Calvin’s Institutes of the Christian Religion
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*The Institutes of the Christian Religion* first appeared from a press in Basle in 1536; it was to be Calvin’s *magnum opus*, though at that stage it only occupied six chapters and as a small manual sought to explain the Creed. Calvin was still in his twenty-seventh year, but so mature was his thought and so profound his insight that his basic theology never changed, as Beza his first biographer testifies. He made several revisions, the most important being in 1539, when he expanded the work to seventeen chapters. Most of the revisions he himself translated into French to widen their circulation, until the definitive edition came in 1559, the fourth centenary of which we celebrate this year; but by then his health was failing (it had been permanently broken by overwork in his student days), and he never revised the final translation fully himself.

Calvin was a second generation Reformer, and thus more than the other great Reformers he faced the problem of consolidation. The expansion of *The Institutes* to its final size of four books comprising eighty chapters was due in the main to circumstances which demanded that certain themes be discussed or elaborated. On the one hand Calvin had to deal with the Papists and on the other with the Anabaptists. The latter were an amorphous mixture of anti-Trinitarians, “spirituals,” astrologers, political campaigners, and antipaedobaptists. His training had been providential, for early on he had studied arts in Paris where the famous linguist, Maturin Cordier, helped him form a flowing Latin style. Indeed his style in Latin and French represents a stage in the evolution of both languages, and this must have helped to widen his influence and ensure the permanence of his works. At another college in Paris he grew to know the Schoolmen till his father’s quarrel with the local ecclesiastical authorities led to the removal of the young Calvin to Orleans and then Bourges, where he exchanged the stifling atmosphere of medieval scholasticism for the refreshing air of renaissance humanism. The purpose of the move was to switch from theology to law, but at the same time, under humanist influence, he began to learn Greek with Melchior Wolmar. When we add to all this his Hebrew studies with Bucer and Capito in Strasbourg, and an extensive reading in both classical authors and Church Fathers, it appears that he had the ideal training to be the theologian of the Reformation. He had experienced scholasticism first-hand; he was fluent in the biblical languages; his humanism taught him to go to the original texts of the Bible and the Fathers; his legal training enabled him to gauge issues precisely; his over-all mastery of theology and his prodigious memory made him the complete theologian.

The fact of Calvin’s wide reading does not mean that he was a mere systematizer of other men’s thought. He used his sources extensively, but always his writings are marked by an original touch and a refusal to be tied down to anything except the Scriptures. Among the Fathers, Augustine is Calvin’s favourite, and he quotes from him more and more in *The Institutes* as edition follows edition. He approves much of Augustine’s theology, but he is critical of the details of his exegesis and complains of his allegorizings. Chrysostom is another of his favourite Fathers, and the one he rates highest as an exegete. Bernard of Clairvaux is cited with some frequency, while Peter Lombard comes in for the heaviest criticism.
The immediate aim of *The Institutes* is stated in the Preface which Calvin addressed to the King of France in 1536. It was to instruct his fellow countrymen in a simple and elementary way, and also to present the king with an apologia for the persecuted followers of the Reformed cause. In the second edition he appended a brief epistle to the reader where a further purpose was added: “I may add that my object in this work was to prepare and train students of theology for the study of the sacred volume, so that they might both have an easy introduction to it, and be able to proceed in it, with an unflagging step, seeing I have endeavoured to give such a summary of religion in all its parts, and have digested it into such an order as may make it not difficult for anyone, who is rightly acquainted with it, to ascertain both what he ought principally to look for in Scripture and also to what head he ought to refer whatever is contained in it. Having thus, as it were, paved the way, I shall not feel it necessary, in any commentaries on Scripture which I may afterwards publish, to enter into long discussions of doctrine. . . . In this way the pious reader will be saved much trouble and weariness, provided he comes furnished with a knowledge of the present work as an essential prerequisite.”

*The Institutes* which began as a small devotional manual had grown by 1559 into an apologia for the Reformed cause—“a summary of Christian doctrine and an introduction to the profitable reading both of the Old and New Testament”. “Should any one be unable to comprehend all that is contained in it,” writes Calvin, “he must not, however, give up in despair; but continue always to read on, hoping that one passage will give him a more familiar exposition of another. Above all things, I would recommend that recourse be had to Scripture in considering the proof which I adduce from it.”

He thought of the *Institutes* as indispensable prolegomena to his commentaries, so that the ordinary reader should have a general doctrinal guide which was itself culled from Scripture. In this way he produced a masterly work of systematic theology, and also enhanced the abiding value of his commentaries by avoiding lengthy dogmatic digressions on subjects of contemporary interest, for it was this that made some of the other Reformers so tedious to read.

The measure of Calvin’s success can be seen in the numerous languages into which the work has been translated, and by the fact that four hundred years later editions are still coming out all over the world.

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*The Institutes* open with a discussion on how man may know God and his own self. The Scriptures tell us that by nature each individual possesses a *sensus divinitatis*. This is confirmed by the writings of pagan authors. The fact that idolatry is widespread throughout the world adds a further eloquent testimony to man’s naturally religious nature and his innate desire to worship in spite of the far reaching results of the Fall. Yet frequently men suppress or forget this sense of God, and even His works, which mirror His character, are insufficient to bring men to a true knowledge of God. And so some further manifestation was needed, which God graciously condescended to give in the Holy Scriptures.

The authority of the Scriptures is not established by the Church’s decree, as the Papists maintain, nor by reason, though the antiquity and majesty of Scripture in addition to the
witness of the Church and martyrs in history, “even if not so strong as to produce and rivet a
full conviction in our minds, become most appropriate helps”.

Their authority is based on the Holy Spirit, but in recent years the relation between the Spirit’s testimony and the Bible has been much disputed, and widely differing views have been held. Dr. William Neil hails Luther and Calvin as the founders of the modern critical method. Dr. F. R. Barry describes the same two Reformers as “intoxicated with a crude and fanatical Bibliolatry”. Professor J. K. S. Reid argues that Calvin’s view was that “the Bible conveys the Word of God, but for this very reason is not identical with that Word”. In general M. Niesel and F. Wendel agree. But let us take Professor Reid as one of the most recent examples. He insists that it is wrong to regard the Spirit and God as identical with the words of Scripture. He criticizes A. Dakin or saying that “truth is regarded as fixed and static, capable of being put in the pages of a book and handed down from generation to generation”. Dr. Reid replaces this by a dynamic view of revelation in which the Spirit is continually speaking to people through the living Word of God (which is not identical with the Bible). Scripture is self-authenticating, but it obtains credence with Christians by the Spirit’s testimony.

For moderns there seems to be a permanent danger of reading back into Calvin various later theologies. Professor Reid is right in that Calvin did not teach any rigid theory of inspiration and inerrancy, but on the other hand it is false to find in him the modern Barthian distinction between the Word of God and the words of the Bible. Both views alike are anachronistic. In Calvin’s day neither Papists nor Reformers denied the full authority, inspiration, and inerrancy of the Bible: thus the need had not arisen and nobody thought of formulating a theory of Scripture. The point at issue was its interpretation. The Papists held that the Church was the only true interpreter, the Reformers said it was the Spirit through whom the Bible was interpreted to the individual believer, and the Anabaptists placed the Spirit above Scripture, thereby lapsing at times into extreme subjectivism. H. Denke speaks representatively for them: “I esteem Holy Scripture above all human treasures, but not so highly as the Word of God, which is living, powerful, . . . for as it is God Himself, so it is spirit and not letter, and written without pen or paper, so that it can never be blotted out.”

It seems that Barthian scholars have the note of subjectivism in common with the Anabaptists rather than Calvin, for though they avoid some of the Anabaptist extremes by a Christological qualification when they assert that the Word of God, this dynamic message contained in the Bible, bears witness to Christ, it is difficult to see what sort of a witness it is. If it is a wholly reliable one, then we may equate the Word of God (in their sense) with the Bible: if not, a subjective element appears, which Calvin’s legally trained mind with its strong distrust of human speculation would hardly have approved.

We must beware of confusing two separate works of the Holy Spirit in conjunction with Scripture. First, the Spirit inspires the Bible, though through the human personality of the writer so that we have expressions such as “God speaks through them”, “God gave utterance to them”, “the full authority which the Scriptures ought to possess”, and in Inst. I. vii where the context makes it clear that Calvin is talking about the Bible as a whole, not the Word of God within and distinct from the Bible. He is concerned throughout this chapter with the authority of the Scripture for Christians.

Second, it is the work of the Spirit to apply the Scriptures to the heart of the believer. Certainly the Scriptures in themselves are the work of the Spirit, but they can be heard without the individual realizing their true nature in his heart. Though divinely inspired, they can remain just so much verbiage to the man unenlightened by the Spirit. Thus in Inst. III. ii.
34, a chapter dealing with faith, Calvin says: “Our Saviour, when clearly declaring the mysteries of the kingdom to the two disciples, makes no impression till He opens their minds to understand the Scriptures. Hence also, though He had taught the apostles with His own divine lips, it was still necessary to send the spirit of truth to instil into their minds the same doctrine which they had heard with their ears. The Word is, in regard to those to whom it is preached, like the sun which shines upon all, but is of no use to the blind. In this matter we are all naturally blind; and hence the word cannot penetrate our mind unless the Spirit, that internal teacher, by his enlightening power makes an entrance for it.” Here Calvin deals with the apprehension of the parts of Scripture as they come home to the individual through the Spirit’s work (which elsewhere he shows is primarily as the result of preaching); but this office of the Spirit must not be run into his other one mentioned above.

We may note some wise words of B. A. Gerrish:11 “For Calvin, the whole Bible is the ‘Word of God’. The expressions ‘Scripture says’ and ‘the Holy Spirit says’ are used synonymously (passim).” He points out that the Bible’s authority rests on its character as the verbally inspired “Word of God” dictated by the Spirit, though the use of the term dictare scarcely implies a fully articulated theory of inspiration. Then comes a crucial passage: “It cannot (I think) be maintained that Calvin holds ‘Word’ and ‘Spirit’ together in a kind of dynamic relationship—as though authority were vested, not in the Scriptures per se, but rather in the Spirit ‘speaking through the Scriptures’. This would no doubt, be very congenial to our modern ways of thinking. But Calvin seems to be thinking along other lines. He is concerned to counter the Roman Church’s claim that the authority of Scripture depends upon the testimony of the Church (I. vii. 1-3). . . . In other words, he is concerned with establishing the authority of the Bible as a whole, and it is no accident that the question of ‘canonicity’ is to the fore in section 3.” He then cites E. Dowey with approval.12 “If we should dare the Barthian expression that the Bible ‘becomes’ the word of God in faith, we must confess that it becomes it for Calvin by book-size units.”

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The last hundred years have witnessed a number of ingenious theories about the literary history of the Old Testament, but they have also seen a decline in preaching from it; in consequence congregations today are mostly at a loss as to what to think of much of it. In contrast to our day, Calvin made considerable use of the Old Testament and discussed its relation to the New Testament at some length (Inst. II. vii-xi), and also in connection with the sacraments in Book IV. When writing of the Church he cites the Old Testament repeatedly, and holds that God has never been without His Church right back from Gen. iii. 15. In brief he had a profound sense of the unity of the Bible.

When the fall of Adam radically marred His creation, God caused His redeeming truth to be committed to writing by the Old Testament Fathers that it might stand for all ages, while the doctrine was expanded gradually as time went on. “With this view the Law was promulgated, and the prophets afterwards added as its interpreters. For though the uses of the Law were manifold, the special office assigned to Moses and all the prophets was to teach the method of reconciliation between God and man.” The promise of the covenant of grace was first revealed in all its clarity to Abraham, though there had been less distinct earlier promises. The Law was added four-hundred years later “to keep the chosen people in suspense till His advent, to inflame their desire, and confirm their expectation that they might not become dispirited by the long delay. By the Law I understand . . . the whole system of religion delivered by the hand of Moses “ (Inst. II. vii. I). The ceremonies are mere mockeries unless
they are types and shadows of corresponding truths, and the perfect righteousness set before us in the Law shows man his misery. The promises of the Law are conditional on perfect obedience of which nobody is capable, and thus they drive man to seek the free mercy of God. The Law’s chief use, however, respects believers. First, it enables them to learn daily with greater certainty the will of God, and, second, it exhorts the faithful to obedience. “Even in the case of a spiritual man, inasmuch as he is still burdened with the weight of the flesh, the Law is a constant stimulus, pricking him forward when he would indulge in sloth” (Inst. II. vii. 12). The moral law, epitomized in the ten commandments, teaches duty to God and our fellow men, though it is not the mere elements of righteousness but a perfect standard reflecting God’s own divine purity (II.viii. 51).

The two Testaments are in reality a unity, and Calvin notes three points of agreement in particular. First, the Jews were not to seek temporal blessings as their goal but the hope of immortality and the assurance of adoption. Second, the covenant with them was the same covenant of grace as that with Christians in the New Testament. Third, “they both had and knew Christ the Mediator, by whom they were united to God, and made capable of receiving His promises”. Though Calvin was insistent on the unity of the Testaments against the Marcionite trends of Servetus and Anabaptists, yet he recognized differences also. There were typological elements in the Old Testament with their antitype in the New Testament. The Old Testament was mainly for the Jews, whereas the New Testament was for all men. And the administration of the sacraments was different, though there was one covenant of grace. Such a view has not been kindly received in our age, but, though Calvin upheld dogmatic interpretation of the Old Testament, he rarely forgot the historical context. He and Luther both rejected medieval allegorizings, but the difference was that sometimes Luther relapsed into them, whereas Calvin did not. Indeed, Calvin could even criticize orthodox Reformers who found recondite proof of the Trinity in the plural Hebrew word for God, Elohim. Before we reject his views, we do well to consider whether he is doing more than the New Testament does with the Old Testament. Much modern thought may reject him, but a rather similar pattern appears in the work of Professor W. Vischer, and the movement of other writers is in the same direction.

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The exposition of the doctrine of man and salvation in Book II draws from Calvin a balanced and lucid presentation interspersed with some of his most majestic passages, and it can rarely have been surpassed. All the Persons of the Trinity are active in the plan of redemption, and he writes of them as a man who trembled before God’s holiness and bowed in adoration at the greatness of His mercy.

Man was created in God’s image, excelling in noble endowments, able not only to govern his earthly life but also to rise up to God and eternal happiness. He was given free will to choose eternal life if he wished, but when Adam fell he lost this and became miserably enslaved to sin. That bondage and corruption extends to all mankind and to every aspect of each individual man so that he is under the wrath of God from his earliest moments. His nature is perverted throughout, and he is hopelessly and irretrievably lost. The faculty of willing still remains, but always his choice is motivated by self-centeredness and sin, and even those actions which appear noblest in pagans are inwardly marred by wrong motives. It is indeed a terrible picture of man in sin, though based at each stage on the Bible and backed up by patristic quotations, especially from Augustine. Calvin follows this great Father closely in his
understanding of the Fall, as did the other Reformers, but he is free from Augustine’s notion of grace being largely tied to the sacraments.

As man deliberately and positively wills in a sinful direction and is a responsible being, he stands guilty before a holy God. Yet at the same time, without the prevenient grace of God, he is powerless to move a step nearer his salvation. In refuting the idea that in good works preparatory to salvation, God does part and man does the rest, Calvin argues cogently that it is all of God. “The first part of a good work is the will, the second is vigorous effort in the doing of it. God is the author of both. It is, therefore, robbery from God to arrogate anything to ourselves, either in the will or the act. Were it said that God gives assistance to the weak will, something might be left us; but when it is said that He makes the will, everything good in it is placed without us. Moreover, since even a good will is still weighed down by the burden of the flesh, and prevented from rising, it is added that, to meet the difficulties of the contest, God supplies the persevering effort until the effect is obtained.”

In dealing with God’s answer to the plight of man, Calvin first portrays the person of Christ along orthodox Chalcedonian lines and then turns to His work. This he expounds under His three offices of prophet, priest, and king, though it may be, as J. F. Jansen suggests, that his main stress is on priest and king. Certainly the prophetic office is the least emphasized, and appears for the most part delegated to the apostles in their preaching. It finds its ultimate outworking in Calvin’s repeated reference to the ministerial office of preaching which was very highly esteemed. To hold it a man needed to have a clear call from God, for Calvin did not so interpret the priesthood of all believers as to allow anyone who felt like it to expound the Word.

As our Mediator, Christ has fulfilled the claims of the Law for us by His life of obedience to it, culminating in a death He on no account deserved. His death was a triumph over sin and its curse, and over evil powers. That the element of substitution is essential to Calvin’s understanding of His work is shown by Dr. P. van Buren, or by the Reformer himself: “Thus we perceive Christ representing the character of a sinner and a criminal, while at the same time His innocence shines forth, and it becomes manifest that He suffers for another’s and not His own crime. He therefore suffered under Pontius Pilate, being thus by the formal sentence of the judge ranked among criminals, and yet He is declared innocent by the same judge, when he affirms that he finds no cause of death in Him. Our acquittal is in this—that the guilt which made us liable to punishment was transferred to the head of the Son of God (Is. iii. 12). We must specially remember this substitution in order that we may not be all our lives in trepidation and anxiety, as if the just vengeance which the Son of God transferred to Himself were still impending over us.” This extract shows us Calvin’s understanding of the depths to which Christ went to redeem man, and also his concern, which is characteristic of all his writing, although frequently forgotten today, to relate biblical doctrine to the daily life of the Christian.

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The application of salvation to the elect of God is the task of the Spirit, whose principle work is the implanting of faith in the heart. The theology of the Spirit is one of Calvin’s contributions to Christian thought: never before had it been worked out so fully or so masterfully, and it is not without significance that his spiritual heirs in England, the Puritans, were in our land the theologians par excellence of the Spirit.
Repeatedly Calvin is concerned to ascribe all the glory of salvation to God alone. He writes of man’s rising up and God doing something to restrain it or beat it down, and this fact shows us a side of the Geneva theologian’s character not often remembered. Behind a confident dogmatic exterior, which typified all writers of those days, lay a deep humility. He did have a sharp temper, which must have been greatly aggravated by lifelong ill health, and for which he apologized with touching sincerity on occasions; but he perceived the strict limitations of man’s wisdom. This led him to deplore speculation of any sort, and to relegate the learning of the greatest pagan philosophers to a minor role. Holding with the other Reformers that Scripture was perspicuous under the illumination of the Spirit, he believed the main outlines of Christian doctrine were plain, but he did not replace the infallible Pope, whom he had rejected, with an infallible interpretation of the Bible given by himself. It is wrong to suggest, as has been done, that de facto he replaced the Pope himself. What he really did was to replace the Pope by the Spirit speaking authoritatively through the Bible, and always he himself sought to sit under the Bible. “Our true wisdom is to embrace with meek docility and without reservation, whatever the Holy Scriptures have delivered” (Inst. I. xviii). His commentaries show that he was quite prepared to leave ambiguous verses open, though usually he stated his own preference, while allowing others to disagree.

Just as he sought to sit under the authority of God in the Bible, so he saw God as having all the glory in the salvation of man, and the glory belonged to the whole Trinity. Calvin was the first to work out a thoroughgoing Trinitarian view of salvation, and this was one of his great contributions: the Father planned that salvation, the Son executed it, and the Spirit applied it. It was the first of these, and his general concern for a religion that centred the glory on God alone, that led Calvin to insist vigorously on predestination and election, and to include it significantly under the heading of redemption. In his later years he had to defend this doctrine against the attacks of Pighius and some of the second generation Lutherans. Doumerc, who did such monumental work on Calvin, concludes predestination was the keystone of his theology. His enemies all down the ages have pilloried him as a predestinarian ogre; but most agree today that predestination, though important in his theology, was not its centre. He never viewed the doctrine as the arbitrary decree of a capricious God, but insisted on it because he found it in the Bible and realized that it was basic not only to the assurance of the Christian but also to the glory of God revealed in His plan of salvation.

Once more his concern for a God-centred religion and its practical outworking for Christians is manifest in his doctrine of election and predestination. B. A. Gerrish again puts it well: “Calvin believes in the double decree only because he finds it forced upon him by the Word of God. He accordingly addresses some severe remarks to ‘two classes of men’: the ‘curious’, who want to know more than God has been pleased to reveal; and the ‘reticent’ who are willing to keep silent about what God has revealed”. Those who dislike his teaching must reject it on his own ground—the Bible. In his autobiographical Preface to his commentary on the Psalms Calvin himself speaks of those who alleged that he made God the author of sin, but this he scorns, and his comments, in Inst. III. xxi. 1-3 and on Rom. ix. 14 when introducing the subject of predestination, make it clear that he himself found the doctrine in Scripture.

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In Book IV i-ii Calvin notes that the Bible speaks of the Church in two ways. First, “as it really is before God,” made up of those who, by the gift of adoption, are sons of God and, by the sanctification of the Spirit, are true members of Christ, and this invisible Church includes
the elect from the beginning of the world. Then again the Bible speaks of a universal Church professing to worship God. Its members are “initiated by baptism into the faith, by partaking of the Lord’s Supper profess unity in true doctrine and charity, agree in holding the Word of the Lord, and observe the ministry which Christ has appointed for the preaching of it” (Inst. IV. i. 7). This visible Church, which contains true believers and hypocrites, is marked by the ministry of the Word and the administration of the two Gospel Sacraments. Where these signs are, a true Church exists, and God will always bless, though the fruit does not always appear at once. Calvin, moreover, was a great churchman and was much concerned to preserve the unity of the Church. He rebuked the Anabaptists who left the Church simply because of the moral failings of some of its members. He lamented that such discipline which was known in apostolic times was sadly lacking in his day, and indeed so insistent was he on this point that he fought a long battle with one of the Geneva Councils, which he knew to be Reformed in name but not in life, for the Church’s right to impose her own discipline: only after years of struggle did he triumph over the Libertine-dominated Council. Discipline was needed throughout the whole Church that God might not be insulted by Christians who shame and dishonour His Church, that the good might not be corrupted, and that the offender might be ashamed and repent. The chief penalties were suspension from the Lord’s Table and excommunication. A further discipline was reserved for the clergy alone to keep them pure in doctrine and life.

On the ministry of the Church, Calvin held that only pastors and teachers answering to the five offices mentioned in Eph. iv. 2 were normative for Church life throughout the centuries. The pastor was the most important, with preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments as his chief task. The teacher was to interpret the Scriptures and ensure sound doctrine. From other texts he added the order of elders, who were to deal with Church discipline in conjunction with the pastors, and deacons who were to care for the poor and attend to the money. It may be of current interest to point out that he did not disapprove of bishops, provided they kept to their New Testament position and function, which he expounded in Inst. IV. iv.

The Papists had loudly proclaimed that Rome was the real Church and the Reformers were schismatics, but Calvin was able to show that the Papacy was no Church at all, since it had perverted both Word and Sacraments. The Roman claim to a perpetual succession of Bishops failed the historical test as the Greeks who also claimed a perpetual succession of Bishops had been unchurched by the Papists, and doctrinally it was vain since they did not uphold the truth of Christ. The unity of the Church is governed by the Word of God, so that where that is not “it is not a union of believers but a faction of the ungodly” (Inst. IV. ii. 5). Separation was only justified when there was a complete lapse from the worship of God and the preaching of the Word—in fact when a true church had ceased to exist. Since the Papacy does not stand the test of a true church the charge of schism is easily refuted.

This survey of but a few of Calvin’s great contributions to theology in his Institutes of Christian Religion has necessarily been selective. There has been no space to examine his doctrines of the Trinity, the work of the Spirit, the sacraments, the deeply devotional section on the Christian life, and many others. Yet perhaps there has been enough to turn us again to the Genevan Reformer, whose relevance for our day has been noted elsewhere in this issue by Professor J. Cadier. When Professor T. F. Torrance writes18 that “it is now apparent, as we look back over the last four-hundred years, that to John Calvin must be ascribed the honour of being the father of modern theology”, we are not sure Calvin would recognize all his posterity, but we can be grateful that some of his emphases are slowly being rediscovered. It
may be the theological world is beginning to understand afresh why Philip Melanchthon used to call the author of *The Institutes* “The Theologian”.

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Endnotes:

1) Preface to the 1545 French edition.

2) *Ins.*, I, viii, 1.

3) *The Rediscovery of the Bible*.


5) *The Authority of Scripture* (1958), Ch. 2.


8) *Calvinism*, p. 190, cited by Reid on p. 42.

9) For a brief recent statement of this case, see H. D. McDonald’s *Ideas of Revelation* (1959).

10) *The Interpretation of the Bible*, p. 71.


12) *The Knowledge of God in Calvin’s Theology* (1952), p. 120.


14) See, e.g., *Christ in Our Place* (1957); p. 142.

15) B. B. Warfield even calls Calvin “the theologian of the Holy Spirit”, in Calvin as a Theologian.

16) Those who still believe the popular fallacy of Calvin as a proud autocrat should read the last part of Beza’s *Life of Calvin*.

17) *Loc. cit*.

18) In his Introduction to the new edition of Calvin’s *Tracts* (1959).