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ARTICLE IV.

LIFE OF JOHN CALVIN.

[Based chiefly on a *Life of Calvin* by P. Henry of Berlin.]

By E. D. C. Robbins, Librarian Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. [Continued from p. 356, No. VI.]

The Institutes of the Christian Religion.

MANY suppose that Francis I in the earlier part of his reign, favored the reformed doctrines from conviction. Beza says: "This king was not like his successors; he was possessed of acute discrimination, and not a little judgment in distinguishing between the true and the false; he was a patron of learned men and not personally opposed to us." The same author supposes, that he was on the point of acceding publicly to the reformed tenets in 1534.¹ But the historian Robertson is probably not far from right, when he says, that 'his apparent willingness to hear the truth was a mere political mask, not the result of conviction.'² Whatever the king's real feelings may have been, he for a time lost the reputation of a good Catholic. His league with the apostate Henry VIII., his attack upon the emperor Charles, who made great pretension to zeal for the defence of the Romish faith, just as he was preparing for an expedition against Tunis, and his reception of the envoy of Solyman, contributed to this suspicion of his sincerity.³ But he was not long in finding an occasion for retrieving his reputation. The Sorbonne in 1534 forbade the protestant preachers, Girard Roux, Coraud and Berthaud, to hold public assemblies; and when they afterwards turned their attention to private instruction, they were kept in close custody.⁴

The Christians were, however, too decided in their belief to be thus thwarted. They determined, if their mouths must be shut, to appeal to the people by other means. Accordingly, a man named Feret, son of the apothecary of the king, was sent to Neufchatel to obtain a short summary of the reformed tenets. He re-

¹ See Beza, *Cal. Vita*, et *Hist. Eccl.* p. 15. Henry I. 72, 73.

² Robertson's *Charles V.* Book VI.

³ Robertson's *Charles V. B. VI. Works*, Vol. IV. p. 305.

⁴ They were finally set at liberty through the intercession of the Queen of Navarre, and Coraud soon after went to Switzerland.—Du Pin, *Hist. Eccl.* Tom. 12. p. 175.

turned with manifestos against the mass and the pope, afterwards called Placards, which were scattered in every direction, and even put up in the king's palace at Blois. The intemperate zeal thus manifested is sincerely to be regretted; for, although these documents contained truth, the spirit exhibited in them, was not approved even by Coraud and his companions, who were temperate in their zeal. In consequence of them the martyr-fires burned with a brighter glow. The police were the obedient subjects of the furious king. The bloody Morin was indefatigable in inventing and applying new and frightful tortures. The Lustration, as it was called, was made by the king at Paris, January 29th, 1535. The image of the holy Geneveva, the patron saint of Paris, was borne in procession, a thing which was done only on occasions of imminent peril. The king with his three sons marched with uncovered heads and lighted torches, at its foot, through the city. The nobles and the court followed. The king declared before the assembled multitude, that if one of his hands were infected with heresy he would cut it off with the other, and that even his own children, if found guilty of that crime, should not be spared.¹ During this procession six men were burned in the most torturing manner in the frequented parts of the city.² The people were so enraged at the sight, that the executioners could scarcely prevent their victims from being forcibly snatched from the flames. The constancy of these martyrs³ exceeded the rage of the persecutors, and showed the influence of the doctrines of the Bible, as preached by Calvin, and his associates.

Soon after this infamous proceeding, the king found that he had gone further than was politic, in his attempts to appease the Catholics. The indignation of the protestant princes of Germany, whose favor he greatly needed in order to accomplish his political purposes, was roused. An explanation of his conduct was therefore published in which he represented, that he had only punished some enthusiasts, called anabaptists, who had substituted their own inspiration for the word of God, and set at defiance all authority both *civil* and ecclesiastical. He also sent for Melancthon

¹ Robertson's Charles V. Book VI. Works, Vol. IV. p. 306.

² Beza says, Vita, p. 3, Quatuor urbis celebrioribus locis octonos Martyres vivos ustulari juberet, but Du Pin says: Six Lutheriens " " furent brulez. Tom. XIII. p. 176.

³ See a sketch of their lives, and their firmness amidst the tortures prepared for them, Henry, I. 75 sq.

at this time, to come to France for the purpose of aiding in composing church-difficulties.¹ This was a decisive moment for the reformation in France. All eyes were upon the king, and as he decided, the current of public opinion would flow. Already in consequence of the late persecutions many weak adherents to the truth, had gone away and walked no more with their persecuted companions. Calvin, therefore, decided to publish his Institutes. They had been previously commenced for the purpose of supplying his countrymen with a compendium for their instruction in the principles of true religion. He says in the Latin preface to his Commentary on the Psalms: "Whilst I was living in obscurity at Basil, after many pious men had been burned at the stake in France, and the report of this had awakened great indignation in Germany, wicked and false pamphlets were circulated, in which it was said, that only anabaptists, turbulent persons, who in their fanatical zeal would not only destroy religion but even political order, had been thus cruelly punished. When I perceived that this was a court-device, not only to cover over the crime of shedding innocent blood, and to cast reproach upon these holy martyrs who had been slain, but also to give permission for the future to murder without compassion, I concluded that my silence, if I did not make a vigorous resistance, would be treason. This was the occasion of the first edition of the Institutes. First, I wished to vindicate from unjust opprobrium the character of my brethren, whose death was of great value in the sight of God. Secondly, since the same death threatened many unfortunate victims, I desired that other nations, at least, might feel some compassion for them."²

It is a much disputed point whether the Institutes was first published in 1534, 1535 or 1536. The oldest copies now extant bear date in 1536; but these cannot belong to the first edition, for in them Calvin mentions himself three times, and he expressly says, in the preface to his Commentary upon the Psalms, that the first edition was anonymous. There also could not have been an edition previously to 1535, since events which transpired at the beginning of that year and in the latter part of 1534, were the immediate occasion of publishing the first edition. Beza seems,

¹ See an account of the expedient by which Cardinal Tournon prevailed upon Francis to countermand the order for Melancthon's visit, in Browning's History of the Huguenots, p. 7.

² See further, in Cal. Opp. Oun. Vol. III, or an English Translation in Waterman's Calvin, p. 235 sq.

then, to be right in referring this edition to 1535. It will be recollected that this work had been partly prepared in Angouleme during Calvin's stay there, so that the time from the last of January until August would have been sufficient for the preparation and printing of it; and it can hardly be believed, that in such urgent circumstances the publication was delayed a year. This edition, in order more effectually to reach the French court, was issued in the French language,¹ and the Latin Version was made in the beginning of 1536, with special reference to Italy, where French was not generally understood. In accordance with this view, the French edition of 1566 has the Preface to the king in Calvin's ancient style, dated: Basle le premier d'Aout, 1535, whilst in the ancient Latin editions, the date is 1536; and the modern editions follow their respective prototypes. The entire absence of this first French edition from all collections of ancient works, may be accounted for from a decree of the Sorbonne, that it should be suppressed.² A passage in a letter to Calvin from Samarthanus, Professor in an academy at Poitu, April, 1537, seems to have reference to such a proceeding: "I am grieved, since you are torn from us, that the other Calvin speaking to us, I mean your Christian Institutes, has not reached us. I envy Germany for possessing what we cannot obtain." In a letter to Daniel, Oct. 13, 1536, Calvin himself says, that 'he is daily expecting the French edition of his little work, which he will send to him with letters;' this, says his biographer, shows that there had been a French edition of the Institutes, for Daniel had long before received the other works of Calvin.³

This edition, a small octavo, of about 500 pages, was but a germ of the work we now possess, and cannot be compared with it, either for completeness of doctrinal statement or elegance of style; for the body of the work was prepared hastily, so as to meet a peculiar exigency. Yet the changes made were not in fundamental doctrines. Calvin's belief at twenty-five, was his

¹ Nearly all of Calvin's works were published both in French and Latin. The *Psychopannychis*, and the *Treatise on the Lord's Supper* (1540) appeared first in French.—Henry, I. 16C.

² See Henry, I. 102.

³ The title of the First Latin edition is as follows: *Christianae religionis institutio, totam ferè pietatis summam, et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognita necessarium, complectens; omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus, ac recens editum.*—*Prefatio ad Christianissimum REGEM FRANCIAE, qua hic ei liber pro confessione fidei offertur. Joanne Calvino Noviodunensi autore, Basilae, MDXXXVI.*

conviction on the day of his death. This has justly been called his first and his last work. Beza, who had the best means of knowing, says: "True to the doctrines which he first promulgated, he never changed anything; which can be said of few theologians within our memory."¹ Joseph Scaliger remarks: "He made no retractions, although he wrote much; this is wonderful. I leave to your decision, whether he was not a great man."²

The reception which this book met at first, and Calvin's feelings in reference to it, are expressed in the Preface to the last edition published during his life: "Since I did not expect that the first edition of this book would meet so favorable a reception, I prepared it somewhat carelessly, seeking especially to be brief. But finding in process of time, that it had been received with a degree of favor which I did not dare even to desire, much less to hope, I felt the more obliged to acquit myself better, and with greater completeness, on account of those who received my doctrine with so much affection; for it had been ungrateful in me, not to comply with their desire, according to my limited capacity. Hence I attempted to do what I could, not when the volume was first reprinted only; every successive edition has been enlarged and improved. And although I have no cause to repent the labor which I previously bestowed upon it, I confess that I never satisfied myself until I had digested it in the order which you here see, and which I hope you will approve. And in truth I affirm, for the purpose of securing your approbation, that in serving the church of God, I have not withheld the exertion of all my powers; for last winter, when a quartan ague threatened my life, the more the disease pressed upon me, the less I spared myself, until I completed this book, which surviving my death, might show how much I desired to recompense those who had already profited by it."

Although the edition here spoken of, (that of 1559), received the careful revision of its author, the changes were merely in form. The second Latin edition, published in 1539, when Calvin was about thirty years of age, is justly considered as the perfected fruit of his mature studies. The occasion which called forth the first edition had passed away, but the value of the work was not limited by changing circumstances. Calvin now recurred to his original plan of making it a Manual for those who desired a cor-

¹ Vita Cal. Opp. Omn. Tom. I. at the beginning.

² Scaligeriana secunda. The testimony of Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, is to the same amount. See Henry, I. 134, 135.

rect knowledge of the truths of the Bible. He says in the Preface to this second edition: 'That he has arranged and treated the subjects introduced into this volume, in such a manner as to prepare the reader for the study of the Bible, and to enable him to understand its doctrines in their relations and practical bearing.' 'Thus,' he says, 'he shall not be obliged to introduce into his explanations of Scripture long doctrinal discussions. The utility of the volume in this respect, will be more evident by a reference to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, than he can make it by words.'

It is not in accordance with the plan of this narrative, to give an analysis of the Institutes. A few particulars concerning its external history is all we have room to add. It was, even in its first edition, the most extensive and systematic exposition and defence of the reformed tenets which had then appeared,¹ and was an invaluable auxiliary in the work of reform. If Luther's words were "half battles," Calvin's writings were a well furnished store-house both for offensive and defensive war. The testimony of men of all parties and of all ages since its publication, in favor of the talent exhibited in the work is decisive. Paulus Thurius, a learned man from Hungary, affirms that, "since the time of Christ, except the writings of the Apostles, no age has produced anything equal to this book."² "It contains," says Bretschneider, a leading rationalist of Germany, "a treasure of excellent thoughts, acute analyses, and apt remarks, and is written in an elegant, animated and flowing style. The only thing analogous to this in the Lutheran church, is the celebrated *Loci Communes* of Melancthon, which for symmetry, for solidity of argumentation, polemical strength, and systematic completeness cannot be compared with the work of Calvin."³ I scarcely need to add, that even the most bigoted Catholics, although they strenuously maintain that the doctrines contained in this work are false, and that great injury has resulted and must result from their diffusion, are compelled to acknowledge that the language in which the

¹ Hallam's *History of Literature*, Vol. I. p. 192, Harpers' edition.

² *Reformat. Almanach*. 8. 107.

³ J. Focanus says of it: *Qui liber non solum abundat rebus optimis, sed et nitido, puro, gravi, magnifico et latinissimo stylo conscriptus est.* Daniel Colonus of Leyden, in a work upon the Institutes also says:

Aureus hic liber est, hanc tu studiosa juvenas,
Si cupis optatam studiorum attingere metam,
Noctes atque dies in succum verte legendo.

work is written is good and pure for the age in which Calvin lived, and that much acuteness of mind and discrimination in reference to theological subjects is exhibited in it.¹

If further testimony in favor of the work is desired, it may be found in the numerous editions of it in the original, and in translations, which have made it not only the common property of Europe, but known and valued in other quarters of the globe. It has been translated by E. Icard into modern French, by Julius Paschalis into Italian, by Cyprian of Valera into Spanish, and by Thomas Norton and J. Allen into English; several translations have been made into German, and it is also found in the Dutch, the Hungarian, the Greek, and even the Arabic languages.

But Calvin's work was not done when he had prepared this summary of, and apology for the reformed doctrines. The apparent relenting of Francis gave him hope of exerting an influence directly upon him, and the importance of the king's course at this time was too great, to allow any measures for interesting him in the truth to be left unemployed. Calvin accordingly dedicated his Institutes to him. This dedication was written with great care, and will always remain an ornament to the Christian church. "There have been in the world of Letters only three great Prefaces, that of Thuanus to his History, that of Casaubon to his Polybius, and that of Calvin to his Institutes."² "This last," as it has been said, "is a tribute worthy of a great king, a vestibule worthy a superb edifice, a composition worthy of more than a single perusal."

In this dedication Calvin exerted all the powers of his vigorous mind. He was pleading for the honor of his Maker, for the life of his friends, for those in whose breasts his admonitions and instructions had enkindled a love of the truth. It cannot be doubted too, that he in some degree foresaw the evils that would come upon France, unless the king could be influenced, and the tide of persecution stayed. No wonder that under such influences he wrote with power. But Francis was as unmoved as the emperor Charles V., when the Confession of Melancthon was read before him at Augsburg. He had encased himself in armor that could not be pierced by the most polished weapons. It has been supposed that he did not read the appeal, but that is scarcely possi-

¹ See Fleury's Hist. Eccl. Tom. XXVIII. p. 114.

² Quoted by Henry, I. 80, from S. Morus Panegyrique, p. 108. Inat. Ed. Icard. et *Mélange Critique de feu M. Ancillon*, Basle 1698. T. II. p. 65.

ble.¹ He was too much interested to know what was scattered among his subjects, if he did not heed the entreaties of his noble sister, to leave it unperused. But the die was cast. The desolating current had set upon the fair fields of France, and wave after wave swept over it, especially under the dominion of Francis's successor, Henry II, and of Catharine De Medici, and still later under the administration of Richelieu. 'The time of this gracious visitation passed by,' says Henry, 'and France, like Jerusalem, which our Saviour wept over, knew not the things that belonged to its peace.'

Calvin's Journey to Italy, and relation to the dutchess of Ferrara.

Calvin was not satisfied to confine his exertions to those who spoke the French language. His benevolence was not shut in by city-walls or limited by state-boundaries; wherever there were those who had erred, his desire was to bring them back to the fold of Christ. He loved his native France and wept over it, but when persecuted in one country, he fled to another; when cast out and reviled by the pharisee of the French capital, he remembered the gentile nations. Accordingly, after he had completed the Latin edition of his Institutes, probably at the end of March or beginning of April 1536, he decided to visit Italy. The journey was dangerous for him, and in order to avoid interruption he assumed the name of Monsieur Charles d'Espeville. This name he afterwards also sometimes adopted in his correspondence with his friends, so as not to expose them to danger.

Many circumstances contributed to awaken in him an interest for Italy. The power of the pope was resisted there, even after it was acknowledged by the western churches.² The way for the abandonment of superstition and bigotry and religious domination had been none the less really, if less palpably, prepared by Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Boccaccio, and even by the illustrious princes of the houses of Este and Medici, than by Arnold of Brescia, Bernard, Savonarola and Picus of Mirandola. Before a taste for literature the power of superstition must disappear; but there is danger that indifference or skepticism will take its place, as they were already beginning to do in Italy. The appeal of Leo

¹ Brantôme rapporte qu'un jour où le Roi s'expliqua sur ce sujet, il lui échappa de dire : que cette nouveauté tendoit du tout au renversement de la monarchie divine et humaine, etc. Henry, l. 99.

² M'Crie's Reform. in Italy, p. 1.

X. for means to aid in the aggrandizement of the Holy See, had called forth a response from the German monasteries, which was as little expected as desired. The cry of Antichrist and Babylon, issuing from the German forests, echoing from hill to mountain, gaining new force from resistance, and redoubled as it poured down from the Alpine heights where Zuingli was posted, had reached even to the Vatican, and struck the death-knell upon many a heart resting there in fancied security. The German troops and Swiss auxiliaries of Charles of Bourbon, as they poured into Italy in 1526, scattered the principles of the reformation with one hand, while they dealt death blows with the other. The confinement of the pope, the vicar of God, within prison walls, the waving of the soldier's plume where mitred heads were wont to appear, the gleaming of the soldier's steel upon "The Transfiguration," could not, while it excited the horror of the people, fail to lessen the reverence which they had been taught to feel for everything connected with papal Rome. The thunders of the Vatican, at which Europe just now trembled, reverberating through hall and along corridor, no longer issued forth as aforetime. They died away with a murmur, and a voice was heard saying, "Watchman, what of the night? And the watchman answered: The morning cometh and also *the night*."

Ferrara was at this time an object of special interest. Under the dominion of the dukes of the house of Este, it had long been the rival of Florence, under the government of the Medici, in the patronage of learning and the arts. Ariosto lived at the court of Alfonso I., Tasso at that of Hercules II. At the time of Calvin's visit, Ferrara was not only a seat of learning and refinement, but also a refuge for the persecuted, who fled from other parts of Italy and from foreign countries. Its reigning duke, Hercules II., had married Benée or Renata, daughter of Louis XII. of France. This accomplished woman became acquainted with the reformed doctrines before she left her native land, at the court of the Queen of Navarre. For their introduction into Ferrara, she at first limited her exertions to entertaining, as men of letters, those who favored these doctrines. Afterwards she selected the instructors of her children, with reference to the dissemination of the new views. In addition to the men of liberal and independent minds who were connected with the University of Ferrara, and permanently attached to the Court, Calvin met there Madame de Soubise,¹ and

¹ Governess of the dutchess, who while in France was the means of introducing several men of letters there.—M'Crie's Reform. in Italy, p. 8.

her daughter Anna of Parthenai, distinguished for her elegant taste; also her son, Jean de Parthenai, afterwards leader of the protestant party in France, Count de Marennnes, the future husband of Anna, and Clement Marot,¹ a poet of considerable eminence, who after "the placards" had been compelled to flee from France, and was at this time secretary of the dutchess.

The duke of Ferrara sometime during the year of Calvin's arrival there, 1536, entered into a league with the Pope and the Emperor, a secret article of which required him to remove all French residents from his court. The dutchess thus saw herself compelled to part with Madame de Soubise and her family. Marot retired to Venice. Calvin did not escape this persecution. The eyes of the inquisitors were soon upon him, and he sought safety in flight.² It is to be regretted that he was compelled to leave Ferrara, when he had been there not more than two or three months. Such a mind as his must have found much sympathy in the cultivated circle by whom the dutchess was surrounded. He seemed to need just such an influence to counteract the rigid severity, which the opposition that he was compelled to encounter, must almost necessarily superinduce in one of so strong powers of mind, and scrupulously conscientiousness.

Although Calvin's visit to Ferrara was so short, that he says, 'he only saw the frontiers of Italy to bid them farewell,' it was not unimportant in its influences. He subsequently maintained a correspondence with the children of Madame de Soubise, and without doubt aided them much, (especially Jean de Parthenai,) in the important work which they were called to perform in favor of the reform in France. But the person over whom his influence was most exerted, was the dutchess of Ferrara. She had previously to his visit a reputation for piety, but Calvin's influence greatly strengthened her faith and increased her zeal. After his visit she embraced the principles of the reform, in distinction from those of Luther which she had previously favored, and maintained them to the end of her life. Calvin never saw Renée after this time, but he frequently exchanged letters with her. One of the last letters which he wrote was directed to her. Beza³ says that "she esteemed him above all others⁴ while he lived, and when

¹ See Hallam's *Hist. of Literature*, Vol. I. p. 220, Harpers' ed.

² The Catholic historian Fleury says: Hercules, fearing for his standing with the pope, warned this heretic to flee to France immediately, if he wished to escape the Inquisition.—*Hist. Eccl. Tom. XXXVIII. p. 126.*

³ *Calvini Vita.*

⁴ *Semper unice dilexerit.*

he died, gave the most conclusive proof of her regard for him." He always admonished her with perfect freedom, and she relied implicitly upon his counsel. Once, she was forced into concessions to the Catholics, which caused him sorrow. The Pope, perceiving her influence, left not a measure untried to cause her to retract. Her husband and her nephew Henry II. of France, were his willing instruments. She bore all her annoyances with magnanimity, except the reproaches and low intrigue of her husband. After her children were taken from her, and she herself detained as prisoner in the palace, she relented and made some retractions. Calvin says of this occurrence in a letter to Farel, dated 1554: "The sad intelligence has arrived, that the dutchess of Ferrara, overcome by threats and reproaches, has fallen. What shall I say, but that an example of constancy among those of the higher ranks is rare."¹ After the death of the duke, in 1559, she returned to France, took up her residence in the castle of Montargis, made an open profession of her sentiments, and protected the persecuted protestants. Her reply to the duke of Guise, the husband of her eldest daughter, Anne of Este, when he came with an armed force before her castle, and threatened to batter down the walls, if she did not give up the rebel protestants whom she harbored, was worthy of the daughter of Louis XII. and the disciple of Calvin: "Tell your master to consider well what he does, for I will place myself foremost in the breach, and see if he dare kill a king's daughter." A letter is still preserved, which she wrote to Calvin from Montargis, thanking him for all his good and faithful admonitions, which she always gladly received and listened to, and wishing him long life, and subscribing herself "*La bien Votre.*"²

I cannot perhaps better close these notices of Calvin's visit to Italy than by an extract, showing the influence of Renée in favor of the reformation in Italy, as her influence was so much modified by the instruction, admonition and encouragement received from time to time from the great reformer. That the labors of the early preachers at Ferrara "were successful, is evident from the number of persons who either imbibed the protestant doctrine or were confirmed in their attachment to it at Ferrara. The most eminent of the Italians who embraced the reformed faith, or who incurred the suspicions of the clergy by the liberality of

¹ Quid dicam nisi rarum in proceribus esse constantiae exemplum.

² MSS. Gothanae. See also two letters from Calvin to the Dutchess, quoted from the MSS. of the Genevan Library, in Henry, i. 159, 160.

their opinions, had resided some time at the court of Ferrara or were indebted, in one way or another, to the patronage of René."¹

Calvin's Farewell to Noyon.

From the court of Ferrara Calvin hastened to his native city Noyon, to greet it for the last time, and take a final farewell. After disposing of his estate there, and arranging all his domestic concerns, he departed, accompanied by his only brother then living,² Antony and his sister Maria, a distinguished judge of Noyon and his family, and some other of the citizens.³ His design was to go directly to Strasburg and Basil, but as the direct way through Lotheringa and Flanders was obstructed by a war at that time in progress between Francis and the emperor, the travellers were compelled to take a circuitous route through Savoy, and the passes of the Alps to Geneva. His feelings on leaving his native country are best described by an extract from a letter to a friend, written while he was on his way out of France: "I am driven out of the land of my birth. Every step to its borders costs me tears. But since the truth may not dwell in France, neither can I. Her destiny is mine." The providence of God in conducting Calvin, when he could not remain in France or Italy, where he might exert an influence upon both countries as well as extend his exertions in other directions, certainly deserves notice.

His influence in scattering the seed by the wayside, in his journeyings, is shown by an account from the archives of the village Aosta. Either on his way to or from the court of Ferrara, probably when he was returning to France, he preached the new doctrines in this little village with great acceptance, until he was compelled by persecution to leave. There is now found at Aosta a pillar, eight feet in height, on which is this inscription: "Hanc Calvini fuga erexit anno 1541, religionis constantia reparavit anno 1741." This monument, it seems, was erected in 1541, but the circumstances which it commemorates undoubtedly took place in 1536; for Muratori says in his annals: "In this same year [in which he was at Aosta], this wolf, when he saw that he was detected here, fled to Geneva."⁴—After spending the months of

¹ M'Crie's Reform. in Italy, p. 94.

² Vie de Calvin et Beza. p. 18.

³ Drelincourt as quoted in Henry, i. 156.

⁴ Ma nel presente anno veggendo si scoperto questo lupo se ne fuggì a Ginevra.

April, May and June in Italy, Calvin went in July to Noyon through Aosta, and arrived in Geneva in August of the same year.

Geneva; Calvin's arrival and first Labors there, Aug. 1536.

The year 1532 is considered as the era of the first introduction of the reformed tenets into Geneva. The clergy of this city had shown themselves corrupt in their lives and unfaithful in their political relations. Even before the death of Zuingli, in Oct. 1531, Farel wrote to him from Grauson that the Genevans would receive the gospel, if it were not for the opposition of the Catholic subjects of Savoy, by whom they were surrounded. Strengthened by the encouragement of Berne, they soon after became decisive for reform. Farel accompanied by Anthony Saunier visited Geneva in September, 1532, and instructed the people in private at his own lodgings. But he was compelled to flee from the violence of the clergy. In November of this year, Anthony Froment from Dauphiny was constrained by Farel to take up his residence in the city. But the success which attended his preaching roused the clergy again, and he also was expelled. A series of petty contentions ensued, in which the reformers were supported by the protestants of Berne, while the Catholics were urged on by the inhabitants of Friburg. Finally, through the interposition of the Bernese, a discussion was held between Guy Furbiti and Farel, which resulted in the triumph of the reformed cause. Farel first preached the new doctrines publicly, on Sunday March 1, 1534. He with Viret and Froment remained in Geneva and preached regularly at the church of the Franciscans de Rive and in that of St. Germain. The finishing step, however, in the establishment of the reformation in Geneva, was a discussion, favored by the council, but violently opposed by the clergy, between Bernard, a citizen of good family, Farel and Viret, and Peter Caroli then a Sorbonnist and J Chapuis, a Dominican of Geneva. Almost the whole city in consequence of this discussion went over to the reformed party, and by the close of February, 1536, the claims of the duke of Savoy had been resisted, and the civil and religious freedom of Geneva obtained. But the importance of this place as the centre of the great religious revolution for the South could not have been anticipated at that time.

Although the people who remained in Geneva had in general nominally professed to favor this reformation, so sudden a change in so corrupt a city was necessarily superficial, and it cost Fa-

rel and Calvin many severe struggles to maintain the ground which they had obtained. Its location on the shore of the beautiful Lake Lemman, surrounded by fertile vineyards, high Alps, and glaciers, crowned by the majestic Mont Blanc would indicate a paradise where sin and wrong could not find entrance; but evil mars the fairest abodes of this earth, and even the classical associations¹ and delightful scenery did not furnish a sufficient inducement for Calvin to remain amidst so much confusion, any longer than it was necessary. He says: "I did not wish to spend more than a night there, where everything was yet in disorder, and the city divided into hostile factions. But I was discovered by a man [Du Tillet], who afterwards went back to popery; and Farel, inflamed with an incredible zeal for the spread of the gospel, exerted all his power to detain me." Calvin's answer to Farel's request was dictated by his youthful enthusiasm: "His wish was not to bind himself to any one church, but to serve all, wheresoever he might go: If he stayed in Geneva, he should have no time for his own improvement, and he was not one of those who could be always giving out and never taking in." Farel's reply to him was in terms befitting his character: "Now I declare to you, in the name of Almighty God, as you make your studies a pretext, that if you do not apply yourself with us to this work of God, His curse will rest upon you, since you seek not so much the glory of Christ as your own honor." Like the voice of God to Saul on his way to Damascus, these words of Farel sunk deep into the heart of Calvin. He never forgot them; twenty years afterwards he says: "Master William Farel finally retained me at Geneva, not so much by counsel and exhortation, as by a solemn adjuration, as if God from on high had stretched out his hand to arrest me. Through fear of this, I relinquished my purposed journey, but conscious of my diffidence and timidity I did not at first bind myself to any fixed charge."

Calvin was soon chosen preacher and teacher in theology, but would at first accept only the latter appointment. But in the following year, at the solicitation of the citizens, he accepted the

¹ Geneva was known as a border city of the Allobrogi in the time of the Caesars. On being burned, it was rebuilt in the reign of Aurelian, and called Aureliana. In the fourth century it was the residence of a Christian bishop. Its government was various. Sometimes it was the chief city of a flourishing empire, and again subject to France, or Germany. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it had been long claimed by the duke of Savoy, but the bishops and the counts had maintained a formidable opposition to him.

office of pastor, in addition to that of professor. Calvin was now twenty-seven years old and considered himself as bound for life¹ to Geneva. With what zeal and success he labored there during the greater part of the remainder of his life, is recorded in the annals of the church, and in heaven. So important were his labors for the city of his adoption, that the author of the Spirit of Laws, says, "Geneva should celebrate as festivals the day of Calvin's birth and the anniversary of his arrival there." At first he was dependent upon small contributions from the State for his support, but in February of the next year, the council decided that he should receive as a stipend six golden crowns.² His view of the importance of this position after he had labored long, is indicated by a letter to Bullinger in 1549: "Should I regard my own life or private interests I should instantly depart. But when I consider the importance of this little corner for the spread of the gospel, I am full of solicitude to retain it; even your prosperity and quiet depend upon it."

The enthusiasm of the Genevans at the first appearance of Calvin among them, must have been gratifying to him who had been driven from his own country and Italy for the sake of the gospel. After his first public service, crowds flocked to his dwelling, to express their satisfaction with his sermon, and constrained him to repeat it on the following day, for the benefit of those who had not been able to hear it. Even the Catholic historian, Fleury says, the reputation of Calvin daily attracted families from abroad to Geneva.³

The establishment of the reformed religion in Lausanne is an event so closely connected with Calvin's first labors in Geneva, that it deserves notice here. In September, 1536, a disputation was held there between Catholics and reformers, at which Calvin, Farel and others were present. Farel's eloquence, boldness and readiness were here especially conspicuous. Calvin said very little, but he spoke with power. One monk persuaded by him, deserted the Catholics and united himself with the reformers on the spot. Calvin wrote to his friend Daniel while in Lausanne, Oct. 13th, concerning the success of this dispute: "Already in many places the images and the altars are overthrown, and I hope that others will soon be purified. The Lord grant that idolatry be banished from every heart. Incredibly small is the number of the preachers in comparison with the churches which need them.

¹ MSS. Tigur. 13th Oct. 1536.

² Registres du 13th Febr. 1537.

³ Tom. 38 p. 136, 137.

—O that there were now among you some bold spirits who seeing the necessities of the church would come to her help.”

At the beginning of Nov. 1536, Bucer, perceiving the noble spirit of Calvin, wrote to him from Strasburg. He takes the position of a learner and invites him to hold a consultation with him on some disputed points in theology. He desires a union of opinion among all the reformers, and requests Calvin to designate a place where they may meet, at Basil, at Berne or even at Geneva, if it must be, in order that they may conscientiously examine the truth, “in which,” he says, “you indeed may be established in opinion, but we on account of our weakness need explanation.”¹

Relation of Calvin to Farel, Viret and Beza.

From the time of Calvin's arrival in Geneva, he was united in heart and in labors with Farel and Viret. These two men had been sometime in French Switzerland before Calvin came there, and had been assiduous in their exertions for reformation. Geneva in particular owed much to them; but the incidental allusions which have already been made, are all that we can at present offer in reference to their earlier course. As companions and fellow-laborers with Calvin, they deserve a brief notice. In the beginning of his Commentary on Titus, the following memorial of their friendship is found: “Since my relation to you [Farel and Viret] so much resembles that of Paul to Titus, I have been led to choose to dedicate this my labor to you in preference to all others. It will afford our contemporaries at least, and, it may be, those who come after us, some indication of our holy friendship and union. I do not think that two friends have ever lived together in the common relations of life, in so close a friendship as we have enjoyed in our ministry. I have performed the duties of pastor with you both, yet so far were we from the feeling of envy, that it seemed as if you and myself had been one.” This friendship was not limited by their residence together at Geneva. It continued while life remained. It is conspicuous throughout a frequent correspondence, especially with Farel, which closed with these fitting words from the death-bed of Calvin: “Farewell, best and dearest brother! since it is the Lord's will that you survive me, be mindful of our friendship; its fruits, since it has blest the church of God, are laid up for us in heaven. Do not mourn

¹ Calvin, *Opp. Amst.* Tom. 9, p. 2

for me,"¹ etc. The friendship between these men is the more remarkable, perhaps, from the singular dissimilarity of their characters. Calvin was naturally timid and gained confidence only by struggling against opposition, Farel knew not fear; Calvin, a scholar and thinker, lived much within himself, Farel delighted in action; Calvin was an elegant writer, Farel an eloquent speaker; Calvin feared Farel and dared not resist his adjurations, Farel respected Calvin and was ever ready to acknowledge his superiority; Farel would face the most violent opposition and confront the most imminent peril, whilst Calvin preferred to retire before the gathering storm of opposition, and seek out some more excellent way of meeting his antagonists; Farel loved best to use the club and battle-axe, whilst his leader chose to hurl the polished shaft or storm the citadel from his own well-fortified intrenchments.

Beza says: "Calvin enjoyed exceedingly this hearty friendship which was as odious to the bad as pleasing to the good; and truly it was a pleasant sight to see these three extraordinary men acting with such unanimity and endowed with so various gifts. Farel was distinguished by a greatness of soul, and no one could listen to the thunder of his words without terror, or hear his most fervent prayers without being exalted, as it were, to heaven. On the contrary Viret was so winning in speech that his hearers hung upon his lips whether they would or not. But Calvin filled the minds of his hearers with as many weighty sentiments as he spake words. Thus, I have often thought, that, the union of the gifts of these three men would constitute the most perfect preacher of the Gospel."²

With Beza although somewhat younger than Calvin, and his pupil, a friendship not less constant and warm, though of a different cast, existed. He was a man of great learning, taste, eloquence and piety, combined with much sensibility, poetic genius,

¹ Geneva, May 2nd, 1564. Opp., ed. Amsterdam, T. IX. p. 172.

² The following epigram of Beza although somewhat common deserves repetition here:

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

and a fine person and manners. He was of a softer temperament, and in some respects the Melancthon of Calvin, but one with him in sentiment and feeling. The pupil not only thought with and wrote for his teacher, but even neglected his own duties to be with and aid his friend. The power and enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to him whom he called 'Father' could have been the result of nothing less than the most ardent love.

X Who can contemplate the great Reformer in reference to his intercourse with these three men without interest? Even if we forget his youthful attachments, yea even all else in his character that is fitted to awaken our love, we cannot look upon him as that cold and unfeeling controversialist merely, which he has too often been represented to be. We may wonder that the happiness of such strong attachments should fall to the lot of one, who was so rigid in his opinions, so firm, sometimes even to obstinacy, and who occasionally suffered his indignation to pass the bounds of moderation. But this merely shows that some traits of his character, such as unbounded confidence in and affection for his friends were brought less distinctly to view in public than in private life. So true is it that "we know more of the heads of celebrated men than their hearts; they have sketched the former in their works; their heart is found in their secret actions." We most cordially respond to the sentiment of his biographer, that "the highest reverence must be awakened by the whole course of his life, which was little else than a sacrifice, without a thought for himself. Even his excesses were for the most part the result of extraordinary conscientiousness, and these faults were easily forgiven by those who knew him."

Struggles with the Anabaptists and Carols—Expulsion from Geneva.

The favor which Calvin's labors in Geneva met in the beginning, was not destined to continue. He says of his life at this time: "Scarcely had four months passed [after his arrival in Geneva], when we were attacked on the one side by the Anabaptists, and on the other, by a vile apostate, who in consequence of the support of some of the leading men caused us much trouble. Besides, domestic seditions agitated us continually. I who am obliged to confess myself to be of a timid, soft, and shrinking nature, was compelled to sustain a conflict with these tumultuous waves as soon as I entered upon my office. And although I did

not suffer myself to be overborne by them, yet I was not sustained by sufficient magnanimity, to prevent me from rejoicing too much when I was expelled by a faction from my office." The result of the contention with the Anabaptists may be given in the words of Beza: "The devil desired to crush this church in its beginning, but God forsook it not. The Anabaptists were so effectually vanquished, through the power of the divine word, by Calvin and his associates, in a public discussion, before the council and the people, that from this time (March, 1537) they were no longer seen in the town."¹

The other attack of which Calvin speaks, was much more annoying. Peter Caroli, an arrogant, vain, restless, fickle man, and unworthy of notice but for the fact that he aroused the anger of Calvin, accused the Genevan preachers of Arianism. The accusation was seized with avidity by those persons who were watching for some ground of hostility to those whose restraints upon them were burdensome. The question was brought first before the Synod of Berne, and then before that of Lausanne. The whole trial is characteristic of the noble-minded Calvin. A principal ground of accusation was that the word *trinity* or person was not found in the Genevan confession. Caroli demanded that the Genevan preachers should subscribe the three most ancient creeds, the Apostolic, Athanasian and Nicene; but they rejected the proposition with disdain. They wished not, by their example to sanction the arbitrary assumption in the church, that every one who would not adopt the words of another at his pleasure, should be accused of heresy. The result was, that in a full synod at Lausanne, where there were present one hundred of the clergy from Berne, twenty from Neufchatel and three from Geneva, the Genevan Confession upon the Trinity and the Lord's Supper was pronounced "sancta et catholica." Caroli was deposed from his office as pastor, and banished by the council of Lausanne. Calvin's defence of his own faith and that of his comrades was pronounced admirable, and if he did show a little bitterness² in

¹ The council passed a sentence of banishment for life upon all who should teach the doctrines of the Anabaptists at Geneva.—Calvin and the Swiss Reform. p. 328.

² He accuses him in open council of "having no more religion than a dog or a sucking pig." He also says in a letter to Bullinger, that when he calls Caroli a church-robber, an adulterer and a murderer, he makes no accusation which he cannot sustain by valid proofs.—Henry, 1. 182, 184. For a fuller account of this whole matter see Henry 1. 178 sq.

his treatment of Caroli, we can scarcely reproach him for it, when we consider the worthlessness of Caroli, and the injury he was doing to the cause of truth.—Calvin afterwards came into conflict with Caroli at Strasburg and treated him with a lenity which we could hardly expect, endeavoring to reclaim him from his errors. But it was in vain. He again returned to the Romish church from which he had repeatedly separated himself, and died at Rome in an hospital of a loathsome disease.

One circumstance gives special interest to Calvin's conduct in the struggle with Caroli. He always appealed in confirmation of his orthodoxy, not directly to the Institutes which might have set the matter forever at rest, as far as he was concerned, but to the Catechism which had been published in French under the sanction of the associated clergy of Geneva; thus with himself acquitting both Farel and Viret. And immediately after the decision of the Synod, he published this Catechism in Latin so that all might be able to read the Apology for his belief.

These victories, however, were not sufficient to secure permanent quiet. The preachers were urgent in their demands for a reformation in the morals of the corrupt community about them; but many of the citizens who were ready to accede to the formulary of reformed tenets, rebelled under the severe restrictions now imposed upon them. The council, in order to aid the reformers, passed prohibitions of many of the pleasures of the inhabitants, which were thought to conduce to profligacy: A milliner, for example, was subject to an arrest of three days, because she had ornamented a bride more than was becoming. The mother and two female friends of the bride, who after assisting at her toilet, accompanied her to church, were compelled to submit to the same punishment. But notwithstanding the severity of the laws against immorality, a person who was guilty of lewdness, was chosen six times in succession to the office of Syndic, through the influence of the party of the Libertines and Independents.

In order to check the immorality and impiety which was so prevalent, Calvin and his associates induced the senate and the people in a public assembly, July 20, 1537, to abjure popery and subscribe to a formulary of doctrine, contained in the catechism which has been previously mentioned. But this did not reach the source of the evil, the heart. The disaffected party looked with suspicion upon the preachers who, they thought, were establishing a new kind of popery; and the preachers in turn denounced more loudly than ever the licentiousness of the people,

and the supineness of the magistrates in checking it. Coraud, who, it will be remembered, had been expelled from Paris for his faithfulness,¹ though feeble, old and blind, yet full of youthful zeal, was led to the pulpit where he inveighed against the indecision of the council in suppressing wickedness, and as a consequence was thrown into prison. His associates remonstrated in vain with these rulers for their treatment of him. Bitter animosities and strifes were cherished between many of the first families, and the city was divided into the most hostile factions. Excommunication against offenders had been often threatened, but could not be carried into effect, and the preachers came to the conclusion that they could not administer the communion in a city, which, although so corrupt, would submit to no church discipline. "We thought," says Calvin, "that our duty was not done, when we had merely preached the word. With much greater assiduity must we labor for those whose blood, if they perished by our neglect, would be required at our hand. And if at other times these cares gave us solicitude, as often as the seasons of communion occurred, we were filled with anguish; for although the faith of many seemed to us exceedingly doubtful, all without exception came to the table. And they rather ate and drank the wrath of God, than partook of the sacrament of life."

Their resolution was put into effect simultaneously in the different churches. On Easter day, in 1538, Calvin and Farel both preached without administering the communion. The whole city was in a ferment. They united with their other accusations against Calvin and his associates, their neglect to conform to the decree of the synod of Lausanne, which had required the Genevans to use unleavened bread in the sacrament, and in other respects to conform to the ceremonies of the church of Berne. The council forbade the use of their pulpits to their ministers. They however did not heed the prohibition. The two councils in turn, and finally the assembled people (April 23, 1538) passed an order for the expulsion of Calvin, Farel and Coraud from Geneva. They were ordered to leave the city in three days. When Calvin was informed of the decree of the assembly, he replied with dignity: "Had I been the servant of men, I were now ill-requited; but it is well that I have served Him who always bestows upon his servants what he promises them."²

¹ See page 489 and note.

² When the decree of the council was announced to Calvin and Farel, that they must leave the city in three days, in consequence of disobedience to the magistrates, their reply was, "Well, it is better to serve God than man."

Calvin's Exertions for France, and for Union.

Notwithstanding the manifold difficulties and labors in which Calvin was involved during his first stay at Geneva, he was not unmindful of the claims of the reformed church abroad upon him, and especially of his persecuted brethren in France. A letter to the preachers at Basil, from Geneva, November 13th, 1537, exhibits something of their persecutions and Calvin's vigorous exertions in their behalf: "We will explain to you in few words why we send this messenger. The enemy have recently visited their wrath upon our poor brethren at Nismes in a way that we had little expected.—Two of the faithful have been burned, of whose death the witness himself will give you an account, if he can make himself intelligible to you in Latin. Many are in fetters, and their life is in jeopardy, if the rage of the persecutors is not checked—drunk as they are with the blood of these two. Both of them exhibited noble constancy to their last breath, although their patience was tried by the most excruciating tortures. But is it certain that the others will show equal magnanimity? We must therefore bring help as speedily as possible in order that the weak yield not to fear. Farther we must see to it, that we count not the blood of the saints of little account, which is in so great honor with God." Afterward in the same letter it is said: "Christ not only commands us with a loud voice to help our brethren, but warns us that in forsaking them we forsake him."

In this same year, 1537, Calvin published two small works for the confirmation of those who were compelled to suffer martyrdom, and for the prevention of apostasy. One of them, dedicated to Nicholas Chenin, called "*De fugienda Idolatria*" was designed to counteract a prevalent error in France, "that a person might attend mass and yet adhere to the truth," the other was upon church-benefices and some of the other abuses of the papists.¹ A remark of Beza concerning Calvin, seems to be fully justified by these two little works: "Among other very excellent qualities which the Lord has bestowed very liberally upon this holy man, are two specially fitting him for controversy; a wonderful quickness of mind which enables him to apprehend at once the precise difficulty of a question, and to resolve it easily, and also a strict conscientiousness, which leads him always to avoid all

¹ For a particular account of these Treatises see Henry, I. 185 sq.

vain and sophistical subtleties with all ambitious ostentation, and to seek only the simple and pure truth."¹

Calvin was not unmindful of the progress of events in Germany. The sacramental controversy between the German reformers and the Swiss church, had been sometime in progress, and Calvin in a letter to Bucer, January 12th, 1538, expresses strong disapprobation of the conduct of both Bucer and Luther in this matter, and shows that he had never inclined to Luther's views of the physical presence of Christ in the bread and the wine of the sacrament. Yet he strongly desires unity, if it can be obtained in consistency with the maintaining of the truth, and the good of the cause of the reformation. "If Luther will embrace this [probably the Genevan Confession] as a brother, nothing will give greater joy. But regard must be had, not to this individual alone. We are cruel and barbarous if we have no regard for the thousands who will be outraged under the pretence of this unity. What to think of Luther I know not, although I have the greatest confidence in his piety.—Nothing will be sacred so long as this rage for controversy agitates us.—The past must all be forgotten." He goes on to speak with some severity of Luther's belief and conduct in reference to the points in dispute, and exhorts Bucer, if he will act the part of a mediator in the controversy, to use exertions to induce Luther to conduct himself with more moderation, and not merely to demand of the Helvetians to lay aside their obstinacy.² He also shows the injury that would result from the course they were pursuing: "How," he says, "the enemy are now triumphing and glorying, that we are inflicting wounds upon one another, in the presence of the most powerful and well armed antagonists."

Calvin in Exile from Geneva.

Calvin and Farel first went to Berne to justify their conduct to their friends there, and then to Lausanne, where a synod was then in session. For the sake of the peace of the church, they assented to the use of unleavened bread, and the baptismal font, and to the observance of the feast days required, under certain restrictions, but demanded the introduction of church discipline, and the right of excommunication by the church and their pastor, and some other regulations for the better order of their worship. The

¹ Henry, I. 191.

² "Si ab Helvetiis postulas ut pertinaciam deponunt, age vicissim upud Lutherum, ut tam imperiose se gerere desinat."

synod were satisfied with their conduct, and wrote to Geneva in behalf of the preachers. At the same time they requested, that messengers should be sent from Berne to second the request for their return. The exiled preachers went back to Berne, and thence, with the two messengers from Berne, set their faces again toward the scene of their persecutions. But they were met at a little distance from the city and not allowed to enter. The councils and the citizens were assembled, and after much abuse of the preachers, the decree for banishment was confirmed by an almost unanimous vote. Calvin and Farel returned to Berne, and from thence went to Basil. Calvin again took up his abode with his old friend Grynaeus. Bucer soon wrote to him from Strasburg, inviting him to accept an appointment there, but Calvin at first refused, since on account of his strong attachment to Farel, he was unwilling to separate himself from him. But Farel soon after accepted an invitation to Neufchatel, and Calvin sometime before the close of the year went to Strasburg.

There are several letters sent by Calvin from Berne and Basil of much interest. To Peter Viret he writes: "We finally arrived at Basil thoroughly drenched with rain, and almost dead from fatigue. Besides, we were not strangers to peril on the way; for one of us was near being swept away by a swollen stream. But we found the floods more compassionate than man. For men in opposition to right and duty have driven us into exile, but the torrent, since it rescued us, served as an instrument of the compassion of God."¹ He also wrote several times to Farel at Neufchatel, exhibiting his strong attachment to him, and especially his conscientious desire to act for the advancement of the cause of truth. In all these letters not a word of bitterness or ill feeling escapes him.²

Calvin, when he went to Basil, desired to remain there in retirement. He was wearied by a constant struggle with an unbelieving world. But his Master had need of him, and led him by a way that he would not. He says: "When I was released from the duties of my office [at Geneva], I at first determined to repose myself in quiet; but that most excellent minister of Christ, Martin Bucer, in a manner similar to Farel, constrained me by an execration to accept of a new office. Terrified by the example of Jonah, which he held up to me, I immediately took upon myself the duties of teacher. Although, as I was wont to do, I avoid-

¹ The last of May, 1538. MSS. Geneva. See further in Henry, I. 203 sq.

² See Henry, I. 205 sq.

ed public notice as much as possible, yet I was induced to attend the imperial Conventions, where, willing or not, I was compelled to appear publicly in the presence of multitudes."¹

In addition to Calvin's love of retirement, his feeling of the responsibility of the office of the preacher led him to shrink from it. In his Commentary on Ezekiel 3: 18 he says: "Nothing is dearer to God than the soul, which he created in his own image, whose father and redeemer he is. Since the soul's salvation is an object so dear to him, we perceive the care with which the prophet and preacher should perform the duties of their office. It is as if God committed souls to their trust, on the express condition that they should render an account for each one of them."

Notwithstanding Calvin's reluctance to go to Strasburg, he received a most cordial welcome from Bucer, Capito, Hedio and other distinguished friends, and found it a pleasant and profitable retreat from the tumults of Geneva. His labors and experience while there were an important preparation for his subsequent work. During his abode of between two and three years in that city, in addition to his regular duties as professor of theology, he published his first exegetical works, and a more complete edition of his Institutes, and what is of more value, says his biographer, he received a new and higher impulse in his religious feelings. He forgave his enemies, and with truly apostolic love exerted himself for the church which had spurned him from them. He established a reformed French church, into which he introduced his discipline, and made it a model for all the reformed churches in France. He also became better known to Melancthon and the other German reformers, and held several public discussions on important theological topics. In one of his letters he says, "I have lately been induced by Capito to give public lectures, and therefore lecture or preach every day." He also writes, April 20, 1539: "When the messenger called for my book I had twenty sheets to revise, to preach, to read to the congregation, to write four letters, to attend to some controversies, and to answer more than ten persons who interrupted me for advice." In 1539 Calvin obtained the right of citizenship in Strasburg; and he was in great repute among the citizens. Sturm says: "The French church here increased from day to day. Very many students and learned men came to Strasburg from France, on account of Calvin."

¹ Preface to the Psalms.

One letter, among many written soon after Calvin's arrival in Strasburg, containing an account of his feelings on the death of Coraud, who was banished with himself and Farel from Geneva, and was now as he supposed murdered, is not only interesting as an indication of his attachment to his friends, but also as showing his strong religious feeling. We give only an extract: "I am so much overpowered by the death of Coraud, that I can place no limits to my sorrow. My daily avocations have no power to withdraw my mind from continually revolving these thoughts. The miserable torments of the day are followed by more torturing sorrow at night. I am not only troubled with restlessness, to which I have become accustomed; but I am nearly dead through an entire want of sleep, which is more than my health will endure. My soul is most wounded by the aggravating circumstances of his death, if my suspicions, to which I am obliged, however unwillingly, to give some credit, are true.—It is no small indication of the anger of God, that, when we have so few good pastors, the church should be deprived of Coraud, one of the best. Can we do otherwise than bewail our loss? Yet we are not without consolation. It is a great solace, that all by their affectionate sorrow show their confidence in his ability and piety. Moreover the Lord will not suffer the wickedness of our enemies to remain concealed from men. They have gained nothing by his death. For he stands before the judgment seat of God, the witness and accuser of their crimes, and with a voice stronger than when it shook the earth, will proclaim their everlasting misery. But we, whom God still allows to live, will quietly follow in his footsteps until we shall have completed our course. And however great the difficulties may be which oppose us, we will not be prevented from attaining that rest into which he is already entered. If this hope were not held out to us, what reason should we have for despair? But since the truth of God remains firm and immovable, we will continue our watch until the end, when the kingdom of Christ, which is now hidden, shall appear."¹

In the spring of 1539 Calvin went to the imperial diet at Frankfurt, where he first saw Melancthon. His object in going there was to plead the cause of those who had espoused the reformed tenets in France, and incidentally to use his influence to bring about an amicable adjustment of the difficulties between the German and Swiss churches. He writes to Farel from Strasburg after his return from Frankfurt: "Bucer having informed me that

¹ Oct. 24, 1538.

he could accomplish nothing for our persecuted brethren, I was anxious to go there, in order that their safety might not be neglected, a thing not uncommon, amidst the multiplicity of business ; and also that I might confer with Philip upon religion and the church. Both causes will commend themselves to you as important. Capito and the other brethren also advised the measure. Besides the company for the journey was agreeable ; for Sturm and several other good friends made up the party."—In 1540 Calvin was also present at the diet assembled by the emperor at Hagenau and at Worms, to effect a union between the Catholics and Protestants. To the latter he was sent as representative of the city of Strasburg at the urgent request of Melanchthon. He was also present in 1541 at Ratisbon.

The letters written to Farel during his attendance at the diets of Germany, show Calvin's keen observation of the conduct and motives of the several actors, and his thorough comprehension of the state of things in that country. Political intrigue and desire for personal emolument, were as readily detected by him as religious bigotry and superstition. These journeyings of Calvin seem to have been beneficial in many ways, although they did not accomplish all that was desirable for the union of the conflicting parties of the reformers. Calvin felt that Melanchthon and Bucer although they had the interests of religion at heart, were too temporising when treating with their opponents. In a letter to Farel from Ratisbon he says : Philip and Bucer framed an ambiguous and deceptive confession concerning transubstantiation, endeavoring to satisfy their adversaries without yielding anything. This method does not please me," etc. The diet at Ratisbon closed, as is well known, without any agreement between the Catholics and Protestants, with the understanding that they would hold a further discussion at a future time. The differences which separated the French and Swiss churches were also not settled ; but the two parties learned more definitely the positions they each occupied, and looked for a time with more forbearance upon one another. Luther when his attention was directed to the severe manner in which Calvin had written of him and his party, is said, among other things in his favor, to have replied : " I hope Calvin will ere long think better of us, yet it is but right to bear much from such a genius." Calvin wrote to Farel on seeing the kind feeling expressed by Luther : " If we are not softened by such moderation we must be made of rock. For my part, I am broken down, and have accordingly written an apology which shall be

inserted in the Preface of my Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans."

In respect to the persecutions in France, Calvin accomplished all that he anticipated. An epistle was sent from the "Protestant Princes and States of the Empire assembled at Ratisbon, to Francis I. King of France," expostulating with him for his cruelty to their Christian brethren in his dominions, imploring his clemency, and promising, on condition of his complying with their request, to "testify their gratitude by all the kind offices in their power."

Calvin did not forget the church in Geneva amidst all his labors at Strasburg. Neither did he return evil for evil, but contrarywise blessing. As early as October 1st, 1538, he wrote them a letter full of good counsel, and exhorted them to have courage and rely upon God's goodness and mercy, and his assurances of pardon. He again wrote in June of the following year, and admonished them with affection for their treatment of their ministers, with whom they had again had a difference. He urges them to live in peace with them, and treat them with reverence as long as they preach the true gospel, even if they have their imperfections. It should be recollected to the honor of Calvin's forgiving, charitable spirit, that the timid and time-serving conduct of these ministers at the time of his banishment was not altogether satisfactory to him.

But an occasion soon offered itself for rendering the Genevans a more important service. The pillars of the reformation had been forcibly wrested from Geneva. Their pastors had been set at nought, and their places filled by those who were incompetent to the task of defending and sustaining the sinking cause. Those who watched over the interests of the papal church did not lose the opportunity for attempting to seduce the 'wandering dove to return into the secure ark of the true church.' Cardinal Sadolet, a man of learning and good moral character, bishop of the see of Carpentras in Dauphiny, on the borders of Savoy, was desired to make the effort. He addressed a letter to "his dearly beloved brethren the magistracy, council and citizens of Geneva," (Calvin retorts upon him his newly awakened interest in them,) which was written with so much art that if it had not been in a dead language, it would have done much mischief. As it was, it needed to be answered, and no one was found in Geneva qualified and inclined to do it. Calvin stepped forward, and gave such an answer that Sadolet lost all hope of accomplishing his object, and

the magistrates of Geneva not only did not show a disposition to return to the Romish church, but soon after came to the resolution to exclude from the city all who would not abjure the Roman catholic religion.¹

This reply of Calvin, although so perfectly annihilating to his antagonist was without the least bitterness, and indeed in a style so kind, that it inspired even in Sadolet respect for the banished minister. Several years after, when this prelate was travelling through Geneva *incognito*, a strong desire seized him of seeing the man who had written against him with so much success. He expected to find him in a palace, surrounded by servants and all the appliances of luxury. Judge then of his surprise, when a small house was pointed out to him as Calvin's, and the renowned man himself, clad in the most simple garb, answered his knock at the door. Then, if not before, he believed the declaration in the letter addressed to him by his antagonist: "I do not speak of myself, willingly, but since you do not suffer me to be silent, I will say that which is not inconsistent with modesty. If I had sought my own aggrandizement, I should not have withdrawn from your faction."

Calvin also wrote while at Strasburg his work on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, "*De Coena*," and published it in French for the use of his congregation. Beza thinks that this ought to have terminated all controversy upon this subject, but those who had been contending so long and violently were not thus to be quieted.—He seems, too, to have been successful in reclaiming the Anabaptists of Strasburg. Among others, who were convinced of their error, Paul Vossius is mentioned, to whom Erasmus had dedicated his "*Enchiridion*" and who became a pastor in Strasburg, and also the husband of Idelette de Bures, whom Calvin afterwards married.

Calvin and Melancthon.

Calvin first saw Melancthon at Frankfort, in the year 1539. He had previously submitted to him several propositions on the Lord's supper, in order to determine whether there was a difference in their belief. But before Melancthon had answered his letter, Calvin met him at Frankfort, whither he had gone to the diet held there, and learned from him, that he approved of the

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 334.

doctrines which had been submitted to him. "With Philip," he says, "I have conversed on various topics. I had previously written to him on the subject of a union—and sent him a few articles in which I had summed up the substance of the truth. He assented to them without opposition, but thought there were those there, who required something more full and explicit."

This acquaintance was continued at Worms ; where Melanchthon was so much fascinated by the learning and spirit of Calvin that he publicly gave him the name of "the Theologian," which from the lips of Melanchthon was not an unmeaning designation. After these interviews these two men ever valued each other, notwithstanding some slight differences of opinion. It is true their characters were very dissimilar. Calvin was more impetuous, firm and rigid than Melanchthon, but equally forgiving, warm-hearted, and even mild and gentle, when not restrained by consequences. The Genevan preacher fully understood and appreciated his German brother, and often took counsel with him. The Wittenberg professor also had the highest regard for the opinion of his more sturdy friend, and generally received his fraternal reprimands with meekness. Before the assembling of the diet at Ratisbon, Calvin writes to Farel from Strasburg : "The Senate has ordered me to join Bucer. Melanchthon obtained this order by particular application.—He so earnestly entreated to have me sent with Bucer, that I was quite put to the blush ; and when I expostulated with him, he answered me, that he had the best of reasons, and that my excuses would not prevent his urgently insisting, that I should be sent to that diet."—When Calvin with Sturm and Grynaeus, went to take leave of their friends, "Philip said : the others may go but I will not suffer Calvin to go at this time." Calvin often expressed his love for Melanchthon in his letters to him. In one written November, 1552, upon the Lord's supper, he says : "Would God that we could confer together. Your candor, ingenuousness and moderation are known to me, and of your piety the angels and the whole world are witnesses. It would be no small comfort to me, in the midst of trouble and sorrow, to see you again and embrace you before we die."

After a severe rebuke from Calvin for a want of decision and firmness, Melanchthon was offended, and a coldness and cessation of correspondence ensued, but Calvin wrote to him, that their friendship which was the result of similar religious feeling, must be unchanging and eternal, especially since the good of the church

was connected with their harmony. In the year 1554, Calvin used severe language in reference to Melancthon, but they afterwards were more closely united than before. Even before the end of this same year, Melancthon wrote, expressing his entire approval of Calvin's conduct in reference to Servetus. After Luther and Melancthon had both died, and left Calvin a solitary mark for the aim of the enemies of truth, when wearied with struggling against the adversaries of the church, and heart-sick, as Melancthon when alive had often been, at the religious contentions, the want of Christian love and forbearance which met him at every step, we find him from the depths of his soul apostrophizing his departed friend: "O Philip Melancthon! for to thee I direct my words; to thee who now livest with Christ, in the presence of God, and awaitest us, until we shall be gathered to thee in blissful quiet. Thou hast said an hundred times, when wearied with labors and oppressed with troubles, thou hast laid thy head affectionately upon my breast: 'O that I might die here.'¹ But I afterwards wished a thousand times, that we might live together: thus hadst thou been more fearless in conflict, and hadst more heartily despised and contemned all malice and false accusation; thus the wickedness of many who grew more audacious in insult by what they termed thy timidity, might have been restrained."²

Calvin as an Interpreter of the Bible.

During the year 1539, while at Strasburg, Calvin published his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. A brief summary of his Exegetical works, and some of his characteristics as a commentator may not be inapposite here, for few men's lives are made up more of their works than Calvin's. In incidents his life is poor, and is not to be compared with that of Luther.

It is not strange that Calvin selected the Epistle to the Romans as the first Epistle³ for public lectures, and afterwards for publi-

¹ Utinam, utinam moriar in hoc sinu.

² De v. partic. Chr. in coena contra Heshusium. Opp. 724. The few extracts above given are but a specimen of the expressions of the regard of Calvin and Melancthon for each other. Those who would see more, can consult the original letters in the last vol. of Calvin's Works, (Ed. Amat.), the Dedication of Calvin's Com. on Daniel to Melancthon, and other writings of both these men. Many more passages are also quoted in Henry, I. 245 sq.

³ Calvin had previously lectured on John's Gospel at Strasburg.

cation with notes. It exhibits the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism, and is directly opposed to the Pelagian tendencies of the Catholic Church. It exalts God and abases man. It clearly shows that man is not justified by works, but by the grace of God through Jesus Christ, who is the justification and the life. This was a cardinal doctrine in Calvin's scheme. But he did not stop with the explanation of this Epistle. His was no narrow, contracted mind which always dwelt upon one idea. With him 'All Scripture given by inspiration of God is *profitable*.' With the exception of the books of the Judges, Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, Esther, Nehemiah, Ezra, Proverbs, Koheleth, the Song of Solomon and the Revelation of John, he commented on the entire Scriptures. His commentary upon Joshua was his last work. He first seized upon those parts of the Bible which contain the germs of Christianity, and when these had been rescued from the oblivion into which they had fallen, he turned his attention to the less practical though not less important portions of the sacred Canon.

Numerous editions of his Commentaries and parts of them have been published, both in the Latin and French languages. The best entire edition of them, is that of Amsterdam, 1617, in nine volumes. The style and value of the explanation of different books is various. Upon some he furnished a complete commentary, upon some he published lectures, and some, as the first book of Samuel and Job, he explained in Homilies. His Commentaries upon the Pentateuch, the Psalms and Daniel are superior to those upon the other books of the Old Testament. His own course of life, his vivid feeling of the greatness and omnipresence of God, his continual warfare with the enemies of good and truth, his holy indignation against wrong doers, gave him a peculiar sympathy with the Psalmist. His strong religious feeling also breathes through every part of these works.

The peculiarities of the author are more seen in his remarks upon Paul's Epistles than on any other parts of the New Testament. There is a living energy in him, which is not found in the best commentaries of modern times. He seemed to descend to the depths of the thoughts and feelings of the great apostle, as few if any besides have done.¹ The same characteristics are however apparent in other parts of the New Testament, especially in the Acts of the Apostles. Indeed the whole New Testament history is

¹ Tholuck, *Literarischer Anzeiger*, 1831, No. 41.

with him animated. He lives in the individual acting or speaking, whether bad or good, and explains his language out of his circumstances, and out of his own soul.

Calvin's commentaries, especially when the age in which he lived is taken into the account, are remarkable for elegance and conciseness of style. This is particularly true of his Prefaces. The beauty of his style consists less perhaps in the choice of words, for he has none of the affected purism of a Bembo or a Castalio, than in the whole air of the composition. There is however no appearance of a slavish imitation of Ciceronian diction; his language seems to come warm from the heart; and from his scholarlike habits, flows naturally and easily into plain and concise, if not graceful periods.

A good degree of impartiality and independence is exhibited in Calvin's exegetical writings. He does not, so much as Luther and Melancthon, and others of the early expositors, make the text of the Bible a mere means of sustaining his peculiar doctrines. He gives a connected exposition, and does not merely explain those parts which favor his scheme and leave other places, equally or even more difficult, unexplained. He is independent and yet not reckless. Whilst the authority of the church alone is not deemed sufficient to establish the authenticity of any book or passage, all historical testimony is not discarded. The inquiry with him is not always whether the explanation he gives will aid in the establishment of Christian doctrine. He labors to give the most natural and probable meaning, not fearing that the truth will not be sustained, although one and another proof-passage is given up. He also felt strongly the inutility of sustaining a good cause by false proofs. This disposition is especially evident in the Psalms, where, although as firm a believer in the sacred Trinity as his predecessors, he often finds only David where they found Christ, and thus diminishes the number of proof-passages for that doctrine in the Old Testament.¹

Calvin shows less critical learning in his commentaries than some of the other biblical interpreters of his age, as Erasmus and Beza. He is often uncritical in his philological remarks, but it seems to be from his desire to be practical rather than from inability. His object was to form a compendium not for scholars alone, but for all students of the Bible. Accordingly he passes over minor variations in words and expression, and seizes upon

¹ See other proofs of this same characteristic in his Comment. on Isa. 4: 2. 6: 3, and also in his remarks on the *Iva πληρωθῆ* of the New Testament.

the leading ideas, and in consequence of a peculiarly happy exegetical tact, he seldom makes forced explanations. Still he was far from undervaluing learning of any kind. Upon Corinthians 8: 1 he says: "Science is no more to be blamed because it puffs up, than a sword is, when it falls into the hands of a madman. This is said in reference to certain fanatics who violently exclaim against all arts and learning, as if they were calculated only to inflate the mind, and were not the most useful instruments both of piety and of common life." On Titus 1: 12, where Paul quotes the poet Epimenides, we find this remark: "We gather from this passage that those persons 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 wicked men it ought not to be rejected, because it proceeded from God," etc. Calvin also often makes acute philological explanations of both Hebrew and Greek words, and very often quotes from the Roman and Greek classics.¹

'Let then,' says Tholuck, near the close of the Article on Calvin as an Interpreter of the Bible, 'this great teacher of a true and profound knowledge of the Scriptures go forth anew into an age to which he had become in a great measure a stranger. We know he will find numerous friends. His view of Predestination, which appears in all its sternness whenever opportunity offers, is the only thing that makes us solicitous about this new circulation of his Commentaries. But we believe that even this part of them will do more good than hurt.' — "There is always something more noble and majestic in the power inherent in the iron view of Calvinism than in the weakness of a carnal Pelagianism."²

In connection with Calvin's exegetical labors, the French Translation of the Bible published by him in 1540 deserves a passing notice. It was a revision of the version of his friend Robert Olivetan. His biographer regrets that he did not undertake the translation of the Bible anew. He might then have acquired an influence over the whole structure of the French language; and instead of the Academy and the Parisian stage, Calvin would have been the standard, as Luther has been in Germany. But other labors, which he

¹ See Liter. Anzeig. Aug. 1831. S. 335, 336; also Bibl. Repos. Vol. II. p. 558, 559.

² See a more extended discussion of the characteristics of Calvin as an Interpreter, by Tholuck, Liter. Anzeiger, 1831. Nos. 41, 42, 43; S. 323-344; and also a Translation of the same, Bib. Repos. Vol. II. p. 541 sq.

deemed of more immediate importance, left him no leisure to do more than revise the Translation which had been already made.

Calvin's Marriage and Domestic Character.

Although Calvin's marriage took place some time before he left Strasburg, I have omitted to mention it until now, in order to cluster with it several particulars which, it seems to me, present one of the phases of the character of this truly great man, which has not been sufficiently noticed. The first mention made in his letters of the subject of his marriage is in an epistle to Farel, May 29, 1539. "Concerning marriage I now speak more openly.—You know very well what qualities I always required in a wife; for I belong not to that passionate race of lovers, who, when they are captivated by beauty of external appearance, embrace with it all the faults it may conceal. Would you know what beauty alone can captivate me? It is that of modesty, gentleness, economy and patience, combined with solicitude for my health and comfort."¹

In a letter to Farel, Feb. 6, 1540, after speaking of several items of a political nature, he says: "Amidst all these commotions I enjoy so much quiet, that I venture to think of marriage. A young lady of rank has been proposed to me, who is superior to me in station, and is rich. Two considerations withhold me from this alliance; first, she does not understand our language, and then I fear she will make too much account of her rank and breeding. Her brother, a truly religious man, insists on the union; and indeed only because he is so blinded by his love for me, that he neglects his own interests. His wife rivals him in her exertions; so that I should have been almost constrained to make the alliance, if the Lord had not set me free. For when I answered that I could not do anything about the matter, unless the young lady would engage to learn our language, she asked time for consideration. Soon after, I sent my brother in company with a certain good man to make proposals for another, who if she equals her reputation, will bring an ample dowry without money; for she is much praised by those who know her. If she consent, which we confidently hope, the nuptials will not take place later than the tenth of March. I wish you could be present to add your blessing, but I have troubled you so much during

¹ *Hæc sola est, quæ me illectat pulchritudo, si pudica est, si morigera, si non fastuosa, si parca, si patiens, si spes est de mea valetudine fore sollicitam.*

the past year, that I do not venture to ask it. If however any one of the brethren intends to visit us, I hope he will lay his plans so as to take your place. But I am only making myself ridiculous, if I should happen to be disappointed in my expectations. Yet trusting that the Lord will be with me, I speak of it as a certain event."¹

Two or three weeks later he writes again to Farel: "Oh that I were permitted to pour my feelings confidently into your bosom, and listen again to your counsel, so that we might be the better prepared!—You have the best occasion for coming here, if our hopes concerning the marriage shall be realized, for we expect the young lady immediately after Easter. But if you give us the assurance that you will be present, the marriage shall be postponed until your arrival, for we have yet time enough to inform you of the day. First, then, I ask of you, as the greatest favor, that you will come, and secondly that you write that you will come. For it is necessary in any case that some one of you be here to add your blessing to the marriage; but I prefer you to any one else. Consider therefore whether I seem to you worthy of the trouble of this journey."² Another letter to the same individual, shows that the day was appointed, and Farel informed of it, but no bride appeared: "I fear," he says, "if you wait for my nuptials, it will be long before you come. The bride is not yet found, and I doubt whether I shall seek further."

Calvin finally married sometime during this year (1540), Idelette de Bures, the widow of a man in Strasburg, whom he had rescued from the errors of the Anabaptists, a woman worthy to walk by the reformer's side amidst the storms of life. Bessy speaks of her as a person possessed of much natural dignity and nobleness, and also as highly cultivated.³ Calvin, according to the custom of the time, wished the wedding to be as joyous and festive as was consistent with moderation. He accordingly invited the consistories of Neufchatel and Valenciennes to be present at the festival, and they complied by sending representatives.

There are not many documents existing, showing specifically the domestic relations and enjoyments of Calvin during the nine years of his married life, yet expressions are found scattered here and there through his letters, which show conclusively that the union was a most happy one, and that the man who has been represented as 'devoid of all the sympathies which sweeten life,'

¹ Genevan Manuscripts.

² MSS. Gen. Feb. 26, 1540.

³ He calls her "*gravis, honestaque foemina*," and also "*lectissima*."

was a most delicate, tender and affectionate husband. Many of the passages which best show this, cannot be quoted, as they owe their charm to the incidental connection in which they are found. In a letter written soon after his nuptials, giving the details of a distressing illness, he says: "In order that my marriage may not bring too much joy with it, the Lord has checked our happiness, and so restrained it that it shall not exceed measure." One little expression of Calvin, who was sparing in his praises, and never spoke without meaning, is a good testimony to his appreciation of his wife: She was a woman of rare excellence, "*singularis exempli foemina.*"

Idelette de Bures had several children by her first marriage, but by the second one son only, who died soon after birth. Many of the catholics who falsely deny that Calvin had any children, represent it as a judgment from God, "lest the life of so infamous a man should be propagated."² Calvin's reply to the reproaches of Balduin is as simple and touching as it is dignified. "Balduin," he says, "reproaches me as childless. God gave me a little son,—he took him away."³ Soon after the death of this son, Calvin writes to Viret: "Salute all the brethren, your aunt also and your wife, to whom my wife gives many thanks for her kind and Christian condolence. She is unable to write except by means of an amanuensis, and dictating would be burdensome to her. The Lord has indeed inflicted a deep and painful wound upon us by the death of our little son. But he is a father, and knows what is best for his children. Again farewell. The Lord be with you. I wish that you could be with us, I would gladly spend half of the day in talking with you."

Calvin's letters during his wife's protracted sickness, often contain allusions which bear not less positive witness to the tenderness, faithfulness and solicitude of the husband at the side of the meek sufferer's couch, than do his other writings to his fidelity and constancy, as an admonisher of the disobedient and erring. But we have only room for extracts from some letters bearing date after her death.

To Viret, April 7th, 1549, he writes: "Although the death of my wife has been a sore affliction to me, yet I strive as much as possible to overcome my sorrow, and my friends endeavor to excel each other in their exertions to console me. It is true, both their and my efforts have failed to accomplish all that is desirable ;

¹ MSS. Gen. Oct. 12, 1840.

² Brietius, Jesuita, Tom. VII. p. 192.

³ Dederat mihi Deus filiolum, abstulit.

but however small it may be, it is nevertheless a consolation greater than I can express. Knowing as you do the sensibility or rather weakness of my heart, I need not say, that it required the most vigorous exertion of mind in alleviating my anguish, to prevent me from sinking. And truly the cause of my sorrow is not small. I am deprived of the best partner of my life, *optima sociæ vitæ*, who, had it been necessary, would have been my willing companion not only in banishment and want but in death itself. During her life she was a true helper in my official duties. She never in the least thing opposed me. She had no anxiety about her circumstances, and during her whole sickness, was careful to hide from me any anxiety she felt for her children. But fearing that this silence might aggravate her solicitude, three days before her death, I introduced the subject and promised to do all that should be in my power for them. She immediately replied, that 'she had committed them to God,' and on my saying that that was no reason why I should not care for them, she answered: 'I am confident that you will not forsake children thus committed to God.' — I also learned yesterday, that when she was advised by a female friend to speak with me about the children, she said: 'The only thing necessary is that they fear God and be religious. There is no need to ask my husband to promise to bring them up in the fear of God and with good discipline. If they are pious, he will be a father to them, unasked, and if they are not, they do not deserve the request.' Be assured, this greatness of soul was more effective with me than all entreaties could have been." Four days later Calvin wrote to Farel a letter in the same spirit, giving most interesting details of the last days of his wife.¹

In 1556, after seven years, we find him cherishing the same tender regard for the memory of the chosen companion of his life. For he thus writes to Richard de Valleville, preacher of the French church at Frankfort, on the death of his wife: "I feel in my heart how painful and agonizing this wound must be, which the death of your excellent companion has caused, remembering my own grief seven years ago. I call to mind how hard it was for me to gain the mastery of my sorrow. But you know very well what means we must use for restraining our immoderate grief, and it only remains for me to pray that you will make use

¹ See Henry, f. 422, and also a Translation of this letter into English in the Bib. Repert. Vol. XIII. p. 80.

of them. It is not one of the least of your grounds of consolation, (although our earthly part is thereby the more cast down,) that you have spent a portion of this life with a companion, whose society you joyfully hope to regain, when you are done with earth. Remember also that your companion has left you the example of a happy death.—But if our chief consolation is in the providence of God, through which our troubles conduce to our happiness, and if he only separates us from those we love, in order to unite us with them again in his heavenly kingdom,—then your religion will lead you to acquiesce entirely in his will.—May the Lord alleviate the pain of your loneliness by the grace of his Spirit, guide you and bless your labors.”

ARTICLE V.

PLATO AND THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY.

By Prof. T. D. Woolsey, Yale College.

Plato against the Atheists, or the tenth book of the Dialogue on Laws, accompanied with critical notes and followed by extended dissertations, etc. By Tayler Lewis, LL. D., professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the University in the City of New York. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1845.

It seems strange, if we take into view the intrinsic value of Plato's *Laws* and the difficulties attending upon the text and explanation of this work, that so little labor has been bestowed upon it by scholars. Ast's,¹ we believe, is the only separate edition since the invention of printing; and the editors of the general text of

¹ Published in 1814 at Leipsic. It is well known that this same learned man in his *Platon's Leben und Schriften*, published in 1816, after his study upon the *Laws* was over, maintained and endeavored to show that this treatise was not written by Plato, although quoted as such by Aristotle (e. g. in *Politics* 2.3). We must own that such an opinion, setting aside this strong historical evidence, seems to us astonishing. The style indeed is peculiar—far removed from the artistic elegance of Plato's most finished works, although somewhat like that of *Sophists* and *Politicians*; some of the opinions and modes of presenting truths may be peculiar also; but he who can doubt, after reading the work and receiving the general impression of it into his mind, that it is Platonic and that it is Plato's own, must, we think, be far gone in literary skepticism.