THE INFLUENCE OF CALVIN'S THE INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION UPON SELECT RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIAL PERIOD

by

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INTRODUCTION

The problem to be solved in this thesis is the determination of the extent to which select American authors of the Colonial period are indebted to John Calvin for the theological and theocratic conceptions in their polity and in their literature. The authors considered are William Bradford, John Winthrop, Anne Bradstreet, Michael Wigglesworth, Nathaniel Ward, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and others.

In solving this problem, this thesis is intended to make the following contributions: (1) to show the bearing of Calvinism upon the political relations between the mother country and the colony, (2) to bring to light misconceptions arising from the deliberate attempt to be deceptive on the part of certain New England Colonial writers, and particularly (3) to trace the influence of Calvinistic doctrine upon the literature of the New England Colonial period.

To achieve the objectives stated, it is necessary to make a detailed analysis of Calvin's The Institutes of the Christian Religion. The standard edition of Calvin was published by the Presbyterian Board of Publications, Philadelphia. The Presbyterians admit in the preface of this work that they are Calvinistic, but they do not accept Calvin as the final umpire in theological questions. Presbyterians follow Calvin only so far as his principles are in agreement with the Presbyterian Confession of Faith. Their main disagreement with Calvin is upon his explanation of the Fourth Commandment, wherein he abrogates the Sabbath. Minor

disagreements with Calvinistic doctrine have existed in other Protestant faiths since the beginning of Protestantism.

Other works which deal with the subject in question are The Founding of New England, by James Truslow Adams, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, by Perry Miller, The Puritans, by Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, The First Americans (1607-1690), by T. J. Wertenbaker, and The Beginnings of New England, by John Fiske.

Original sources which give invaluable insight into the period are William Bradford's history Of Plymouth Plantation and John Winthrop's Journal.

To understand The Institutes and to trace more distinctly their influence on the minds of the Puritans, it is necessary to know the conditions under which Calvin lived, the educational background of the man, and the tide of events which seemed to bear him along until he emerged as spokesman for a considerable segment of the Protestant faith. Therefore, a comprehensive biography of John Calvin is the means of opening the subject of this thesis for discussion.

Although The Institutes, in its four sections, follows the Apostles' Creed in its structure, it has been outlined in this thesis from the standpoints of theology, ethics, classical philosophy, Protestant polity, and politics; an appraisal of Calvin's theological system has been employed to summarize the points discussed in the section on The Institutes.

That Calvinistic theology is reflected in the literature of the Puritans is almost self-evident in the works of the outstanding writers of the Colonial period. In order to maintain the

unity between the discussion of Calvin's doctrine and the literary passages illustrative of Calvin's theology, the same pattern has been used throughout both major sections of the thesis.

The excerpts submitted show the beliefs of the Puritans on such theological subjects as original sin, redemption, freedom of the will, predestination and election. Writings which show the way in which the magistrates of the theocratic state followed Calvin's doctrines are also included.

Several findings which developed out of this study are noted in the summary. When one speaks of Calvinism, one may mean a system of theology, a type of morals symbolized by the Puritan conscience, or a form of Church-State relationship. The three are interrelated. All are traceable to Calvin's personality, and all have had an important influence in America.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN CALVIN

Political Background

John Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, on July 10, 1509, and was the second son of Gerard Cauvin or Calvin, a notary apostolic and procurator-fiscal for the lordship of Noyon, and of Jeanne le Franc, daughter of an innkeeper at Cambrai. The family name of Calvin seems to have been written indifferently Cauvin, Cauve, Chauvin, Calvus, Calvinus. In the contemporary notices of Gerard and his family, in the capitular registers of the Cathedral at Noyon, the name is always spelled Chauvin. The anagram of Calvin is Alcuin, and this, in its Latinized form, Alcuinus, ap-

pears in two editions of his Institutio as that of the author. The syndics of Geneva address him in a letter written in 1540, and still extant, as "Docteris Caulvin." In his letters written in French he usually signs himself "Jean Calvin." He affected the title of "maitre," for what reason is not known; perhaps because he may have been "Master of Arts."

Social Background

Of Calvin's early years, little is known. Destined for an ecclesiastical career, he was educated in the household of the noble family of Hangest de Montmor. In May 1521 he was appointed to a chaplaincy in the Cathedral of Noyon, and received the tonsure. He was twelve years old at this time. At the age of fourteen Calvin accompanied the Hangests to Paris in August 1523, being enabled to do so by the income received from his benefice.

He attended as an out-student the College de la Marche, at that time under the regency of Mathurin Cordier, who in later days taught at Neuchatel, and died in Geneva in 1564. Calvin dedicated to him his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. From the College de la Marche, Calvin removed to the College de Montaigno, where the atmosphere was more ecclesiastical. Pierre de Montaigu refounded this institution in 1388. Erasmus and Ignatius Loyola had also studied here. In the college disputations Calvin gave fruitful promise of that consummate excellence which he afterward displayed as a reasoner in the department of speculative truth. Among his friends were the Hangests, especially Claude, Nicolas Cop, who was to play a significant role in deter-

mining Calvin's future, and Nicolas' brother, Michel; these were the sons of the King's Swiss physician. Another of Calvin's friends was his cousin, Pierre Robert, better known as Olivetan. Such friendships contradict the legend that Calvin was an unsociable misanthrope. In September 1527, the canons at Noyon gave him the curacy of St. Martin de Martenville, which he exchanged in July 1529 for the cure of Pont l' Exeque. But Calvin was not destined to become a priest. Gerard Chauvin began to suspect that the law offered to a youth of Jean's talents and industry a more promising sphere. Jean's father was also now out of favor with the cathedral chapter at Noyon. It is said that John himself, on the advice of Olivetan, the first translater of the Bible into French, had begun to study the scriptures, and to dissent from the Roman worship. He readily complied with his father's suggestion, and removed from Paris to Orleans (March, 1528) in order to study law under Pierre Taisan de l'Etoile, the most distinguished jurisconsult of his day.

Other studies, however, besides those of law, occupied him; and moved by the humanistic spirit of the age, he eagerly developed his classical knowledge. His friends here were Melchoir Wolmar, Francois Daniel, Francois de Connam, and Nicolas Duchemin; to these his earliest letters were written. From Orleans, Calvin went to Bourges in the October of 1529 to continue his studies under the brilliant Italian, Andrea Alciati (1492-1550). His friend Daniel went with him, and Wolmar followed a year later. Wolmar taught Calvin Greek, and introduced him to the study of the New Testament in the original.

Twelve years had elapsed since Luther had published his ninety-five theses against indulgences. In France there had not been as yet any overt revolt against the Church of Rome, but many influential people including Margaret of Angouleme, Nicolas Cop, and Jacques Lefevre, were in sympathy with the reformer's ideals. Calvin's own record of his "conversion" is so scanty that it is extremely difficult to trace his religious development with any certainty. But it seems probable that at least up to 1523 he was far more concerned about classical scholarship than about religion.

His residence at Bourges was cut short by the death of his father in May, 1531. He went to Paris where the "new learning" was now ousting the mediaeval scholasticism. He lodged at the College Fortet, reading Greek with Pierre Danès and beginning Hebrew with Francois Vatable. In April, 1532, Calvin published his Commentary in Latin on Seneca's tract De Clementia.

Religious Background

Soon afterwards Calvin returned to Orleans. He visited Noyon in August, 1533, and by October of the same year, was again settled in Paris. At this juncture his destiny became certain. Conservative theology was becoming discredited, and humanists like Jacques Lefevre of Etaples (Father Stapulensis) and Gerard Roussel were favored by the court under the influence of Margaret of Angouleme, Queen of Navarre and sister of Francis I. Calvin's old friend, Nicolas Cop, had just been elected rector of the university and had to deliver an oration according to the custom in the church

of the Mathurins, on the feast of All Saints. The oration (certainly influenced but hardly composed by Calvin) was in effect a defense of the reformed opinions, especially of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Calvin did not continue to hold this position in its entirety. To the period between November, 1523, and April, 1532, and in particular to the time of his second sojourn at Orleans, we may assign the great change in Calvin which he describes in his Preface to the Psalms, Chapter xxxi. 21-24, as his "sudden conversion" and attributes to direct divine agency.

But Cop's address was followed by a summons to the orator to appear before the parliament of Paris; and as he failed to secure the support of the King or of the university, he fled to Basle. An attempt was made at the time to seize Calvin, but being forewarned of the design, he also made his escape. He went to Noyon, but, proceedings against him being dropped, soon returned to Paris. He left the city again about New Year of 1534 and became the guest of Louis du Tillet, a canon of the Cathedral at Angouleme. Here, in du Tillet's splendid library, he began the studies which resulted in his greatest work, the Institutes.

Up to this time Calvin's work for the evangelistic cause was not so much that of the public preacher or reformer as that of the retiring but influential scholar and adviser. Now, however, he had to decide whether, like Roussel and other of his friends, he should strive to combine the new doctrines with a position in the old church, or whether he should definitely break away from Rome. His mind was made up, and on May 4, he resigned

his chaplaincy at Noyon and his rectorship at Pont l'Exeque. Towards the end of the month he was arrested and suffered two short terms of imprisonment, the charges against him being not strong enough to be pressed. His movements now become difficult to trace, but he visited Paris, Orleans, and Poitiers.

The Anabaptists of Germany had spread into France, and among other notions which they had spread abroad was that of a sleep of the soul after death. To Calvin this notion appeared so pernicious that he composed a treatise of refutation to it entitled Psychopannychia. The preface to this treatise is dated Orleans 1534, but it was not printed till 1542. At Poitiers, in May 1534, in a grotto near the town, he for the first time celebrated the communion in the Evangelical Church of France, using a piece of rock as a communion table.

Scholastic Attainment

The year 1534 was decisive for Calvin. From this forward his influence among the Protestants became greater, and all who had accepted the reformed doctrines in France turned to him for counsel and instruction. Renan, no prejudiced judge, pronounced him, "the most Christian man of his time," and attributes to his virtues his success as a reformer. But his life was in danger; and, in company with his friend, du Tillet, whom he had again gone to Angouleme to visit, he set out for Basle. Here Calvin was welcomed by the band of scholars and theologians who made that city the Athens of Switzerland, and especially by Oswald My-

conius, the chief pastor, and by Pierre Viret and Heinrich Bullinger. Under the guidance of Sebastian Munser, Calvin now gave himself to the study of Hebrew.

Francis I, desirous of continuing the suppression of the Protestants, but anxious also, because of his strife with Charles V of Spain, not to break with the Protestant princes of Germany, instructed his ambassador to assure these princes that it was only against Anabaptists and other parties who called into question all civil magistracy that his severities were exercised. Calvin, indignant at the calumny which was thus cast upon the reformed party in France, hastily prepared for the press his Institutes of the Christian Religion. The work was dedicated to the King, Francis I, and Calvin says he wrote it in Latin that it might find access to the learned in all lands. Soon after it appeared, he set about translating it into French, as he himself attests in a letter dated October 1535. This sets at rest a question at one time much discussed, whether the book appeared first in French or in Latin. The earliest French edition known is that of 1540, and this was after the work had been much enlarged, and several Latin editions had appeared. In its first form the work consisted of only six chapters and was intended only as a brief manual of Christian doctrine. The chapters follow a traditional scheme of religious teaching: (1) The Law (as in the Ten Words), (2) Faith (as in the Apostles' Creed), (3) Prayer, (4) The Sacraments; to these were added (5) False Sacraments, (6) Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power and civil administration. The clos-

ing chapters of the work are more polemical than the earlier ones. The book appeared anonymously, the author having, as he himself says, nothing in view beyond furnishing a statement of the faith of the persecuted Protestants. In this work, written at the age of twenty-six, is to be found a complete outline of Calvin's theological system. Nor is there any reason to believe that he ever changed his views on any essential point from what they were at the period of his first publication of them. This work exercised a prodigious influence upon the opinions and practices both of contemporaries and of posterity.

After a short visit (April, 1536) to the court of Renée, duchess of Ferrara (cousin to Margaret of Navarre), Calvin returned to Basle through France to arrange his affairs before finally taking farewell of his native country. His intention was to settle at Strasbourg or Basle, and to devote himself to study. Unable, in consequence of the war between Francis I and Charles V, to reach Basle by the ordinary route, he journeyed to Lyons and on to Geneva, striving to reach Basle. In Geneva Guillaume Farel, who had written Preface to the Psalms, entreated Calvin to devote himself to the evangelical work in Geneva where Farel had succeeded in establishing a foothold. Calvin, after some hesitation, consented, hurried to Basle, transacted some business, and returned to Geneva in August, 1536. He at once began to expound the epistles of St. Paul in the church of St. Pierre, and after about a year was also elected preacher by the magistrates with the consent of the people. His services were rendered at first gratuitously.

Calvin was in his twenty-eighth year when he settled at Geneva; and in this city he spent the rest of his life with the exception of one brief interval. The post to which he was thus called was a difficult one. Though the people of Geneva had cast off the obedience to Rome, their revolution was largely a political reaction against the Duke of Savoy. This laid them open to the incursions of those fanatical teachers whom the excitement of the reformation called forth and who clung tenaciously to the reforming body. To obviate the evils thence resulting, Calvin, in union with Farel, drew up a condensed statement of Christian doctrine consisting of twenty-one articles. The citizens were summoned to profess to these articles as the confession of their faith. As the people took this oath in their capacity as citizens, the basis was laid for that theocratic system which subsequently became peculiarly characteristic of the Genevan polity. Calvin and his coadjutors were solicitous to establish schools throughout the city, and were determined to enforce attendance at these schools. As Calvin had no faith in education apart from religious training, he drew up a catechism of Christian doctrine which was an obligatory part of the curriculum. Of the troubles which arose from fanatical teachers, the chief proceeded from the efforts of the Anabaptists. A public disputation over the condition of the soul after death was held on March 16-17, 1537, which so excited the populace that the Council of Two Hundred stopped it, declared the Anabaptists vanquished, and drove them from the city. About the same time, the peace of Calvin and his friends was much disturbed and their work was interrupted by

Pierre Caroli, chief pastor of Lausanne. Calvin brought Caroli before the commissioners of Berne on a charge of advocating prayers for the dead as a means of their earlier resurrection. Caroli brought a countercharge against the Geneva divines of Sabellianism and Arianism. Sabellianism figured prominently in the orthodox theology of a later time, but for anyone to promulgate the thought that the term "person" could be attributed to the three modes of divine manifestation (the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) bordered on heresy, especially among those who wished to hold fast to the divine unity and monarchy and absolute deity of Christ. This belief was held by the Calvinists. However, the Arian heresy, that the Christ was not infinite but finite, was not held by the Calvinists, as Caroli charged.

In a synod held at Berne, the matter was fully discussed, a verdict was given in favor of the Geneva divines, and Caroli was deposed from his office and banished. Two brief anti-Romanist tracts, one entitled De Fugiendis Impiorum Sacris, the other De Sacerdotio Papali Objiciendo, were also published by Calvin early in 1537.

Individual Characteristics

But the austerity, both of ritual and living, enjoined by Calvin and his endeavor to effect the complete freedom of the Church from state control, were deeply resented. He and his colleagues refused to administer the sacrament in the Bernese form, i.e., with unleavened bread, and on Easter Sunday, 1538, declined to do so at all because of the popular tumult. For this they were

banished from the city. They went at first to Berne, and soon after to Zurich, where they pleaded their cause before a synod of Swiss pastors, and declared that they would yield in the matter of ceremonies so far as to employ unleavened bread in the eucharist, to use fonts in baptism, and to allow festival days, provided the people might pursue their ordinary avocations after public service. These concessions Calvin regarded as matters of indifference, provided the magistrates did not make them of importance, by seeking to enforce them; and he was the more willing to concede them, because he hoped thereby to meet the wishes of the Bernese brethren whose ritual was less simple than that provided by Farel at Geneva. But he and his colleagues insisted, on the other hand, that for the proper maintenance of discipline, (1) there should be a division of parishes, (2) that excommunications should be permitted, and should be under the power of elders chosen by the council, in conjunction with the clergy, (3) that order should be observed in the admission of preachers to the ministry, (4) that only the clergy should officiate in ordination by the laying on of hands. It was proposed that the sacrament of the Holy Communion should be administered more frequently, at least every month, and that congregational singing of Psalms should be practiced in the churches. On these terms the synod interceded with the Genevese to restore their pastors; but through the opposition of some of the Bernese (especially Peter Kuntz) this was frustrated, and a second edict of banishment was the only response.

Calvin and Farel betook themselves to Basle, where they soon after separated, Farel to go to Neuchatel and Calvin to Strasbourg,

where he remained until the autumn of 1541. These years were not the least valuable in his experience. In 1539 he attended Charles V's conference on Christian reunion at Frankfort, as the companion of Bucer; and in the following year he represented the city of Strasbourg at Hagenau and Worms. He was present also at the diet at Gegensburg, where he formed with Melanchthon a life-long friendship. He also did something to relieve the persecuted Protestants of France. To this period we owe a revised and enlarged form of his Institutes, his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and his tract on The Lord's Supper. During his residence at Strasbourg Calvin married, in August 1540, Idelette de Bure, the widow of one Jean Stordeur of Liege. Calvin had previously converted Stordeur from Anabaptism. In Idelette Calvin found, to use his own words, "the excellent companion of his life," a "precious help" to him amid his manifold labors and frequent infirmities. She died in 1549. Their only child, Jacques, was born on July 28, 1542, and lived only a few days.

During Calvin's absence, disorder and irreligion had prevailed in Geneva. An attempt made by Cardinal Jacob Sadolete (1477-1547), Bishop of Carpentras, to restore Roman Catholicism was successfully counteracted by Calvin. Meanwhile Calvin's enemies in Geneva gradually lost power and office. With Farel working unceasingly for Calvin's recall, Calvin was able to return to Geneva in September, 1541, to set up in all its integrity that form of church polity which he had carefully matured during his residence at Strasbourg.

He was instrumental in recodifying the Genevan laws and con-

stitution and was the leading spirit in the negotiations with Berne that resulted in the treaty of February, 1544. He spent much time in controversy, notably over the doctrine of predestination and election. His three chief opponents were Albert Pighius, who subsequently embraced his views, Jerome Bolsec, Sebastian Castellio, and greatest of all, Michael Servetus. At Calvin's insistence, Servetus was arraigned for blasphemy, condemned, and burnt to death. Even though the opprobrium of this procedure must be shared by the Genevan fathers, the Swiss authorities, and some of the more famous reformers like Melanchthon, who approved it, Calvin cannot be held guiltless of perpetrating a martyrdom that did much to sully the cause he had so greatly at heart.

Calvin was also involved in a protracted and somewhat vexing dispute with the Lutherans and the Reformed Evangelicals. The Lutherans held that in the eucharist the body and blood of Christ are objectively and consubstantially present, and so are actually partaken of by the communicants, and the Reformed Evangelicals held that there is only a virtual presence of the body and blood of Christ, and consequently only a spiritual participation thereof through faith. Calvin shared the views of the Reformed Evangelicals.

In addition to these controversies on points of faith, he was for many years greatly disquieted by opposition in Geneva to the ecclesiastical discipline which he had established there. His system of church polity was essentially theocratic; it assumed that every member of the State was also under the discipline

of the Church; and he asserted that the right of exercising this discipline was vested exclusively in the consistory or body of preachers and elders. Calvin's views on Church discipline naturally brought him into conflict with the civil authority and with the people. But his courage, his perseverance, and his earnestness at length prevailed, and the importance of this fact is evidenced in that before he died, his system of church polity was firmly established, not only at Geneva, but in other parts of Switzerland, and was adopted substantially by the Reformers in France and Scotland.

The men whom he trained at Geneva carried his principles into almost every country in Europe. Nor was it only in religious matters that Calvin busied himself; he was consulted on every affair, great and small, that came before the council--on questions of law, police, economy, trade and manufactures, no less than on questions of doctrine and Church polity. To him the city owed her trade in textiles, from which so much wealth accrued to her citizens; sanitary regulations introduced by him made Geneva the admiration of all visitors; and in him she reverences the founder of her university. This institution was in a sense Calvin's crowning work.

Amid these multitudinous cares and occupations, Calvin wrote many controversial and many exegetical works. We have from him, written partly in Latin and partly in French, expository comments or homilies on nearly all the books of Scripture. Though naturally knowing nothing of the modern idea of progressive revelation, his judiciousness, penetration and tact in eliciting his author's mean-

ing, his precision, condensation and skillfulness as an expositor, the accuracy of his learning, the closeness of his reasoning, and the elegance of his style, all unite to confer a high value on his exegetical writings. The series began with Romans in 1540 and ended with Joshua in 1564. In 1558-59 also, though in very ill health, he finally perfected the Institutes, a labor of twenty years.

The incessant and exhausting labors to which Calvin devoted himself could not but tell on his fragile constitution. On February 16, 1564, he preached his last sermon, having with great difficulty found breath enough to carry him through it. On April 20, 1564, he made his will, on the 27th he received the Little Council, and on the 28th the Genevan ministers, in his sick-room; on May 2 he wrote his last letter--to his old comrade Farel, who hastened from Neuchatel to see him once again. He spent much time in prayer and died quietly, in the arms of his faithful friend, Theodore Beza, on the evening of May 27, 1564. The next day he was buried without pomp "in the common cemetery called Plain-palais," in a spot not now to be identified.

Calvin was of middle stature; his complexion was somewhat pallid and dark; his eyes, to the last, were clear and lustrous and bespoke the acumen of his genius. He was sparing in his food and simple in his dress; he took but little sleep, and was capable of extraordinary efforts of intellectual toil. He had a most retentive memory and a very keen power of observation. He spoke without rhetoric--simply, directly, but with great weight. He had many acquaintances, but few close friends. If somewhat severe

and irritable, he was at the same time scrupulously just, truthful and steadfast; and on befitting occasions he could be cheerful and even facetious among his intimates.

Never of robust health, Calvin wore himself out early and died at fifty-five. He continued to preach when he was too ill to walk and had to be carried to the pulpit in a chair. At his death he left a material estate of less than two thousand dollars but a spiritual inheritance of inestimable value.

One wonders what more Calvin would have accomplished had his life been spared, as Wesley's was, for another thirty years. Yet to few men is it given to round out one's lifework so completely. Before his death the morals of Geneva were firmly grounded on the word of God as Calvin saw it. Heresy was stamped out. The ecclesiastical system was established. He had written commentaries on nearly every book of the Bible. The final edition of the Institutes was published in 1559, the year the university was opened. Calvin's history-making work was done. His influence was in its genesis.

THE INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

The Doctrines of Calvinism

When one speaks of Calvinism, one may mean, (1) a system of theology, (2) a type of morals symbolized by the Puritan conscience, (3) or a form of Church-State relationship. The three are closely entwined. All are traceable to Calvin's personality, and all have had an important influence in America. Although

Calvin organized The Institutes according to the tenets expressed in the Apostles' Creed, the concepts of theology, ethics, and politics are very plainly marked.

Theology

Calvin's theology was authoritarian, legalistic, logical and biblical. The Bible was to him the sole authority in faith and morals. Its writers he believed to be verbally inspired, "the sure and authentic amanuenses of the Holy Spirit". Differences of interpretation were to be settled by ministers taught by the Holy Spirit; but not by all ministers, for only the elect were thus inwardly taught. As to who were of the elect, no one could say of another with complete certainty, but one could be assured of his own election by an inner witness. Calvin never doubted that he was of the elect, and that God had called him to interpret the word of God to the people. It was this assurance, rather than personal bigotry and conceit, which made him adamant when any disagreement arose.

Unlike Luther, Calvin regarded all parts of the Bible as equally the word of God. However, he drew most of his texts from the Old Testament. The Decalogue, rather than the Sermon on the Mount, was his guide.

The Trinity. God, to Calvin, was triune--just, holy, the all-powerful Ruler and Governor. God's will is unconditioned. What God does is good, not because it satisfies man's moral expectations, but because God does it. Man cannot understand or explain the mysteries of Divine Providence, and to attempt to do

so is blasphemy. Man's duty is to worship, trust, and obey a Sovereign Deity by whose will all things are determined.

The Calvinistic doctrine of the trinity is molded in this manner:

> Though eternity belongs to the Father and to the Son and Spirit also, since God can never have been destitute of his wisdom or his power, and in eternity we must not inquire after anything prior or posterior, yet the observation of order is not vain or superfluous, while the Father is mentioned as first; in the next place the Son, as from Him; and the Spirit as from both. For the mind of every man naturally inclines to the consideration, first, of God; secondly, of the wisdom emanating from him; and lastly, of the power by which he executes the decrees of his wisdom. For this reason the Son is said to be from the Father, and the Spirit from both the Father and the Son; and that in various places, but nowhere more clearly than in the eighth chapter of the Epistle of Romans, where the same spirit is indifferently denominated 'the spirit of Christ,' and 'the Spirit of him that raised up Christ from the dead,' and that without any impropriety. For Peter also testified that it was the Spirit of Christ by whom the prophets prophesied; whereas the Scripture so frequently declares that it was the Spirit of God the Father.[1]

Prefacing the foregoing remarks regarding the Trinity, Calvin takes issue with the Roman Catholic theologists who speak of the Spirit of God running into three channels, by using such terms as essence, hypostasis, substance, and consubstantial.

> I could wish these terms to be buried in oblivion, provided that this faith were universally received, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one God; and that nevertheless the Son is not the Father, nor the Spirit the Son, but that they are distinguished from each other by some peculiar quality.[2]

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[1]Calvin, John. The Institutes of the Christian Religion. Book I, Chapter xiii, pp. 134-135.

[2]Ibid., Book I, Chap. xiii, p. 119.

The Arian heresy is concerned with the assumption that Christ is God, but the Arians maintain that He was created and had a beginning. Calvin sarcastically mentions that:

> He (Arius) acknowledges that Christ is 'one with the Father' but secretly whispers in the ears of his disciples that he is 'united in Him' like the rest of the faithful, though by a singular privilege.[3]

> Sabellius asserts, 'that the names Father, Son and Spirit, are expressive of no distinction in the Godhead.'[4]

Calvin takes issue with Arius and Sabellius because of their obscurity in language and also because of their widely divergent beliefs, deviating in opposite directions from the true mean. Calvin held the true mean to be his own standpoint which is stated below:

> Say that in the one essence of God there is a trinity of persons, and you will at once express what the scriptures declare and will restrain such frivolous loquacity. ...when the Scripture speaks of one God, it should be of a unity of substance; so that when it speaks of three in one essence, it denotes the persons in this Trinity. When this is honestly confessed, we have no further concern about words.[5]

Calvin uses the words of Christ to sum up the final note on the relationship:

> The Father is entirely in the Son, and the Son entirely in the Father, according to his own declaration, 'I am in the Father and the Father in me.'[6]

This distinction is so far from opposing the most absolute simplicity and unity of the Divine Being, that it affords a proof

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[3] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xiii, p. 121.
[4] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xiii, p. 121.
[5] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xiii, p. 121.
[6] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xix, p. 135.

that the Son is one God with the Father, because he has the same Spirit with Him; and that the Spirit is not a different substance from the Father and the Son, because he is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. For the whole nature is in each hypostasis, and each has something peculiar to himself. The Father is entirely in the Son, and the Son entirely in the Father, according to the reasoning of Christ.

Images. Calvin used the Ten Commandments constantly in his discussion regarding theology. One of these commandments, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness" brought Calvin to this conclusion:

> In these words He forbids us to attempt a representation of him in any visible figure; and briefly enumerates all the forms by which superstition had already begun to change his truth into a lie...since there is only one true God, whom the Jews worshipped, there can be no visible figures made to serve as representations of the Divine Being, without falsehoods and criminality; and all who seek the knowledge of God from such figures are under a miserable delusion. But God compares not idols with each other, as though one were better or worse than the other; but rejects without a single exception, all statues, pictures and other figures, in which idolaters imagined that he would be near them.[7]

It is easy to note that Calvin is objecting to the practices which were becoming increasingly accepted in the Roman Catholic church of using images profusely.

> ...the Lord has prohibited not only the erection of statues made as representations of Him, but also the consecration of any inscriptions or monuments to stand as objects of worship.[8]

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[7] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xi, p. 108.

[8] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xi, p. 105.

Calvin infers that the worshippers of his day were in much the same condition as Rachel who stole her father's idols (Genesis xxi, 19). By this he means that the worshippers of idols could not worship the true God but had transferred their adoration to the image. Hence we see the meaning of the expression, "a perpetual manufactory of idols,"[9] which Calvin uses in speaking of the mind of the idolater.

> I am not so scrupulous as to think that no image ever ought to be permitted. But since sculpture and painting are gifts of God I wish for a pure and legitimate use of both; lest these things which the Lord hath conferred upon us for His glory and our benefit, be not only corrupted by preposterous abuse, but even perverted to our ruin. We think it unlawful to make any visible figure as a representation of God, because He himself has forbidden it, and it cannot be done without detracting, in some measure from His glory. If, then, it be not lawful to make any corporeal representation of God, much less will it be lawful to worship it for God, or to worship God in it. We conclude, therefore, that nothing be painted and engraved but objects visible to our eyes; the Divine Majesty which is far above the reach of human sight, ought not to be corrupted by unseemly figures.[10]

Calvin insisted that the early church and St. Augustine inveighed against images and pictures; and that the whole difficulty arose when the Empress Irene called the second Council of Nice, and the Council, after searching for Biblical justification, practically commanded the use of figures in the church.[11]

Original Sin. The correlative of God's absolute sovereignty is man's utter helplessness. Made in the divine image, man lost this image through the Fall. Adam's sin has tainted the whole

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[9] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xi, p. 104.
[10] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xi, p. 108.
[11] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xi, p. 110.

human race and robbed man both of his original goodness and his freedom. In this state man suffers from "an hereditary corruption and depravity"[12] of his nature. God has given man the law as his guide; but since man is unable to perform saving works, the law serves only to reveal to him his lost condition. Like St. Augustine, Calvin held that man is free to sin but not to do good. It was by this route that both avoided the conclusion that God is responsible for human sin.

> At present be it only remembered, that man, at his first creation, was very different from all his posterity, who, deriving their original sin from him in his corrupted state, have contacted an hereditary defilement.[13]

St. Augustine was of the opinion that pride was the first of all evils, because ambition elated Adam beyond what was lawful and right. Calvin is of the opinion that the first sin was Eve's sin of disobedience. Calvin lists Adam's sins as

1. Allowing himself to be ensnared by Satan
2. Despising the truth
3. Turning to falsehood
4. Coveting more than he was granted
5. Showing ingratitude for what he had been given
6. Offering an indignity to the Divine goodness (Apostasy)[14]

> He (Adam) ruined his posterity by his defection, which has perverted the whole order of nature in heaven and earth. And his (Adam's) guilt being the origin of that curse which extends to every part of the world, it is reasonable to conclude its propagation to all his offspring. Therefore, when the Divine image of him was obliterated, and he was punished with the loss of wisdom, strength, sanctity, truth, and righteousness, with which he had been adorned, but which were succeeded by the dreadful pest of ignorance, impotence,

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[12] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 224.

[13] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xv, p. 181.

[14] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 225.

> impurity, vanity and iniquity, he suffered not alone, but involved all of his posterity with him and plunged them into the same miseries. This is that hereditary corruption which the fathers called original sin; meaning by sin the deprivation of a nature previously good and pure; on which subject they had much contention.[15]

> Every descendant, therefore, from the impure source (Adam and Eve) is born infected with the contagion of sin; and even before we beheld the light of life, we are in the sight of God defiled and polluted.[16]

> Original sin, therefore, appears to be an hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature, diffused through all the parts of the soul, rendering us obnoxious to the Divine wrath, and producing in us those works which the Scripture calls "works of the flesh!"[17]

> It is clear that the misery of man must be ascribed solely to himself, since he was favored with rectitude by the Divine Goodness, but has lapsed into vanity through his own folly.[18]

Redemption. Though man cannot save himself, God saves some. God in His mercy has sent the Eternal Son to enter into sinful flesh and suffer in man's stead. Christ's atoning work is wrought through His threefold office of prophet, priest, and king. As prophet He reveals God; as priest He atones, by His obedience, for man's sin and appeases God's wrath; as king He rules as the head of the Church of the elect whom he has thus redeemed.

> There is no obscurity in the declaration that many are made righteous by the obedience of Christ (Romans v.19) as they had been made sinners by the disobedience of Adam. Thus also in the First Epistle to the Corinthians with a view to confirm the pious in a confidence of the resurrection, he shows that the life which had been lost in Adam, was recovered in Christ. (1 Cor. xv, 22)[19]

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[15] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, pp. 225-226.
[16] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 226.
[17] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 230.
[18] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 231.
[19] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 227.

> But it cannot be controverted that the righteousness of Christ is ours by communication and life as its consequences, it is equally evident that both were lost in Adam in the same manner in which they were abolished by Christ.[20]

Freedom of the Will. Calvin takes issue in The Institutes with Cicero, Chrysostum, Jerome, Origen, and even St. Augustine on the question of Free Will. He states:

> They place the will in the middle station between reason and sense, as perfectly at liberty whether it chooses to obey reason or submit to the violence of sense.[21]

> Reason illuminates the will. Sense is torpid and afflicted with weakness of sight, so that it always creeps on the ground, and is absorbed in the grossest objects, nor ever elevates itself to a view of the truth; appetite, if it can submit to the obedience of reason and resist the attractions of sense, is inclined to the practice of virtues, travels the path of rectitude and is formed into will; but that, if it be devoted to the servitude of sense, it is thereby so corrupted and depraved as to degenerate into lust.[22]

Calvin did not agree with the statement of Cicero concerning freedom of the will, which was "The sparks kindled by nature are soon extinguished by corrupt opinions and evil manners." Neither did he hold with Chrysostum that "since God has placed good and evil things in our power, he has given us freedom of choice; and he constrains not the unwilling, but embraces the willing." And again he did not accept Jerome's view that "it belongs to us to begin, and to God to complete; it is ours to offer what we can, but His to supply our deficiencies."

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[20] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 227.

[21] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 235.

[22] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 235.

Calvin, in refuting these above statements, says:

> Often times a bad man, if he will, is changed into a good man; and a good one falls into inactivity and becomes bad; because God has given us naturally a free will, and imposes no necessity upon us, but having provided suitable remedies, permits the events to depend entirely upon the mind of the patient.[23]

> Since every man acquires virtue for himself, none of the wise men have ever thanked God for it. This then is the substance of the opinion of all the philosophers, that the reason of the human understanding is sufficient for its proper government; that the will, being subject to it, is indeed solicited by sense to evil objects, but, as it has a free choice, there can be no impediment in its following reason as its guide in all things.[24]

Another theologist, Origen, contributed this thought which was more closely in line with Calvin's views than with the others:

"The power of reason is to discern good and evil, of will to choose either."[25]

The ideas of Calvin and St. Augustine regarding freedom of the will are closely aligned. St. Augustine says of freedom of the will:

"It is a power of reason and will, by which good is chosen when grace assists; and evil when grace is wanting."[26]

Although Peter Lombard and the schoolmen followed St. Augustine, Calvin found some parts of the Augustinian theory to which he objected. Calvin inserted in The Institutes:

"I stop not to notice those fanatics, who pretend that grace

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[23] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 235.
[24] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 235.
[25] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 237.
[26] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 237.

is afforded equally and promiscuously to all."[27]

Calvin does not accept any of these statements regarding freedom of the will, however, he is vague as to his exact meaning of the term. He observes that

> Man in his present state is miserably enslaved. Man being taught that he has nothing good left in his possession, and being surrounded on every side by the most miserable necessity, should, nevertheless, be instructed to aspire to the good of which he is destitute and to the liberty of which he is deprived; and should be roused from indolence with more earnestness, than if he were supposed to be of the greatest strength.[28]

Since Calvin sees man in this condition, he adjures his followers in this way:

> Let us therefore attend to this advice of Augustine: 'God will prevent you in all things: do you also sometimes prevent His wrath?" How? 'Confess that you have all these things from God; that whatever good you have, it is from Him; but whatever evil, from yourself.'[29]

Calvin is of the opinion that Adam in his original state (before the fall) was endowed with free will. There was no thought of fore-ordination and predestination, because Adam at that time was fore-ordained. Adam fell by his own free will. "Human will is not free of the senses--will cannot be free which has not been liberated by divine grace."[30]

Predestination and Election. Calvin bases his doctrine of fore-ordination and predestination upon evidence of St. Paul, St. John, and St. Augustine. From St. Paul's letter to the Romans,

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[27] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 238.
[28] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 232.
[29] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 259.
[30] Ibid., Book II, Chap. ii, p. 240.

viii:29,30 Calvin quotes:

> For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he justified.[31]

From St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians, i:11-14, Calvin takes:

> In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestined according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will: That we should be to the praise of His glory, who first trusted in Christ.
>
> In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation; in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of His glory.[32]

Calvin is also influenced in his thinking by the following excerpts from St. John's gospel.

> He which is of God, he hath seen the Father. (vi:46)
>
> I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me. (xvii:6)
>
> No man can come to me except the Father draw him. (vi:44)[33]

In harmony with this last excerpt from the New Testament, Calvin did not regard lightly the following advice from St. Paul:

> Art thou grafted among the people of God? Be not high-minded, but fear; God is able to cut thee off again and graft in others. (Romans xi, 17-23)[34]

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[31] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, p. 178.

[32] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, p. 178.

[33] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, p. 179.

[34] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, p. 185.

From St. Augustine's writings upon fore-ordination and predestination, Calvin gathered these statements which correspond to the thinking of St. Paul and St. John.

> If, according to the declaration of truth, every one that has learned comes, whosoever comes not, certainly has not learned. It does not necessarily follow that he who can come actually comes unless he hath both willed and done it; but everyone who has learned of the Father, not only can come, but also actually comes; where there is an immediate union of the advantage of possibility, the inclination of the will, and the consequent action.
>
> For if everyone who has heard and learned of the Father comes, certainly everyone that comes not has neither heard nor learned of the Father; for if he had heard and learned, he would have come.[35]
>
> Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life and adjudges others to eternal death, no one, desirous of the credit of piety, dares absolutely to deny.[36]
>
> In conformity, therefore, to the clear doctrine of the Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined, both whom he would admit to salvation and whom he would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit, but to those whom he devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible judgment.[37]

Nothing can be more mild and tender than Christ's fraternal affection. Calvin quotes Ambrose,

> He (Christ) is our mouth, with which we address the Father; our eye, by which we behold the Father; our right hand by which we present ourselves unto the Father. Without whose meditation, neither we nor any of all the saints, have the least intercourse with God.[38]

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[35] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, p. 179.
[36] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxi, p. 144.
[37] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxi, p. 149.
[38] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxi, p. 150.

No man will presume, without previous permission, to act the part of an advocate before an earthly judge; whence then, have worms so great a license to obtrude on God as intercessors those who are not recorded to have been appointed to that office. Since neither Moses nor Samuel interceded for the Israelites, there was then no intercession for the dead. Paul, when speaking of David, does not say that he assists posterity by his prayers, but only that he served his own generation.[39]

Calvin argued that God not only foresaw the fall of the first man--and in him the ruin of his posterity--but also at his own pleasure arranged it. For as it belongs to his wisdom to foreknow all future events, so it belongs to his power to rule and govern them by his hand.[40]

Augustine's doctrine of predestinating grace differs from that of the Reformed theology as represented by Calvin. In Augustine's doctrine, election is the first consideration and vocation is of secondary importance. In the Reformed theology the call is that in which the divine election is first realized. Calvin considered the external call to be the call to preach the word of God and he also considered the internal call to be the workings of the Holy Spirit implanting the preached word like seeds of life in man's heart.[41]

> The doctrines of predestination and election, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints, have always seemed to the Armenian branch of Protestantism

[39] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxi, p. 150.
[40] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, p. 180.
[41] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xxiv, pp. 179-182, passim.

> an outrageous affront both to human freedom and to the inclusiveness of God's saving work in Christ. Yet they follow consistently, not only from a literal reading of Romans 8:29,30, but also from the doctrines of God's absolute sovereignty and man's helplessness. If God determines all events, even the most trivial, he surely determines the supreme event of a man's salvation. If man cannot save himself by electing to do so, then to be saved God must elect him. If God is truly sovereign, his grace is not only pervenient but also irresistible. Then, when God has chosen a soul for salvation it is to question the wisdom and efficacy of the divine not to suppose that the choice is temporary.[42]

> Calvin's doctrine of predestination follows essentially the pattern set by Augustine and Luther, but with an important exception; both these men were warm-hearted mystics, who could never quite bring themselves to affirm double predestination--that is the election by God of some to be damned. Calvin drew the logical conclusion. With Luther, love is central to his idea of God; with Calvin, majesty. If a God of transcendent majesty chooses to leave some men to suffer the deserved penalty for their guilt, it is not for human minds, Calvin thought, to question the divine justice. The sun is not evil if its light, falling upon putrid flesh, causes foul odors to arise.[43]

Sacraments. Calvin believed in only two sacraments, baptism and communion. He outlined two purposes of baptism, namely: To promote our faith toward God and to indicate by being baptized before men that we confess our faith in Jesus Christ.

> But...baptism promises us no other purification than by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ; which is emblematically represented by water, on account of its resemblance to washing and cleansing.[44]

A sacrament is

> An outward sign, by which the Lord seals in our consciences the promises of His good will toward us, to support the weaknesses of our faith; and we on our part testify our piety towards Him, in His presence and that

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[42]Harkness, Georgia. "Calvin and His Tradition," Protestantism, a Symposium, pp. 71-72.

[43]Calvin, op. cit., Book IV, Chap. xv, p. 478.

[44]Calvin, op. cit., Book IV, Chap. xv, p. 478.

of the angels, as well as before men.[45]

St. Augustine said:

"A sacrament is a visible sign of a sacred thing"--"a visible form of an invisible grace."[46]

Regarding the sacrament of the Holy Communion, Calvin uses the bread and the wine because they are representative of the invisible nourishment which one receives from the body and blood of Christ. But he definitely does not believe in the doctrine of consubstantiation as held by the Roman Catholic Church. In this regard he sates:

> True faith, which is the sole medium of our union and communion with Christ, being an object of little solicitude to them (the Roman Catholics) provided they have that carnal presence which they have fabricated without any authority from the divine word, they consider him as sufficiently present with them.[47]

Ethics

> It has often seemed to outsiders that Calvinism ought to breed in its adherents a complete moral lethargy. Yet the Calvinists have been great activists in both religious and secular pursuits. The explanation lies, not in inconsistency, but in another strain of Calvin's thought.
>
> Calvin never claimed that only the elect would be moral in the ordinary sense of refraining from theft, adultery, murder and other offenses against society. What he did maintain was that such morality, whether in the form of abstinence or of positive good works, was unable to save a man. In fact, it was not true righteousness unless done for God's glory; for one might outwardly be virtuous while sacrilegiously affronting the majesty of God. But when one has been redeemed by God's grace, his morality takes on a new

[45] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. xv, p. 479.
[46] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. xv, p. 479.
[47] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. xvii, p. 536.

quality. He is not thereby excused from moral effort; on the contrary, he is called to labor with untiring zeal for the glory of God and the service of men.

The Calvinists strove with terrible earnestness to make their calling and election sure. Though good works could not save a person, they could be a sign that God had saved him. Such activity took three main forms. One was the duty, through preaching and witness, to arouse others from complacency in sin by proclaiming the judgment of God. A second was the keeping of the Ten Commandments, applied to every detail of life. This included the obligation to cleanse the morals of the community by forcing others to keep them. A third was the obligation to be zealous in one's vocation, not merely serving God with resignation in one's calling, as Luther had enjoined, but actively seeking to serve God through it.[48]

The morality of keeping the commandments was predominantly both for Calvin and his New England followers, a series of 'thou shalt nots.' Since God's glory was paramount, the worst offenses were sins against God. Blasphemy was an offense to be punished by the civil authorities. The penalties for blasphemy were variable but never more serious than exile. Outstanding instances of exile in New England were Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson as well as the followers of the Quaker, George Fox.

That Calvin invoked the death penalty for heresy indicates its greater seriousness in his estimation. Murder was the killing of the body, heresy the poisoning of the soul; and both seemed to him to demand a penalty of death for the protection of the innocent. One kills the wolf to save the sheep; one scotches the snake in the grass to save the children. Had nonconformity in doctrine been more common in Geneva, the Servetus[49] affair might have been many times repeated.

It is in the ordinary relations of the Christian to his neighbor that the Puritan or middle-class virtues come into the foreground, linking Calvinistic ethics with economics. The elect Christian must honor God and prove his election by his industry, thrift, honesty, sobriety, chastity. Or, to put it negatively, the Christian community will not tolerate the idler, the spendthrift, the liar, the thief, the drunkard, the

[48] Harkness, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[49] Supra., p. 10.

adulterer. Regular attendance at the Sunday service and a pure use of the Lord's day is a duty owed to both God and man. Put these virtues together, and they do not add up to the type of ethics set forth in the Sermon on the Mount; but they do summarize the most conspicuous requirements both of Calvin's Geneva and of our founding fathers.[50]

Classical Philosophy

Aristotelian. In arriving at his philosophical ideas, Calvin was concerned with the ideas that had been accepted through the ages in the Christian church. One trend which all these philosophers took was the study of the aspects of the soul. Aristotle asserted:

> In the soul there is an appetitive aspect which is contemplative; this aspect is content merely with knowledge, and feels no tendency to action. The appetitive aspect is also practical, for it influences the will with the apprehension of good and evil.
>
> There is also an intellective aspect which is made up of two main parts. One part, the will, is prominent when the appetite obeys reason. The other part, concupiscence, is prominent when a shaking off of the yoke of reason results in intemperance.[51]

Thus the philosophers imagine that man is always possessed of reason sufficient for the proper government of himself. This philosophy was held by Aristotle, but Calvin said:

> We are constrained to depart a little from this mode of instruction, because the philosophers, being ignorant of the corruption of nature proceeding from the punishment of the fall, improperly confound two very different states of mankind.[52]

Platonic. Regarding Platonic philosophy, Calvin states:

> And thus to the understanding, reason, and imagination, the three intellectual faculties of the soul,

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[50] Harkness, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[51] Calvin, op. cit., Book I, Chap. xv, p. 180.

[52] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xv, p. 180.

> we have the three appetitive ones which correspond--the will, whose place it is to choose those things which the understanding and reason propose to it; the irascible faculty, which embraces the things offered it by reason and imagination; and the concupiscible faculty, which apprehends the objects presented by the imagination and sensation.[53]
>
> If anyone chooses to make a different distribution of the powers of the soul, so as to call one appetitive, which though void of reason in itself, obeys reason, if it be under the guidance of any other faculty; and to call another intellective, which is itself a partaker of reason; I shall not much oppose it.[54]
>
> I admit then, in the first place, that there are five senses which Plato would rather call organs, by which all objects are conveyed into a common sensory, as into a general repository, that next follows the fancy or imagination which discerns the objects apprehended by the common sensory; next reason, to which belongs universal judgment; lastly, the understanding which steadily and quietly contemplates the objects revolved and considered by reason.[55]

Calvinistic Adaptation. The Calvinistic philosophy has two tenets regarding the soul. The one is summed up under the heading, understanding. This is the guide and governor of the will, discriminating between objects as they shall appear deserving of approbation or disapprobation. The other tenet is called the will. One's will is exercised through choosing and following what the understanding shall have pronounced to be good; also, through abhoring and avoiding what the understanding shall have condemned.[56]

Polity and Politics

Theocracy, as has been shown, came about as a form of power

[53] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xv, p. 179.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., Book I, Chap. xv, p. 180 (summary).

politics--an attempt to give divine sanction to civil affairs in the interests of personal righteousness.

> Calvin's political theory closely approximates that of Hildebrand but with the authority of the Bible replacing the power of the papacy. Church and State were conceived as two separate and distinct institutions but with the Church above the State because of its guardianship of the word of God. It is clear that such a structure could persist only on the fulfillment of two conditions: (a) the willingness of the people to be so governed and (b) a dominant personality to interpret the word of God so that his word was accepted as God's word. These conditions were met for a time in Geneva and in Puritan New England, but with increasing freedom of thought and the passing of the great divines the theocracy was bound to fall apart.[57]

Calvin made these statements regarding the Letter of the Law:

> ...after the promulgation of the law (Scriptures) when the priests were commanded to teach 'out of the mouth of the Lord,' the meaning is that they should teach nothing extraneous, or different from that system of doctrine which the Lord had comprised in the law; it was not lawful for them to add to it or diminish from it.[58]

> After the promulgation of the law, the prophecies, the psalms, and the histories of the Bible, we have another testimony from God--God completed all branches of knowledge in his son, 'the last and eternal testimony.' 'Hear ye Him.'[59]

> Jesus has spoken in such a manner as to leave nothing to be said by others after Him. Succeeding ministers have no other office than to teach what is revealed and recorded in the sacred Scriptures.[60]

Church Supremacy. The powers of the church reside in the individual bishops and in the councils--both provincial and general councils. The doctrinal powers consist of the authority to

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[57]Harkness, op. cit., p. 73.

[58]Calvin, op. cit., Book IV, Chap. viii, p. 343.

[59]Ibid., Book IV, Chap. viii, p. 344.

[60]Ibid., Book IV, Chap. viii, p. 346.

establish and explicate doctrines. Other powers of the church are concerned with legislative and jurisdictional matters. The working of the Holy Spirit through the medium of the Priests, the Scriptures, the Prophets, and the Apostles and their successors, was for Calvin a clear indication that there must be a definite divorcing of church and state; however, the term "successors" was later broadened to include the civil authorities, especially in New England.

Choosing Pastors. Congregations were allowed the privilege of choosing pastors out of their own ranks; however, Calvin laid down rules by which the choosing might be done more effectively.

> We find, therefore, that it is a legitimate ministry according to the word of God, when those who appear suitable persons are appointed with the consent and approbation of the people; but that other pastors ought to preside over the election, to guard the multitude from falling into any improprieties, through inconstancy, intrigue, or confusion.[61]

The pastors were to preside at elections, the congregations were to elect pastors, and pastors were to consecrate others. Calvin mentions that, in the early church, bishops were nominated by the clergy, elected by the congregations and approved by the emperors.

The congregations were not to allow marriage to influence them against accepting a man for the clergy. As was stated previously,[62] Calvin had married while on exile from Geneva, and although his married life was comparatively short, he regarded

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[61] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, p. 271.

[62] Supra., p. 14.

his wife as a great helpmate. Calvin remarks that St. Paul's forbidding to marry is a doctrine of the devils. He points out that St. Paul modified his stand on this subject in his letter to Timothy where he states: "Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled." (1 Timothy 4:1-5)

Work of Pastors. Regarding the work of pastors, Calvin states:

> Behold the sacred, inviolable, and perpetual law imposed upon those who call themselves successors of the Apostles; it commands them to preach the gospel, and to administer the sacraments.[63]

> For the Lord denounces to all those who have been stationed as watchmen in the church, that if any one perish in ignorance through their negligence, he will require the blood of such a person at their hands. (Ezekiel 3:17,18) What Paul says of himself, belongs to them all: "Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel, 'because a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me.' (1 Cor. 9:16,17) Lastly, what the Apostles did for the whole world, that every individual pastor ought to do for his flock over which he is appointed.[64]

Calvin gives considerable importance to the laying on of hands, reminding his readers that the same motion was used by Christ in praying over children, and by the Jews in offering sacrifices.[65]

> Finally, it is to be remarked, that the imposition of hands on the minister was not the act of the whole multitude but was confined to the pastors.[66]

Local Ministerial Powers. The keynote to Calvin's thinking regarding the power invested in the Local ministry is the term, confidence. With the utmost confidence ruling their passions,

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[63] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, p. 264.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, p. 272.
[66] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, p. 271.

these early Protestant ministers were highly empowered in God's name. Calvin writes:

> This is the extent of the power with which the pastors of the church by whatever name they may be distinguished, ought to be invested: (1) That by the word of God they may venture to do all things with confidence; (2) may constrain all the strength, glory, wisdom and pride of the world to obey and submit to His majesty; (3) supported by his power, may govern all mankind, from the highest to the lowest; (4) may build up the house of Christ, and subvert the house of Satan; (5) may feed the sheep and drive away the wolves; (6) may instruct and exhort the docile, (7) may remove, rebuke, and restrain the rebellious and obstinate; (8) may bind and loose; (9) may discharge their lightnings and thunders, if necessary; but all in the name of God.[67]

> What is this but rejecting all the inventions of the human mind from whatever head they may proceed, in order that the pure word of God may be taught and learned in the Church of believers? What is this but removing all the decrees, or rather inventions of men, whatever be their station, that the ordinances of God alone may be observed.[68]

> This power entirely depends upon the keys, which Christ has conferred upon the Church in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew (12-18), where he commands that those who shall have despised private admonitions shall be severely admonished in the name of the whole church; and if they persist in this obstinacy, they are to be excluded from the society of believers.[69]

Classification of Workers. In the setting up of his churches, St. Paul listed the following to preside over the government of the church: Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. To this grouping Calvin adds: elders, deacons, bishops, and governors. The deacons, according to the injunction in Titus 1:5-7, were responsible for the care of the poor. This was not

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[67] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. viii, p. 346.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. xi, p. 395.

the case in later years as the work of the deacons took on many different aspects. The governors were to be:

> Persons of advanced years, selected from the people to unite with the bishops in giving admonitions and in exercising discipline.[70]

The teachers came under a rather different category than that of the pastors. Calvin said of them:

> Teachers have no official concern with the discipline, or the administration of the sacraments, or with admonitions and exhortations, but only with the interpretations of the Scripture, that pure and sound doctrine may be retained among believers; whereas the pastoral office includes all these things.[71]

Appraisal of Calvin's Theological System

Though Calvin built his theology on the foundations laid by earlier reformers, and especially by Luther and Bucer, his peculiar gifts of learning, of logic and of style made him preeminently the theologian of the new religion.

Calvin's dominant thought is the infinite and transcendent sovereignty of God, to know whom is man's supreme end. God is known to man especially by the Scriptures, whose writers were "sure and authentic amanuenses of the Holy Spirit."[72] While God is the source of all good, man is guilty and corrupt. The first man was made in the image of God which not only implies man's superiority to other creatures, but indicates his original purity, integrity and sanctity. Through Adam's fall, depravity and corruption attach to lll men. On account of such corruption

[70] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, p. 265.
[71] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, p. 263.
[72] Ibid., Book II, Chap. i, p. 224.

all are deservedly condemned before God, by whom nothing is accepted save righteousness, innocence and purity. When it is said that we through Adam's sin have become obnoxious to the divine judgment, it is not to be taken as if we, being ourselves innocent and blameless, bear the fault of his offense, but that, we having been brought under a curse through his transgression, he is said to have bound us. From him, however, not only has punishment overtaken us, but a pestilence instilled from him resides in us, to which punishment is justly due. Thus even infants, while they bring their own condemnation with them from their mothers' wombs, are bound not by another's but by their own fault. For though they have not yet brought forth the fruits of their iniquity, they have its seed; their whole nature is a sort of seed of sin, therefore it cannot but be hateful to God.

To redeem man from this state of corruption, the Son of God became incarnate. He took on Him the offices of prophet, priest, and king, and by His humiliation, obedience and suffering unto death, followed by his resurrection and ascension to heaven, He has perfected His work and fulfilled all that was required in a redeemer of men, so that it is truly affirmed that He has merited for man the grace of salvation.[73]

But until man is united to Christ, the benefits of Christ's work cannot be obtained by him. This union is achieved through the special operation of the Holy Spirit in the faithful, who

[73] Ibid., Book II, Chap. xiii-xvii, pp. 428-482 (summary).

thus become partakers of His death and resurrection, so that the sinful spirit in man is crucified with Him and they are raised to a life of righteousness and holiness. Thus joined to Christ, the believer has life in Him and knows that he is saved, having the witness of the Spirit that he is a child of God, and having the promises, the certitude of which the Spirit had before impressed on the mind, sealed by the same Spirit of the heart.[74]

From faith springs repentance, proceeding from a sincere fear of God, and consisting in the mortification of the flesh and the evil spirit within us and a vindication of the Spirit. Through faith also the believer receives justification, his sins are forgiven, he is accepted of God, and is held by Him as righteous, the righteousness of Christ being imputed to him. This imputed righteousness, however, is not disjoined from real personal righteousness, for regeneration and sanctification come to the believer from Christ no less than justification; the two blessings are not to be confounded, but neither are they to be disjoined. The assurance which the believer has of salvation he receives from the operation of the Holy Spirit; but this again rests on the divine choice of the man to salvation; and this falls back on God's eternal sovereign purpose, whereby He has predestined some to eternal life and some to eternal death. The former he effectually calls to salvation, and they are kept by Him in progressive faith and holiness unto the end.[75]

The external means by which God unites men into the fellow-

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[74] Ibid., Book III, Chap. xx-xxiv, pp. 76-199 (summary).
[75] Ibid.

ship of Christ, and advances those who believe, are the Church and its ordinances, especially the sacraments. The Church universal is the multitude gathered from diverse nations, which though divided by time and place, agree in one common faith, and it is bound by the tie of some religion; and wherever the word of God is sincerely preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's institute, there beyond doubt is a church of the living God.[76] Its permanent officers are pastors and teachers, to the former of whom it belongs to preside over the discipline of the Church, to administer the sacraments, and to admonish the members; while the latter expound the Scriptures. With them are to be joined for the government of the Church certain pious men as a senate in each church; and to others, as deacons, is to be entrusted the care of the poor. The election of the officers is to be with the people, and those duly chosen are to be ordained by the laying on of the hands of the pastors.[77]

The sacraments are two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is the sign of initiation into the Church; it serves both for the confirmation of faith and as a confession before men. The Holy Communion is a spiritual feast where Christ attests that He is the life-giving bread, by which our souls are fed. That sacred communication of His flesh and blood whereby Christ transfuses into us His life, He in the Supper attests and seals; and that not by an empty sign but there he puts forth the efficacy of His Spir-

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[76] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. i, Sec. 7-11, pp. 239-245, passim.
[77] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. iii, Sec. 4-16, pp. 264-272, passim.

it whereby He fulfills what He promises. In the mystery of the Supper, Christ is truly exhibited by the symbols of bread and wine; and so His body and blood in which He fulfilled all obedience for the obtaining of righteousness for us, are presented. Christ is not affixed to the bread or in any way circumscribed; but whatever can express the true and substantial communication of the body and blood of the Lord, which is exhibited to believers under the said symbols, is to be received, and that not as merely mentally received, but as enjoyed for the attainment of the eternal life.[78]

The course of time has substantially modified many of Calvin's positions. Even the churches which trace their descent from him no longer hold in their entirety his views on the magistrate as the preserver of church purity, the utter depravity of human nature, the non-human character of the Bible, the dealing of God with man. But his system had great value in the history of Christian thought. It appealed to and evoked a high order of intelligence, and its insistence on personal individual salvation has born worthy fruit. So also its insistence on the chief end of man, "to know and to do the will of God,"[79] made for strenuous morality. Its effects are most clearly seen in Scotland, in Puritan England, and in the New England States, but its influence was and is felt among peoples that have little desire or claim to be Calvinists.

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[78] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. xv-xvii, pp. 478-536, passim.

[79] Ibid., Book IV, Chap. xv, p. 525.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INSTITUTES ON PURITAN LITERATURE

The literature of the New England Colonial period had a code of morality to teach. For the most part, the reading public of that period was made up of people who were interested in molding and mending their spiritual life. The interests of the people were closely entwined with the activities of the home and church life. So great was the distance from their former home, their interests were directed more toward the Eternal than they were toward people of other nations and even those in other colonies. God was very real to these people, but He was to them a God of stern justice, who looked with favor upon a few and with prejudice upon many.

With this condition existing, it was easy for the Puritan writers to expound their doctrines upon minds that were receptive. Since the emphasis in education was placed upon theology and its related field in that period, it follows quite naturally that the literature would fall into the channel in which theology was being taught. Among the books which were used as texts, The Institutes of the Christian Religion by Calvin held a prominent position. It gave not only a set pattern by which the Theocratic State could operate with the assurance of God's blessing, but also source material for the pessimistic and condemning poetry of Bradstreet and Wigglesworth. Jonathan Edwards found in The Institutes a flaming Satanic end for all the unregenerates.

In this section of the thesis, excerpts from the work of John Winthrop, William Bradford, Michael Wigglesworth, Anne Brad-

street, Jonathan Edwards, Nathaniel Ward, John Wise, Increase Mather, Thomas Hooker and others, have been quoted which show item by item the great extent to which the Puritans were grounded in Calvinistic beliefs.

Calvinism Reflected in Puritan Literature

Theology--Original Sin. One of the favorite themes of the Puritan poets and sermonizers was the theory of Original Sin. Children were taught from their earliest days of understanding that they were inherently sinful, and stood in danger of the wrath of God. Michael Wigglesworth's poetry would not be acceptable for present day consumption, but its didactic quality was considered sufficient in Puritan times for it to be included in the earliest readers. Many children of the Puritan households learned to read with the verses from The Day of Doom printed on their slates.

> If for our own transgression,
> or disobedience
> We here did stand at thy left hand
> just were the Recompense:
> But Adam's guilt our souls hath split
> his fault is charg'd on us;
> And that alone hath overthrown
> and utterly undone us.[80]
>
> Then answered the Judge most dread
> God doth such doom forbid
> That men should die eternally
> for what they never did.
> But what you call old Adam's fall,
> and only his trespass,
> You call amiss to call it his,
> both his and yours it was.[81]

[80] Spiller, R. E., The Roots of National Culture, "The Day of Doom," Wigglesworth, verse CLXVII, p. 78.

[81] Ibid., verse CLXXI, p. 79.

Michael Wigglesworth's Day of Doom (1662) represents the attempt to propagate the doctrines of the Puritan collegium without any flinching from their horrible and inevitable consequences. In honesty to his memory it must be admitted that he flinched once --when he gave the unbaptised infants the "easiest room in hell." Cotton Mather lashed out at the weak-kneed substitutes for piety and reverence, as did his son, Samuel Mather, after him.... Greatest and most clear-headed of those who defended the Calvinist system was Jonathan Edwards, a Spiritual blight had fallen upon the godly when young Edwards went out to his grandfather's parish at Northampton. The purity and extreme piousness of an earlier day were gone. As new generations grew up and began the less difficult task of wresting a livelihood from the earth by what were clearly their own efforts, as the young men turned their attention to more diverse labors, there was an inevitable decrease in the spirit of piety. Conversion was no longer the intense psychological cataclysm it once had been. Emotional convulsions representing the work of the Holy Spirit were less frequent. "Spiritual indifference" or "deadness of soul" was the cry of the Puritan Jeremiahs.... Since true piety requires the complete submission of the human being to God, Edwards accepted the determinism of Calvin and brought all the great power of his mind to the defense of Calvinism in his master work, On the Freedom of the Will. If his premises are granted--that with the "fall" the light of God was withdrawn from man, that man's will is subject to his "natural" desires, that his desires impel him irresistibly toward evil--the logic is inescapable: Man's will is not free. In the light of this purpose and with these methods in mind, the sermons for which Edwards has been so universally maligned (e.g. "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," "God's Sovereignty," "The Eternity of Hell's Torments," "The Day of Judgment") appear not the outpourings of a sadistic fanatic but the reasoned and humanitarian efforts of a man who loved his fellow men--even though they were sinful.[82]

There are in the souls of wicked men those hellish principles reigning, that would presently kindle and flame into hell-fire, if it were not for God's restraints. There is laid in the very nature of carnal men a foundation for the torments of hell: there are those corrupt principles, in reigning power in them, and in full possession of them, that are seeds of hell-fire. These principles are active and powerful, ex-

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[82] Orians, op. cit., pp. 6, 7.

> ceeding violent in their nature, and if it were not for the restraining hand of God upon nature, they would flame out after the same manner as the same corruptions, the same enmity does in the hearts of damned souls, and would beget the same torments in their children as they have in themselves.... The corruption of the heart of a man is a thing that is immoderate and boundless in its fury;...[83]

Calvin's doctrine of Original Sin is reflected in the literary offerings of most of the Puritans. Anne Bradstreet's "Contemplations," and John Winthrop's "Letter to Mrs. Margaret Tyndale," are quite in line with the common thinking of the day as the following lines show.

> Sometimes in Eden fair, he seems to be
> Sees glorious Adam there made Lord of all,
> Fancies the Apple dangle on the Tree,
> That turn'd his Sovereign to a naked thral
> Who like a miscreant's driven from that place,
> To get his bread with pain, and sweat of face:
> A penalty impos'd on his back-sliding race.[84]

> As for me a poore worm, dust & ashes, a man full of infirmityes, subject to all sinnes, changes and chances, such as befall the sons of men, how should I promise thee anything of myself, or if I should, what credence could'st thou give thereto, seeinge God only is true and every man a lyar.[85]

Theology--Redemption. John Winthrop found his God to be a source of inspiration and of buoyancy. To him, God was a personal God who wrought many miracles for him and in turn brought destruction to the enemies of the Puritans. Winthrop considered it an act of a God of Providence that the copy of the New Testament that lay beside the Anglican Prayer Book in his chest was not eaten by a rat, whereas the Anglican Prayer Book was almost con-

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[83]Foerster, Norman, American Poetry and Prose, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," Jonathan Edwards, pp. 100-101.

[84]Spiller, op. cit., "Contemplations," Anne Bradstreet, v. 11, p. 73.

[85]Ibid., "Letter to Mrs. Margaret Tyndale," p. 54.

sumed by the varmint. In the quaint old-English wording of his letters to his wife, this dependence upon a God of redemption is prominent.

> We acknowledge it a great mercy to us, that we went not out to sea on mondaye when the winde was fair for one daye, for we had been exposed ever since to sore tempestes & contrarye windes: I prayse God, we are all in good health, & want nothing.[86]

> ...But I desire in this and all other things to submit unto His holy will; it is the Lord, let Him doe what seemeth good in His owne eyes. He will doe nothing but that shall be for our good if we had harts to trust in Him, & all shall be for the best what so ever it shall please him to exercise us withall. He wounds & he heals. He hath never fayled to doe us good, & now he will not shake us off, but continue the same God that he hath been hear to fore.[87]

Jonathan Edwards outlines four steps in the miraculous transformation that the truly converted man experiences: (1) the first stirrings when the sinner is brought under conviction that he is lost; (2) the realization of God's justice, that he merits damnation; (3) the breaking in of the light, the first gracious discoveries of God's mercies; (4) peace after the storm, which is the joy of assurance of salvation.[88]

> God certainly has made no promises either of eternal life or of any deliverance or preservation from eternal death, but what are contained in the covenant of grace, the promises that are given in Christ, in whom all the promises are yea and amen. ...Whatever pains a natural man takes in religion, whatever prayers he makes, till he believes in Christ, God is under no manner of obligation to keep him a moment from eternal destruction.[89]

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[86] Ibid., letter to his wife, John Winthrop, XLVII, p. 56.

[87] Ibid., letter to her husband, Margaret Winthrop, XXII, p. 55.

[88] Parrington, op. cit., p. 160.

[89] Ibid., p. 160.

Theology--Freedom of the Will. Historians have intimated that Calvin was situated in the midst of semi-barbaric peoples who had to be marshalled into a faith with stern and rigid measures. There followed the doctrine of intolerance, which discouraged the thinking and choosing process in the true followers of the Triune God. The theological concept of the Freedom of the Will as expounded by Edwards was not meant to confuse, although it is heavily doctrinal. He indicates man is a moral agent, capable of choice. If his choice is guided by God, who is the moral agent of intelligent beings, man will be able to choose between moral worthiness and unworthiness.

> The will is that by which the mind chooses anything. The faculty of the will is that power, or principle, of mind, by which it is capable of choosing; an act of the will is the same as an act of choosing or choice....It is that motive, which, as it stands in the view of the mind, is the strongest that determines the will. That which has the power of volition is the man, or the soul, and not the power of volition itself. And he that has the liberty of doing according to his will, is the agent who is possessed of the will; and not the will which he is possessed of. We say with propriety, that a bird let loose has power and liberty to fly; but not that the bird's power of flying has a power and liberty of flying....And therefore the moral agency of the Supreme Being, who acts only in the capacity of a ruler towards his creatures, and never as a subject, differs in that respect from the moral agency of created intelligent beings....He is, in the most proper sense, a moral agent, the source of all moral ability and agency, the fountain and rule of all virtue and moral good. ...The essential qualities of a moral agent are in God, in the greatest possible perfection; such as understanding, to perceive the difference between moral worthiness and demerit, by which some things are praiseworthy, others deserving of blame and punishment; and also a capacity of choice, and choice guided by understanding, and a power of acting according to his choice or pleasure, and being capable of doing these things which are in the highest sense praiseworthy. And here-

> in does very much consist the image of God wherein he made man, by which God distinguished man from the blasts, viz. in those faculties and principles of nature, whereby He is capable of moral agency. Herein very much consists the natural image of God; whereas the spiritual and moral image, wherein man was made at first, consisted in that moral excellency with which he was endowed.[90]

Nearly every Puritan writer referred in some way to the Freedom of the Will. Although Jonathan Edwards' statement above is a summary of the thinking in this vein, yet those who preceded him were a bit more poignant in their expressions. Wigglesworth wrote:

> There's no excuses for their abuses,
> Since their own Consciences
> More proof give in of each Man's sin,
> Than thousand Witnesses,
> Though formerly this faculty,
> Had grossly been abused,
> Men could it stifle,
> Or with it trifle,
> When it was then accused.[91]

Nathaniel Ward, in answer to Thomas Hooker, wrote in a rather whimsical sense his views on toleration. He is in harmony with Calvin and Edwards when he affirmatively states that only those who live in obedience to reason are worthy to be accounted free. His figures of speech are among the few attempts at levity to be found in the stern Puritanic literature. He no doubt found his thoughts to be household passages more so than the more distinctly legalistic writings.

> The State that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience

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[90] Spiller, op. cit., "A Definition of the Will," Edwards, pp. 187-191.

[91] Miller, P. and Johnson, T. H., The Puritans, "The Day of Doom," Wigglesworth, v. 55, p. 598.

> and Conversation in their Morall Lawes, or else the Fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings cracke.[92]

> For this is very apparent, that Reason and Society render Man the most potent of all Creatures. ...The Internal Native Liberty of Man's Nature in general, implies a faculty of doing or emitting things according to the direction of His Judgment. But in a more special meaning, this Liberty does not consist in a loose and ungovernable Freedom, or in an unbounded License of Acting. Such License is disagreeing with the condition and dignity of Man, and would make Man of a lower and meaner Constitution than Bruit Creatures; who in all their Liberties are kept under a better and more Rational Government, by their instincts. Therefore, as Plutarch says, "Those persons only who live in Obedience to Reason, are worthy to be accounted free. They alone live as they Will, who have Learnt what they ought to Will. So that the true Natural Liberty of Man, such as really and truely agrees to him, must be understood, as he is Guided and Restrained by the Tyes of Reason, and laws of Nature; all the rest is Brutal, if not worse.[93]

Increase Mather lashed out with courage against the sinners of the day. It is interesting to note that even though he sternly rebukes the sinful man, he does intimate that man does have the ability to choose the good and dismiss the evil if he will. Mather also gave an opportunity of salvation for even those who were neglecting their God, if they would change their ways. He did not dwell as heavily upon predestination as did Jonathan Edwards.

> Sinners can avoid the Temptations which will endanger their falling into sin. He that knows that if he goeth to such a place, or into such a company, he will probably be drawn into sin, ought to avoid the Temptation. "Avoid it, turn from it, and pass away." (Prov. 4:15) The Sinner can do so if he will, but he will not keep out of the way of Temptation. A drunk-

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[92] Ibid., "Freedom of the Will," Nathaniel Ward, p. 230.

[93] Ibid., "Vindication," John Wise, p. 261.

ard will not avoid the Temptation to that which is his sin. "Look not on the wine when it giveth its colour." (Prov. 23:31) He can chuse whether he will look on the wine or no; he has power to refrain, wut will not.[94]

Sinners can do more towards their own Conversion than they do or will do! "The Soul of the sluggard desireth and has nothing, but the Soul of the diligent shall be made fat." (Prov. 13:4) There are several things which Sinners have power to do in order to their own Conversion, & which they ought to do, but they will not. Forbear the outward acts of sin....Sinners have power to wait on God in the use of means which has a tendency to promote Conversion. They can, if they will, not only forsake evil companions, but associate themselves with those that are good, than they are in the way of Conversion.

Sinners should consider Death; that the thing is certain, and the Time uncertain, and that they run an infinite hazard if they neglect making sure of an Interest in Christ one day longer....Let them no more say, "God must do all, we can do nothing," and so encourage themselves to live in a careless neglect of God, and of their own Souls, and Salvation.[95]

And He that being often reproved hardens his heart, and shall be consumed suddenly and there is no remedy. He that spils the Physick that should cure him, the meat that should nourish him, there is no remedy but he must needs dye, so that the Commission of sin makes not only a separation from God, but obstinate resistance and continuance in it, maintains an infinite and everlasting distance between God and the soul; so that so long as the sinful resistance of thy soul continues; God cannot vouchsafe the Comforting and guiding presence of His grace; because its cross to the Covenant of Grace he hath made, which He will not deny, and His oath which he will not alter. So that should the Lord save thee and thy Corruption, carry thee and thy proud unbeleeving heart to heaven he must nullify the Gospel, and forswear himself; he must cease to be just and holy, and so to be God.[96]

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[94] Ibid., "Predestination and Human Exertions," Increase Mather, p. 338.

[95] Ibid., pp. 338-340, passim.

[96] Ibid., "This World and the Next," from True Sight of Sin by Thomas Hooker, p. 297.

Theology--Predestination and Election. The doctrine of Predestination and Election has been the most confusing of all the Calvinistic doctrines for students of American history and literature to understand. It is in this doctrine that the theologists of the period attribute to God many premeditated decisions which following generations discounted. Increase Mather, in his sermon, Man Knows Not His Time, gives a good picture of the thinking of the period on this topic.

> He has decreed when and where every man that comes into the World shall be Born; and where he shall live, in what Country, and in what Town; yea, and in what House too....He has determined when every man shall dye. ...So that his children might live by Faith, they must not know their Times, that so they might Trust in the Lord at all times....All the circumstances attending every Man's Death, the place and manner of it, whether he shall dye by Sickness, or by any other Accident, all is determined in Heaven before it comes to pass on the Earth. Now the decrees of God are Secret things until the Event or some divine Revelation shall discover them. ...We must follow God, tho' we know not what He will do with us, or how He will dispose of us, as to our Temporal Concerns, submitting ourselves, yea, our lives and all entirely to the Will of God in every thing. That saying ought to be in our mouths, "If the Lord will, and we shall live, and do this or that."[97]

> I say, God is not bound to give Sinners Grace; He may give Grace or deny Grace to whom he pleaseth...If he giveth to any man in the world it is from His Sovereign good pleasure....If it were in the power of a Sinner to Convert himself, he would not do it, for he hates Conversion.[98]

In his article, On Tolerance, Nathaniel Ward speaks of the Elect, evidently referring to those who believed in intolerance.

> Satan is now in his passions, he feeles his passion approaching; hee loves to fish in ryled waters.

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[97] Ibid., "Man Knows Not His Time," Increase Mather, pp. 340-348.

[98] Ibid., pp. 335-336

> Though that Dragon cannot sting the vitals of the Elect mortally, that Beelzebub can fly-blow their Intellectuals miserably. The finer Religion grows, the finer hee spins his Cobwebs, hee will hold pace with Christ so long as his wits will serve him. Hee sees himself beaten out of grosse Idolatries, Heresies, Ceremonies, where the Light breakes forth with power; he will therefore bestirre him to prevaricate Evangelicall Truths, and Ordinances, that if they will needs be walking, yet they shall _laborare varicibus_, and not keep their path, he will put them out of time and place; such as are least able are most busie to pudder in the rubbish, and to raise dust in the eyes of more steady Repayrers.[99]

The Puritan poets wove predestination and election into their pious verses, and portray a rather pessimistic picture for those who have not been included in the Elect. Michael Wigglesworth directed a part of his "The Day of Doom" to the children, indicating the belief prevalent in that period that man is born with a sinful nature.

> You sinners are, and such a share
> as sinners may expect
> Such you shall have; for I so save
> none but mine own Elect.
> Yet to compare your sin with their
> who lived a longer time,
> I do confess yours is much less
> though every sin's a crime
>
> A crime it is, therefore in bliss
> you may not hope to dwell,
> But unto you I shall allow
> the easiest room in Hell.
> The glorious King thus answering,
> they cease and plead no longer;
> Their Consciences must needs confess
> his Reasons are the stronger.[100]

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[99] Spiller, _op. cit._, "On Tolerance," Nathaniel Ward, pp. 82-83.

[100] _Ibid._, "The Day of Doom," Wigglesworth, CLXXX & CLXXXI, p. 80

Anne Bradstreet echoes the same sentiments when she writes:

> How Adam sighed to see his Progeny,
> Cloath'd all in his black sinfull Livery,
> Who neither guilt, nor yet the punishment could fly.[101]

Thus we see that the underlying Puritan earnestness was Calvinism, a sterm and legalistic theology constructed by the Genevan reformer. Puritan theology portrayed God as a sovereign whom man, in the person of Adam, had disobeyed, thereby breaking an inexpressibly sacred and solemn covenant. Upon Adam and all his race retribution had justly fallen. Through Christ, however, man had been given a second chance, although that chance was extended only to those men whom God had "elected" to be saved. Most men were predestined to damnation, as they deserved. Although one could never be wholly sure of being among the fortunate few for whom salvation was foreordained, life was to be lived in a search for the divine will, as it might be expressed in one's own struggle for serenity, through one's spiritual growth, or as it might be interpreted, from events in the external world. To walk uprightly in the sight of God, and to seek to follow His will--these were the aims of the Calvinists and the origin, as has often been remarked, of the "New England conscience."

Polity and Politics. The charter of the "Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England" gave "power forever to the freemen of the company to elect each year a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, on the last Wednesday of Easter term, and to make laws consistent with those of England."[102] The magis-

[101] Ibid., "Contemplations," Bradstreet, v. 16, pp. 73-74.
[102] Winthrop, John, A Journal, p. 10.

trates were empowered to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, new associates might be admitted, and the corporation was empowered to defend itself against attack by sea or land. "As to religious liberty, the charter has nothing to say.[103]

John Robinson, Governor of the Puritan Colony in Leyden, Holland, had sworn to the charter with the London company that they would conform to Anglican practices in the new colony. It was the purpose of the colonists to settle in Northern Virginia, but because the forces of nature had blown them to the north and they were not in the spot they originally intended to be, a new compact was drawn up--the Mayflower Compact--which did not include any statement of allegiance to Anglican practices.

Winthrop lived in fear that the king would send over a governor general. Craddock, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company in England, had twice called for the surrender of the patent of the company, as the Council demanded, but Winthrop and his assistants procrastinated. The first suggestion for the transfer of the government and patent from the London Adventurers to the colony was first proposed by Matthew Craddock, governor in London. Such a transfer was pronounced legal by the lawyers consulted, though since that time the transformation of a license for a trading corporation into a charter for a political establishment has been pronounced fraudulent and without color of the law.[104] In 1634 there came over news of a commission composed of both Archbishops and ten others of the Council, to regulate all plan-

[103] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[104] Ibid., p. 111.

tations, call in patents, make laws, raise tythes and portion ministers, remove and punish governors, hear and determine all causes, and inflict punishment, even death itself. This action was leveled largely against Massachusetts Bay.[105] Winthrop again procrastinated and did not send the patent to England in 1638 as requested by the Lord Commissioners of Plantations. When he was again admonished by the Lord Commissioners to send back the patent by the first boat, Winthrop refused to obey. Winthrop's temporizing in not returning the patent to the Lord Commissioners bore fruit. The latter did not insist again that the original patent be returned by the first boat.[106]

> Church Supremacy. Transported to New England and adapted to theocratic ends, the principle of magistracy was both augmented in power and ennobled in conception. To the police power over things temporal was added a police power over things spiritual. In the Bible commonwealth, the legislative function was regarded as of minor importance. The law being already set down in the Scriptures, the chief authority in the commonwealth naturally rested with the magistrates who were responsible for its strict fulfillment. As stewards intrusted with a divine stewardship, they exercised absolute legislative and judicial powers; in their councils the ministers were summoned to participate, but no others. It was the duty of the magistrates to debate and determine, and the duty of the people to obey.
>
> To a modern this is no other than sheer absolutism, but it was deeply embedded in Calvinistic theory and practice, and was justified by the Puritan principle of special talents. God calls to the post of duty those best fitted to serve. As a devout follower of Calvin, Winthrop must have often pondered upon the passages in the Institutes which set forth the nature of magistracy and the duties of magistrates, and in particular of this:
>
> If they remember that they are the

[105] Ibid., p. 135.
[106] Ibid., p. 301.

> vicegerents of God, it behooves them to watch with all care, diligence, and industry, that they may exhibit a kind of image of the Divine Providence, guardianship, goodness, benevolence, and justice.[107]

This spirit of Calvinistic stewardship is revealed in Winthrop's Modell of Christian Charity, writtn on shipboard on the voyage out. A sense of profound responsibility devolving upon the leaders imparts dignity to the thought:

> They must bear and forbear, knitting themselves together in a common purpose, and seeing that the care of the public should oversway all private interests!

And this "care of the public" remained in theory if not always in practice the guiding principle of Winthrop's official activities.[108]

When the occasion arose, then, Winthrop was ready to reveal his God-given place in the colony, and wrote in definite terms a statement for all to consider. His position was as follows:

> It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider, yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore, when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you beare the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant, who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill.[109]

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[107] Calvin, op. cit., Book IV, Chap. xx, p. 637.

[108] Parrington, op. cit., p. 43.

[109] Spiller, op. cit., "A Journal" (On Liberty) John Winthrop, pp. 59-60.

> God's word must be the light and the rule. Let us search and trye our hearts & turne to the Lord: for this is our safetye, not our owne innocencye, but his mercie.[110]

Choosing of Pastors. Pastors were chosen from the congregations by members of the congregation. The laying on of hands was stressed in the ordination of the ministers. Ruling elders were also ordained by the imposition of hands. The first congregation of the Massachusetts Bay Company had the following church officers, Mr. Wilson, first teacher, Mr. Nowell, first elder, Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, first deacons. John Winthrop relates of their ordination:

> We used imposition of hands but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England.[111]

The Plymouth Separatists selected as first teacher, Samuel Skelton, and as first pastor, Francis Higginson. They, too, were ordained by the laying on of hands of the ministers present.[112]

Work of Pastors. The Pastors of the Colonial Period in New England were a combination of doctor, teacher, lawyer and writer. They ministered both the body and to the mind. Since they were the best educated of the colony, they were often chosen to fill other duties than that of the ministry. However, their sermons were heavily weighted with doctrines intended to instruct the faithful and bring the wayward to repentance. Many of these sermons were printed on the early hand presses and distributed

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[110] Ibid., "The Letters of John Winthrop," pp. 53-54.
[111] Winthrop, op. cit., p. 52.
[112] Bradford, William, Of Plymouth Plantation, p. 26.

throughout the colony. Samuel Sewall, in his diary, relates the taking of Dr. Sibb's "Bowels" to Madam Winthrop, as a means of pressing his courtship.[113]

Cotton Mather's Manuduction ad Ministerium, a sort of guide-book for young men about to enter the ministry, shows an insight into many of the Puritan concepts. He wrote:

> My advice to you is, Begin betimes to take that noble question into consideration, What good may I be capable of doing in the world? Have stated and proper times for it, and these as often as may be, to consider on the question; and keep a record of your purposes....
>
> Particular persons in your neighborhood may now also be found out as objects that good may be done unto: the poor for to be relieved; the sick for to be visited; the sad for to be comforted; and those that are out of the way, to be reclaimed from the error of their way. Many of those whom you have distinguished in thus doing of good unto them, you will find prove monsters of ingratitude, but let not this dishearten you. God is now trying of you, whether you will do good for the pure sake of good; and you will this way have recompenses ascertained unto you, in the harvest, when whatsoever good thing any man does, the same shall he receive of the Lord.
>
> ...always endeavor to find a profitable conversation; and in every company think whether you may not with decency let fall some word which they may be the wiser for; and every one go from you, aut doctior, aut melior,[114] for you.[115]

Michael Wigglesworth gives a revealing picture of the innermost feelings of the Puritan preachers and their work in the preface to his epic, The Day of Doom.

> Thou wonderest perhaps,
> That I in Print appear,
> Who to the Pulpit dwell so nigh,
> Yet come so seldome there.

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[113]Ellis, Pound, Spohn, op. cit., p. 95.

[114]Either the wiser or the better

[115]Ellis, Pound, Spohn, American Literature, pp. 85-86.

That of God of Heaven knows
What grief to me it is,
To be with-held from serving Christ:
No sorrow like to this.

***

Some think my voice is strong
Most times when I do preach
But ten days after what I feel
And suffer, few can reach.

***

But why should I complain
That have so good a God
That doth mine heart with comfort fill,
Ev'n whilst I feel his Rod?
In God I have been strong,
But wearied and worn out
And joy'd in him, when twenty woes
Assail'd me round about.[116]

Local Ministerial Powers. The idealism of John Cotton was the fruit of his training, and his theocratic dreams were conditioned by the fact that he was both a Calvinist and an English gentleman. The fusion of these two influences resulted in the unique political theory of an ethical aristocracy, consecrated to moral stewardship in the state. A lifelong student of Calvin's Institutes, Cotton found there a system of social organization that responded to every demand of the theologian and the aristocrat. The very texture and pattern of Cotton's political philosophy is exemplified in such a passage as this, over which he must have brooded much:

> When these three forms of government of which philosophers treat, are considered in themselves, I, for my part, am far from denying that the form which greatly surpasses the other is aristocracy, either pure or modified by popular government; not

[116]Spiller, op. cit., "To the Christian Reader," Wigglesworth, p. 75-76.

> indeed in itself, but because it very rarely happens that kings so rule themselves as never to dissent from what is just and right, or are possessed of so much acuteness and prudence as always to see correctly. Owing therefore to the vices or defects of men, it is safer and more tolerable when several bear rule, that they may thus mutually assist, instruct, and admonish each other, and should any be disposed to go too far, the others are censors and masters to curb his excess. This has already been proved by experience, and confirmed also by the authority of the Lord himself, when he established an aristocracy bordering on popular government among the Israelites, keeping them under that as the best form, until He exhibited an image of the Messiah in David.[117]

In his professional capacity, Increase Mather was the priest rather than the theologian, a pastor of the flock, an expounder of the creed, rather than a seeker after new light. As a minister his mind was circumscribed by the thinking of John Calvin. Parrington states of him:

> He learned nothing from Luther, and was bitterly hostile to those phases of Independency that embodied the more generous Lutheran principles. No man was by temperament better fitted to embrace the coercive spirit of the Genevan discipline. Strong-willed and ascetic, he discovered in discipline the chief end for which the children of Adam are created. A profound admirer of the close-knit Genevan system, he was a Presbyterian in spirit, a man after Calvin's own heart, who clung to the old coercions in an age that was seeking to throw them off.[118]

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

John Calvin, a Frenchman, was one of the most important of the Continental leaders of the Reformation. From his Protestant stronghold in Geneva, his influence spread to France, Holland, England and finally to New England.

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[117] Calvin, op. cit., Book IV, Chap. xx, p. 638.

[118] Parrington, op. cit., p. 100.

The hold Calvinistic doctrines had upon the thoughts and mores of the New England Colonists is reflected in the poetry and prose written in that age. The theocratic state had its governmental structure firmly grounded in Calvinistic dogma, although it must be admitted that this oligarchic dictatorship failed to master completely a people of independent spirit.

This study has also brought to light the seeming double-dealing on the part of certain of the original Puritans in indicating a public allegiance to the English King, but retaining in their hearts a firm desire not to follow that allegiance in regard to the Oath of Supremacy.

One of our outstanding contemporary authorities on American literature, Perry Miller of Harvard University, has stated quite emphatically in The Puritans that the Puritans of New England looked for guidance to the French Protestant, Peter Ramus (1572), instead of to Calvin and his doctrines. The copious excerpts from diverse writings of the period, however, would seem to indicate that line of descent from Calvin's The Institutes. No matter what the influence of Ramus may have been--the line of descent from Calvin's Institutes to the theology, theocracy, polity, and the general literature of Colonial New England is definite and clear

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APPENDIX A

It is not a part of this thesis to trace Calvinism beyond the confines of New England. Obviously Calvinism did not cease with the Declaration of Independence, but has existed in a more or less modified form even to the present. The following succinct statement of the contemporary influence of Calvinism in America is included for the interest of the reader:

> We must now attempt to pull together various strands of Calvin's thought and make some estimate of his contemporary influence in America.
>
> Calvinism came to our shores through several channels. The French Huguenots, fleeing from persecution after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve and again after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled all the way from the Canadian border to Florida but chiefly in North and South Carolina. Another line from Geneva to America is by way of the Netherlands. This comes most directly through the Dutch who settled in and about New York, but there was an interpenetration of Dutch and Puritan thought when the Dutch Calvinists fled to England to escape the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, and later our Pilgrim Fathers took refuge in Holland before coming to America. The third main line--that in which Calvinism is most fully preserved--is that of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Thrifty, canny and resolute, they settled everywhere save for the fact that their brother Calvinists in New England gave them a cold shoulder and shoved them west. Though New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania became the main centers of settlement, they pushed southward to the warmth of the Carolinas and westward to become the main line of advance beyond the Alleghenies and in the second tier of colonies. The fourth channel is, of course, the Congregationalism of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies, which came to dominate New England except for the Baptist stronghold in Rhode Island. Together these four groups formed the chief substructure for the erection of the American republic.
>
> What have they given us? Though any evaluation must of necessity be a wholly inadequate summary, five contributions stand out:
>
> 1. A type of character suggested by the phrase, "The Puritan virtues"--common to both Puritan and Presbyterian

strains (shared by the Dutch and Huguenot, though these are far less influential), these virtues become the implicit standard of respectability and decency in the American way of life. Though we are now far removed from the discipline of Geneva or Massachusetts Bay, it is still the assumption of the majority of our laity in American Protestantism that to be a Christian means to work hard, to save one's money, not to break the law, not to drink (perhaps, also, not to smoke), to be the faithful husband of one wife, and to attend church regularly on Sunday.

2. A strong reinforcement to our capitalistic economy.--Though I believe Weber overstates the case for regarding Calvinism as the chief foundation of capitalism, there can be no doubt that the Puritan virtues are primarily middle-class virtues. This conjunction goes far toward explaining why American Protestantism is, on the whole, on the side of capital rather than labor. It explains also why the churches have so firmly undergirded the morality of small-group relations while leaving almost untouched the wider Christian obligations regarding war, race, and economics. John Wesley saw that "religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches." To avoid the resulting corruption, Christians, he thought, must be exhorted to gain all they can, to save all they can, to give all they can. Calvinists and Methodists alike have tended to follow this pattern, at least in its first two items. The result is that philanthropy rather than economic justice is the primary economic virtue in most of our churches.

Mention should also be made of Calvin's contribution to capitalism by another channel--the lifting of the medieval ban on usury. The sanction Calvin gave to the taking of interest on investments is regarded as a watershed in the history of capitalism. Calvin did not materially change the practice, for money had been loaned at interest long before this time. What he did was to lift the ban and place responsibility upon the Christian conscience, shifting restraint from ecclesiastical prohibitions to the golden rule. The door was thus opened for those who wished to let conscience be their guide. This transition in economic practice was for the most part completed before the settlement of America.

3. A foundation for American democracy.--Our political theory stems from two main channels: (a) Greek (primarily Stoic) conception of the natural rights of man, which came to America by way of the Enlightenment and had its chief exponents in Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin

Franklin; (b) a Christian conception of the equality of all men before God. To the second, Calvinism made a major contribution, though not by the route of the exaltation of human dignity, which is a familiar note in liberal preaching. The present-day call to repentance for our common sin as the basis of any right ordering of society is in keeping with Calvin's spirit. As for the Christian's duty to resist tyranny, a straight line runs from Calvin's Geneva to Cromwell's England, to the Boston Tea Party and to the interventionism of our time.

4. Emphasis on an educated ministry and an educated laity.--We have noted Calvin's concern to establish the university in Geneva. He would not countenance sloppy thinking; for one must offer his best, intellectually as morally, to the glory of God. This spirit was shared by our founding fathers.

Among the Puritans and Presbyterians who migrated to our shores the educational level was high. In New England, Oxford and Cambridge men were numerous, and a profound respect for learning was in the heritage of a Christian home. Harvard University was founded primarily to prepare young men for the ministry, only sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims. By 1647 Massachusetts had made public instruction compulsory and had established an educational system extending from the elementary school to the university. Among the Presbyterian frontier settlers the school had a place second only to the church. Their ministers were men of scholarship, often trained in Edinburgh or Aberdeen; and as the second and third generation came along, a great crop of Presbyterian colleges emerged to give higher education near the homes of the people. Their estimate of the importance of an educated ministry is evidenced by the fact that seminary training has long been required for ordination in the Presbyterian church.

5. A dogmatic but powerful theology based on the authority of the Bible.--In Congregationalism, predestination gave way before the claims of liberal thought; and, after being strongly influenced in New England by Unitarianism, the Congregational-Christian Church now stands for freedom of religious thought as of ecclesiastical structure. Presbyterianism has followed a course much closer to the genius of Calvin. Though predestination has receded, theological rigor and biblical authority have not. As a consequence of the conjunction of these notes with insistence upon an educated ministry, the Presbyterian Church has been more sharply divided by the fundamentalist-modernist controversy than has any other in our time. The liberalism of the clergy far outruns that

of the laity. Though the theological stamp of the clergy varies greatly, depending not only on which seminary was attended but in which decade, Presbyterians can usually be counted on to have convictions.

The emergence of neo-orthodoxy is, for the most part, a reappearance of Calvinism but without Calvin's doctrine of election or his biblical literalism. Distinctions between Lutheran and Calvinist thought are less sharp than they once were, yet it is significant that the chief centers of neo-orthodox influence in this country are in seminaries that are Calvinist in background. Emphasis upon God's glory and sovereignty, the sinfulness and helplessness of man, the divine initiative in revelation and redemption, the saving work of Christ, the Bible as basis of religious knowledge, those concepts though no exclusive prerogative of Calvin's, were central to his thought. The truth that lies in them is being increasingly recognized by those who stand outside the Calvinist tradition.

When Calvin died in 1564, his grave, by his own wish, was left unmarked, and "no man knoweth of his sepulcher unto this day." Yet, like Moses, with whose spirit he had much in common, he was permitted to catch a glimpse of the Promised Land. Neither could foresee to what magnitude his works was predestined to grow. They belong among the immortals because with total devotion they served God and His people, consenting to have no other gods before the Most High.

Harkness, Georgia, "Calvin and His Tradition," Protestantism, A Symposium, pp. 75-78.

Theocratic Principle at Work

That the immigrant Puritans brought in their intellectual luggage the system of Calvin rather than of Luther must be reckoned a misfortune, out of which flowed many of the bickerings and much of the intolerance that left a stain on the pages of New England history. Both thinkers accepted the adequacy of the Scriptures to all temporal needs, but Luther was at once more mystical and more practical than Calvin, deriving the creative source of the Christian life in the spiritual union of the soul with Christ, and inclining to tolerance of difference of opinion amongst believers; whereas Calvin was ardently Hebraic, exalting righteousness above love, seeking the law in the Old Testament and laying emphasis on an authoritarian system. The one was implicitly individualistic, the other hierarchial in creative influence. There was scant room in the rigid system of John Calvin for Christian liberty. The Genevan thinker was a logician rather than a philosopher, a rigorous system-maker and dogmatist who knotted every argument and tied every strand securely into its fellow, till there was no escape from the net unless one broke through the mesh. To the formalist who demanded an exact system, and to the timid who feared free speculation, the logical consistency of Calvinism made an irresistible appeal. In New England, by virtue of a rigid suppression of free inquiry, Calvinism long lingered out a harsh existence, grotesque and illiberal to the last. In banishing the Antinominians and Separatists and Quakers, the Massachusetts magistrates cast out the spirit of liberalism from the household of Saints.[1]

The historian need not wander far in search of the origin of the theocratic principle; it is to be found in the self-interest of the lay and clerical leaders. Ambitious men would not have devised a fitter means to weld together the two groups of magistrates and ministers, and endow their charter with prerogatives with divine sanction. The Stuarts were bunglers at the business in comparison with Winthrop and Cotton. But if they worked the metal to such shape as they chose, we must not forget that it had been well heated in the smithy of John Calvin. Overlook that fact and the theocracy becomes incredible.[2]

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[1] Parrington, V. L., Main Currents in American Thought, pp. 11-15.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

The lay leaders were practical men. They had ventured their estates in the hope of bettering their condition, both spiritual and material, and with their personal fortunes at stake, they were in no mind to entrust the fate of the undertaking to other hands than their own. They loved power quite as much as did the ungodly, and accounting themselves God's stewards they reckoned it sin not to use that power in His name. As Puritans they would not keep a weather eye on the majority will. God did not speak in the Scriptures through majority votes; his chosen were a minority, the remnant in Israel.

A further sanction was at hand. If these Hebraized Englishmen created a closed corporation and ruled magisterially, if the order in the new church-state was inquisitorial and stern, it was in strict conformity with the teachings and example of Calvin. Men deeply read in the Institutes, familiar with the Genevan Ordinances and the practices of the Consistory, were not likely to discover in them any lessons in democratic toleration. Righteousness may be fearfully relentless, and John Calvin had been a tyrant on principle. Iron-willed and masterful, he had risen to power in the turbulent city-state of Geneva in sixteenth-century fashion. A few splotches of blood on the white garments of the Church did not greatly trouble him. He was never squeamish about ways and means of furthering the Lord's work. He violated the right of refuge to bring to the stake the pantheistic Unitarian, Servetus,[3] and he thanked God when the bungling of the executioner prolonged the suffering of certain other of his victims. The Genevan discipline was rigorous, and the clerical inquisitors were more relentless than the lay. The tyrannies that have been freely charged upon the New England oligarchy are easily explained in the light of the Calvinistic Ordinances. There were no whippings or banishments or hangings in early Pennsylvania where Quaker and Lutheran dwelt together in peace if not in fellowship. But they were New Testament men not out of the Old, like the Saints in Massachusetts Bay. They worshiped a God of love rather than a God of wrath.[4]

...Colonial literature reflects at least three processes or developments: (1) the familiar pattern of transplantation and adoption, in this case of English political and legal institutions; (2) the relative freedom from in-

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[3] Supra, p. 10.

[4] Parrington, op. cit., p. 20.

terference which was the result of unsettled problems of political authority in the mother country; and (3) the growth of democracy and local control, usually attributed to the influence of Separatism, which trained humble folk to share in church government. All are well illustrated in the early stages of a long continued conflict between aristocracy and democracy in the Bay Colony.

The aim of John Winthrop and his companions was to found a theocracy. A state of which the head should be God, the fundamental law His word, the Bible. Bradford and Williams reveal in their writings much the same background. From Plymouth, the original Separatist community, we have the Mayflower Compact, earliest of American written constitutions and one of the first political reflections of the development of Calvinism which is called "Covenant" or "Federal" theology.[5]

Nowhere in modern history is there a record of a more educated or a more educable body of people who have gone out from the mother country to found new kingdoms. Every ship brought its quota of divines and learned men, many of whom had been trained in English universities; every vessel returning to England carried an order for more books. And what books! Calvin's Institutes, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Greek and Hebrew texts, etc.[6]

In the very first years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, dissension over jurisdiction and autonomy of churches led to serious controversy....Spearheads in the movement against theocracy were Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, and John Wise. Chief protagonists of theocracy were John Cotton, John Winthrop, Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Samuel Mather. Theirs was the task, as the agents of God in New England, of keeping the refractory and impressionable members of society in line with the principles of law and order--principles designed and determined by the ruling class. Theocracy failed because it could not hold the spirit of independency in check. Royal revocation of the Massachusetts charter in 1692 broke the temporal power of the self-determining oligarchy.

With the decline and fall of the theocratic state,

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[5]Blair, Hornberger, Stewart, The Literature of the United States, p. 11.

[6]Orians, G. Harrison, A Short History of American Literature, p. 2.

the attention of the Puritan priest was directed to other objects, chiefly the maintenance of a sound doctrine and defense of the established creed. The premises upon which the logical superstructure of Puritanism was erected are well known: absolute sovereignty of God, predestination, total depravity, election, damnation of the unregenerate. Added to these were other views equally dogmatic; the infallibility of the Bible, the physical manifestation of God's presence in natural phenomena (lightning, tempest, etc.), trinitarianism. These premises granted, it was easy to build a system of theology as rigorous and inflexible as that which characterized the New England orthodoxy. It was a theology theocentric, dogmatic, coercive, ascetic, and above all, practical for the class-conscious group it was intended to serve.[7]

[7] Ibid., pp. 5, 6.