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ART. I. *The Life of William Farel, prepared from original authorities*, by Melchior Kirchhofer, Minister at Stein on the Rhine, in the Canton Schaffhausen, &c. Vol. I. Zurich, 1831. 8vo.*

THE lives of some men are an integral part of history; and of none is this statement more emphatically true than of the Reformers. Notwithstanding its immediate and ulterior effects, the Reformation is an event which has not yet been fairly estimated by the world. The time is coming when this mighty revolution will be seen to surpass, in every attribute of grandeur, all political convulsions put together; and when those who were the instruments of bringing it about, will, by general consent, take precedence of all who have been recognised as heroes. In the mean time, it is pleasant to extend our knowledge of their personal history, especially in the case of some, with the details of whose biography we have not been familiar. Among these we may reckon that impetuous thunderbolt, and terror of the papists,

* Das Leben Wilhelm Farel's, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, von Melchior Kirchhofer, Pfarrer zu Stein am Rhein, Cantons Schaffhausen, Mitglied der Schweizerischen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern und korrespondirendes Mitglied der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Geschichtskunde zu Freyburg im Breisgau.

Guillaume Farel. The accounts of his life, which we have seen before, are lamentably meager, yielding just enough to kindle a desire of knowing more. We were, therefore, not a little, pleased to find, that his biography had fallen into able, diligent, and friendly hands. The volume now before us was a contribution to the solemnities of a *Reformationsfest* at Neuenburg in 1830. We at first intended to defer our notice of it, till the work should be complete; but as the preface leaves it doubtful whether the public authorities would suffer its completion, we shall present our readers with an abstract of the information thus far furnished.

Our author has been able to add very little to the facts already known respecting Farel's infancy and early education. That he was born at Gap, in Dauphiny, of respectable parents, in the year 1489, and brought up in the strictest principles of popery, is about the sum of what we know in relation to this period of his life; to which we may add the conjecture of our author that the physical peculiarities of Farel's native region helped to form the distinctive features of his character.

In 1512 we find him studying at Paris, where his religious prejudices gained new strength. It is well known, that the philosophy then taught was suited rather to darken than enlighten. The theologians of that famous University appear to have waged perpetual war against refinement, taste, and elegant literature. The great principle, which they inculcated, was submission to the church. Under such instruction, Farel's prepossessions soon became more deeply radicated. To all the monstrous superstitions of the papacy he was devotedly attached. The worship of the saints and monastic austerities he looked upon as fundamental parts of Christianity. In these delusions, he was encouraged and confirmed, not only by the precepts, but the uniform example of his instructor, Jacob Faber. It was in vain, however, that the young man sought, in midnight darkness and absurd observances, for something to satisfy his undefined desires. He felt the need of knowledge, which was furnished neither by the subtilties of Aristotle, nor the Legends of the Saints. This vague feeling of dissatisfaction drove him to the Scriptures; but the light which they imparted was too painful for him. Startled to find how widely his teachers differed from the oracles of God, he tried to banish his uneasiness by a belief, that the true sense of Scripture was not obvious, but latent. This device, however, though sufficient to retain him in his shackles, could not make him love them as he did before. The duties which he once performed with enthusiastic cheerfulness, he now merely toiled through, with a doubtful mind. The glimmering spark had been enkindled, which was soon to shoot up in a strong, clear flame.

This consummation was accelerated by the secret influence of his revered instructor Faber. Even while they continued to unite in their addresses to the Virgin and the Saints, the old man would sometimes say with solemn significancy, "God is about to renovate the world, and you are to be a witness of it." Faber's very devotion to the Saints had begun to correct itself. In his zeal for their honour, he resolved to write their lives. The close contact into which this brought him with their history was made the means of opening his eyes. Rejecting in disgust these childish forgeries, he addressed himself with ardour to the study of the Bible. The similar pursuits of some, and the opposition of others among his colleagues, only quickened his progress till he reached the conclusion—"We will hold fast to the *certain*, and let the *doubtful* go." This change in the teacher could not be without its influence upon a pupil, who had been confirmed in error by respect for him. It was not long before Farel had obtained a satisfactory conviction of that fundamental truth, that God alone is to be worshipped. It was in reference to this auspicious change in his opinions, that he uttered that memorable sentiment, confirmed by all experience: "To a devotee of popery the discovery of its corruptions is so bitter and unbearable,* that it would drive him either to despair or madness, were it not for the delightful doctrine of redemption through a Saviour, which begins to dawn upon him." There is something deeply affecting in the struggle which succeeded these discoveries. We have read of seamen, who, though giving satisfactory proofs of their conversion, were long unable to renounce their awful habits of profanity, but went on swearing, and weeping over every oath, till they were brought off conquerors. We were forcibly reminded of this fact, by the touching simplicity with which Farel tells how difficult he found it to exclude the Saints from all his supplications, and address them all to God. In process of time, however, he renounced every vestige of idolatry, his new opinions gaining strength with every step of his researches into ecclesiastical history. He now applied himself with ardour to the study of Greek and Hebrew, and his biographer here directs attention to the erroneous statement made by certain writers, that Farel was illiterate. This is so far from being true, that Calvin proposed him as a Professor at Lausanne on the ground of his proficiency in Hebrew learning.

As might have been expected, his rejection of popish idolatry was soon succeeded by an entire rejection of all pomp and ceremonial in the worship of God. The mummeries of the mass and

* "—so bitter and unerträglich," p. 8.

other public offices, began to appear in their true character, as mere juggling tricks and incantations; and his soul now thirsted for the beautiful simplicity of undefiled religion. The natural result of these momentous changes was an express abandonment of popery, attended with a deep abhorrence of its abominations, and a bitter repentance on account of his own participation in them. The very depth of his previous devotion to the Apostate Church increased his subsequent hostility, and, by calling forth the native strength of his emotions, made him the Boanerges of the Reformation. With such views and feelings, when he looked at the condition of society around him, and as yet had no conception of the means by which a change could be effected, nothing less than the faith of an apostle, and the courage of a martyr, could have saved him from despair. The influence of Faber, and the reputation earned by Farel's diligence, procured him a situation in the college of Le Moine at Paris; an appointment highly creditable from the fact, that none but men of merit were promoted to it. Among his successors in the college may be mentioned the distinguished names of Muretus, Turnebus, and Buchanan. On leaving this situation, which he filled with credit for a short time, he accepted an appointment offered him by Briconet, Bishop of Meaux, who had made himself conspicuous by his avowed attachment to evangelical doctrines, and the zealous discharge of his pastoral functions. The venerable Faber had already been driven, by the vexations which he suffered from his colleagues, to take refuge with the Bishop, and had been followed or accompanied by other men of learning, who were likewise suspected of heretical opinions. The difficulties in which Farel was involved at Paris, in consequence of the notorious change in his belief, made him very willing to assist the Bishop in his churches and his schools. He here enjoyed the society of many zealous and sincere inquirers after truth, some of whom were afterwards distinguished labourers in the work of reformation. In this society, the Scriptures were acknowledged as the only infallible standard of religious truth, and the Bishop, as well as his co-adjutors, preached, without reserve, that any doctrine not there taught was false. It was at this time, and in this situation, that Faber translated the Gospels into French; which, in conjunction with the effect produced upon the income of the mendicant friars by the labours of Briconet, excited an opposition on the part of those religious swindlers, which resulted in a serious persecution. One of the *heretics* was branded in the forehead, and the rest were scattered. A chasm of some months in the chain of documentary materials leaves it doubtful whether Farel went from Meaux to Paris, or to Metz, or to his native country. He is

known to have been in Dauphiny not long after this event, proclaiming the new doctrines in the teeth of an episcopal interdict, though not himself a priest, nor indeed even a member of the church. It was not till afterwards, however, that he assumed the character of a regular public preacher. Nor was he the first to introduce the evangelical doctrines into Dauphiny. One of his pupils and two of his own brothers had planted them there before him. This pupil, the Chevalier Anemund de Coet, was now gone into Switzerland, to escape persecution, and visit the Reformers there. He was soon followed by Farel, leaving the incipient Reformation to be prosecuted by a Minorite, named Peter de Seville, priest at Grenoble, who, in spite of threats and opposition, continued, with a heroic spirit, to sustain the banner of the cross.

The fame of Zuingli and the other Swiss reformers, and the kind reception which they gave to foreigners, encouraged the persecuted heretics of France to take refuge in a country where conscience and opinion were comparatively free. Farel's first visit was to Basle, which enjoyed great reputation, from the presence of Erasmus, some of whose writings were at this time in the press there, as well as from the successful labours of Oecolampadius in behalf of Gospel truth. The fame of Farel went before him, so that on his arrival he was recognised at once as a Reformer, and cordially received by Oecolampadius into his own family. In Basle, he had the happiness to meet with many refugees from France, and among the rest his friend the Chevalier Anemund, whose visit had confirmed him in his resolution to devote his property and talents wholly to the service of religion.

The state of things in Basle, at this juncture, was extremely interesting. The calmness and gentleness displayed by Oecolampadius in his disputations, had exalted him in public opinion and increased his influence. There were two other circumstances which excited a deep interest in his polemic, or rather apologetic, exercises. One was that they were wholly free from scholastic subtilities; the other that they were performed, not in Latin, but in the vulgar tongue. A number of the people, and a majority of the magistrates, appeared disposed to favour his opinions. On the other hand, the members of the University were violent and bitter in their opposition. So far however had the Reformers gone, that in a public disputation they had vindicated the marriage of priests before a numerous assembly. Encouraged by these examples, Farel modestly requested leave from the Regents of the University to defend certain theses, which he had prepared, but was refused. He then applied to the Council of the city, who at once gave him leave to hold a public disputation. The Regents

now prevailed upon the Vicar of the diocese to forbid the attendance of any priest, student, or office-bearer in the University, at Farel's exhibition. The council, regarding this as an encroachment on their powers, issued a counter-manifesto, not inviting merely, but requiring, priests and students to be present at the time and place appointed. Farel's theses, though they recognised all the fundamental principles of the Reformation, had reference chiefly to religious freedom and the paramount authority of Scripture, which they asserted in modest but intrepid language. The details of this debate are not on record; but we know that the impression, which it made upon the people, was powerful and lasting. The learning and piety, combined with zeal and courage, which appeared in Farel upon this occasion, gained him the confidence of all who loved the truth. Oecolampadius speaks of him to Luther as fully competent to fight the whole Sorbonne. From this contest we may date his intimate and uninterrupted friendship, not only with Oecolampadius, but with Conrad Pelican, and other kindred spirits, who, while they warned him of his characteristic faults, regarded him as an invaluable addition to the little band of champions for the truth.

For some months after his public appearance as a disputant, Farel was occupied in visiting different parts of Switzerland, forming acquaintances and friendships which continued till his death. But in proportion as he rose in the estimation of one party, he of course lost the favour of the other. Between him and Erasmus, in particular, there arose a strong dislike. That distinguished character, although he affected moderation and neutrality, had been alienated from the friends of reformation, by the chastisement which he had received from one or two of them in print. The indifference, therefore, which he might have felt towards Farel on his first arrival, was not likely to be turned into regard, by the neglect with which the latter treated him. The truth is, that Farel came to Basle strongly prejudiced against him. The treatment which his own instructor Faber had received in a literary controversy with Erasmus, had made an unfavourable impression, which was much increased by his equivocal position in relation to the church and the Reformers. Farel was never able or desirous to disguise his feelings, and he therefore paid no court on his arrival to Erasmus. The great man's pride was wounded by this seeming superciliousness, and not much soothed by what he heard of Farel's private conversation through his gossiping acquaintances. It seems that with a characteristic recklessness, the open hearted Frenchman uttered sarcasms, which were afterwards reported to the subject of them. He said once, for example, that Erasmus knew less of theology

than the printer Froben's wife; and more than once asserted, that Erasmus knew the truth, but was afraid to own it. A still greater offence was his comparing Erasmus to the prophet Balaam, who was bribed to curse God's people, in allusion to the treatise *de Libero Arbitrio*, which was written at the pope's request, against the author's will and judgment. This last was so galling to Erasmus, that he personally asked an explanation, and on learning that this bitter jest did not originate with Farel, he turned the conversation, and began to dispute about the invocation of saints, and other controverted matters. Of this conversation, the two parties gave accounts entirely different, each charging the other with misrepresentation. It seems, however, that Erasmus got so little satisfaction from it, that he sorely repented of his having given rise to it, and even attempted to make others believe, that he had never honoured Farel with his notice. It soon appeared, that his influence at Basle was too strong for the resistance of a stranger, and the quarrel ended in Farel's departure, by direction of the magistrates. It deserves to be mentioned, as a characteristic circumstance, that Erasmus, even while affecting great indifference to Farel, laboured hard to blacken and belittle him in his correspondence; whereas Farel, though he spoke so unadvisedly with his lips, seldom mentioned Erasmus in his letters, and at no time disrespectfully. This single fact speaks volumes.

After a short visit to Strasburg, and a vain attempt to return to Basle, Farel obtained permission from the Duke of Wurtemberg to preach the gospel at Montbelliard (or, as the Germans write it, Mumpelgard,) where that Prince resided after his ejection from his own dominions. So far as history affords us any light, it would appear that Farel was a mere lay preacher. It was in compliance with the strong solicitations of Oecolampadius, that he undertook to preach at all, but that wise and holy man does not seem to have considered any outward ordination either requisite or proper in the existing state of ecclesiastical affairs. His ministrations were not long without effect upon the people, and the Duke himself appeared completely won. He had very soon, however, to encounter opposition. A dignitary of the order of Franciscans rose in the church at Montbelliard, gave the lie to Farel's statements, and accused him of damnable heresy. In the contest which ensued, and which our author records with some minuteness, both Prince and people were on Farel's side, so that it ended in the Franciscan's making a public recantation and apology before the congregation, and subscribing a paper to the same effect. This result very naturally quickened Farel's zeal and courage, so that all the influence of his wiser friends at Basle

was not able to restrain him from occasional excesses. The correspondence on this subject presents Oecolampadius in a highly favourable point of view. The beautiful conjunction of devoted zeal, with heavenly wisdom and the milk of human kindness in his character, are set off to advantage by the tempestuous ardour of his bolder, but less prudent friend. Farel's intrepidity and promptitude, however, often wrought the best effects; as was seen in the discomfiture of a juggling friar who came among the people with an assortment of choice relics, but soon found it prudent to transfer them to some other market.

In the midst of his pastoral labours, Farel not only maintained a constant correspondence with his friends at Meaux and Basle, but, in compliance with the wishes of Oecolampadius, he became an author. His first publication* was designed for the instruction of his flock, and was shortly followed by a number of small treatises, the most of which have perished. His friend and colleague Gailling, the court preacher, having been removed in consequence of an application from the Swiss confederacy, Farel was under the necessity of doing all the duties of a minister himself, though even his friends were dubious with respect to the propriety of his administering the sacraments. He continued to do so, however, with the approbation of Oecolampadius, till he left Montbelliard, which he did not long after the departure of the Duke. The immediate cause of his removal is said to have been a violent attack upon a procession in honour of the relics of St. Anthony, though most of the circumstances stated by some writers, as, for instance, his throwing the image of the saint into the water, seem to rest upon a mere tradition. One thing is certain, however, that he continued ever after to cherish a warm affection for his ancient flock.

The sixth chapter of the work before us contains a very interesting statement of the effects produced upon the French and Swiss reformers, by Luther's violent opposition to the Zuinglian doctrine with respect to the Lord's Supper. The extracts from the correspondence show that on the part of those who rejected consubstantiation, there was a moderation and desire of unity very unlike the bitter zeal of their opponents. Of this disposition nothing could be stronger proof than the fact that even the impetuous Farel, in his letters to the adverse party, was conciliatory, moderate, and mild. At the same time, he was exceedingly dissatisfied with those of his own party who continued to connive at popish idolatry in any form or measure. With increased ear-

* Sommaire; c'est une brève déclaration d'aucuns lieux fort nécessaires à un chacun Chrestien, pour mettre sa confiance en Dieu et à ayder son prochain.

ness, he urged Conrad Pellican to lay aside his sacerdotal vestments, and give over saying mass, until he finally prevailed.

After a short visit to Basle, Farel turned his attention to the district of Aelen, which extends from the Alps to the vineyards of the Rhone. In this region, which was at that time under the government of Berne, he had an opportunity of preaching in his own tongue to a people who had never heard the unadulterated Gospel. He accordingly procured a temporary appointment to instruct the people, which was afterwards rendered permanent by the authorities of Berne. While here, he wrote three letters to Natalis Galeot, of Lausanne, for the purpose of gaining him over to the side of Reformation. His first two letters were unnoticed, and the third received a bitter and contemptuous answer. Soon after he assailed a mendicant friar, who had denounced him and his hearers from the pulpit, and insisted on his uttering a public recantation; and about the same time made an attempt, by letter, to convert the Nuns in the convent of St. Clare, at Vevay, but without effect. In the mean time, he diligently studied all the controversial writings of the day, still adhering to Zuingle on the sacramental question, though he did not hesitate to find fault with the scholastic style of his arguments, as likely to impair their popular effect. He also corresponded with Bucer, Capito, and Bertold Haller, on the leading topics of dispute at that time, freedom of will, and the abrogation of the law. On the latter subject he appears to have used unguarded language, perhaps in consequence of his desire to counteract the undue stress laid by the Anabaptists upon mere external rites.

In 1528, the famous conference of Berne took place between the Reformed and Popish clergy. The immediate result was a determination by the magistrates of Berne to reform the Church within their territory. The disorders which ensued appeared to place Farel in his congenial element. Oecolampadius, who had held the reins of friendly influence so tight while Farel was at Montbelliard and Basle, relaxed them altogether when he saw him placed in circumstances, where decision was essential, and timorous discretion could do little good. He exhorted him, therefore, to be very courageous, and his counsel was not slighted. Through a series of conflicts and commotions almost ludicrous, the fearless missionary fought his way to conquest. Though we cannot approve of the despotic measures which were used in this case to reform religion, it is impossible not to admire the spirit with which Farel acted his part. With all the zeal of an old Iconoclast, he broke down images, subverted altars, and swept away every vestige of idolatrous observance. This violence the

bigoted commonalty repaid with interest. Not only was he rudely interrupted in his preaching, but the very pulpit was thrown down in which he stood, and more than once he was severely flogged by parties both of men and women. With our ideas of religious freedom, it is impossible to look upon his conduct with unmingled approbation, for it must be remembered that he was not aiding his own converts to resist oppression, but compelling those who would not be converted, to submit. The wonder is, that his attempts were so successful. His impetuous onset having broken the courage of the popish clergy, and removed the outward insignia of corruption, the more prudent measures of the government succeeded in disarming animosity and restoring peace. This victory was no sooner known abroad, than coadjutors poured in from the adjoining countries, so that Farel in a short time found the district into which he had introduced the Reformation, supplied, in a great measure, with religious teachers. As might have been supposed, however, these were not all faithful shepherds, and the zealous Reformer had occasion to speak bitterly of many, who, instead of feeding the flock of Christ, had only trodden down the pastures and defiled the waters.

One chapter of the work before us is filled with a detailed account of Farel's missions, or excursions into adjacent districts, for the purpose of promoting the Reformation, under the patronage of the magistrates at Berne. The latter seem to have entertained far juster views than he with respect to freedom of conscience, and the proper mode of propagating truth. It was not without reason that they plied him continually with admonitory letters. For, notwithstanding their repeated directions, that he should only preach where a majority were willing to hear him, and shake off the dust of all other places from him, his native disposition very often got the better of his judgment. He not only preached without permission, and in the face of opposition, both popular and ecclesiastical, but in one case burst forth even while the priest was saying mass, in such a powerful appeal, that the people, papists as they were, rose and threw the altar down. The light in which he was regarded by the popish priests and people, may be gathered from the fact, that his familiar name among them was *Der Luther*,* a title which the fame of the German heretic and popular credulity had invested with more terrors at a distance, than it wore in Wittenberg. The particulars of Farel's labours at this period scarcely admit of any abstract or abridgment. The eleventh chapter exhibits a most ex-

* The Luther.

traordinary picture of his deeds and sufferings in the cause of Reformation. Under the patronage of the government of Berne, he undertook a sort of *general agency* throughout the circumjacent region, for the purpose of decrying popery and recommending truth. His *modus operandi* seems, to modern eyes, extremely strange. It appears to have been his practice to ascend the pulpit whenever he could, often in the very midst of some religious ceremony, and never to preach in private houses or the open air when he could possibly get access to the church. On the other hand, he did not hesitate, when popish priests were preaching, to interrupt the sermon, and refute them on the spot. These extraordinary measures very naturally led to extraordinary remedies. When he could not be prevented from mounting the pulpit, it was usual, in those places where the opposition was zealous, to prevent his being heard by means of hissing, shrieks, and loud vociferation. His policy, in such cases, was very calmly to continue his discourse without appearing to be conscious of the least disturbance, till the people, weary of exertion, or astonished at his self-command, gave over their attempts to silence him. As soon as he perceived that the assembly was comparatively tranquil, he gave vent to his emotions in a thunder storm of eloquence. When allowed to proceed thus far, he seldom failed to influence the mass of those who heard him. But in many cases, when the tumult was found insufficient to arrest his progress, bodily violence was resorted to; and he was dragged from the pulpit, beaten, kicked, and trampled on. In these strong defensive measures (for, in almost every case, Farel was, according to our notions, the aggressor,) women and children were actively employed. The latter were employed to sing, shout, scream, and hiss. The former did a large part of the personal violence. More than once our reformer was in danger of destruction by the hands of female bigots, who tore his hair from his head, and disfigured him by furious laceration. After one of these engagements he returned to his home, at Murten, vomiting blood, and almost destitute of strength. Yet, strange to tell, instead of growing weary or dispirited, he seemed to gather courage from defeat, and solemnly declared, that, if the friends of Reformation would be as brave in its behalf as papists in behalf of popery, the work would soon be done. In some of the places visited by Farel, during the period in question, his efforts seemed to be entirely unsuccessful; yet, in almost all of them he reaped, eventually, an abundant harvest. As in one case, the blood which he lost in an encounter, stained the walls of the cathedral where it happened, and continued there for years, so, in many others, the impression of his preaching, though not visi-

ble at first, was deep and permanent. He afterwards enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing, as his brethren and helpers in the Gospel ministry, some of his most bigoted and virulent opposers. Sometimes, indeed, he had the happiness of finding, in the midst of darkness, those who already loved the light. At Orbe, where he had well nigh lost his life, and where his labours seemed entirely ineffectual, he succeeded in prevailing on a young man who had embraced the new opinions, while a student at Paris, and was now living in retirement, to become a preacher. This man was Peter Viret; and we might add other names, though less distinguished, to the list of those whom he was the means of introducing to the Gospel ministry, during this eventful period. One unpleasant consequence of his incessant labours and unsettled life, at this time, was the interruption of his correspondence. "If my father were alive" said he, "I could not write to him." His friends, however, did not cease to write to him, particularly Zuingle. One circumstance in his correspondence with this eminent reformer has a melancholy interest for all who love his memory. He wrote to Farel, charging him not to expose his life without necessity, but rather to preserve it for the service of his Master. Farel, who seems to have been wholly without fear of any fatal issue, thanked him kindly for his advice, but added, "My life is in less danger than your own." When the letters which contained these words reached Zurich, he, to whom it was addressed had fallen, and, by a singular providence, had fallen in battle. All the details of this eleventh chapter would be deeply interesting to the Christian public, and are highly worthy of an English dress.

Early in the year 1531, Farel attended the Synod held at Berne, where he had the pleasure of meeting with many of his friends and fellow labourers, and of co-operating with them in the work of Reformation. At this Synod, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to visit the Waldenses, who had previously manifested a desire to know what the recent revolution in the Church of Rome might mean. To discharge this duty, Farel was appointed in conjunction with another, and they accordingly went into the valleys of Piedmont, caused a Synod to be assembled, and delivered the message with which they were entrusted by the Swiss reformers. In compliance with their urgent exhortations, the Waldenses determined to abandon every semblance of popish corruption, both in doctrine and worship. And to this resolution they adhered, notwithstanding the expostulations of the Bohemian brethren, occasioned by the unfair statements of a few dissatisfied Waldenses. Convinced that true religion could not flourish in Piedmont, without the means of education, Farel

urged them to establish schools, and undertook to send them teachers, which he afterwards performed.

The next attempt of the adventurous Reformer was upon Geneva. Zuingle had before directed his attention to that city, and he was resolved to take it in his way as he returned to Berne. Though the doctrines of the Reformation had already been embraced by some among the Genevese, and though a few were labouring in secret for their propagation there, the public sentiment was all the other way. The members of the Senate were opposed to change, and the people were kept in darkness by the influence of a clergy, unsurpassed by any throughout Europe in bigotry, ignorance, and disgusting profligacy. Though the credentials, which the strangers brought from Berne, commanded some respect among the members of the government, they had no such effect upon the clergy. Such, indeed, was their malignant dread of the famous *Priest-Scourge*,* that, in order to get rid of him, they formed a plot so dark and diabolical, that, in the absence of strong proof, it would be thought incredible. Under the pretext of an amicable conference, they invited Farel and his comrade, Saunier, to the house of the vicar of the Diocese. There they were received with gross abuse and malediction by a company of ecclesiastics, every one of whom was secretly provided with a weapon. His escape from the foul ambush, the particulars of which are minutely stated by our author, can only be referred to that wise Providence, which still had great things to accomplish by his agency. It was evident, however, that mere courage was of no avail against perfidious malice, and that, therefore, in the existing state of things, Geneva was no place for Farel. His friends succeeded in sending him away by stealth, defeated, it is true, but not discouraged. He went, only to return in due time, with far different success.

Soon after these events, Farel established meetings or conferences of the Reformed pastors in his region, out of which by degrees grew regular Synods, which ordained ministers, and would have stationed and transferred them likewise, had the government of Berne been willing to relinquish these prerogatives.

The next scene that presents itself in this graphic series, is undoubtedly the one in which Farel appears to most advantage. In his efforts to promote the Reformation at Geneva, he displayed, not only the devoted zeal and inflexible perseverance which his previous exploits had given reason to anticipate, but a consummate self-command and prudence, which redeem his charac-

* Geissel der Pricster.

ter from the imputation of mere headlong rashness. He felt, no doubt, that this was not a case to be adjusted by brute force; and that the events suspended on his own proceedings were too serious to warrant rash experiment. Having gained admission to the city for himself and Viret, under the wing of certain envoys sent from Berne, to make complaint of the contempt which the letters of that government had met with in Geneva, he proceeded cautiously to teach the doctrines of the Reformation in his own lodgings, and at private houses. Through the influence of the envoys, he procured from the Senate an order for his safety, and soon after, a requisition that the clergy should teach nothing in the church which they could not prove from Scripture. It was in vain that the infuriated priesthood wrought the mob into a phrenzy by absurd accounts of Farel's dealing with the devil. He stood firm, though he still made no attempt to occupy the pulpit, or to interrupt the services of the church. By way of antidote to his pestiferous influence, a doctor of the Sorbonne, Guido Fürbity, of the order of St. Dominic, was brought to preach in the cathedral of Geneva. Instead of offering direct opposition to him, Farel charged him before the council with teaching what was contrary to Scripture. The monk long refused to answer for his opinions to a secular tribunal; but at last, goaded by Farel's taunts and accusations, he consented, in an evil hour, to submit his doctrine to the test of Scripture. On the 29th of January, 1533, a *Gespräch*, or conference, (for so they called their fiercest disputations,) began in the presence of the Council, the Senate, and a large assembly of ecclesiastics, jurists, and physicians. In this debate, Farel seems to have exhibited uncommon calmness, self-possession, and good temper; while, at the same time, he was perfectly bold and fearless in the maintenance of truth. And here we may remark, by the way, that in the Swiss Reformers, and especially in Farel, there was a sort of full assurance with respect to doctrine, very unlike the sceptical diffidence which seems in these days to be thought a virtue. It was not blind bigotry or pedantic dogmatism; but a calm, clear, full persuasion of the truth. In almost every case, Farel offered and desired to die, if he should fail in proving what he taught from Scripture. So strong at least was his own conviction of his being in the right. Another circumstance in this discussion which has given us pleasure, is the clear views which he entertained upon the subject of church government, and his promptness in rejecting the absurd analogy between the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry, which some Episcopalians have unwisely copied from the church of antichrist. This fact sufficiently refutes the foolish statement of some heady

prelatists, that the Presbyterian doctrine on this point was forged by Calvin, who, when this debate took place, had never visited Geneva, and was unknown to Farel. The unfortunate Dominican appears to have been utterly amazed at what he heard. The idea that the Church, yea the Holy Apostolical Roman Catholic Church, could be in the wrong, was so new to him, that he found himself, at last, reduced to say by way of answer, "Let me send your doctrine to Paris, and Lyons, and the other universities, and see whether they will not condemn it." "You may send it to an angel," was the brief reply, "and if an angel preach any other gospel, let him be accursed." This was too much for the poor monk, and he fairly acknowledged that he could not vindicate himself by an appeal to Scripture. This unexpected issue served to open many eyes. The Council ordered the Dominican to recant his errors in the church, but when he got into the pulpit, he embraced the opportunity to make complaints of unjust treatment. He was then thrown into prison, where he refused either to make a recantation, or to bear a part in any subsequent disputes.

The defeat of this champion soon brought matters to a crisis. The Council were distracted, not in their own opinions merely, but by foreign influence. Freyburg and Berne pressed equally upon them, but in opposite directions. The former urged the banishment of Farel, and the suppression of his heresy. The latter insisted that he should be suffered to prosecute his work. Each threatened to dissolve the league, and the distracted Genevese knew not how to choose between them. Events relieved them from this painful perplexity. Farel, believing that the time was now arrived when he must use more vigorous measures, resumed his former method of attacking popery in the church itself, and denouncing the mass whilst the priest was celebrating it. The Council, alarmed, required him to desist. But it was now too late to check the master spirit. He continued his efforts till the people themselves, unexpectedly called for him to ascend the pulpit in the great cathedral. The disclosure of a horrid plot to murder the reformed, and change the government, turned popular feeling all against the clergy. The bishop's fulminations and the pope's decree of excommunication struck a final blow to the papacy at Geneva. The Council at last consented to convoke the people. Farel harangued them, in an admirable strain of calm but overpowering eloquence, and on the memorable twenty-first of August, just three centuries ago, the Reformation was established in Geneva, by a vote almost unanimous. This glorious revolution sets the man, who was

the instrument of bringing it about, upon a lofty elevation among heroes, sages, and the friends of human happiness.

The advantages thus gained, Farel was careful to secure by unequivocal and formal expressions of the public will. From similar motives he was unwilling to leave any thing that could serve as a memorial of the exploded superstition. In a short time, every vestige of idolatry had vanished, and the worship of God was reinstated in its original and beautiful simplicity. Another change still greater, and to many more offensive, now took place in the discipline of the church. The odium incurred by Farel's vigorous theory and practice, as to morals, shows how far he was from meriting the charge of antinomianism. The Reformation being now established in the city of Geneva, efforts were made to give it extension in the surrounding territory. These attempts succeeded in some places, but in others the opposition was too strong, through the influence of the monks, who, at one place, acted a farce in which Farel was a conspicuous personage.

The want of coadjutors in the city now pressed heavily on Farel. Viret had been induced to make an attempt upon Lausanne, and Fabri, who was stationed at Geneva for a time, had been transferred to Thonon. While things were in this posture, a young man took lodgings in Geneva for a night, and being known to Caroli, who was there at that time, Farel heard of his arrival. This young man was Calvin, who had already gained some reputation as a scholar and a friend of evangelical religion, and was now on his way to Basle and Strasburg, where he designed to pursue his studies. Convinced that God had sent him there to help him, Farel insisted on his entering at once upon the work. When he persisted in declining it, Farel adjured him, in an awful voice, and in the name of God, not to disobey so manifest a call, assuring him that God would curse the studies which seduced him from his duty. Calvin felt, according to his own account, as if the hand of God was laid upon him, and immediately consented, to become a preacher and a teacher of theology. In him Farel found, not only an efficient helper, but a wise instructor and a faithful friend, relations which continued to subsist between them till the end of life.

The effect of the public disputations which had already taken place, led Farel to desire a repetition of that measure. The greatest obstacle was the want of persons, on the popish side, who either could, or would, maintain the cause of superstition in the face of an assembly. This backwardness was not at all surprising on the part of clergymen, among whom, Farel once solemnly asserted, there was scarcely one who could repeat the

ten commandments. At length, however, the famous disputation at Lausanne took place, in which Farel and Viret defended ten theses against all the popish priests who could be gathered in the diocese, assisted by Blancherose the king's physician. Calvin scarcely spoke at all, except upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he refuted with such cogency and clearness, that one of his opponents was converted on the spot, and very many of the audience went home with deep impressions of the truth as he declared it. Farel was the chief speaker, and displayed great readiness in argument, and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures and the fathers. In answer to the objection, that the doctrine of justification by faith was subversive of morality, he assailed the morals of the popish priesthood with indignant eloquence. Some of his sarcasms were extremely galling. While exposing their gross ignorance, he represented them by a two-edged sarcasm, as knowing less about religion than their own illicit offspring, the young beggars of Geneva. These undisputed and indisputable charges gave an irresistible effect to his triumphant question, "Who are you that dare to talk about good works and Christian morals?" The effects of this debate upon the people were immense and durable.

The Confession of Faith, which soon after this debate was published at Geneva, raised up many adversaries. Three sorts of persons in particular made opposition; first, those who adhered to popery; secondly, those who disliked and dreaded the new system of church discipline; and lastly, the Anabaptists, who had sprung up in Geneva, or been brought in from abroad. Liege and Benoit, two Flemish Anabaptists, challenged Farel and his colleagues to a public disputation, and being found unable to maintain their ground by argument, were banished from Geneva. The seed which they had sown, however, took deep root, and in the end brought forth abundantly.

Another enemy, with whom the Reformers had at this time to contend, was their former associate, the conceited and changeable Caroli. This singular character had repeatedly changed sides since the beginning of the Reformation. His ruling passion, the desire of notoriety, had led him, while a Doctor of the Sorbonne, to espouse some of Luther's doctrines, but without abjuring popery. In consequence of this, he was expelled from Paris; but no sooner did he find a place as parish priest at Alençon, than he renounced his heresy, and became in his turn a persecutor. It was not long before he was again upon the side of Reformation, and in this second paroxysm, found his way to Geneva, where he made himself conspicuous at the public disputations, sometimes as an advocate of the evangelical doctrines, and sometimes as a cham-

pion of his Mother Church. Two circumstances, over and above his native fickleness, appear to have prevented his uniting heartily with the Reformers. One was his finding it impossible to set himself in public estimation higher than his colleagues. The other was the strictness of the discipline adopted by the Reformed churches, which was any thing but pleasant to so loose a liver. Farel said, from the beginning, that Caroli needed something more than a change of his opinions, and that unless he became a new man he would only do them harm. So little were these feelings relished by the Doctor himself, that on one occasion, he arose and left the church when Viret was preaching against lewdness, saying, "These fellows are forever aiming at me. I will have my revenge;" a speech which furnishes an equal proof of his malignity and weakness. Soon after this expression of his spite, he delivered, from the pulpit at Neufchatel, where he and Viret were collegiate pastors, a written discourse in vindication of the doctrine of purgatory and of prayers for the dead, at the same time giving out that so young a man as Viret, (who was absent at the time,) should no longer dictate or prescribe to him. The difficulties, which of course ensued between them, brought the affair before the Council of the canton (Berne), by whom Caroli was condemned and ordered to recant. This he did with great humility, but instantly proceeded to discharge a burden which, he said, had long been lying heavy at his heart. The curiosity which this excited was succeeded by amazement when he gravely accused Farel, Calvin, Viret, and some others, of being Arians. Calvin and Viret, who were present at the time, demanded proof of his assertions, the former asking him with great contempt whether he made this discovery at the dram-shop. As he refused to produce his evidence before a civil court, the Council called a Synod which was held at Lausanne in the spring of 1537. There Caroli succeeded in proving the Arianism of Claudius, a Savoyard preacher, who recanted publicly. All that he could say against the others was, that in their writings (and especially in the Geneva Confession of Faith) the word *trinity* was omitted. This, with respect to Calvin, was untrue, for he had himself defended the adoption of that word, though not a Scripture term. Nevertheless he took the same ground with his brethren, and insisted that the rejection or omission of mere technical expressions, cannot possibly be heresy. On the same principle they all refused to subscribe the Nicene and Apostle's creeds on this occasion. The Synod, which consisted of a hundred and twenty ministers, unanimously agreed that the Confession was orthodox and the accused sound in the faith. This led to further proceedings, which we cannot detail, but

which resulted in Caroli's deposition as a slanderer and a man of corrupt morals. As he would not comply with the requisitions of the government, they ordered his arrest, but he escaped from their territory and then wrote to them, thanking God for his deliverance from such connexions, and announcing his determination to defend the doctrines of the Trinity and Purgatory in the face of the world. He then went to Rome, renounced his errors, declared his abhorrence of the Reformers and their damnable heresy, was absolved from his marriage (or, as he called it, his concubinage) and recovered all his privileges as a Doctor and a Priest. Whether he found in the bosom of the church that rest which he had elsewhere sought in vain, may be conjectured; but we have no doubt, that the evil spirit found his old abode well garnished, and that the last state of this, as of all apostates, was far worse than the first.

But although these proceedings freed the Swiss Reformers from a treacherous associate, they led to some unpleasant results among themselves. The authorities of Berne, apprehensive that the rejection of the terms in which the orthodox doctrines had for ages been expressed, would bring reproach upon the Reformers, and give colour to Caroli's statement in his letter to the Pope (that they were bringing back the old exploded heresies) resolved that no one should be admitted to the office of the ministry, without an explicit recognition of the doctrine of the Trinity in the usual form. This produced a division of opinion among the clergy, some regarding it as a prudent regulation, others condemning it as an encroachment upon Christian liberty, and tending to obscure the truth. A similar difference arose about the same time, in relation to the compromise between the Lutherans and Zuinglians respecting the Lord's Supper. These divisions depressed Farel more than all his former conflicts, insomuch that Calvin was afraid of losing him, when he saw him affected in a way of which he had thought his iron frame incapable.* He soon became himself however, and prepared a new edition of his *Summary*, the unguarded phraseology of which had given colour to some of Caroli's charges.

Our author well observes, that to the people of Geneva, freedom of conscience was too new a thing to be enjoyed aright. May we not add, that even the pastors of Geneva were in the same predicament with respect to ecclesiastical authority? The disturbances and divisions which form the subject of the closing chapter in the volume now before us, are referred by the author, it would seem, entirely to the factious disposition of the people, and the malig-

* "Pectus illud ferreum." Calvin's Epistles.

nant arts of malcontents. Without detracting in the least from the pernicious tendency of these two causes, we are fully of opinion, that the mad attempt to use civil authority as an engine for the promotion of truth; or, in other words, the universal error of the Reformers with respect to *Church and State*, yields the best explanation of these lamentable strifes. It is astonishing to see how pertinaciously this error was maintained, in spite of all the practical refutations which the Providence of God arrayed against it. The history of the Church of Geneva at this period is alone sufficient to explode it. The discontents occasioned by enforcing the Confession raised a strong, though in some degree a secret, opposition to the persons who prepared it. This was spreading by degrees among the people, when a new and more disastrous difference arose between the ministers and magistrates of Berne and Geneva, with respect to uniformity of usages and rites. Those of the former city cherished the chimerical idea of complete external unity in form as well as doctrine, and maintained it with such warmth, that the senate of Geneva found it politic to side against their own religious teachers, who it seems had gone a little further in simplifying than their neighbours relished. Berne insisted with a foolish zeal upon the observance of Christmas, new year, and some other festivals, and also upon certain non-essentials as to the method of administering the sacraments. These had been discarded at Geneva, or perhaps referred to individual discretion. This was the beginning of sorrows. The disaffected of all parties now combined in bold resistance to the pastors, who, deserted by the magistrates, were forced to wage a most unequal contest with the many who disliked their persons or detested the restraints which they were anxious to impose. After a year not only of vexation but of danger, from the violence of partisans and the remissness of the government, matters reached a crisis. Farel and Calvin were directed by the council to administer the communion on the approaching Easter, in the manner practised and enjoined at Berne. This they not only refused to do, but, on the ground of the unhappy and disgraceful state of things, determined not to administer the ordinance at all. They were then forbidden to preach, but with a spirit, not exactly in accordance with their sentiments respecting civil authority in matters of religion, they refused obedience. On Easter Sunday, Calvin preached in the cathedral and Farel in the church of St. Gervais. They preached too on the subject of the existing difficulties, but omitted the communion. Such was the state of public feeling that drawn daggers were displayed in church, and on the next day Farel and Calvin received orders from the government to leave Geneva. A series of conferences

and negotiations now took place, with a view to the restoration of peace. Farel and Calvin frankly admitted in a conference at Zurich, that they had perhaps gone too far in their attempts at discipline, as well as in their refusal to comply with harmless ceremonies. They continued, however, to urge certain requisitions as essential to the welfare of the church. Among these were the division of the city into parishes, and the appointment of pastors and ruling elders over each; the introduction of psalmody into the church service; the ordination of ministers by ministers, without the interference of the magistrates or others; the monthly administration of the Lord's Supper; and lastly, the exclusion of offenders from the church. The government of Berne interfered at last, and sent one of their own magistrates to procure the restoration of the exiled pastors. The latter went with him, but were met by an imperious prohibition from Geneva, and on still advancing, found the gates of the city actually guarded by a military force! They returned to Berne, and there our author leaves them at the close of this first volume.

It will be perceived, that this biography possesses a historical interest, for which reason we have been more minute in our account of its contents than we should otherwise have been. To us many parts of it have proved as entertaining as the liveliest romance, with the addition of that charm which no romance can boast, the charm of truth. If the foregoing abstract should afford our readers any pleasure or instruction, our design will be accomplished; and in that case, should another volume come into our hands, we shall embrace the opportunity to finish our analysis.

ART. II.—THEORIES OF EDUCATION.

IT is a curious fact, though not an unaccountable one, that the wildest speculations are, and always have been, upon practical subjects. Religion, ethics, civil government, derive their importance altogether from their practical relations. Yet who can enumerate the imaginary commonwealths, the theories of virtue, and the schemes of false theology, which have been generated by the human fancy? The same may be said of education. If there is a theme within the range of human thought, which might be safely classed among the things of real life, and considered safe from the incursions of romance, it is the art of teaching children. We are abundantly aware of the propensity in some minds to

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James Carnahan
ART. I.—*An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, on the day of the Annual Commencement of the College, Sept. 25, 1833, by John Sergeant, LL. D.*

THE day which closes the college life of a young man, is highly interesting, not only to the individual, but also to his friends and to his country.

Having finished his preparatory studies, he is ready to select a profession or occupation for life. Released from the inspection and control of teachers, he is henceforth to follow, in a great measure, his own guidance.

On such occasions, the most heedless can hardly exclude from their minds serious reflections respecting the past, and painful solicitude respecting the future. At this moment, whatever directions, or warnings, or encouragements may be given, by men of distinguished talents and virtues, cannot fail to make a deep and salutary impression on the youth anxious to know which way to direct his steps. On this account we cannot too highly commend the custom which prevails of having addresses delivered on the anniversaries of our literary institutions, by men eminent in civil and professional life. When the subject is well chosen and when the speaker is adequate to the task which he has undertaken, the most happy results may be safely anti-

ART. VI.—*The Life of William Farel, prepared from Original Authorities, by Melchior Kirchhofer, Minister at Stein on the Rhine, in the Canton Schaffhausen, &c.* Vol. II. Zurich: 1833, 8vo.* *J. W. Alexander*

WE have already presented our readers with a copious analysis of the first volume of this work.† It was then expected that the sequel of the animating biography would appear in a few months; but more than two years elapsed before the second part was given to the public. This delay, as there is good reason to believe, was occasioned in no small degree by the politico-religious feuds which exist in Switzerland.

To those who are acquainted with the early history of this son of thunder, no apology need be made for occupying so large a portion of our work with the details of his life. As the forerunner and friend of Calvin, and the pioneer in Swiss reform, as well as the zealous and eloquent missionary and preacher, he cannot but be an object of high regard to the great body of our readers.

Our history, it will be recollected, was broken off just at the interesting moment when Farel and Calvin were driven out of Geneva by an ordinance of the government. Undecided as to their future course, and almost tempted to relinquish the burdens of the ministry, they journeyed as far as Basle. Viret earnestly tendered them an abode, but they were unwilling to make him obnoxious to the tempest which they had scarcely escaped. They bore their trial with the utmost patience, forgiving their enemies, and recommending them to God. All at once, a call was received by Farel. The people of Neuenburg (Neufchatel) had received the Gospel from his lips; they sympathized with him in his affliction, and longed for his labours. A delegation from the Council sought him out at Basle, and pressed him with earnest entreaties to resume the care of their souls. After long hesitation, he reluctantly acquiesced, upon the condition that no obstacle should be laid in the way of his introducing a regular form of government; and after a seven weeks' retirement in Basle, he sorrowfully parted from his most beloved friend and younger brother, Calvin.

In Neufchatel he found things considerably altered. A few villages had come under the power of the Reformation. The

* Dar Leben Wilhelm Farel's, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, von Melchior Kirchhofer, Pfarrer zu Stein am Rhein, Cantons Schaffhausen, Mitglied der Schweitzerischen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern, und korrespondirendes Mitglied der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Geschichtskunde zu Freyburg im Breisgau.

† See Bib. Rep. for Ap. 1833, p. 146.

popish clergy had receded, and a new form of church-order was in some degree established, upon the principle that every thing was to be rejected which is forbidden by Scripture. The Bible was circulated in the language of the country. Yet in their departures from Romish servility the people were in danger of failing to recognise even legitimate church rule. The first regular Synod was held in May 1535; at this, however, for prudential reasons, Farel had not been present. Among other ordinances, it was here determined that, without the consent of the brethren, no novel doctrines should be broached, nor any one admitted to the ministerial office, without having been regularly called. In general, the regulations of the churches at Berne were adopted. In difficult cases the Classis was to call in other churches to counsel.

Such was the condition in which Farel found ecclesiastical matters in Neufchatel. A good foundation had doubtless been laid, but there was wanting the hand of a wise master-builder, to carry up the edifice, and to thrust aside those who were officiously busied in building where they were not sent. The Governor had embraced the principles of Reformation, but still retained an ancient grudge against Farel. The latter, however, zealously pursued his labours, seeking the counsel and aid of all good men. Having gone to Lausanne to attend the marriage of Viret, he proceeded as far as Thonon, and there heard from some of the Genevese, sad accounts of the uproar and disorganization in their unhappy city. In Neufchatel he was grieved at the unworthiness of some pastors, and the sufferings of many brethren; and so much was he disheartened at the stumbling-blocks which remained, that his lamentations drew from Calvin a letter of friendly remonstrance.*

In the midst of these discouragements, what was his astonishment to hear that Neufchatel was again visited by his former enemy and calumniator, Caroli! We have already related the apostacy of Caroli from Protestantism, his retreat to Rome, and his restoration to celibacy and popish orders. It remains to be told, that not finding what he sought in the bosom of Mother Church, he returned to Switzerland, to put himself under the wing of the evangelical community which he had so basely maligne. He was received with the distrust which was natural. Farel, however, determined to heap coals of fire upon his head, by frank cordiality, as soon as tokens of his restoration appeared. In a public conference, Caroli bewailed his fall; testified to the orthodoxy of Farel, Calvin, and Viret, whom he had charged

* Oct. 1539.

with Arianism; abjured purgatory, and the invocation of saints, and declared the mass to be a denial of the only sacrifice of Christ. In a word, he recanted and lamented and entreated, in such wise, that the preachers who were present affectionately gave him the right hand of fellowship. The Classis then took the matter into consideration, and there was great diversity of sentiment. Farel himself was strongly disposed to receive the professed penitent, and to win him over by kindness. For this leniency he was afterwards reprimanded by Tossanus, who from the beginning had seen through the mask of the hypocrite. Caroli left Neufchatel without satisfaction. His subsequent attempts at Berne were equally fruitless. And when, after some time, Farel found him in some retired spot, the faithless man broke forth into renewed attacks upon the orthodoxy of the preachers. Up to the time of his departure for Strasburg, he received from Farel the most salutary counsels; but all in vain. The conduct of Farel towards this impostor was surprising to most of the community. No one had been so much injured by his slanderous tongue, and yet he continued to treat the wretched man as a friend. Calvin strongly disapproved these repeated intercessions in behalf of one so unworthy. From Switzerland Caroli passed into France, and became again a priest of the Sorbonne.

The expulsion of Calvin and Farel from Geneva, was productive of the worst consequences. All bonds were loosed, and instead of order, there arose hatred, strife, confusion, feuds, and even murder. The mass was re-established, and the Bible was laid under restrictions, and entirely withheld from the female sex. The Syndics, who had caused the exile of the two pastors, came to such an end as was thought to be a judgment of God. The people awoke from their enchantment, and began to sigh for their preachers. Before a year had elapsed after the banishment, the council was ready to seek their return. To the question, which was often put to Calvin, whether he could not be induced to return, he uniformly replied, that he had been ejected with Farel, and that he would not return without him. And when a formal call was presented to him, his first inquiry was, why they had not sent for Farel, whose presence was as needful as at the time of their Reformation. While Calvin was privately beseeching Farel to prevent the success of these overtures, the latter was as earnestly using all means to accomplish Calvin's return. With the most urgent eloquence he entreated him to yield to the desire of the people, declaring that the call was manifestly of God. "God calls you to return (said he;) He permitted your expulsion, that you might again exercise your function with greater effect." While Calvin hesitated, in doubt whether the people of Strasburg

would allow his return, Farel wrote imploringly to the Swiss churches, begging them to use all their influence to promote the restoration of this important leader. "I conjure you, brethren," said he, "as you are Christians, and as you would further the prosperity of the church, to bend all your endeavours, on every side, to bring about this great end, lest the wrath of God fall on us for our treachery to his church; for I hold it to be no less than high treason for any to hinder the return of a pastor so passionately longed for." The earnestness of Farel, as usual, prevailed, and a second time he gave Calvin to Geneva. In this we behold the providence of God. Had these entreaties proved unavailing, and had Calvin never returned, how different, in all probability, would have been the history of the Reformed churches. Yet it was not till he had received from the burning soul of Farel a number of mighty appeals that he finally re-entered the place of his future eminence.

The sufferings of the French Protestants about this time engaged much of the attention of Farel, and induced him to visit Worms, in order that he might consult with the princes and learned men there assembled, in 1540 and 1541, concerning the best means of affording relief. He was filled with joy at beholding the learning and piety which God had raised up for the restitution of his church, and which was so largely represented in that convocation. With these fathers and brethren he also conversed upon the affairs of the Swiss churches, especially those particulars of polity and discipline, in which they were still wanting. After this, he complied with a request of Viret, that he should visit Zurich, and sought in various ways to obtain aid for the persecuted Christians in France.

The leaven of malice and contention was meanwhile actively working in Neufchatel. The zeal of Farel for purity of morals led him to mourn over the ungodly walk of many who were accustomed to partake of the communion. And so great was his sorrow, that he described himself as the most wretched of men. Nothing was wanting to produce an open eruption of the evil spirit, but some odious act of discipline on the part of the pastor; and it was not long before such an occasion was presented. A woman of some rank had become alienated from her husband, and abandoned his society. They were the parents of a rising family, and the life of the woman was far from being unblemished. Farel tried, by exhortation, to bring her back to the path of duty. The only result was that she forsook the Lord's table in a rage. He then applied to the lawful authorities, but without success. With his characteristic boldness he denounced the scandal from the pulpit; and a popular commotion instantly ensued.

Two parties were drawn up, but the majority decided that the faithful minister should depart at the end of two months. The storm beat against him violently, but he withstood it with rocky firmness. The greater part of the Council and the most respectable heads of families were in his favour; but the populace, supported by the Governor, his ancient foe, demanded his dismissal.

Not Neufchatel alone, but almost all evangelical Switzerland, felt the excitement of these events. The first who hastened to Farel's support was Calvin, who turned aside from his journey to Geneva, to still the disturbance. From Neufchatel he went to Berne, to make interest for the cause of truth and order. But the Bernese commissioners looked with some allowance upon the complaints of the disaffected, at least so far as to think it right that Farel should quietly recede from a charge where his labours were no longer valued. To such advice Farel would not lend an ear, even for an instant. His uniform language was, that having been called by the church, it was the church alone which should dismiss him; and that he could not, under such circumstances, abandon his flock, without being a traitor to his Master. The Classis also perceived that however mildly the exile might be effected, the precedent was such as would tend to unsettle all ecclesiastical relations. They therefore rejected the mediation of the Bernese. In the mean time, notwithstanding the vehement challenges of Farel, no man impeached his doctrine or his life.

When it was found that the secret influence of the commissioners from Berne was altogether against them, the Classis of Neufchatel sent deputies to a number of sister churches, in order to collect their opinions. The result was, that Geneva, Montbelliard, Biel, Morsee, and Thonon, sent letters which corroborated Farel in his inflexible purpose. Of these warm and pathetic communications, ample specimens are given by our biographer. Through all this hurricane of dissension the object of popular hatred was himself unruffled. He did not even desire an appeal to the churches. "Whether God hath decreed to retain me here, or not, is not any matter of anxiety to me; for I am prepared for any event." As the peril became more imminent, his steadfastness seemed only to increase. His preaching contained no allusion to his wrongs, and his pastoral labours were uninterrupted. Just at this juncture the plague burst out in Neufchatel, and afforded an occasion for him to appear in his true character, as a good shepherd. Day after day he was at the bedside of the sick and dying, making no distinction between his enemies and his friends. Even his bitter opposers could not withhold their respect. A general solemnity was observed, with reference to these judgments, and all partook of the Lord's Supper. Under faithful

preaching the eyes of the people were opened, and a general reconciliation appeared to be at hand. The churches of Basle, Constance, Strasburgh, and Zurich, sent such replies as strengthened the hands of Farel, and moderated the wrath of his enemies. And at the end of a few months, the pastor was reinstated in his ministerial office.

Then it was, for the first time since his dismissal, that Farel conceived it to be his duty to revisit Geneva. His astonishment was excited by beholding the speedy restitution of order which Calvin had effected. About the same time the Classis of Neuchatel was labouring to draw more closely the bonds of church order. Elders and deacons were appointed, the instruction of children on the Sabbath was introduced, and methods were taken to improve the common schools. It was enjoined, that no one should lie sick three days, without a visit from some spiritual adviser; and the Governor threw open the prison cells for the same humane purpose. And various steps were taken to produce a state of ecclesiastical affairs, in which, under strict discipline, the churches should be faithfully subservient to the government in a civil point of view, but absolutely free in whatever regarded the things of God.

No sooner was this difficult enterprise in a state of forwardness, than Farel began to pant for an opportunity of making new inroads upon the kingdom of darkness. He turned his eyes to Metz, where the little flock of Christians was scarcely able to rise above the wave of persecution. With the advice of his friend Calvin, whose discretion never took the colour of fear, he determined to blow the silver trumpet in person, at Metz. He accordingly visited them in the autumn of 1542. His first sermon was in the church-yard of the Dominicans. In vain were all the bells set ringing to prevent his being heard; his voice of thunder rose above their noise. The next day he addressed three thousand hearers. These discourses and his public administration of baptism excited much wonder. Even his friends became alarmed. He was summoned before the Council, and asked by what authority he preached. "By the authority of Christ," replied he, "and at the desire of his members." The plague broke out fearfully in Metz, and Farel was incessant in his labours of mercy, though his visits were strictly prohibited. Such was the opposition of the rulers, that the gates were closed against a deputation of the Swiss churches, and some persecution began. It would be long to recount the fluctuation of feeling and the scenes of contention which took place. Similar details have been given in our former article. The upshot of all was, that Farel found it prudent, after beholding

some fruit of his labours, to retire to Gorze, a neighbouring place, under the patronage of William, Count Fürstenburg.

In Gorze, Farel was not idle. A characteristic anecdote is related. On a certain occasion, in his hearing, Fidelis, a Franciscan friar, was holding forth from the pulpit, and asserted the perpetual virginity of Mary. Farel instantly arose and denounced this as a falsehood. In a moment he was, as in former days, assaulted by the women, who dragged him to and fro by his hair and beard, and would have maltreated him still further if he had not been rescued by a certain Captain Frank. After keeping his chamber for some time, he resumed his labours, and preached indefatigably until Easter; finding time, however, to write a noble letter of exculpation to the Duke of Lorraine, in which the principles of the Reformation are stated with clearness and cogency.*

The evangelical party in Metz sought to put themselves under the shadow of the Smalcald compact; but even Luther himself found his efforts in their behalf fruitless. After many intercessions of the Protestant princes, the utmost they could obtain was freedom of preaching. But as the evangelical rites were not yet tolerated, the brethren of Metz betook themselves to Gorze to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Farel administered to them, with many exhortations to penitence and gratitude. Scarcely had they partaken of the ordinance before they were filled with consternation by the sound of the war-trumpet. At the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother Claudius, Duke of Guise, with consent of the French king, fell upon these innocent sheep. A promiscuous slaughter ensued. Many were slain, and others drowned in the flight. Women were seized and injured. With the greatest difficulty Count William and Farel made their escape, the latter much wounded. For a long time his friends supposed him to be slain. He was finally brought in a litter to Strasburg.

To weaken the influence of Farel in Metz, the Duke of Orleans had no better expedient than to send against him his ungrateful acquaintance, Dr. Caroli, who was glad to have such an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance. He proceeded at once to denounce Farel, as a base heretic, and as the Augsburg Confession was the standard in Metz, he enlarged upon the sacramental question. But this was not enough; in the church of St. Vincent, he solemnly eited Farel to appear before the papal throne, or the Council of Trent, or the emperor and king of France, or the theologians of the French universities, or at Salamanea, in case he could not visit France; or finally, at Lyons or Padua. He demanded an answer in eight days, and declared that if it was not

* Feb. 11, 1543.

received, he would post him throughout Europe as a coward. He afterwards challenged him to a conflict "of life or death;" and ridiculously proposed that for this purpose they should both be imprisoned, Caroli in Metz, and Farel in France. Farel's reply was full of Christian forbearance. He declared his readiness to defend the truth every where, and at all times. While he held the motion touching the prison to be laughable, he was prepared to hold a disputation in any suitable place. And he elosed with stirring appeals to the conscience of his opposer.

Caroli continued his gasconade, but Farel was supported by the counsel and letters of his friends in all quarters. The meeting hence took place, and Caroli, deceived by his Romish flatterers, a few years after, poor, wretched, and forsaken, died in an hospital, and sunk into the nothing which Farel had predicted.

Farel had been a year absent from home. During this period his labours and sufferings had won him golden opinions from all good men. But his heart bled for the poor Christians of Metz, who received no relief, and whom he could not personally visit. His letters to them breathe a spirit of the most tender and fatherly affection; and even some years after this, we find him labouring with Viret for an alleviation of their ills. On his return to Neuchatel, he found himself speedily involved in new difficulties. Part of these arose from the perverseness of Chaponneau, one of his colleagues, an aged and testy man, who seemed almost ready to act over again the part of Caroli, by impugning the orthodoxy of Farel and Calvin. Another source of difficulty was the maladministration of pecuniary affairs in the church; for the ecclesiastical funds were diverted from their original intention, and sometimes even hypothecated for individual debts. In the midst of these troubles, an attempt was made, in 1545, to recall Farel to Geneva. This had long been a favorite project of Calvin, who was convinced that his former colleague could be far more useful in Geneva, than any where else; and even the Classis of Neuchatel were willing to make the sacrifice. But Farel would on no account leave his flock, without first providing a suitable successor, and as this was found impracticable, he remained.

While these transactions were in progress, Chaponneau died. He had been for some time reconciled, and on his death-bed assembled his brethren, retracted his slanders, asked their forgiveness, and sent messages of kindness to Calvin, whom he had greatly injured. The next event of general interest, is the attempt of Calvin and Viret to attract Farel once more to their vicinity. The Bernese had resolved to have a second chair of theology at Lausanne, and Viret desired a like-minded colleague. In Calvin's judgment, no man was so fit for the place as Farel. He was well

versed in the Scriptures, familiar with the Hebrew, and promised well as an interpreter. The government of Berne however frowned upon the proposal. This was no doubt in some degree owing to a jealous apprehension of the ecclesiastical influence which three such men would have, if their forces were thus united. For such was their inviolable friendship and unanimity, that whether separate or together, a single spirit seemed to actuate them all. The profound knowledge and penetrating intellect of Calvin, the zeal, resignation, and irresistible eloquence of Farel, and the innumerable captivating graces of Viret, formed, when combined, a power which was suspected. And the consequence was, that this second attempt to remove the pastor of Neufchatel, was as fruitless as the first.* This is the less to be regretted, as the light of Theodore Beza began soon after to shine in Lausanne.

The attention of Farel was now very strongly invited to the subject of education, by a letter from the good people of Berne. Though he needed no solicitation of this kind, it seems to have hastened his endeavours. He clearly saw that darkness would again overspread the church, if young men were not trained up for the defence of the Gospel. He was therefore instant with the Council that they should educate some candidates for the ministry, and succeeded in engaging them to provide for four. Farel's chief anxiety was for the religious instruction of children, and the full qualification of such as were to be ministers. He endeavoured to erect new schools, and to improve those which were already existing. In a word, he went much in advance of his contemporaries in the promotion of intellectual culture.

The persecutions which were endured by French Christians awakened the sympathy of Farel, especially as his own brothers, Daniel and Gauthier, were in prison; the latter in peril of life. In company with Viret, he travelled to Berne and Basle, to gain some assistance for them. The next year they went also to Basle and Strasburg, in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses. At the same time there were distressing circumstances within his own more immediate bounds. The writings of the Anabaptists were circulated, and produced injury. Farel urged upon Calvin the duty of confuting these licentious fanatics. The latter, in return, sought the advice of his friend with regard to the evils wrought by the same contentious people in Geneva. Farel again went with Viret to Geneva. With touching eloquence he pleaded the cause of Calvin before those who were disaffected. He reminded

* *Suspiciantur itaque protinus aliquam inter nos esse conspirationem et nos aliquid magnum moliri. Seis enim quam male jampridem audiat. Triumviratus, cui accedat Classis, paulo post Conventus. Calvin Vireto 15 May 1548. V. etiam Calvini Comment. in Titum. Ep. dedicat. ad Farel et Viret. 3 Kal Dec. 1549.*

them of his former services, and the preeminence of his labours against Antichrist. And whereas, they were offended with the poignant rebukes of their pastor, Farel reminded them that Calvin had, in a manner equally unsparing, animadverted upon no less men than Luther, Melancthon and their associates.

In 1545 Farel published a small book of devotions, which are characterized by Christian tenderness and unction. He wrote many letters of advice and comfort to churches and individuals. From time to time, he perused the successive works of Calvin, with great delight; and once, in a time of sorrow, found his work on the Council of Trent so cheering, that he spent the whole night in reading it.

The debates concerning the Sacrament were becoming fierce and injurious, and this was especially the case in Berne, where some who were disposed to be zealots, went so far as to denounce Viret for his opinions on this subject. Farel and Calvin acted the part of mediators, and succeeded to a certain extent in assuaging the unholy excitement. Their maxim was thus expressed by the latter: "By moderation and love, we shall conquer." The *interim* with its accompanying evils, filled the mind of Farel with apprehension, and he spake and wrote upon the subject with even unwonted animation. It was under these feelings that he penned his "Letter to all the lords and societies to whom the Lord hath given me access, and who have aided me in the work of the Lord."

Still more was he alarmed, in common with all good men, at the progress made by the *Libertines*, a disorganizing and licentious swarm of Antinomians, regularly descended from the Anabaptists of Munster. They aimed their blows at the very basis of religion. Their specious addresses, fraught with earnestness and suavity, and flattering to the carnal heart, misled multitudes, especially of the female sex. Their books and sermons were inflated by the ravings of a sickened imagination. As a lure to the friends of the Reformation, they used the Evangelical language, but only to turn the grace of God into lasciviousness. Thus a certain Franciscan imitated Calvin, and taught predestination; but he made it an apology for sin. Against this man, Farel wrote his *Sword of the Veritable Word of God*.* These men held that God had made men wicked in order to be a contrast to his own loveliness, and that sin is merely an accomplishment of the Divine will. They maintained the pantheistical notion that the soul, at dissolution, is merged in the Divine essence, thus annulling all the moral influence of the doctrine of immortality.

* Geneva 1550, pp. 488.

Farel defended the mysteries of grace against these horrible perversions. The whole was subjected to the revision of his two faithful friends, before it was made public. They found nothing to censure but the style, which was all his own. He was neither easy nor correct, and the ardency of his feelings obscured his conceptions, and sometimes enveloped his meaning in a mist of figurative diction. In addition to these tokens of friendship, we may remind the reader that Calvin dedicated his commentary on Titus, to Viret and Farel.

In 1550 a new Synod was convened, at the instance of Farel. Calvin, Viret, and Haller were invited. The first two were present; the last sent a friendly letter, excusing himself for being absent, on the ground that he could not appear without special permission from the Council. The presence of Calvin made a great impression. The Synod was employed chiefly upon questions relating to marriage, and ecclesiastical and consistorial regulations. Twenty-eight articles were agreed to, with much concord and fraternal unity.

In the autumn of the same year we find Farel at Geneva, where much contention was beginning upon the predestinarian controversy, in consequence of an attack made upon Calvin, by Jerome Bolsec, a quondam Carmelite. It happened on a certain occasion that Farel was one of his audience, when a certain preacher said, that all who were not born of water and of the Spirit were contrary to God, inasmuch as obedience was God's special gift to the elect. Bolsec started up and contradicted this. Calvin, who had come in unobserved, made an immediate reply, in a discourse of an hour's length. He was followed by Farel, who commended with zeal and eloquence what they had heard from his friend. Bolsec was chagrined and disconcerted. This occurrence embittered the latter very much against his two respondents.

The perils of the church cast upon Farel an increasing weight of care, and a burdensome correspondence. For it became his duty to direct the doubtful and confirm the weak, throughout the Reformed churches. Tossanus, in his difficulties, applied to him; and his old friend Bucer made him the depository of his griefs. The latter wrote to him frequently from England, and derived encouragement from his replies. When Bucer, soon after, died, Farel wrote to Calvin in language of the sincerest affection. But nothing so heavily pressed upon his spirit as the difficulty of enforcing discipline in communities where people were so prone to oscillate from the extreme of servility to that of fanatical insubordination. The contempt also in which he saw that true learning was held by many, grieved him sorely. To this was

added an humble sense of his own insufficiency and unworthiness, which is by no means the least admirable trait in this good man's character. To his friend Ambrosius Blaarer, of Biel, he writes (1552), as he had previously done to Calvin: "I conjure you, remind me frankly of what you see amiss, and make me the subject of your prayers. Thus shall you help both me and the church, more than by your commendations, which spring from an immoderate love." Burdened himself, he sought to relieve the burdens of others. His eye glanced with sympathy towards France, and Magdeburg, where the friends of truth were enduring persecution.

Farel had now passed his grand climacteric. In labours he had been abundant, and no less abundant in griefs; it is not therefore surprising that he should have been a valetudinarian. In 1553 he was more violently seized with disease, and a pleurisy laid him on a bed of pain, from which his physician Sarazin entertained no hope of his ever rising. Under these distressing circumstances he received a visit from the famous French jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was anxious to become acquainted with so eminent a champion of evangelical reform. During his stay, Farel made his last will. It was characteristic. He first thanked God for the mercy which he had shown him, notwithstanding all his ill desert; especially that by the death of his Son he had redeemed him from the curse; that he had rescued him from the darkness of Popery, and made him a minister of the truth. He then committed his soul to the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and yielded his body up till the day of resurrection. He avowed his conviction of the truth he had preached, and prayed for the steadfastness of all who had received it from his lips. The little worldly property which he possessed, he left to his brothers, Gauthier and Claudius. He bequeathed the fourth part of his books to the library of the Classis, and the residue to the sons of Gauthier Farel, and a nephew. A third part of his ready money and personal estate was to be given to the poor, under the direction of the Classis. The name of John Calvin is subscribed as the first witness. Farel was ready to depart, but the wish of Calvin, that his friend might survive him, was accomplished.

The synod convened about the time of his recovery. As the former governor was no more, an important obstruction was now removed. The synod passed many grave ecclesiastical acts, concerning the Lord's Supper, baptism, the religious education of children, the further removal of Popish ceremonies; also against divers scandals and immoralities; against lasciviousness, revelling, dancing, and superstition. Some difference existed with regard to the question whether public penance should be connected with

excommunication, and Farel was led to some temporary estrangement from his young brother Fabri. With the latter also there arose a difference upon a nice question respecting baptism. A child was offered for baptism by a pious grandmother, while its parents were Papists. Farel hesitated to administer the rite, as the father and mother did not belong to the church of the faithful, and were therefore without God's covenant. Fabri was in favour of baptizing the child, because the grandmother was its sponsor, and promised to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The Classis was divided. Some were against denying baptism in any case. Haller and Musculus declined giving any answer, and referred the case to Calvin; who held it to be absurd to baptize such as one could not reckon among the members of his church.*

The situation of Calvin, with respect to his own city, was such, about this time, as to fill his friends with solicitude. The delicacy of his friendship led him to conceal the extent of his troubles from his bosom friend. But Farel, of his own accord, hastened to Lausanne, to counsel with Viret for the relief of their brother. He also wrote to Calvin, in such terms as these: "The origin and aim of our friendship is Christ and the edification of the church. Riches, honour, power, worldly pleasure, are not what we seek, but only how we may serve our Master." He conjures him also, by the love of Christ—"If you believe it to be for the glory of Christ, constrain me, command me, beseech me to come." But Calvin was unwilling to introduce his aged friend into the labyrinth.

While the Libertines were bringing disorder into the church, Michael Servetus arrived at Geneva. One of his own scholars accused him, and after a few days the *Procureur général* instituted further process. The proceeding was generally acceptable.† The doctrine of Servetus (we are here giving a faithful summary of the biographer's statements) was a medley of extravagancies and impieties, which excited universal horror. He had borrowed from the Libertines, and from the Anabaptists, but had originated most himself. An impartial investigation took place. Among those present were some of Calvin's deadly enemies. Supported by these, Servetus rejected all instruction, and was seduced to bring capital charges against Calvin himself, which no other had ever ventured to do. On both sides there was high excitement of passion; and Calvin lamented the loss of public confidence. He believed the church, the truth, and himself to be in jeopardy. There were many who regarded Servetus more as a blasphemer

* Ep. Farello, 16 Cal. Aug. 1553.

† Magno assensu piorum. Beza ad Bull. 27 Aug. 1553.

than a heretic, and blasphemy was then, as it has been long since, a capital crime. Against Servetus were united the law, the general opinion, the vote of the leaders in the Swiss churches, the severe letter of the council of Berne, the voice of Calvin, who was no less a jurist than a divine, and most of all, the outrageous deportment of the accused himself. He was without opposition condemned.

Farel voluntarily offered to accompany the wretched man to execution. In company with other ministers, he exhorted him to consider his errors, but found him incorrigible. Farel then said to him: "Since such is your demeanour, I must leave you to the judgment of God; I can go with you no farther, though it was my determination to stand by you, and not forsake you until your last breath." Farel had endeavoured to procure for him an easier mode of execution, but this was denied by the Council.

Trouble was not yet at an end in Geneva. The syndic Perrin admitted to the communion one Philibert Berthelier, who had been excommunicated; the consistory stood upon their rights. For the support of his friends, Farel came anew to Geneva, where he used his influence with the friends of order, and in his characteristic way, animadverted upon the Libertines from the pulpit. These were not present, but the report of the discourse so inflamed their choler, that soon after his departure a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, as having attacked the honour of the whole community. Summoned to answer for himself, he repaired to Geneva on foot, and during inclement weather. Calvin was forbidden to let him preach; and on his arrival, his enemies threatened to cast him into the Rhone. He found however a body-guard of stout young friends, who would not see any insult offered to Father Farel. And so triumphant was the eloquence of his defence, that even his accusers gave him the hand.

When he returned to Neufchatel, he was involved in some perplexity by the necessity he was under of defending himself against the slanders of Pierre, the pastor of Cressier, who declared that Farel was "a savage man, a perverter of the truth, and possessed with two devils." After a public trial, Pierre was convicted of slander, and ordered to beg pardon of Farel, the governor, and the inhabitants. In the great majority of instances, however, Farel pursued the wiser course of leaving calumnies to refute themselves. He even declared that he chose to be the butt of the malicious Bolsec, rather than that Christian doctrine should be assailed by him in the person of Calvin. Against the latter the storm still raged, at Geneva, and also at Berne, where he was stigmatized as a heretic. "I must be made of wood and stone," writes Farel, "if I do not cling to thee with the most tender

love." And his whole language to his persecuted friend was in a tone of sympathy and encouragement.

In the midst of these drawbacks, he gloried in seeing that the truth advanced. And very soon, even in Geneva, he was witness to the power of light and love, in surmounting obstacles. "I was lately in Geneva (so he writes in 1557 to Blaarer) and never have I been so much delighted: scarcely could I tear myself away. Not that I wished indeed to teach a church so great and so desirous of the word, but rather to be a hearer and learner, as one of the humblest in the flock. Very different is my feeling from that of the man who said he would rather be first in the mountains than the second in Rome: for my part, I would rather be the least in Geneva, than the first any where else. And if I were not withheld by the Lord and by love of my flock, nothing should restrain me from dwelling in person among that people, with whom I have ever been united in spirit." A bitter drop mingled in his cup of satisfaction was the alienation of certain friends at Montbelliard, and especially his former partner in labours, Tossanus.

For more than thirty years the contention between the Lutherans and the Reformed upon the sacramental question, had afflicted the heart of Farel. The forbearance of good men on both sides postponed the crisis; but at length the flame was caused to break forth anew by the intemperate attack made upon Calvin by Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg. The polemic attitude into which the two churches were thus thrown, showed Farel that immediate union was not to be hoped for. Much of the twenty-third chapter is taken up with interesting details of the differences between the Lutherans, the Zuinglians, and the Calvinists; which however cannot be condensed. We also read of new persecutions to which the Waldenses were subjected, and from which they had some escape through the active mediation of Farel and Beza, who travelled extensively in Switzerland and Germany.

We next find Farel engaged, as during his youthful days, in a missionary expedition. His new attack was upon the bishopric of Basle. In St. Leonard, Serrieres, and Pruntrut, he preached the word, in defiance of threats, and with happy consequences. Neither the bishop of Basle nor the archbishop of Besançon could deter him. For the Gospel, he declared that he was willing at any time to lay down his hoary head. All Burgundy seemed to be struck with alarm, as he advanced. The archbishop and council of Besançon, the parliament of Dole, and the baron of Vergy, sent messengers to forbid the introduction of these dangerous itinerants. The care of many churches at the same time came upon the aged minister daily; the rather as he had survived

so many brethren. And when he heard of the death of Pellican, the images of his departed friends, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Gryndeus, Capito, and Zwingle passed before his mind. The gentle, peaceful temper of Pellican especially delighted him. "O that all (said he) who are endowed with eminent talents, were even so minded, as was this godly man, till his last hour."*

At the age of sixty-nine, Farel married, and several years after his only son was born, (June 22, 1564,) but survived his father only three years. This step was much condemned, but he desired a help-mate in his old age; and, like many other reformers, he wished to show his belief that a state of celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory, as the church of Rome asserts. Soon after we read of new storms raised in Lausanne and Payerne, by the question of excommunication; whether it is an essential part of the ministerial office.

The zeal of Farel for the propagation of the Gospel was known far and near, and his services were often demanded. In order to assist his friends at Metz he made a visit to Strasburg. The juncture was hopeful; for never had so great a number of the evangelical party united to pray for liberty of worship, and never had they received so favourable an audience. He hoped that Viret would yield to the general desire, and go to Metz as a preacher. The necessities of the Waldenses led him to revisit Neustadt, Biel, Basel, and Muellhausen. On his return, he received letters from France, informing him that the Gospel had free course, and that many hundreds of congregations, having abandoned the Mass, were sighing for pastors. Messengers from Gap (his native place) and Vienne, came to Neufchatel, praying that he and Fabri would repair thither to aid in the good work.

Remembering their ministerial oath, by which they were bound to offer up substance, body, and life for the Gospel, they could not hesitate to obey the summons. In his native region, Farel preached with the eloquence excited by the occasion. Notwithstanding the threats of the municipal authorities, he addressed immense audiences without interruption. He left Fabri when he returned to Neufchatel. The latter soon experienced dreadful persecution.

Calvin was now approaching his end. He wrote to Farel (May 2, 1564): "Fare thee well, my best and dearest brother! As it is the will of God that you should survive me, be mindful of our friendship, which as it has been serviceable to the church of God, will bring forth fruit for us in heaven. I am painfully awaiting every moment my last breath. My consolation is, to live and to

* Unice delector ingenijs promptis ad pacem. Ad. Bull. 27 May, 1556.

die unto Christ, who in life and in death bestows gain upon his people. Farewell, once more to you and all the brethren!" Farel hastened to see him, but left him still alive. "Oh, that I could die in his stead!" cried he, "and God grant that we also may end our career even as he has done."

The Reformation still made progress in Lorraine, and Farel determined to revisit Metz, in company with Jonas Favargier, one of his colleagues. He was received with the greatest consideration by the presbyters and the whole church. On the day after his arrival, he preached with so much power, that all were revived and comforted. He was himself edified at the sight of a church so well ordered. But the exertion did him harm, and he retired to his lodgings greatly exhausted. He was soon confined to his bed. During his illness people of every rank visited him, and each of these he exhorted, according to their respective stations, to maintain the truth, and labour for the propagation of evangelical reform. With all the dignity of a veteran soldier of Christ, he counselled his fellow-labourers to live answerably to their high vocation. His submission and patience were wonderful to all who saw him; and his courage and animation appeared as great as in his years of strength. The bystanders said to one another with admiration: "See, he is the same man, in every situation. Never was he discomposed by danger, and when we were cast down and gave up all for lost, his trust in God was unshaken, and his heroic soul led the way." He witnessed a good confession of the truth he had so long preached, and after lingering some weeks, sweetly slept in Jesus, on the thirteenth of September, 1565, just fifteen months and fourteen days after the decease of Calvin, and at the age of seventy-six years. He was succeeded in the pastoral office by Christopher Libertel Fabri, of Lyons; Viret having been previously called without effect.

The character of Wilhelm Farel is best illustrated by the history of his life. During his labours, and for years afterwards, he was justly regarded as the principal Swiss reformer. Without him, Calvin might have been a far less important man. He was distinguished by the more masculine traits of character. Yet bold, independent, and even tempestuous as he was, he possessed, like Luther, a heart which throbbed in unison with every tender palpitation of humanity. It was his glory to be a preacher of the word; and his contemporaries truly said, that he rather thundered than spoke. His confidence in the preached Gospel was extraordinary, and he was constantly repeating the divine promise, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.* He was a man of prayer, and often besought the prayers of the brethren for himself.

Such was his transparency of character, that Œcolampadius wrote to Luther, "You will thoroughly know him in an hour."

Farel was made for action, and though not unlearned, he was less disciplined than his coadjutors. This he felt, and was the more urgent in beseeching and adjuring Calvin to write commentary after commentary. With this great reformer he enjoyed a friendship like that of David and Jonathan. But though passionate in his attachments, he was frank and unsparing in his rebukes, and could not suffer sin upon his brother. His faults were the faults of daring, candour, and indignant zeal. If he did not always weigh his words, or take counsel of timid prudence, he was among the first to weep over his rashness.

We close this protracted review, with a feeling of gratitude to the biographer for a work so admirable in every respect, and with the earnest wish that it may be given to the public in an English dress.

ART. VII.—*A Brief Account of the Chaldee Targums. From the Latin of Leusden.*

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Jewish Targums are so often mentioned in all works upon scriptural interpretation, that we have thought a brief and popular sketch of their history and contents might not be out of place in our miscellany. For this purpose we have found nothing more appropriate than the following treatise of the celebrated Leusden. The article is substantially a version of his Latin chapters upon this subject, divested of the scholastic divisions in which the original abounds, and in other respects, rendered more conformable to the supposed taste of our readers. Those who look for ampler details, may be gratified even to satiety by the elaborate productions of *Buxtorf*, *Bartolocci*, *Wolff*, and *Eichhorn*.

THE Chaldee Paraphrases are regarded by the Jews as having great authority, and almost as an ultimate rule of faith. We shall treat of them in a brief manner, with reference only to the more important branches of the subject.

The Jewish name for these versions is TARGUM, from the verb תרגם *interpretatus est, explicuit*. The word means, in general, any translation of the Scriptures into another language; but

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James Carnahan
ART. I.—*An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, on the day of the Annual Commencement of the College, Sept. 25, 1833, by John Sergeant, LL. D.*

THE day which closes the college life of a young man, is highly interesting, not only to the individual, but also to his friends and to his country.

Having finished his preparatory studies, he is ready to select a profession or occupation for life. Released from the inspection and control of teachers, he is henceforth to follow, in a great measure, his own guidance.

On such occasions, the most heedless can hardly exclude from their minds serious reflections respecting the past, and painful solicitude respecting the future. At this moment, whatever directions, or warnings, or encouragements may be given, by men of distinguished talents and virtues, cannot fail to make a deep and salutary impression on the youth anxious to know which way to direct his steps. On this account we cannot too highly commend the custom which prevails of having addresses delivered on the anniversaries of our literary institutions, by men eminent in civil and professional life. When the subject is well chosen and when the speaker is adequate to the task which he has undertaken, the most happy results may be safely anti-

ART. VI.—*The Life of William Farel, prepared from Original Authorities, by Melchior Kirchhofer, Minister at Stein on the Rhine, in the Canton Schaffhausen, &c.* Vol. II. Zurich: 1833, 8vo.* *J. W. Alexander*

WE have already presented our readers with a copious analysis of the first volume of this work.† It was then expected that the sequel of the animating biography would appear in a few months; but more than two years elapsed before the second part was given to the public. This delay, as there is good reason to believe, was occasioned in no small degree by the politico-religious feuds which exist in Switzerland.

To those who are acquainted with the early history of this son of thunder, no apology need be made for occupying so large a portion of our work with the details of his life. As the forerunner and friend of Calvin, and the pioneer in Swiss reform, as well as the zealous and eloquent missionary and preacher, he cannot but be an object of high regard to the great body of our readers.

Our history, it will be recollected, was broken off just at the interesting moment when Farel and Calvin were driven out of Geneva by an ordinance of the government. Undecided as to their future course, and almost tempted to relinquish the burdens of the ministry, they journeyed as far as Basle. Viret earnestly tendered them an abode, but they were unwilling to make him obnoxious to the tempest which they had scarcely escaped. They bore their trial with the utmost patience, forgiving their enemies, and recommending them to God. All at once, a call was received by Farel. The people of Neuenburg (Neufchatel) had received the Gospel from his lips; they sympathized with him in his affliction, and longed for his labours. A delegation from the Council sought him out at Basle, and pressed him with earnest entreaties to resume the care of their souls. After long hesitation, he reluctantly acquiesced, upon the condition that no obstacle should be laid in the way of his introducing a regular form of government; and after a seven weeks' retirement in Basle, he sorrowfully parted from his most beloved friend and younger brother, Calvin.

In Neufchatel he found things considerably altered. A few villages had come under the power of the Reformation. The

* Dar Leben Wilhelm Farel's, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, von Melchior Kirchhofer, Pfarrer zu Stein am Rhein, Cantons Schaffhausen, Mitglied der Schweitzerischen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern, und korrespondirendes Mitglied der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Geschichtskunde zu Freyburg im Breisgau.

† See Bib. Rep. for Ap. 1833, p. 146.

popish clergy had receded, and a new form of church-order was in some degree established, upon the principle that every thing was to be rejected which is forbidden by Scripture. The Bible was circulated in the language of the country. Yet in their departures from Romish servility the people were in danger of failing to recognise even legitimate church rule. The first regular Synod was held in May 1535; at this, however, for prudential reasons, Farel had not been present. Among other ordinances, it was here determined that, without the consent of the brethren, no novel doctrines should be broached, nor any one admitted to the ministerial office, without having been regularly called. In general, the regulations of the churches at Berne were adopted. In difficult cases the Classis was to call in other churches to counsel.

Such was the condition in which Farel found ecclesiastical matters in Neufchatel. A good foundation had doubtless been laid, but there was wanting the hand of a wise master-builder, to carry up the edifice, and to thrust aside those who were officiously busied in building where they were not sent. The Governor had embraced the principles of Reformation, but still retained an ancient grudge against Farel. The latter, however, zealously pursued his labours, seeking the counsel and aid of all good men. Having gone to Lausanne to attend the marriage of Viret, he proceeded as far as Thonon, and there heard from some of the Genevese, sad accounts of the uproar and disorganization in their unhappy city. In Neufchatel he was grieved at the unworthiness of some pastors, and the sufferings of many brethren; and so much was he disheartened at the stumbling-blocks which remained, that his lamentations drew from Calvin a letter of friendly remonstrance.*

In the midst of these discouragements, what was his astonishment to hear that Neufchatel was again visited by his former enemy and calumniator, Caroli! We have already related the apostacy of Caroli from Protestantism, his retreat to Rome, and his restoration to celibacy and popish orders. It remains to be told, that not finding what he sought in the bosom of Mother Church, he returned to Switzerland, to put himself under the wing of the evangelical community which he had so basely maligne. He was received with the distrust which was natural. Farel, however, determined to heap coals of fire upon his head, by frank cordiality, as soon as tokens of his restoration appeared. In a public conference, Caroli bewailed his fall; testified to the orthodoxy of Farel, Calvin, and Viret, whom he had charged

* Oct. 1539.

with Arianism; abjured purgatory, and the invocation of saints, and declared the mass to be a denial of the only sacrifice of Christ. In a word, he recanted and lamented and entreated, in such wise, that the preachers who were present affectionately gave him the right hand of fellowship. The Classis then took the matter into consideration, and there was great diversity of sentiment. Farel himself was strongly disposed to receive the professed penitent, and to win him over by kindness. For this leniency he was afterwards reprimanded by Tossanus, who from the beginning had seen through the mask of the hypocrite. Caroli left Neufchatel without satisfaction. His subsequent attempts at Berne were equally fruitless. And when, after some time, Farel found him in some retired spot, the faithless man broke forth into renewed attacks upon the orthodoxy of the preachers. Up to the time of his departure for Strasburg, he received from Farel the most salutary counsels; but all in vain. The conduct of Farel towards this impostor was surprising to most of the community. No one had been so much injured by his slanderous tongue, and yet he continued to treat the wretched man as a friend. Calvin strongly disapproved these repeated intercessions in behalf of one so unworthy. From Switzerland Caroli passed into France, and became again a priest of the Sorbonne.

The expulsion of Calvin and Farel from Geneva, was productive of the worst consequences. All bonds were loosed, and instead of order, there arose hatred, strife, confusion, feuds, and even murder. The mass was re-established, and the Bible was laid under restrictions, and entirely withheld from the female sex. The Syndics, who had caused the exile of the two pastors, came to such an end as was thought to be a judgment of God. The people awoke from their enchantment, and began to sigh for their preachers. Before a year had elapsed after the banishment, the council was ready to seek their return. To the question, which was often put to Calvin, whether he could not be induced to return, he uniformly replied, that he had been ejected with Farel, and that he would not return without him. And when a formal call was presented to him, his first inquiry was, why they had not sent for Farel, whose presence was as needful as at the time of their Reformation. While Calvin was privately beseeching Farel to prevent the success of these overtures, the latter was as earnestly using all means to accomplish Calvin's return. With the most urgent eloquence he entreated him to yield to the desire of the people, declaring that the call was manifestly of God. "God calls you to return (said he;) He permitted your expulsion, that you might again exercise your function with greater effect." While Calvin hesitated, in doubt whether the people of Strasburg

would allow his return, Farel wrote imploringly to the Swiss churches, begging them to use all their influence to promote the restoration of this important leader. "I conjure you, brethren," said he, "as you are Christians, and as you would further the prosperity of the church, to bend all your endeavours, on every side, to bring about this great end, lest the wrath of God fall on us for our treachery to his church; for I hold it to be no less than high treason for any to hinder the return of a pastor so passionately longed for." The earnestness of Farel, as usual, prevailed, and a second time he gave Calvin to Geneva. In this we behold the providence of God. Had these entreaties proved unavailing, and had Calvin never returned, how different, in all probability, would have been the history of the Reformed churches. Yet it was not till he had received from the burning soul of Farel a number of mighty appeals that he finally re-entered the place of his future eminence.

The sufferings of the French Protestants about this time engaged much of the attention of Farel, and induced him to visit Worms, in order that he might consult with the princes and learned men there assembled, in 1540 and 1541, concerning the best means of affording relief. He was filled with joy at beholding the learning and piety which God had raised up for the restitution of his church, and which was so largely represented in that convocation. With these fathers and brethren he also conversed upon the affairs of the Swiss churches, especially those particulars of polity and discipline, in which they were still wanting. After this, he complied with a request of Viret, that he should visit Zurich, and sought in various ways to obtain aid for the persecuted Christians in France.

The leaven of malice and contention was meanwhile actively working in Neufchatel. The zeal of Farel for purity of morals led him to mourn over the ungodly walk of many who were accustomed to partake of the communion. And so great was his sorrow, that he described himself as the most wretched of men. Nothing was wanting to produce an open eruption of the evil spirit, but some odious act of discipline on the part of the pastor; and it was not long before such an occasion was presented. A woman of some rank had become alienated from her husband, and abandoned his society. They were the parents of a rising family, and the life of the woman was far from being unblemished. Farel tried, by exhortation, to bring her back to the path of duty. The only result was that she forsook the Lord's table in a rage. He then applied to the lawful authorities, but without success. With his characteristic boldness he denounced the scandal from the pulpit; and a popular commotion instantly ensued.

Two parties were drawn up, but the majority decided that the faithful minister should depart at the end of two months. The storm beat against him violently, but he withstood it with rocky firmness. The greater part of the Council and the most respectable heads of families were in his favour; but the populace, supported by the Governor, his ancient foe, demanded his dismissal.

Not Neufchatel alone, but almost all evangelical Switzerland, felt the excitement of these events. The first who hastened to Farel's support was Calvin, who turned aside from his journey to Geneva, to still the disturbance. From Neufchatel he went to Berne, to make interest for the cause of truth and order. But the Bernese commissioners looked with some allowance upon the complaints of the disaffected, at least so far as to think it right that Farel should quietly recede from a charge where his labours were no longer valued. To such advice Farel would not lend an ear, even for an instant. His uniform language was, that having been called by the church, it was the church alone which should dismiss him; and that he could not, under such circumstances, abandon his flock, without being a traitor to his Master. The Classis also perceived that however mildly the exile might be effected, the precedent was such as would tend to unsettle all ecclesiastical relations. They therefore rejected the mediation of the Bernese. In the mean time, notwithstanding the vehement challenges of Farel, no man impeached his doctrine or his life.

When it was found that the secret influence of the commissioners from Berne was altogether against them, the Classis of Neufchatel sent deputies to a number of sister churches, in order to collect their opinions. The result was, that Geneva, Montbelliard, Biel, Morsee, and Thonon, sent letters which corroborated Farel in his inflexible purpose. Of these warm and pathetic communications, ample specimens are given by our biographer. Through all this hurricane of dissension the object of popular hatred was himself unruffled. He did not even desire an appeal to the churches. "Whether God hath decreed to retain me here, or not, is not any matter of anxiety to me; for I am prepared for any event." As the peril became more imminent, his steadfastness seemed only to increase. His preaching contained no allusion to his wrongs, and his pastoral labours were uninterrupted. Just at this juncture the plague burst out in Neufchatel, and afforded an occasion for him to appear in his true character, as a good shepherd. Day after day he was at the bedside of the sick and dying, making no distinction between his enemies and his friends. Even his bitter opposers could not withhold their respect. A general solemnity was observed, with reference to these judgments, and all partook of the Lord's Supper. Under faithful

preaching the eyes of the people were opened, and a general reconciliation appeared to be at hand. The churches of Basle, Constance, Strasburgh, and Zurich, sent such replies as strengthened the hands of Farel, and moderated the wrath of his enemies. And at the end of a few months, the pastor was reinstated in his ministerial office.

Then it was, for the first time since his dismissal, that Farel conceived it to be his duty to revisit Geneva. His astonishment was excited by beholding the speedy restitution of order which Calvin had effected. About the same time the Classis of Neuchatel was labouring to draw more closely the bonds of church order. Elders and deacons were appointed, the instruction of children on the Sabbath was introduced, and methods were taken to improve the common schools. It was enjoined, that no one should lie sick three days, without a visit from some spiritual adviser; and the Governor threw open the prison cells for the same humane purpose. And various steps were taken to produce a state of ecclesiastical affairs, in which, under strict discipline, the churches should be faithfully subservient to the government in a civil point of view, but absolutely free in whatever regarded the things of God.

No sooner was this difficult enterprise in a state of forwardness, than Farel began to pant for an opportunity of making new inroads upon the kingdom of darkness. He turned his eyes to Metz, where the little flock of Christians was scarcely able to rise above the wave of persecution. With the advice of his friend Calvin, whose discretion never took the colour of fear, he determined to blow the silver trumpet in person, at Metz. He accordingly visited them in the autumn of 1542. His first sermon was in the church-yard of the Dominicans. In vain were all the bells set ringing to prevent his being heard; his voice of thunder rose above their noise. The next day he addressed three thousand hearers. These discourses and his public administration of baptism excited much wonder. Even his friends became alarmed. He was summoned before the Council, and asked by what authority he preached. "By the authority of Christ," replied he, "and at the desire of his members." The plague broke out fearfully in Metz, and Farel was incessant in his labours of mercy, though his visits were strictly prohibited. Such was the opposition of the rulers, that the gates were closed against a deputation of the Swiss churches, and some persecution began. It would be long to recount the fluctuation of feeling and the scenes of contention which took place. Similar details have been given in our former article. The upshot of all was, that Farel found it prudent, after beholding

some fruit of his labours, to retire to Gorze, a neighbouring place, under the patronage of William, Count Fürstenburg.

In Gorze, Farel was not idle. A characteristic anecdote is related. On a certain occasion, in his hearing, Fidelis, a Franciscan friar, was holding forth from the pulpit, and asserted the perpetual virginity of Mary. Farel instantly arose and denounced this as a falsehood. In a moment he was, as in former days, assaulted by the women, who dragged him to and fro by his hair and beard, and would have maltreated him still further if he had not been rescued by a certain Captain Frank. After keeping his chamber for some time, he resumed his labours, and preached indefatigably until Easter; finding time, however, to write a noble letter of exculpation to the Duke of Lorraine, in which the principles of the Reformation are stated with clearness and cogency.*

The evangelical party in Metz sought to put themselves under the shadow of the Smalcald compact; but even Luther himself found his efforts in their behalf fruitless. After many intercessions of the Protestant princes, the utmost they could obtain was freedom of preaching. But as the evangelical rites were not yet tolerated, the brethren of Metz betook themselves to Gorze to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Farel administered to them, with many exhortations to penitence and gratitude. Scarcely had they partaken of the ordinance before they were filled with consternation by the sound of the war-trumpet. At the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother Claudius, Duke of Guise, with consent of the French king, fell upon these innocent sheep. A promiscuous slaughter ensued. Many were slain, and others drowned in the flight. Women were seized and injured. With the greatest difficulty Count William and Farel made their escape, the latter much wounded. For a long time his friends supposed him to be slain. He was finally brought in a litter to Strasburg.

To weaken the influence of Farel in Metz, the Duke of Orleans had no better expedient than to send against him his ungrateful acquaintance, Dr. Caroli, who was glad to have such an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance. He proceeded at once to denounce Farel, as a base heretic, and as the Augsburg Confession was the standard in Metz, he enlarged upon the sacramental question. But this was not enough; in the church of St. Vincent, he solemnly eited Farel to appear before the papal throne, or the Council of Trent, or the emperor and king of France, or the theologians of the French universities, or at Salamanea, in case he could not visit France; or finally, at Lyons or Padua. He demanded an answer in eight days, and declared that if it was not

* Feb. 11, 1543.

received, he would post him throughout Europe as a coward. He afterwards challenged him to a conflict "of life or death;" and ridiculously proposed that for this purpose they should both be imprisoned, Caroli in Metz, and Farel in France. Farel's reply was full of Christian forbearance. He declared his readiness to defend the truth every where, and at all times. While he held the motion touching the prison to be laughable, he was prepared to hold a disputation in any suitable place. And he elosed with stirring appeals to the conscience of his opposer.

Caroli continued his gasconade, but Farel was supported by the counsel and letters of his friends in all quarters. The meeting hence took place, and Caroli, deceived by his Romish flatterers, a few years after, poor, wretched, and forsaken, died in an hospital, and sunk into the nothing which Farel had predicted.

Farel had been a year absent from home. During this period his labours and sufferings had won him golden opinions from all good men. But his heart bled for the poor Christians of Metz, who received no relief, and whom he could not personally visit. His letters to them breathe a spirit of the most tender and fatherly affection; and even some years after this, we find him labouring with Viret for an alleviation of their ills. On his return to Neuchatel, he found himself speedily involved in new difficulties. Part of these arose from the perverseness of Chaponneau, one of his colleagues, an aged and testy man, who seemed almost ready to act over again the part of Caroli, by impugning the orthodoxy of Farel and Calvin. Another source of difficulty was the maladministration of pecuniary affairs in the church; for the ecclesiastical funds were diverted from their original intention, and sometimes even hypothecated for individual debts. In the midst of these troubles, an attempt was made, in 1545, to recall Farel to Geneva. This had long been a favorite project of Calvin, who was convinced that his former colleague could be far more useful in Geneva, than any where else; and even the Classis of Neuchatel were willing to make the sacrifice. But Farel would on no account leave his flock, without first providing a suitable successor, and as this was found impracticable, he remained.

While these transactions were in progress, Chaponneau died. He had been for some time reconciled, and on his death-bed assembled his brethren, retracted his slanders, asked their forgiveness, and sent messages of kindness to Calvin, whom he had greatly injured. The next event of general interest, is the attempt of Calvin and Viret to attract Farel once more to their vicinity. The Bernese had resolved to have a second chair of theology at Lausanne, and Viret desired a like-minded colleague. In Calvin's judgment, no man was so fit for the place as Farel. He was well

versed in the Scriptures, familiar with the Hebrew, and promised well as an interpreter. The government of Berne however frowned upon the proposal. This was no doubt in some degree owing to a jealous apprehension of the ecclesiastical influence which three such men would have, if their forces were thus united. For such was their inviolable friendship and unanimity, that whether separate or together, a single spirit seemed to actuate them all. The profound knowledge and penetrating intellect of Calvin, the zeal, resignation, and irresistible eloquence of Farel, and the innumerable captivating graces of Viret, formed, when combined, a power which was suspected. And the consequence was, that this second attempt to remove the pastor of Neufchatel, was as fruitless as the first.* This is the less to be regretted, as the light of Theodore Beza began soon after to shine in Lausanne.

The attention of Farel was now very strongly invited to the subject of education, by a letter from the good people of Berne. Though he needed no solicitation of this kind, it seems to have hastened his endeavours. He clearly saw that darkness would again overspread the church, if young men were not trained up for the defence of the Gospel. He was therefore instant with the Council that they should educate some candidates for the ministry, and succeeded in engaging them to provide for four. Farel's chief anxiety was for the religious instruction of children, and the full qualification of such as were to be ministers. He endeavoured to erect new schools, and to improve those which were already existing. In a word, he went much in advance of his contemporaries in the promotion of intellectual culture.

The persecutions which were endured by French Christians awakened the sympathy of Farel, especially as his own brothers, Daniel and Gauthier, were in prison; the latter in peril of life. In company with Viret, he travelled to Berne and Basle, to gain some assistance for them. The next year they went also to Basle and Strasburg, in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses. At the same time there were distressing circumstances within his own more immediate bounds. The writings of the Anabaptists were circulated, and produced injury. Farel urged upon Calvin the duty of confuting these licentious fanatics. The latter, in return, sought the advice of his friend with regard to the evils wrought by the same contentious people in Geneva. Farel again went with Viret to Geneva. With touching eloquence he pleaded the cause of Calvin before those who were disaffected. He reminded

* *Suspiciantur itaque protinus aliquam inter nos esse conspirationem et nos aliquid magnum moliri. Seis enim quam male jampridem audiat. Triumviratus, cui accedat Classis, paulo post Conventus. Calvin Vireto 15 May 1548. V. etiam Calvini Comment. in Titum. Ep. dedicat. ad Farel et Viret. 3 Kal Dec. 1549.*

them of his former services, and the preeminence of his labours against Antichrist. And whereas, they were offended with the poignant rebukes of their pastor, Farel reminded them that Calvin had, in a manner equally unsparing, animadverted upon no less men than Luther, Melancthon and their associates.

In 1545 Farel published a small book of devotions, which are characterized by Christian tenderness and unction. He wrote many letters of advice and comfort to churches and individuals. From time to time, he perused the successive works of Calvin, with great delight; and once, in a time of sorrow, found his work on the Council of Trent so cheering, that he spent the whole night in reading it.

The debates concerning the Sacrament were becoming fierce and injurious, and this was especially the case in Berne, where some who were disposed to be zealots, went so far as to denounce Viret for his opinions on this subject. Farel and Calvin acted the part of mediators, and succeeded to a certain extent in assuaging the unholy excitement. Their maxim was thus expressed by the latter: "By moderation and love, we shall conquer." The *interim* with its accompanying evils, filled the mind of Farel with apprehension, and he spake and wrote upon the subject with even unwonted animation. It was under these feelings that he penned his "Letter to all the lords and societies to whom the Lord hath given me access, and who have aided me in the work of the Lord."

Still more was he alarmed, in common with all good men, at the progress made by the *Libertines*, a disorganizing and licentious swarm of Antinomians, regularly descended from the Anabaptists of Munster. They aimed their blows at the very basis of religion. Their specious addresses, fraught with earnestness and suavity, and flattering to the carnal heart, misled multitudes, especially of the female sex. Their books and sermons were inflated by the ravings of a sickened imagination. As a lure to the friends of the Reformation, they used the Evangelical language, but only to turn the grace of God into lasciviousness. Thus a certain Franciscan imitated Calvin, and taught predestination; but he made it an apology for sin. Against this man, Farel wrote his *Sword of the Veritable Word of God*.* These men held that God had made men wicked in order to be a contrast to his own loveliness, and that sin is merely an accomplishment of the Divine will. They maintained the pantheistical notion that the soul, at dissolution, is merged in the Divine essence, thus annulling all the moral influence of the doctrine of immortality.

* Geneva 1550, pp. 488.

Farel defended the mysteries of grace against these horrible perversions. The whole was subjected to the revision of his two faithful friends, before it was made public. They found nothing to censure but the style, which was all his own. He was neither easy nor correct, and the ardency of his feelings obscured his conceptions, and sometimes enveloped his meaning in a mist of figurative diction. In addition to these tokens of friendship, we may remind the reader that Calvin dedicated his commentary on Titus, to Viret and Farel.

In 1550 a new Synod was convened, at the instance of Farel. Calvin, Viret, and Haller were invited. The first two were present; the last sent a friendly letter, excusing himself for being absent, on the ground that he could not appear without special permission from the Council. The presence of Calvin made a great impression. The Synod was employed chiefly upon questions relating to marriage, and ecclesiastical and consistorial regulations. Twenty-eight articles were agreed to, with much concord and fraternal unity.

In the autumn of the same year we find Farel at Geneva, where much contention was beginning upon the predestinarian controversy, in consequence of an attack made upon Calvin, by Jerome Bolsec, a quondam Carmelite. It happened on a certain occasion that Farel was one of his audience, when a certain preacher said, that all who were not born of water and of the Spirit were contrary to God, inasmuch as obedience was God's special gift to the elect. Bolsec started up and contradicted this. Calvin, who had come in unobserved, made an immediate reply, in a discourse of an hour's length. He was followed by Farel, who commended with zeal and eloquence what they had heard from his friend. Bolsec was chagrined and disconcerted. This occurrence embittered the latter very much against his two respondents.

The perils of the church cast upon Farel an increasing weight of care, and a burdensome correspondence. For it became his duty to direct the doubtful and confirm the weak, throughout the Reformed churches. Tossanus, in his difficulties, applied to him; and his old friend Bucer made him the depository of his griefs. The latter wrote to him frequently from England, and derived encouragement from his replies. When Bucer, soon after, died, Farel wrote to Calvin in language of the sincerest affection. But nothing so heavily pressed upon his spirit as the difficulty of enforcing discipline in communities where people were so prone to oscillate from the extreme of servility to that of fanatical insubordination. The contempt also in which he saw that true learning was held by many, grieved him sorely. To this was

added an humble sense of his own insufficiency and unworthiness, which is by no means the least admirable trait in this good man's character. To his friend Ambrosius Blaarer, of Biel, he writes (1552), as he had previously done to Calvin: "I conjure you, remind me frankly of what you see amiss, and make me the subject of your prayers. Thus shall you help both me and the church, more than by your commendations, which spring from an immoderate love." Burdened himself, he sought to relieve the burdens of others. His eye glanced with sympathy towards France, and Magdeburg, where the friends of truth were enduring persecution.

Farel had now passed his grand climacteric. In labours he had been abundant, and no less abundant in griefs; it is not therefore surprising that he should have been a valetudinarian. In 1553 he was more violently seized with disease, and a pleurisy laid him on a bed of pain, from which his physician Sarazin entertained no hope of his ever rising. Under these distressing circumstances he received a visit from the famous French jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was anxious to become acquainted with so eminent a champion of evangelical reform. During his stay, Farel made his last will. It was characteristic. He first thanked God for the mercy which he had shown him, notwithstanding all his ill desert; especially that by the death of his Son he had redeemed him from the curse; that he had rescued him from the darkness of Popery, and made him a minister of the truth. He then committed his soul to the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and yielded his body up till the day of resurrection. He avowed his conviction of the truth he had preached, and prayed for the steadfastness of all who had received it from his lips. The little worldly property which he possessed, he left to his brothers, Gauthier and Claudius. He bequeathed the fourth part of his books to the library of the Classis, and the residue to the sons of Gauthier Farel, and a nephew. A third part of his ready money and personal estate was to be given to the poor, under the direction of the Classis. The name of John Calvin is subscribed as the first witness. Farel was ready to depart, but the wish of Calvin, that his friend might survive him, was accomplished.

The synod convened about the time of his recovery. As the former governor was no more, an important obstruction was now removed. The synod passed many grave ecclesiastical acts, concerning the Lord's Supper, baptism, the religious education of children, the further removal of Popish ceremonies; also against divers scandals and immoralities; against lasciviousness, revelling, dancing, and superstition. Some difference existed with regard to the question whether public penance should be connected with

excommunication, and Farel was led to some temporary estrangement from his young brother Fabri. With the latter also there arose a difference upon a nice question respecting baptism. A child was offered for baptism by a pious grandmother, while its parents were Papists. Farel hesitated to administer the rite, as the father and mother did not belong to the church of the faithful, and were therefore without God's covenant. Fabri was in favour of baptizing the child, because the grandmother was its sponsor, and promised to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The Classis was divided. Some were against denying baptism in any case. Haller and Musculus declined giving any answer, and referred the case to Calvin; who held it to be absurd to baptize such as one could not reckon among the members of his church.*

The situation of Calvin, with respect to his own city, was such, about this time, as to fill his friends with solicitude. The delicacy of his friendship led him to conceal the extent of his troubles from his bosom friend. But Farel, of his own accord, hastened to Lausanne, to counsel with Viret for the relief of their brother. He also wrote to Calvin, in such terms as these: "The origin and aim of our friendship is Christ and the edification of the church. Riches, honour, power, worldly pleasure, are not what we seek, but only how we may serve our Master." He conjures him also, by the love of Christ—"If you believe it to be for the glory of Christ, constrain me, command me, beseech me to come." But Calvin was unwilling to introduce his aged friend into the labyrinth.

While the Libertines were bringing disorder into the church, Michael Servetus arrived at Geneva. One of his own scholars accused him, and after a few days the *Procureur général* instituted further process. The proceeding was generally acceptable.† The doctrine of Servetus (we are here giving a faithful summary of the biographer's statements) was a medley of extravagancies and impieties, which excited universal horror. He had borrowed from the Libertines, and from the Anabaptists, but had originated most himself. An impartial investigation took place. Among those present were some of Calvin's deadly enemies. Supported by these, Servetus rejected all instruction, and was seduced to bring capital charges against Calvin himself, which no other had ever ventured to do. On both sides there was high excitement of passion; and Calvin lamented the loss of public confidence. He believed the church, the truth, and himself to be in jeopardy. There were many who regarded Servetus more as a blasphemer

* Ep. Farello, 16 Cal. Aug. 1553.

† Magno assensu piorum. Beza ad Bull. 27 Aug. 1553.

than a heretic, and blasphemy was then, as it has been long since, a capital crime. Against Servetus were united the law, the general opinion, the vote of the leaders in the Swiss churches, the severe letter of the council of Berne, the voice of Calvin, who was no less a jurist than a divine, and most of all, the outrageous deportment of the accused himself. He was without opposition condemned.

Farel voluntarily offered to accompany the wretched man to execution. In company with other ministers, he exhorted him to consider his errors, but found him incorrigible. Farel then said to him: "Since such is your demeanour, I must leave you to the judgment of God; I can go with you no farther, though it was my determination to stand by you, and not forsake you until your last breath." Farel had endeavoured to procure for him an easier mode of execution, but this was denied by the Council.

Trouble was not yet at an end in Geneva. The syndic Perrin admitted to the communion one Philibert Berthelier, who had been excommunicated; the consistory stood upon their rights. For the support of his friends, Farel came anew to Geneva, where he used his influence with the friends of order, and in his characteristic way, animadverted upon the Libertines from the pulpit. These were not present, but the report of the discourse so inflamed their choler, that soon after his departure a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, as having attacked the honour of the whole community. Summoned to answer for himself, he repaired to Geneva on foot, and during inclement weather. Calvin was forbidden to let him preach; and on his arrival, his enemies threatened to cast him into the Rhone. He found however a body-guard of stout young friends, who would not see any insult offered to Father Farel. And so triumphant was the eloquence of his defence, that even his accusers gave him the hand.

When he returned to Neufchatel, he was involved in some perplexity by the necessity he was under of defending himself against the slanders of Pierre, the pastor of Cressier, who declared that Farel was "a savage man, a perverter of the truth, and possessed with two devils." After a public trial, Pierre was convicted of slander, and ordered to beg pardon of Farel, the governor, and the inhabitants. In the great majority of instances, however, Farel pursued the wiser course of leaving calumnies to refute themselves. He even declared that he chose to be the butt of the malicious Bolsec, rather than that Christian doctrine should be assailed by him in the person of Calvin. Against the latter the storm still raged, at Geneva, and also at Berne, where he was stigmatized as a heretic. "I must be made of wood and stone," writes Farel, "if I do not cling to thee with the most tender

love." And his whole language to his persecuted friend was in a tone of sympathy and encouragement.

In the midst of these drawbacks, he gloried in seeing that the truth advanced. And very soon, even in Geneva, he was witness to the power of light and love, in surmounting obstacles. "I was lately in Geneva (so he writes in 1557 to Blaarer) and never have I been so much delighted: scarcely could I tear myself away. Not that I wished indeed to teach a church so great and so desirous of the word, but rather to be a hearer and learner, as one of the humblest in the flock. Very different is my feeling from that of the man who said he would rather be first in the mountains than the second in Rome: for my part, I would rather be the least in Geneva, than the first any where else. And if I were not withheld by the Lord and by love of my flock, nothing should restrain me from dwelling in person among that people, with whom I have ever been united in spirit." A bitter drop mingled in his cup of satisfaction was the alienation of certain friends at Montbelliard, and especially his former partner in labours, Tossanus.

For more than thirty years the contention between the Lutherans and the Reformed upon the sacramental question, had afflicted the heart of Farel. The forbearance of good men on both sides postponed the crisis; but at length the flame was caused to break forth anew by the intemperate attack made upon Calvin by Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg. The polemic attitude into which the two churches were thus thrown, showed Farel that immediate union was not to be hoped for. Much of the twenty-third chapter is taken up with interesting details of the differences between the Lutherans, the Zuinglians, and the Calvinists; which however cannot be condensed. We also read of new persecutions to which the Waldenses were subjected, and from which they had some escape through the active mediation of Farel and Beza, who travelled extensively in Switzerland and Germany.

We next find Farel engaged, as during his youthful days, in a missionary expedition. His new attack was upon the bishopric of Basle. In St. Leonard, Serrieres, and Pruntrut, he preached the word, in defiance of threats, and with happy consequences. Neither the bishop of Basle nor the archbishop of Besançon could deter him. For the Gospel, he declared that he was willing at any time to lay down his hoary head. All Burgundy seemed to be struck with alarm, as he advanced. The archbishop and council of Besançon, the parliament of Dole, and the baron of Vergy, sent messengers to forbid the introduction of these dangerous itinerants. The care of many churches at the same time came upon the aged minister daily; the rather as he had survived

so many brethren. And when he heard of the death of Pellican, the images of his departed friends, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Gryndeus, Capito, and Zwingle passed before his mind. The gentle, peaceful temper of Pellican especially delighted him. "O that all (said he) who are endowed with eminent talents, were even so minded, as was this godly man, till his last hour."*

At the age of sixty-nine, Farel married, and several years after his only son was born, (June 22, 1564,) but survived his father only three years. This step was much condemned, but he desired a help-mate in his old age; and, like many other reformers, he wished to show his belief that a state of celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory, as the church of Rome asserts. Soon after we read of new storms raised in Lausanne and Payerne, by the question of excommunication; whether it is an essential part of the ministerial office.

The zeal of Farel for the propagation of the Gospel was known far and near, and his services were often demanded. In order to assist his friends at Metz he made a visit to Strasburg. The juncture was hopeful; for never had so great a number of the evangelical party united to pray for liberty of worship, and never had they received so favourable an audience. He hoped that Viret would yield to the general desire, and go to Metz as a preacher. The necessities of the Waldenses led him to revisit Neustadt, Biel, Basel, and Muellhausen. On his return, he received letters from France, informing him that the Gospel had free course, and that many hundreds of congregations, having abandoned the Mass, were sighing for pastors. Messengers from Gap (his native place) and Vienne, came to Neufchatel, praying that he and Fabri would repair thither to aid in the good work.

Remembering their ministerial oath, by which they were bound to offer up substance, body, and life for the Gospel, they could not hesitate to obey the summons. In his native region, Farel preached with the eloquence excited by the occasion. Notwithstanding the threats of the municipal authorities, he addressed immense audiences without interruption. He left Fabri when he returned to Neufchatel. The latter soon experienced dreadful persecution.

Calvin was now approaching his end. He wrote to Farel (May 2, 1564): "Fare thee well, my best and dearest brother! As it is the will of God that you should survive me, be mindful of our friendship, which as it has been serviceable to the church of God, will bring forth fruit for us in heaven. I am painfully awaiting every moment my last breath. My consolation is, to live and to

* Unice delector ingenijs promptis ad pacem. Ad. Bull. 27 May, 1556.

die unto Christ, who in life and in death bestows gain upon his people. Farewell, once more to you and all the brethren!" Farel hastened to see him, but left him still alive. "Oh, that I could die in his stead!" cried he, "and God grant that we also may end our career even as he has done."

The Reformation still made progress in Lorraine, and Farel determined to revisit Metz, in company with Jonas Favargier, one of his colleagues. He was received with the greatest consideration by the presbyters and the whole church. On the day after his arrival, he preached with so much power, that all were revived and comforted. He was himself edified at the sight of a church so well ordered. But the exertion did him harm, and he retired to his lodgings greatly exhausted. He was soon confined to his bed. During his illness people of every rank visited him, and each of these he exhorted, according to their respective stations, to maintain the truth, and labour for the propagation of evangelical reform. With all the dignity of a veteran soldier of Christ, he counselled his fellow-labourers to live answerably to their high vocation. His submission and patience were wonderful to all who saw him; and his courage and animation appeared as great as in his years of strength. The bystanders said to one another with admiration: "See, he is the same man, in every situation. Never was he discomposed by danger, and when we were cast down and gave up all for lost, his trust in God was unshaken, and his heroic soul led the way." He witnessed a good confession of the truth he had so long preached, and after lingering some weeks, sweetly slept in Jesus, on the thirteenth of September, 1565, just fifteen months and fourteen days after the decease of Calvin, and at the age of seventy-six years. He was succeeded in the pastoral office by Christopher Libertel Fabri, of Lyons; Viret having been previously called without effect.

The character of Wilhelm Farel is best illustrated by the history of his life. During his labours, and for years afterwards, he was justly regarded as the principal Swiss reformer. Without him, Calvin might have been a far less important man. He was distinguished by the more masculine traits of character. Yet bold, independent, and even tempestuous as he was, he possessed, like Luther, a heart which throbbed in unison with every tender palpitation of humanity. It was his glory to be a preacher of the word; and his contemporaries truly said, that he rather thundered than spoke. His confidence in the preached Gospel was extraordinary, and he was constantly repeating the divine promise, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.* He was a man of prayer, and often besought the prayers of the brethren for himself.

Such was his transparency of character, that Œcolampadius wrote to Luther, "You will thoroughly know him in an hour."

Farel was made for action, and though not unlearned, he was less disciplined than his coadjutors. This he felt, and was the more urgent in beseeching and adjuring Calvin to write commentary after commentary. With this great reformer he enjoyed a friendship like that of David and Jonathan. But though passionate in his attachments, he was frank and unsparing in his rebukes, and could not suffer sin upon his brother. His faults were the faults of daring, candour, and indignant zeal. If he did not always weigh his words, or take counsel of timid prudence, he was among the first to weep over his rashness.

We close this protracted review, with a feeling of gratitude to the biographer for a work so admirable in every respect, and with the earnest wish that it may be given to the public in an English dress.

ART. VII.—*A Brief Account of the Chaldee Targums. From the Latin of Leusden.*

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Jewish Targums are so often mentioned in all works upon scriptural interpretation, that we have thought a brief and popular sketch of their history and contents might not be out of place in our miscellany. For this purpose we have found nothing more appropriate than the following treatise of the celebrated Leusden. The article is substantially a version of his Latin chapters upon this subject, divested of the scholastic divisions in which the original abounds, and in other respects, rendered more conformable to the supposed taste of our readers. Those who look for ampler details, may be gratified even to satiety by the elaborate productions of *Buxtorf*, *Bartolocci*, *Wolff*, and *Eichhorn*.

THE Chaldee Paraphrases are regarded by the Jews as having great authority, and almost as an ultimate rule of faith. We shall treat of them in a brief manner, with reference only to the more important branches of the subject.

The Jewish name for these versions is TARGUM, from the verb תרגם *interpretatus est, explicuit*. The word means, in general, any translation of the Scriptures into another language; but