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=17&scrV=34#iv.xiv.iii-p37.2

187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xvi.i-p28.1

188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xii-p42.5

189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xii-p45.1

190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=4#iv.xvi.xii-p47.1

191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iv-p67.2

192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=12#iv.xvi.xii-p27.1

193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=17#iv.xvi.xii-p81.2

194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=29#iv.xiv.iii-p81.2

195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=33#iv.xiv.iii-p61.3

196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=51#iv.xiv.i-p49.5

197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=5#iv.xiv.iii-p60.1

198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=8#iv.xiv.iii-p57.1

199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=13#iv.xvi.xii-p42.5

200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#iv.viii.ii-p9.1

201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#iv.xiv.ii-p31.1

202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iii-p81.2

203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iv-p74.3

204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iv-p77.1

205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=53#iv.xvi.xii-p108.2

206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=55#iv.xiv.vii-p18.1

207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=63#iv.iv.iii-p24.1

208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=63#iv.xvi.xii-p112.1

209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=7&scrV=39#iv.xvi.xii-p55.1

210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=47#iv.xv.viii-p10.1

211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=58#iv.xvi.xii-p42.5

212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=9&scrV=31#iv.v.vii-p4.1

213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=4#iv.iv.viii-p22.1

214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=16#iv.xvii.i-p12.1

215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=18#iv.xvi.xii-p42.5

216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=30#iv.xvi.vi-p11.2

217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=34#iv.xvi.vi-p9.2

218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=35#iv.xiii.iv-p9.4

219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=32#iv.xiv.iv-p74.2

220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=39#iv.xiv.iii-p46.2

221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=40#iv.xiv.iv-p44.7

222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=10#iv.xvi.xii-p42.5

223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=11#iv.xvi.vi-p11.2

224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=15#iv.xvi.xii-p55.9

225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=3#iv.xi.vii-p47.1

226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=18&scrV=36#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.10

227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=17#iv.xvi.xii-p55.9

228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=22#iv.xvi.xii-p60.1

229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=28#iv.xvi.xii-p28.2

230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=31#iv.xvi.xii-p25.3

231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=24#iv.xv.ix-p19.1

232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=2&scrV=39#iv.xiv.vi-p21.1

233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=21#iv.xvi.xii-p145.1

234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.3

235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=4#iv.xvi.xii-p52.4

236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=29#iv.xiii.iv-p9.9

237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=5&scrV=34#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.7

238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=1#iv.xiii.vii-p41.1

239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=6&scrV=9#iv.xiii.xi-p26.1

240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=7&scrV=0#iv.xiv.i-p52.1

241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=7&scrV=16#iv.xiv.i-p53.1

242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=9&scrV=25#iv.ix.vi-p15.1

243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=10&scrV=35#iv.xiv.iv-p67.5

244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=11#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.4

245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=13&scrV=48#iv.xiv.iv-p29.3

246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=14&scrV=17#iv.xiv.iv-p67.3

247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=18#iv.iii.xv-p39.5

248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=16&scrV=33#iv.iii.xv-p39.5

249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=28#iv.ix.xi-p50.1

250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=29#iv.xvi.xii-p81.3

251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=19&scrV=2#iv.xvi.xii-p55.2

252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=17#iv.xiii.vii-p24.5

253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#iv.xiii.v-p18.3

254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=28#iv.xiii.vii-p24.5

255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=29#iv.xi.vii-p51.2

256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=20&scrV=31#iv.xiii.xii-p76.1

257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=21&scrV=26#iv.xvi.xxi-p12.1

258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iv-p60.1

259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=19#iv.xiv.iv-p67.1

260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=28#iv.xiv.iii-p94.2

261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=14#iv.v.iv-p12.1

262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=14#iv.xiii.iii-p8.1

263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=14#iv.xiv.iv-p67.1

264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=26#iv.v.iv-p12.1

265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=28#iv.xiii.iii-p8.1

266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=28#iv.v.iv-p12.2

267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=2&scrV=29#iv.xiii.iii-p8.1

268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=11#iv.xiv.v-p7.1

269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=4&scrV=25#iv.xiv.iii-p11.3

270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=12#iv.xiv.ii-p22.1

271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=12#iv.xiv.iv-p60.2

272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=17#iv.xiv.iii-p64.2

273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=17#iv.xiv.iv-p60.3

274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=5&scrV=20#iv.xiv.iv-p26.1

275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=3#iv.xiv.vi-p11.1

276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=11#iv.xiv.vi-p11.1

277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=6&scrV=17#iv.xv.ii-p14.1

278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=14#iv.xv.ii-p14.1

279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=7&scrV=23#iv.xv.ii-p14.1

280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=9#iv.xvi.xii-p52.6

281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=15#iv.xvi.xii-p55.7

282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=23#iv.xvi.xii-p27.3

283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=28#iv.xiv.iv-p29.4

284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=29#iv.iii.xx-p17.1

285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=36#iv.ix.xi-p70.1

286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p58.1

287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p58.2

288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p46.1

289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p47.1

290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p62.1

291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=5#iv.xvi.xii-p28.3

292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=10#iv.xiv.iv-p44.8

293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=13#iv.xiv.iii-p34.1

294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=13#iv.xiv.iv-p48.1

295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=14#iv.xiv.iv-p17.1

296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=17#iv.xiv.iv-p51.1

297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=22#iv.xiv.iv-p54.1

298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=9&scrV=22#iv.xiv.iv-p52.1

299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p58.3

300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=10&scrV=6#iv.xiv.i-p48.2

301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=0#iv.xiv.iv-p58.4

302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=7#iv.xiv.iv-p44.8

303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=25#iv.xiv.iv-p58.5

304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=32#iv.xiv.iv-p58.6

305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=32#iv.xiv.iv-p61.3

306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=36#iv.xvi.vi-p11.3

307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=8#iv.xiii.vii-p37.3

308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=20#iv.v.v-p13.1

309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=1#iv.iii.viii-p33.2

310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=1#iv.xiii.iv-p9.1

311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=3#iv.xiii.iv-p9.5

312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=13&scrV=4#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.1

313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=0#iv.iv.iv-p25.2

314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=14&scrV=1#iv.iii.v-p8.6

315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=1#iv.iii.v-p8.6

316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=5#iv.xiii.ii-p36.3

317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1885&scrV=0#iv.vii.i-p82.1

318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=16#iv.iii.xv-p39.6

319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=17#iv.xiv.i-p54.1

320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=2#iv.xiv.iii-p11.2

321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=4#iv.ix.xi-p58.1

322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=11#iv.xiv.iii-p11.2

323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=11#iv.xvi.xii-p137.3

324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=16#iv.xvi.xii-p52.1

325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=21#iv.ix.xi-p28.1

326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=4&scrV=1#iv.xiii.vii-p30.1

327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=19#iv.xvi.xii-p52.1

328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=14#iv.iii.xv-p39.4

329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=14#iv.iii.xvii-p4.1

330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=14#iv.xiv.vi-p21.2

331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=21#iv.xiii.iv-p7.1

332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=23#iv.xiii.iv-p10.1

333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=1#iv.xiv.i-p27.2

334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=8&scrV=8#iv.iii.v-p8.3

335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=5#iv.xiii.ix-p21.2

336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=16#iv.xiii.vii-p30.2

337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=9&scrV=27#iv.xiv.iii-p94.3

338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=16#iv.xv.xvi-p41.1

339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=25#iv.iii.v-p8.3

340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=0#iv.iii.xi-p7.1

341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=19#iv.xvi.iii-p14.3

342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=24#iv.xv.vi-p19.3

343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=29#iv.xv.xv-p24.1

344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=28#iv.xiii.vii-p37.2

345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=18#iv.xvi.xii-p137.6

346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=1#iv.iii.xii-p5.1

347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=3#iv.xiv.iv-p44.9

348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=6#iv.iii.x-p8.1

349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=14&scrV=29#iv.xi.vii-p33.1

350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=19#iv.ix.xi-p70.2

351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=21#iv.xiv.iv-p61.2

352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=15&scrV=24#iv.xvi.xii-p145.2

353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=21#iv.xvi.xii-p55.10

354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=7#iv.xiii.ix-p18.1

355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=2&scrV=8#iv.xiii.ix-p19.1

356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=6&scrV=16#iv.xvi.xii-p52.2

357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=7&scrV=1#iv.xii.iii-p32.1

358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=10&scrV=4#iv.xvi.iv-p14.3

359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=6#iv.xiv.i-p54.2

360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=26#iv.xix.ix-p17.1

361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=2#iv.xvi.xii-p48.5

362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=12&scrV=7#iv.xiv.i-p49.6

363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=5#iv.xiv.iii-p94.4

364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=6#iv.xiv.iii-p94.7

365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Cor&scrCh=13&scrV=14#iv.xvi.vi-p11.5

366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p29.5

367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=5#iv.xi.vi-p71.1

368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=22#iv.xiv.iv-p61.4

369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=26#iv.xvi.xii-p27.2

370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=26#iv.xiv.vi-p12.1

371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=3&scrV=27#iv.xv.xvii-p26.1

372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p52.5

373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p55.8

374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=4&scrV=22#iv.xiv.i-p40.1

375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=1#iv.iv.ii-p28.1

376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p29.6

377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iv.xv.viii-p18.1

378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iv.xvi.xii-p27.4

379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=8#iv.xiv.iv-p29.6

380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=20#iv.xiii.ii-p33.1

381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=2&scrV=22#iv.xvi.xii-p52.3

382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=4#iv.xiii.ii-p36.1

383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=9#iv.xv.ix-p19.3

384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=11#iv.xiii.vii-p24.2

385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=11#iv.xiii.vii-p32.2

386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=11#iv.xiii.vii-p33.1

387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=4&scrV=12#iv.xiii.ii-p36.2

388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=26#iv.xiv.iii-p61.5

389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=26#iv.xiv.vi-p10.1

390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=27#iv.xiii.ix-p6.1

391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=28#iv.xi.viii-p9.2

392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=30#iv.xiv.vii-p18.2

393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=32#iv.xiv.vii-p18.3

394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xiii.v-p18.1

395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xiii.vii-p24.3

396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xiii.vii-p41.2

397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=5#iv.xvi.xii-p28.4

398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=13#iv.xiv.iv-p39.1

399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=3&scrV=2#iv.xv.i-p6.3

400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=4&scrV=11#iv.ix.xi-p79.1

401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#iv.xvi.xii-p42.6

402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=9#iv.xvi.xii-p42.6

403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=11#iv.iii.xv-p39.3

404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=11#iv.xiii.iii-p8.2

405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=16#iv.iii.v-p8.4

406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=122&scrV=0#iv.v.ix-p17.1

407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p29.7

408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=1&scrV=6#iv.ix.xi-p70.5

409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xii-p114.1

410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=3#iv.iv.ix-p31.1

411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=3#iv.xvi.xii-p128.2

412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=4#iv.xi.vii-p31.1

413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=11#iv.xiv.iv-p44.10

414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Thess&scrCh=2&scrV=13#iv.xiv.iv-p29.8

415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=20#iv.xvi.xxii-p16.5

416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=1#iv.xiii.iv-p9.8

417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iii-p81.4

418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p74.4

419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p75.1

420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=2#iv.xiii.vii-p39.1

421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=8#iv.xiii.vii-p41.3

422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xii-p114.2

423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=1#iv.iii.v-p8.5

424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xii-p128.3

425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=14#iv.ix.v-p17.1

426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=14#iv.ix.v-p18.1

427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=17#iv.xiii.vii-p38.1

428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=5&scrV=22#iv.xiii.v-p13.2

429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iv-p29.9

430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=1&scrV=10#iv.xvi.xii-p137.1

431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=2#iv.xiii.vii-p39.2

432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=24#iv.xvi.iii-p14.4

433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=8#iv.xiv.iii-p94.5

434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=3&scrV=8#iv.xiv.iii-p94.8

435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iv.xiii.v-p13.3

436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iv.xiii.vii-p24.4

437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=7#iv.xiii.vii-p24.4

438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=12#iv.xiv.i-p27.1

439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=15#iv.ix.xi-p78.1

440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=16#iv.xiv.iii-p94.6

441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=2&scrV=11#iv.xiv.iv-p75.2

442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xii-p95.1

443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=1#iv.xiii.iv-p9.6

444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=5#iv.xiv.iii-p61.4

445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=5#iv.xiv.vi-p10.2

446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=10#iv.xvi.xx-p7.1

447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=1&scrV=2#iv.xvi.xii-p42.8

448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=6#iv.xiv.i-p49.7

449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=6#iv.xv.vi-p19.7

450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=7&scrV=21#iv.xv.vi-p19.7

451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=9&scrV=26#iv.xv.vi-p19.5

452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=14#iv.xv.vi-p19.4

453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=26#iv.xv.vi-p19.6

454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=27#iv.xviii.i-p41.1

455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=11&scrV=27#iv.xviii.i-p42.1

456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=12&scrV=17#iv.xiv.iv-p49.1

457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=4#iv.xiii.ix-p21.1

458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=1#iv.xiv.iv-p36.1

459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=2#iv.xiv.iv-p29.10

460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=11#iv.xvi.xii-p52.7

461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=11#iv.xvi.xii-p55.6

462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=1&scrV=21#iv.xvi.xii-p137.2

463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=8#iv.xiv.iv-p44.11

464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iv-p36.1

465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=13#iv.xiii.iv-p9.7

466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=19#iv.xv.ix-p19.2

467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=19#iv.xvi.xii-p42.7

468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=21#iv.xiv.vi-p10.3

469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=1#iv.iii.viii-p29.2

470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1Pet&scrCh=5&scrV=3#iv.xiii.ix-p15.1

471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=1#iv.xi.vii-p51.3

472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=2&scrV=22#iv.ii.iii-p29.1

473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iii-p81.5

474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iv-p75.3

475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=2Pet&scrCh=3&scrV=9#iv.xiv.iv-p81.3

476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=2#iv.xiv.iii-p81.3

477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=2#iv.xiv.iv-p76.1

478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=18#iv.xi.vii-p51.4

479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=19#iv.iii.xv-p32.1

480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=20#iv.xvi.xii-p55.11

481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=2&scrV=27#iv.xvi.xii-p55.11

482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=2#iv.xiv.iii-p11.4

483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=14#iv.xiv.iii-p81.3

484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=6#iv.xiv.vi-p6.1

485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=7#iv.xvi.vi-p11.1

486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=8#iv.xiv.vi-p6.2

487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=21#iv.xv.vii-p22.2

488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Jude&scrCh=1&scrV=4#iv.xiv.iv-p44.12

489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=5&scrV=1#iv.xvi.xii-p45.4

490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=7&scrV=17#iv.ix.xi-p70.4

491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=12&scrV=6#iv.xvi.xii-p123.1

492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=12&scrV=7#iv.xvi.xi-p6.2

493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=13&scrV=0#iv.xvi.xii-p128.4

494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=16&scrV=0#iv.xvi.x-p29.1

495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=17&scrV=5#iv.xi.vii-p8.1

496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=13#iv.xvi.vi-p15.2

497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=20&scrV=4#iv.xvi.xii-p139.1

498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=15#iv.xv.i-p6.4

499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p94.1

500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p21.1

501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p40.1

502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p22.2

503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p22.3

504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p22.5

505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.vii-p22.1

506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.v-p18.2

507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p20.1

508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p15.1

509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p59.3

510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p5.1

511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p83.1

512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.vi-p80.1

513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p25.1

514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p13.1

515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p45.2

516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p136.1

517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p12.2

518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p12.1

519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p14.1

520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.v-p13.1

521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.i-p12.3

522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p14.2

523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p39.1

524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p18.1

525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p14.3

526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p22.4

527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vii-p32.1

528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.i-p12.4

529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p81.1

530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p25.2

531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p5.2

532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p61.1

533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p41.1

534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p54.2

535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.ix-p15.2

536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p38.1

537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vii-p37.1

538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p13.2

539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.i-p12.2

540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.ii-p19.2

541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p49.2

542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p22.1

543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p14.1

544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.x-p29.1

545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.ii-p19.1

546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p61.2

547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vii-p24.1

548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p61.1

549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p45.1

550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p17.1

551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p23.1

552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p19.1

553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p48.1

554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p15.3

555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p16.1

556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.xvii-p11.2

557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p24.1

558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p10.1

559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p48.3

560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p43.1

561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p10.4

562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p48.2

563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p48.1

564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p10.2

565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p48.4

566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p20.1

567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p20.1

568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.v-p8.2

569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p17.3

570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p16.2

571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.ii-p5.1

572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.v-p7.1

573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xv-p39.1

574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p14.1

575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p20.2

576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.ii-p21.1

577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p22.1

578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p15.2

579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.viii-p15.1

580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p17.2

581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p21.1

582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.iv-p15.1

583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.ix-p9.1

584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.v-p11.1

585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xx-p22.1

586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvii-p13.1

587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p24.2

588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.8

589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p9.1

590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p13.2

591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p7.5

592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p9.4

593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p68.3

594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p10.1

595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.ii-p32.1

596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iv-p13.1

597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.iii-p7.1

598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p16.5

599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p21.4

600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.x-p9.1

601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxi-p13.1

602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p12.1

603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p9.1

604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p9.4

605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p25.1

606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.v-p27.1

607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p16.2

608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p14.2

609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p20.1

610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.iv-p8.1

611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xiii-p14.1

612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p5.1

613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xiii-p17.1

614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p37.2

615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p23.1

616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p59.1

617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.ii-p14.1

618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p19.1

619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.v-p10.1

620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p40.1

621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iii-p17.1

622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p40.1

623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p12.3

624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p6.10

625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p12.1

626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.vi-p10.1

627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p16.3

628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vi-p5.1

629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p20.1

630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.ii-p16.1

631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p10.2

632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p9.1

633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p24.2

634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p24.1

635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p20.1

636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p30.1

637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p7.2

638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.iv-p16.1

639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iii-p19.1

640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p6.2

641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.v-p19.1

642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p46.1

643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p6.5

644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p24.1

645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.viii-p9.2

646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.4

647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p11.1

648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.viii-p29.3

649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p37.1

650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xii-p8.1

651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.ix-p8.1

652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p11.2

653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p13.2

654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.3

655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xx-p26.1

656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.ix-p18.3

657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvii-p10.2

658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p27.2

659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.v-p27.4

660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.viii-p27.1

661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p12.2

662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p14.2

663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvii-p10.1

664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.x-p16.1

665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p33.1

666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p25.1

667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p18.3

668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p5.5

669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p20.1

670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p12.1

671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p13.1

672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iv-p8.1

673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p15.1

674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p38.1

675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p16.1

676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p37.1

677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p44.1

678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p16.1

679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p10.1

680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p10.3

681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xi-p21.1

682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p16.3

683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p16.4

684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p21.5

685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p23.1

686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p18.2

687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p31.1

688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.4

689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p10.3

690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p18.1

691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p9.2

692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p31.1

693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p29.1

694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p17.1

695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p10.2

696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.xi-p15.1

697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p38.1

698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.vii-p78.1

699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p24.1

700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p16.2

701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.i-p17.1

702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.v-p19.4

703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p41.1

704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p17.1

705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iii-p20.1

706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p35.1

707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.i-p34.2

708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p22.2

709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xii-p8.2

710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p29.3

711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p29.2

712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xx-p22.2

713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.i-p34.3

714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p43.2

715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p29.1

716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.7

717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xx-p26.3

718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p21.2

719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p14.1

720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iv-p5.1

721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.i-p8.1

722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.i-p8.3

723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p6.12

724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vii-p13.3

725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p27.1

726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p7.4

727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.xvii-p9.1

728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p9.3

729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.v-p27.3

730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p13.3

731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xiv-p5.1

732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p29.5

733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.i-p19.1

734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p5.2

735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p38.1

736. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.vi-p13.1

737. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p28.1

738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p26.1

739. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p27.3

740. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.6

741. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p30.1

742. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vi-p11.1

743. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.xi-p15.2

744. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p36.1

745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.xi-p12.1

746. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p36.1

747. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p5.3

748. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p25.1

749. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.ii-p43.1

750. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p18.1

751. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iii-p24.2

752. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxii-p7.1

753. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p29.1

754. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p8.1

755. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p108.1

756. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p37.1

757. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.xi-p13.1

758. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.x-p23.1

759. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p15.1

760. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p7.3

761. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.i-p8.1

762. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p23.1

763. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iv-p5.4

764. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p9.2

765. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p20.3

766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p26.1

767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p24.1

768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.i-p17.2

769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p14.2

770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.i-p34.1

771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p18.1

772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xi-p22.1

773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p68.2

774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p7.1

775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p7.4

776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.ii-p9.1

777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p31.1

778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.ii-p7.3

779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.viii-p9.3

780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p7.1

781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iii-p24.1

782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p16.2

783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.ii-p16.4

784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p34.1

785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p15.1

786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xviii-p10.1

787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iii-p41.1

788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p29.2

789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p29.3

790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p56.2

791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.v-p19.2

792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.ii-p9.2

793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p14.3

794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p14.2

795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p22.1

796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p56.1

797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p56.4

798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p24.3

799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p17.5

800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.vi-p23.1

801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.iv-p11.1

802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p29.1

803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p20.1

804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p9.5

805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.i-p21.1

806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.iv-p18.1

807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p25.1

808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iv-p8.2

809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p21.1

810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p27.1

811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p7.1

812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p11.1

813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.x-p18.1

814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.2

815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.viii-p35.2

816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.viii-p35.1

817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p28.1

818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.iv-p22.1

819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p21.2

820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p6.9

821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xx-p26.2

822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.v-p27.2

823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.ii-p7.2

824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.ii-p7.1

825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.i-p7.1

826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.iv-p16.1

827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.i-p14.1

828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p15.1

829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p22.1

830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p37.1

831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p21.1

832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p29.4

833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p17.4

834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.v-p19.3

835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p29.4

836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p56.3

837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.v-p8.1

838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.1

839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p34.1

840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.xi-p25.1

841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vii-p13.1

842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vii-p13.2

843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.i-p16.1

844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p9.2

845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p13.1

846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p9.6

847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.ii-p14.1

848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p17.1

849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.iv-p9.1

850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.ii-p43.2

851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p7.3

852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p32.1

853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p21.3

854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.vi-p19.3

855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p21.1

856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p38.1

857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p18.2

858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xii-p7.1

859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p65.1

860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p17.1

861. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p111.1

862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p38.1

863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.iv-p9.1

864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p12.1

865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p11.3

866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p39.1

867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.iv-p21.1

868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.1

869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.viii-p29.4

870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.viii-p33.1

871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p26.1

872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p7.2

873. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p43.1

874. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.v-p8.1

875. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p14.3

876. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p18.1

877. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p16.1

878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p13.1

879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p14.1

880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p33.1

881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.iv-p13.1

882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p12.2

883. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p9.3

884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p16.1

885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xiii-p12.1

886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p28.1

887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p27.1

888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.xv-p28.1

889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.v-p22.1

890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.ii-p32.1

891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p21.2

892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p14.3

893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xi-p13.3

894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.i-p5.2

895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.i-p8.2

896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.5

897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.v-p12.1

898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.vii-p28.1

899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.ix-p18.4

900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p9.2

901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p7.6

902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.viii-p14.1

903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p39.1

904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.v-p7.1

905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p7.1

906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.ii-p10.1

907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vi.ii-p13.1

908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p9.1

909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p11.2

910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xiv-p5.2

911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p22.1

912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p24.2

913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.viii-p14.2

914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.ix-p8.2

915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.xv-p11.1

916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxi-p6.1

917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.3

918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p20.2

919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.ix-p14.1

920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p13.1

921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.vi-p14.1

922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.xvii-p11.1

923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p21.1

924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p29.5

925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p7.1

926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.iv-p13.2

927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vii-p5.2

928. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.5

929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vii-p5.3

930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iv.viii-p38.2

931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.xvi-p22.1

932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vii-p5.1

933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xii-p12.3

934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.iv-p20.2

935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.i-p7.3

936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.v-p17.1

937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.iii.ix-p5.4

938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.7

939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.i-p7.2

940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p7.2

941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.iv-p18.2

942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p17.3

943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.9

944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.v-p34.10

945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.vi-p11.1

946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.xi-p6.1

947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p7.2

948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xiii-p12.2

949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iii-p13.2

950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.ii-p14.2

951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p7.3

952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p32.1

953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p22.1

954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iii-p21.1

955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p19.1

956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p23.1

957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p21.2

958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p14.6

959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p14.4

960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxii-p11.5

961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p18.3

962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p18.1

963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.viii-p11.1

964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xviii-p7.2

965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.x-p24.1

966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xvii-p5.1

967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xi-p36.1

968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p34.1

969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.ix-p11.1

970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p29.1

971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p13.1

972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iv-p59.2

973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xiii-p7.1

974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.viii-p20.1

975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.4

976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.viii-p21.1

977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xii-p24.1

978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.2

979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.v-p11.2

980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.3

981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.1

982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p21.2

983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p31.1

984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xvi-p12.3

985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.iii-p32.1

986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.viii-p56.1

987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.ix-p11.2

988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.vi-p9.1

989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p21.1

990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.ix-p35.1

991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.ii-p12.1

992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.v-p13.2

993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.x-p5.1

994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iii-p26.1

995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.iv-p8.1

996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.ii-p16.1

997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p21.4

998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p27.1

999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p20.1

1000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p17.1

1001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxii-p11.3

1002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p13.1

1003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p13.1

1004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p13.2

1005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p10.1

1006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p38.1

1007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xiii-p24.1

1008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xvii-p13.1

1009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vii-p25.1

1010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p13.2

1011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iv-p11.2

1012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p21.4

1013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.i-p34.1

1014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p30.5

1015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p19.1

1016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.iv-p14.1

1017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p13.2

1018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xx-p17.1

1019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iii-p21.2

1020. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.ii-p16.1

1021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p18.1

1022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p9.1

1023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p30.3

1024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p15.1

1025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.vii-p11.1

1026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.ii-p8.1

1027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p21.5

1028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.viii-p9.1

1029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iii-p36.2

1030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p30.1

1031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xix.i-p10.1

1032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iv-p5.2

1033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p9.2

1034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xix.i-p10.2

1035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.ii-p8.2

1036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xviii-p7.1

1037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p26.3

1038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.x-p11.1

1039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.viii-p14.1

1040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.v-p11.1

1041. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xx-p17.3

1042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iv-p11.4

1043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xvi-p12.1

1044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.v-p7.1

1045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p35.1

1046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vi-p5.2

1047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.6

1048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p29.4

1049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p13.1

1050. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.v-p13.1

1051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.iv-p24.1

1052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p29.3

1053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.iv-p7.1

1054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xix.vi-p11.1

1055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p5.1

1056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p14.1

1057. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p9.1

1058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iv-p5.3

1059. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iii-p36.1

1060. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iv-p11.3

1061. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p13.1

1062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p9.1

1063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iv-p11.1

1064. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.vi-p7.1

1065. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p18.1

1066. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#ii-p6.7

1067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p15.1

1068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.vii-p47.1

1069. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p15.3

1070. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p22.1

1071. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.x-p8.1

1072. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.6

1073. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xii-p24.2

1074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p21.3

1075. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p26.1

1076. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p28.1

1077. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p20.2

1078. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p21.1

1079. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p17.1

1080. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.iii-p24.1

1081. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.x-p18.1

1082. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.vii-p12.1

1083. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p14.1

1084. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p23.1

1085. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p9.2

1086. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iv-p21.2

1087. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p16.1

1088. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p57.2

1089. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p39.2

1090. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.viii-p21.2

1091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.x-p10.1

1092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p84.1

1093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p7.2

1094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.vii-p13.1

1095. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.ii-p24.1

1096. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p35.1

1097. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p44.1

1098. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.iii-p9.1

1099. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p21.2

1100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p31.1

1101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p57.1

1102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p12.1

1103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iv-p21.1

1104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.x-p8.1

1105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.i.i-p10.2

1106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.iv-p17.1

1107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.x-p8.3

1108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p39.1

1109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.iv-p20.2

1110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.ii-p8.1

1111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xii-p9.1

1112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.iv-p20.1

1113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.vii-p14.1

1114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.ii-p29.1

1115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p30.2

1116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p41.1

1117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p21.1

1118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p18.1

1119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xix.v-p8.1

1120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.viii-p19.2

1121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.5

1122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.v-p11.1

1123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p9.1

1124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p21.2

1125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.iv-p7.2

1126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p7.1

1127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.vi-p24.1

1128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xi-p35.1

1129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p18.1

1130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p33.1

1131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p20.1

1132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.vii-p10.1

1133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p7.2

1134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p7.3

1135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.i-p22.1

1136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.v-p15.3

1137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p7.1

1138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiv.iii-p68.1

1139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.v.iv-p11.1

1140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xviii.i-p25.1

1141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.viii-p18.1

1142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p16.2

1143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.ii-p21.1

1144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.iv-p12.1

1145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p18.2

1146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.v-p15.2

1147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xvii-p23.1

1148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iv-p16.1

1149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.v-p15.1

1150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p27.2

1151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xiv-p15.2

1152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p15.2

1153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.iii-p21.3

1154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p26.2

1155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.ii-p16.2

1156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p14.2

1157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.8

1158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.vii-p7.1

1159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p23.3

1160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p30.6

1161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.viii-p29.2

1162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xix.v-p23.1

1163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xi-p4.1

1164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p23.2

1165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xi-p31.4

1166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xi-p16.1

1167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.ii-p21.1

1168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p5.2

1169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.ii-p5.1

1170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvii.ii-p5.2

1171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p53.1

1172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p24.1

1173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xii-p39.3

1174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.ii-p16.4

1175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.ii-p16.5

1176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xxiii-p14.8

1177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.ii-p30.4

1178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xiv-p15.1

1179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.viii.iv-p70.1

1180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.10

1181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xi-p31.2

1182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.ii-p8.4

1183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p16.1

1184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.viii-p29.2

1185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.v-p11.2

1186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ii.v-p9.3

1187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.vi-p17.1

1188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xi-p31.3

1189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.xii-p6.1

1190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.vii.ii-p15.3

1191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xii.iii-p23.4

1192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.viii-p20.11

1193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p25.1

1194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xvi.xvi-p12.2

1195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xv.i-p5.1

1196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.iii-p25.2

1197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p15.2

1198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.ix.i-p18.2

1199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xi.viii-p19.1

1200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.xiii.xi-p31.1

1201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc8/cache/hcc8.html3#iv.x.i-p12.1