

## Herman Bavinck's "The Leading Ideas of Calvin's *Institutes*"

By Gregory Parker Jr.

### HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Throughout Herman Bavinck's theological and ethical thought Calvin is one of his primary interlocutors. It should come as some surprise that there has yet to be a monograph length work on Neo-Calvinism's relationship to Calvinism, or more particularly Herman Bavinck's harmony and dissonance with John Calvin.<sup>1</sup> He engages him nearly 400 times in the *Reformed Dogmatics* and over 100 times in his *Reformed Ethics*. Beyond his dogmatics he reflects on Calvin often, including his teaching on common grace,<sup>2</sup> the Lord's Supper,<sup>3</sup> his doctrine of sin,<sup>4</sup> he also penned a foreword to a Dutch translation of a book by Calvin,<sup>5</sup> and wrote a foreword for B. B. Warfield's book on the Swiss Reformer.<sup>6</sup> On top of this, he reflected on Calvinism

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1. James Eglinton, *Trinity and Organism: Towards a New Reading of Herman Bavinck's Organic Motif* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 17, 20–23, 25, 36, 74–79, 85–87, 90, 93–94, 106, 112, 120, 143–149, 152, 154, 167, 185–189, 191, 202; Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2020). In the gold standard Bavinck biography, Eglinton notes Bavinck's relation to Calvinism in multiple places: 4–5, 65, 80, 118, 141, 144, 157, 184–197, 206–207, 211, 215, 225–227, 232–234, 244–246, 249–252, 260–261, 268, 273, 280, 284, 287, 291; Valentijn Hepp, *Dr Herman Bavinck* (Amsterdam: W. Ten Have, 1921), 72, 78–81, 149, 163–164, 190, 217, 236–237.

2. Herman Bavinck, "Calvin and Common Grace," *The Princeton Theological Review* VII (1909): 437–465.

3. Bavinck, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," trans. Nelson D. Kloosterman, in *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 19 (2008): 127–142.

4. See Gregory Parker Jr., "Herman Bavinck's Notebook on Calvin's Doctrine of Sin," in *The Bavinck Review* 10 (2019): 101–108.

5. Bavinck, "Voorrede," in Johannes Calvijn, *Genesis: uitlegging van Johannes Calvijn*, trans. Johann Baum, Edouard Cunitz, and Eduard Reuss (Middelburg: Le Cointre, 1900), iii–v.

as a whole and its implication both in the Netherlands and abroad.<sup>7</sup>

This article provides a historical introduction to and a manuscript of Herman Bavinck's (1854–1921) 1909 speech at the Marylebone Presbyterian Church in London, "The Leading Articles of Calvin's *Institutes*."<sup>8</sup> This speech was part of a larger international celebration of John Calvin's birth. The nature of Bavinck's "Leading Articles of Calvin's *Institutes*" reflects his positive relationship with John Calvin and Calvinism.<sup>9</sup> The piece is largely similar to Bavinck's Dutch speech at the 400th anniversary of John Calvin's birth, which was published subsequently as a short book titled: *Johannes Calvijn*,<sup>10</sup> though "The Leading Ideas of Calvin's *Institutes*" is distinct in its own right. The article advocates for a broader

6. Bavinck, "Woord Vooraf," in B.B. Warfield, *Calvin als theoloog en de stand van het Calvinisme onzen tijd* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1919), 5–6.

7. Bavinck, "The Future of Calvinism, Calvinism and Reformed Theology," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* 5 (1894):1–24; Bavinck, "Het Calvinisme in Nederland en zijne toekomst," *Tijdschrift voor Gerformeerde Theologie* 3 (1895–1896): 129–163; Bavinck, "Calvinistisch en Gereformeerd," *De Vrije Kerk* 19, no. 2 (1893): 249–71; Hepp, *Dr Herman Bavinck*, 215. Hepp suggests Bavinck's piece "The influence of the Protestant Reformation on the moral and religious condition of society (societies) and people" could have easily been called "the excellence of Calvinism."

8. "Manuscript: 'De hoofdgedachten van Calvijn's Institutie,'" "The Leading Articles of Calvin's *Institutes*," "The Leading Ideas in Calvin's *Institutes*" (1909), Box 346, Folder 178, Archive of Herman Bavinck, Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands, hereafter [Archive of Herman Bavinck].

9. Cornelis van der Kooi and Martien E. Brinkman, *Het calvinisme van Kuyper en Bavinck* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1997). Kooi and Brinkman focus more on Kuyper than Bavinck in their monograph.

10. Bavinck lengthened the speech for print in Dutch (See Bavinck, *Johannes Calvijn: eene lezing ter gelegenheid van den vierhondersten gedenkdag zijner geboorte. 10 Juli 1509–1909* (Kampen 1909). This is available in English See Herman Bavinck, "John Calvin: A Lecture on the Occasion of his 400th Birthday, July 10, 1509–1909," translated by John Bolt, *The Bavinck Review* 1 (2010): 57–85.

reading of Bavinck's global contacts, teases out the primary themes of Bavinck's address on Calvin, and closes considering its reception. Put differently, the article explores the historical proclivities which lead up to the address, provides the address itself, and reflects on its reception. This historical framing allows us to consider Bavinck's relation to Calvin. Overall, the article contributes further depth to the biographical knowledge of Bavinck and makes available Bavinck's speech.

## ANSWERING AN ARCHIVAL MYSTERY

In the Historical Documentation Centre for Dutch Protestantism in Amsterdam there are three English manuscripts of Herman Bavinck's essay, "De hoofdgedachten van Calvijns *Institutie*." Two are in folder 178 and a third is in folder 371.<sup>11</sup> The first is titled "The Leading Articles of Calvin's *Institutes*," the second "The Leading Ideas in Calvin's *Institutes*," and the third, "The Leading Ideas of Calvin's *Institutes*." The first and third manuscript, given the handwriting, are most certainly Bavinck's. The writer of the second manuscript was unknown, until now. This was written by a Ms. Ada M. Corah of Birmingham, England.<sup>12</sup> There is no reason to doubt that Corah is the translator of the archival piece found in folder 178. The handwriting matches a letter of hers, dated April 14, 1909 addressed to Bavinck. She wrote this letter just a few weeks before Bavinck delivered the address on Calvin in English at Marylebone Presbyterian Church in London on May 7, 1909. One of the remarkable features then of this speech is that it is Bavinck's own English lightly edited by Corah. Here is a transcript of the letter to Bavinck:

11. "Manuscript and News clippings on Calvinism and *Johannes Calvijns: eene lezing ter gelegenheid van den vierhondersten gedenkdag zijner geboorte. 10 Juli 1509–1909* (Kampen 1909)," (1909) Box 346, Folder 371, Archive of Herman Bavinck. This archive folder has several manuscripts and outlines of *Johannes Calvijns*, including an additional English manuscript, "The Leading Ideas of Calvin's *Institutes*."

12. "Correspondence from Ada M. Corah" (14 April 1909), Box 346, Folder 9, Archive of Herman Bavinck.

13. *Mevrouw* is Dutch for Mrs., referring to Bavinck's wife Johanna.

14. Idzerd van Dellen, *In God's Crucible: An Autobiography* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1950), 41. Van Dellen, a student of Bavinck's in Kampen refers here to Bavinck's father as "old *Dominee*."

15. A nickname for Bavinck's daughter Johanna Geziena Bavinck (1894–1971).

16. Hepp, *Dr Herman Bavinck*, 301; *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 251. Eglinton notes that Ada Corah stayed with the Bavinck family for three months.

17. Hepp, *Dr Herman Bavinck*, 301. [Dutch: "Juiſt heb ik een brief aan Miss Corah geëindigd. Zij zal zonder twijfel belangſtelligend zijn, hoe vader het met zijne Engelsche lezingen gemaakt heeft. Wat heeft ze dikwijls opletend naar fouten zitten luiſteren. Het is prettig voor haar, dat het zoo goed is gegaan."]

Birmingham

April 14/1909

Dear Professor,

I am sending herewith your manuscript on Calvin, also my English version of it. I hope it may prove satisfactory to you – it has been a great pleasure to me to do it, and I have not found any great difficulty, although handicapped with a rather small dictionary, yet I missed not having you to turn to when I was doubtful, and there may be misconstructions. I am returning it in the same way as you sent it, but you will see they crushed your manuscript a little in the post.

We are disappointed we shall not have the pleasure of seeing you & dear *Mevrouw*<sup>13</sup> when you come to England in May, it is tantalizing to think of you being such a short distance away & not being able to see you, but we shall look forward the more to having your visit in the summer vacation and I hope Hanni too.

I was sorry to hear of *Dominé's* illness, but trust now he is better again – please give my love and respect to him, if he remembers me.

I wrote your message to Dr. Rendel Harris.

Now I must hurry for post, Mother joins me in kindest regards to your family & yourself.

Yours very sincerely

Ada M. Corah

Who was Ada M. Corah? She was familiar with the Bavinck family, and knew Bavinck's father, Jan Bavinck, referred to in the letter as *Domin*, which is close to the Dutch word for minister (*dominee*) and a common way of referring to Bavinck's father.<sup>14</sup> Jan Bavinck was sick at this time and died later in 1909. Moreover, she was familiar enough with the family to know that Herman and Johanna's teenage daughter, Johanna, went by Hanni.<sup>15</sup> According to Valentine Hepp, an "Ada M. Corah" stayed with the Bavinck family in the fall of 1906, to help Herman with translating his lectures for America into English.<sup>16</sup> It was common for Dutch professors to employ native speakers to teach the family a foreign language. In addition, Herman's father moved in with the Bavinck family in 1907, due to poor health, so depending on the length of Corah's stay she may have overlapped with him. Hepp also reports, that while in America Johanna, writing to Hanni, said, "I just finished a letter to Miss Corah. She will undoubtedly be interested in how Father made it with his English lectures. How she often listened attentively for mistakes. It is pleasant for her that it went so well."<sup>17</sup>

This acquaintance with Corah hints at the complexity

of Bavinck's social life and network.<sup>18</sup> Scholars have noted Bavinck's global contacts with other Reformed thinkers such as B. B. Warfield,<sup>19</sup> Henry Dosker<sup>20</sup> and Geerhardus Vos.<sup>21</sup> However, little attention has been paid to Bavinck's correspondence with those who are less well-known or outside of his theological circles. Ada Corah from Birmingham adds a shade of complexity to this network of contacts. One may conclude from Herman and Johanna's correspondence with Ada that the Bavinck family had a rich network of relationships, many of which remain unknown to us, but were valued by them. The letter linking Corah and Bavinck has then two points of significance. First, it connects two archival pieces in the Herman Bavinck archive that were previously unconnected. Second, it allows for a greater appreciation for Bavinck's global network and the global integration of Bavinck's second-generation seceder family. Now that we have solved the question of the author of the third speech, Corah, we may now turn to consider the event of the speech and its reception.

#### THE RECEPTION OF BAVINCK'S SPEECH ON CALVIN

The 400th anniversary of John Calvin's birth was celebrated by the Presbyterian Church of England with a two-day meeting at Marylebone Church in conjunction with their general assembly.<sup>22</sup> The London speech by Bavinck, though unconnected, was part of a larger historical recognition of the 400th anniversary of Calvin's birth (Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 250–252). Rev. Dr. J. C. Gibson, Moderator of the Assembly and author of *John Calvin, The Man and His Work* hoped the celebration would correct the vision of Calvin as "a somewhat unlettered and bigoted Scotsman" to that which he truly was, "a brilliant Frenchman, with all the graces and beauty of the typical French character, especially when elevated by hearty reception of Christ's Gospel."<sup>23</sup> Alongside Bavinck's address on the *Institutes* was Rev. Dr. Oswald Dykes's speech on "Calvinism as a Providential Preparation for an Age of Persecution" (*Northern Whig*, 8), and Mr. Horne's on Calvin's influence on English puritanism.<sup>24</sup> *The British Weekly* reported on the two speeches:

The speeches of Prof. Bavinck of Amsterdam, and of Dr. Dykes, afforded a fine contrast. Affection for Calvin, we suspected, is more deeply rooted in the heart of the Dutch professor than in that of the learned ex-Principal. Prof. Bavinck speaks English admirably and his paper on the chief ideas of Calvin's Institutes was followed with sympathetic attention.<sup>25</sup>

After returning to the Netherlands, Bavinck received several letters, including one from Rev. W.M. Macphail, who had invited Bavinck to speak, writing:

I trust the enthusiastic manner in which your masterly paper on Calvin's Institutes was received on Friday night was some reward for the trouble you took in preparing it and in coming across the sea to deliver it. Everyone was full of admiration for your treatment of the subject. We are greatly indebted to you for your presence, and for your admirable contribution to the programme. I trust both you and Mrs. Bavinck enjoyed your brief visit to London.<sup>26</sup>

18. Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 251. Eglinton likewise argues for a large international network with which Bavinck interacted.

19. Eglinton, "Herman Bavinck's 'My Journey to America,'" *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Country Studies* 41, no. 2 (2017): 180–193.

20. Henry Dosker, 'Men Wil Toch Niet Gaarne een Masker Dragen': *Brieven van Henry Dosker aan Herman Bavinck, 1873–1921*, ed. George Harinck and Wouter Kroese (Amsterdam: Donum Reeks, 2018).

21. George Harinck, "Herman Bavinck and Geerhardus Vos," *Calvin Theological Journal* 45 (2010): 18–31; Geerhardus Vos, *Letters of Geerhardus Vos*, ed. James T. Dennison Jr. (Philipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2006); "Wedding Announcement," (1894), Box 346, Folder 3, Archive of Herman Bavinck. Vos and Bavinck were close enough that Herman and Johanna received a wedding announcement in 1894. Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 186. Bavinck dined with the Warfields during his visit to Princeton.

22. Hepp, *Dr Herman Bavinck*, 311–312. Hepp indicates that in 1909 Bavinck gave public lectures frequently on America, John Calvin, the Secession, the soul, and the life of the soul, among other issues of the twentieth century. Eric Bristley, *Guide to the Writings of Herman Bavinck* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2008), 96. Bristley suggests the "Leading Ideas in Calvin's Institutes" as the speech delivered at Marylebone Presbyterian Church, London on Friday 7th May, 1909. "Correspondence from Rev. W.M. Macphail" (6 March, 1909), Box 346, Folder 9, Archive of Herman Bavinck. Letter from W.M. Macphail confirms an invitation from Marylebone Presbyterian Church to come speak on John Calvin at the 400th celebration of his birth. James Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 251. Eglinton notes the mixed international reaction to "Calvin" speeches. Bavinck's friend Snouck Hurgronje received the Dutch edition warmly, while others thought that it had "not produced anything new."

23. "The Calvin Celebrations," *Northern Whig*, May 12, 1909, 8.

24. "Mr. Horne's Address," *The British Weekly*, May 13, 1909; "Presbyterian Synod," *Dartmouth & South Hams Chronicle*, April 02, 1909, 7. "The 400th anniversary of the birth of John Calvin is to be commemorated on the Friday. Professor H. Bavinck of Amsterdam, and the Very Rev. Dr Alex Stewart of St. Andrews University, have accepted to take part." "Friday Evening Speeches," *The British Weekly*, May 13, 1909, notes that Rev. Dr Alex Stewart fell ill and was unable to make it and was replaced by Mr. Horne.

25. *The British Weekly*, May 13, 1909. See "News clippings" (13 May 1909), Box 346, Folder 371, Archive of Herman Bavinck.

26. "Correspondence from Rev. W.M. Macphail" (11 May, 1909), Box 346, Folder 9, Archive of Herman Bavinck; Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 252. Eglinton notes Herman and Johanna's fondness for London.

Bavinck's speech on Calvin was well-received. Notably, Bavinck's piety, deftness with English, and theological acumen were all on display. One member of the audience is reported as having murmured "Calvin forever!" after his speech;<sup>27</sup> an indelibly stirring speech. Having considered the reception of the speech, we now turn to the content of the speech itself. Attention will be paid not only to the formal argument of the speech, but also how this speech sheds light on Bavinck's relationship to Calvin and Calvinism.

#### INSIGHT ON BAVINCK AND CALVIN FROM "LEADING ARTICLES OF CALVIN'S *INSTITUTES*"

In the "Leading Articles of Calvin's *Institutes*," Bavinck's argument has one central idea the supremacy of Calvin's system for doctrine and life. He argues this across three areas: (1) Calvin the person, a greater reformer; (2) Calvin's theological system, a greater unity between life and doctrine; and (3) Calvin and philosophy, a theology that can converse with the ideologies of the day. Together the three allow insight into how Bavinck perceived Calvin contra Kuyper and provide fodder for reflecting on reading Calvin into Bavinck.

First, Calvin the person. Bavinck situates Calvin among the other reformers as the great systematic mind and organizer of the doctrines of the Reformed faith. In the expanded and published Dutch version, Eglinton acknowledges the sour mood in the Netherlands regarding Calvin at the time. Eglinton writes, "In a setting in which Servetus had become the hero and

Calvin the heretic, it became important to Bavinck that Calvin's image be defended.... This particular publication was modest in tone – perhaps intentionally so" (Eglinton, *Bavinck: A Critical Biography*, 251–252). We may acknowledge alongside Eglinton, that Bavinck's speech was less hagiographical than others. Calvin's conversion was accompanied by a great certainty. This certainty enabled him to retrieve true doctrine from theologians of the past and bring unity to the confession of faith in his own time. Nonetheless, he was not just an intellectual but was wholly given over in service to God and friends. Calvin's life intermittently comes up throughout the rest of the piece, as Bavinck transitions into his theology. The most defining feature of Calvin as a person to Bavinck is that he is the "systematizer" of the Reformed faith and that his theology is accompanied by certainty.

An interesting historical difference between Bavinck and Abraham Kuyper and their thoughts on John Calvin may then be posited here. As detailed in James Eglinton's essay, "Thomas in Abraham's bosom: The reception of Aquinas in Kuyper's *Encyclopedie der Heilige Godgeleerheid*," Kuyper places Thomas Aquinas above Calvin.<sup>28</sup> He even perceives Calvin's *Institutes* as of a lower historical order than Thomas' *Summa*. Calvin is no doctor, but merely a *pater ecclesiae* for Kuyper.<sup>29</sup> On the contrary, Bavinck states, "Calvin was not the Plato or Augustine, but the Aristotle and the Thomas Aquinas among the Reformers (Bavinck, "Leading Ideas," [5])." This brief statement suggests that for Bavinck Calvin and Aquinas are of the same historical significance as theologians. It may be suggested then, that Bavinck possessed a higher view of Calvin than Kuyper.

In turning his attention to the *Institutes*, Bavinck regards Calvin as having "religious-ethical" certainty (Bavinck, "Leading Ideas," [1,3,15,17]). Bavinck perceives him as intimately connecting religion and morality, doctrine and life, faith and works. "The core and the kernel" of the *Institutes*, however, is the "grace of God in Christ" (Bavinck, "Leading Ideas," [11]), which is the "essence of Christianity" (Bavinck, "Leading Ideas," [6]). As noted by Eglinton, at the time of this speech Bavinck's approach to his theological writings was broadening in focus. He spent more time writing about "Christian" theology rather than "Reformed" theology. Nonetheless, this was not a movement away from Reformed theology, but rather a varied approach to the philosophical issues of the day.<sup>30</sup> In Bavinck's pamphlet *Het Christendom (Christianity)*, he writes of the essence of Christianity as identical with the person and work of Christ.<sup>31</sup>

27. See "Honouring John Calvin," *The British Weekly*, May 13, 1909. See "News clippings" (13 May 1909), Box 346, Folder 371, Archive of Herman Bavinck.

28. James Eglinton, "Thomas in Abraham's bosom: The reception of Aquinas in Kuyper's *Encyclopedie der Heilige Godgeleerheid*" in *Oxford Handbook of the Reception of Aquinas*, ed. Matthew Levering and Marcus Plested (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 453–467 (shortened hereafter "Thomas in Abraham's bosom"); Abraham Kuyper, *Encyclopedie der heilige godgeleerdheid*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1894).

29. Eglinton, "Thomas in Abraham's bosom", 464. Eglinton's translation of Kuyper: "Even Calvin's *Institutio* disappoints with regard to sharp lines [of argumentation] and completeness; and whoever compares Calvin's *Institutio* with Thomas' *Summa* by that standard must give the palm of honour to Thomas. But this comparison is spurious. Thomas was a *doctor*, Calvin a *pater ecclesiae*, which thus prevents their correlation." See Kuyper, *Encyclopedie der heilige godgeleerdheid*, Vol. 3, 389–90.

30. See Bruce Pass, "Introduction," in *On Theology: Herman Bavinck's Academic Orations*, 1–29 (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

31. Bavinck, *Het Christendom: Groote Godsdiensten*. Serie II, No. 7 (Amsterdam. Baarn: Hollandia-Drukkerij, 1912), 11; Bavinck, *What is Christianity?* translated and edited by Gregory Parker Jr. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2022).

Bavinck's reformed-ness was not in competition with his ecumenical endeavors, yet remained the purest stream of theology. Indeed, a multiplicity of doctrines in Reformed Dogmatics are summarized simply as "Christian theology".

In this speech, the theme of the "grace of God in Christ" intersects with certainty as Calvin traces the grace of God in Christ to certainty in salvation, and certainty of the heart through the testimony of the Spirit. Bavinck also focuses on Calvin's conception of the divine will. This too flows from the grace of God in Christ. Election and grace are not opposed to one another but are in harmony. Election, the grace of the gospel, does not lead to spiritual malaise but rather "it awakes self-consciousness" (Bavinck, "Leading Ideas," [15]) and spurs the heart and the moral life to attain its greatest value as penetrates into eternity. Thus, there is harmony in both doctrine and life through the grace given in Christ. The center of Calvin's system according to Bavinck then, is the work of redemption wrought in Christ and this is the essence of Christianity.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, in the speech Bavinck draws Calvin into discussion with the "new" philosophy of his day. This section of the speech might be read in light of a small section of his Reformed Dogmatics (Vol. III, 177-179). There he explicitly mentions Friedrich Schelling, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Eduard von Hartmann.<sup>33</sup> We might draw attention to his engagement with Arthur Schopenhauer.<sup>34</sup> Bavinck writes of both Kant and Schopenhauer in his *Reformed Dogmatics* as reacting against rationalism.<sup>35</sup> Bavinck writes of philosophy as interpreting "the essence of the world as will, energy, and power." At least the first of these three is intimately connected with Schopenhauer. Schopenhauer's work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Representation*) was one of the most widely read works of philosophy in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Bavinck brings Calvin into conversation with the misery and pain of reality, an idea that Schopenhauer and Schelling both championed.

The final section of the work strives to capture the enduring legacy of Calvin. It is not only Calvin's teaching, but his person, not only his doctrine, but his life that is placed before us. Thus Bavinck beckons all those who follow in the footsteps of Calvin to confess with their mouth the great truth of Romans 11:36.

We may note two things from this speech in relating Calvin and Bavinck. First, Bavinck perceived Calvin to be of a higher order theologian than Kuyper. At minimum, Bavinck placed Calvin and Aquinas on the same theological pedestal. The second is that what Bavinck

admired most in Calvin's *Institutes* was exactly what he himself strove to achieve in his own *Reformed Dogmatics*. Bavinck perceived Calvin's theology to be both attuned to the consciousness of the church (given by its consistent reference to both the religious affections and Christian confessions). Moreover, he perceived Calvin's theology to possess a systematic character (given by the clarity and mutual coherence of its concepts). These are two features of Bavinck's own dogmatics that are unmistakable. Bavinck engages with the theology of his day; even the language of "consciousness" is a veiled reference to Schleiermacher.<sup>37</sup> And then, contra Kuyper, who is more of a Luther figure, Bavinck is the great systematiser of Neo-Calvinism.

#### CONCLUSION

In this introduction we explored various features related to Bavinck's 1909 speech in London. First, a previously unknown connection was unveiled between folder 9, folder 178, and folder 371 of the Herman Bavinck Archive. Simply put, Bavinck corresponded with an Ada Corah of Birmingham to provide editorial assistance to his London Speech. Her handwriting is found in both folder 9 and 178. This small detail

32. See also Bavinck, "The Essence of Christianity," in *Essays on Religion, Science, and Society*, ed. John Bolt, trans. Harry Boonstra & Gerrit Sheeres (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 33-48. See also Bavinck, *What is Christianity?*

33. For treatments of Bavinck and Schelling see Pass, *The Heart of Dogmatics: Christology and Christocentrism in Herman Bavinck* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 28-31, 81-83, 121-124. For a treatment of Bavinck and Hartmann, see Nathaniel Sutanto, *God and Knowledge: Herman Bavinck's Theological Epistemology* (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 123-145.

34. Pass, "Herman Bavinck's *Modernisme en Orthodoxie*: A Translation," *The Bavinck Review* 7 (2016): 63-114, 87. "...but above all what is remarkable is that in recent years under all manner of influences—the pessimism of Schopenhauer..." See also "Manuscript 'Geschiedenis der nieuwe filosofie' (unknown), Box 346, Folder 199, Archive of Herman Bavinck. The final section of this manuscript ends with Arthur Schopenhauer. This reading concurs with Beiser who suggests that Schopenhauer set the intellectual agenda for philosophy after 1860. See Frederick Beiser, "The Schopenhauer Legacy," in *Weltschmerz: Pessimism in German Philosophy, 1860-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 13-24.

35. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, 4 vols. ed. J. Bolt, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003-8), III, 544.

36. Beiser, *After Hegel: German Philosophy 1840-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 29. See also "Notebook 'Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung,'" (1882), Box 346, Folder 279, Archive of Herman Bavinck. This folder contains Bavinck's notes on this work of Schopenhauer. Bavinck writes summarizing the book: "The world is thus will" [Dutch: De wereld is dus wil.]

37. See Cory Brock, *Orthodox yet Modern: Herman Bavinck's Use of Friedrich Schleiermacher* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2019).

exposes the richness of the network of relationships the Bavinck family possessed globally. Second, the reception of the 1909 speech was detailed. This provided insight into the quality of Bavinck's English and the reception of him as a theologian beyond the Netherlands. Finally, we considered the contents of Bavinck's speech attending to how we might understand the relationship between Calvin and Bavinck. We discovered against the background of Kuyper that Bavinck elevates Calvin alongside of Aquinas. Moreover, we posited the potential of reading Bavinck as "Calvin" amongst the Neo-Calvinists.

Before providing the speech, it is necessary to provide some editorial guidance. In the archives there is one Dutch version ("De hoofdgedachten van Calvijn's *Institutie*") and three English versions: "The Leading Articles of Calvin's Institutes" [folder 178: Bavinck Manuscript A], "The Leading Ideas in Calvin's Institutes" [folder 178: Bavinck Manuscript B], and "The Leading Ideas of Calvin's Institutes" [folder 371: Corah Manuscript]. Below is the manuscript of Bavinck Manuscript B. In the endnotes I have noted redactions and expansions made from "Bavinck Manuscript A" to the final product of "Bavinck Manuscript B". The endnotes also note locations where Ada Corah influenced the translation.<sup>38</sup> What follows is Bavinck's own English writing. The footnotes tell the primary story of the relationship between the various translations.

38. In "Corah's Manuscript" the right sides of the pages have received a number, but not the left. Here, they will be numbered 1 recto, 1 verso, etc..]

39. The bracketed numbers (i.e. [1]) are the original pagination.

40. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 1. Reads as "according to the apostolic principles (precepts)."

41. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 1. "~~thoughts~~" is followed by "ideas."

42. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 1. Reads as "and ~~the~~ subordinated"

43. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 1. Inserted: "in the year."

44. "Corah's Manuscript," 1 recto. "on a higher place of operations – construction?"

45. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 2. With some shifting in word order he has crossed out "mankind" in his manuscript and replaced it with "modern."

46. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 2. Includes "harmony."

47. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 2. "opportunities of intercourse."

48. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 2. "in his fourteenth year"

49. "De hoofdgedachten van Calvijn's *Institutie*," 2. The word rendered "inward life" is *zieleleven*, which could perhaps be rendered better as "soul's life." "Bavinck Manuscript A," 2. Interestingly, only "Bavinck Manuscript B" splits this paragraph here.

50. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 3. An example of the influence of Corah on his English writing. In "Bavinck Manuscript A" the word used is "wholly," in "Corah's Manuscript," "obstinately," which is the word utilized in "Bavinck Manuscript B" (see "Corah's Manuscript," 3).

51. "Manuscript A," 3. "embraced" is written above "accepted."

52. "Manuscript A," 3. "it was" is clearly edited into his writing.

"THE LEADING IDEA OF CALVIN'S *INSTITUTES*" BY  
HERMAN BAVINCK

[1]<sup>39</sup> Among the movements and events which introduced the new era, the Reformation occupies a singular independent place. It arose out of the soul's need of certainty of salvation, bore a religious-ethical character, and aimed at the renovation of the church of Christ according to the apostolic principles.<sup>40</sup>

Luther was its inspired prophet. It was he who first gave expression to the main ideas<sup>41</sup> of the Reformation, in a such a manner, that they penetrated to the heart, and in a language all the people understood. Next to him the honour belongs to Zwingli, of bringing about an independent Reformation in Switzerland, which, although closely related to the German, nevertheless had its own type, and subordinated<sup>42</sup> justification by faith to the honour of God's name.

Calvin was twenty five years younger than Luther and Zwingli. He was born on the tenth of July in the year<sup>43</sup> 1509, at Noyon, in the North of France, and formed therefore the link between the first and second generations of the Reformation. But yet he deserves a place alongside the above-named Reformers, because he united both in a higher synthesis,<sup>44</sup> systematized the ideas of the Reformation and organized and fertilized its labours. Calvin prevented the stream of the Reformation from [2] becoming shallow and broadened its life into the history of modern<sup>45</sup> humanity.

There exists a remarkable agreement<sup>46</sup> between the education, which Calvin enjoyed, and the task, to which he was later called. He saw the light in a middle-class family, which had reached at Noyon some degree of prosperity and importance; and as a boy and lad availed himself of the opportunity to intercourse with young people of a higher class.<sup>47</sup> When he went to Paris in 1523, at the age of fourteen years,<sup>48</sup> and some years afterwards to Orléans and Bourges, he received a splendid literary and juridical education, which was of the highest service to him in his later, many-sided, reformatory activities. But all this preparation, however excellent, was not fitted, to make Calvin a Reformer. For this something else was needed,—a decided change in his own inward life.<sup>49</sup>

Where this exactly took place and how it came about, we do not know. Calvin seldom made any mention of this; he did not care to speak about his inner life. All that he says about it later, is, that he was obstinately<sup>50</sup> given over to the superstitions of popery, and that God by a [3] "sudden conversion" bridled his heart and brought it to subjection. Calvin embraced<sup>51</sup> the Reformation in the same way as Luther and Zwingli; it was<sup>52</sup>

a religious-ethical experience, that brought him also to decision. But yet there is a difference in their common experiences.<sup>53</sup> In the case of Luther<sup>54</sup> conversion consisted especially in a transition<sup>55</sup> from a deep sense of guilt<sup>56</sup> to the glad<sup>57</sup> realization of God's forgiving grace in Christ. Zwingli felt it as a change from legal servitude to the freedom of the life of faith. Calvin experienced it chiefly as a deliverance from error to truth, from doubt to certainty.

His *Institutes in the Christian Religion* are the strongest evidence of this. What strikes one above everything in this book is the absolute certainty, the unshakable conviction, which finds expression on every page. There is everywhere the evidence of one, who knows that he is in possession of the truth, who has made the things of God his own and who is above all doubt. Calvin had indeed formerly known all kinds of doubt. But since his conversion he is absolutely sure, and regards doubt as the most godless thing, [4] that can befall a Christian. He discovered as in a flash of lightning the abyss of error in which he was engulfed; and equally suddenly he saw clearly and distinctly, what he had to confess as truth according to the Word of God.<sup>58</sup>

The publication of the *Institutes*, which first saw the light in Basel in March 1536, was the first, great, reformatory deed of Calvin, and at the same time an event in the history of the Christian church. It contained in germ the whole contents of his faith and the complete program of his labours.<sup>59</sup> There is not the least question about any change in his conviction later on. The book, that he published, was small in extent and was several times supplemented and enlarged by him. But he made no essential change.<sup>60</sup> The fundamental ideas of the last edition are the same as those of the first, and he confessed to the end the convictions, from<sup>61</sup> which he started.

Calvin of course based his *Institutes* on the work of his [5] predecessors Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Bucer, Farel. Although his conversion was sudden, it was yet prepared for by his intercourse with men like Olivetanus, Wolmar, de la Forge and others. Calvin was not the Plato or Augustine, but the Aristotle and the Thomas Aquinas amongst the Reformers. But still he did much more than merely repeat the sayings of his predecessors. He collected and united the scattered stones, he rounded off the ideas of the Reformation, he filled up the gaps, avoided one-sidedness, curtailed exaggerations, and with French sagacity and clearness brought unity into the confession of truth.

The certainty, wherewith Calvin speaks in his book, is however not of a scientific, but of a religious-ethical

nature. It is the certainty of faith regarding the salvation, which is in Christ Jesus. And in Calvin's mind that faith has just the peculiarity of being the absolute certainty; the strong, immovable conviction, wrought by God in the heart, a witness of the Holy Spirit with our [6] spirit. Nothing in the whole world assures us of the grace of God, except the person of Christ, who appears to us in the Scriptures. But there it shines out for us in all its truth and fulness.

The grace of God in Christ is the core<sup>62</sup> and essence of Calvin's *Institutes*, which does not unfold as a philosophical system and does not even claim the name of dogmatics in the fullest sense, but, especially in its first edition, simply gives a short explanation of the doctrine of salvation. With Calvin this was and continued to be the essence of Christianity, that God tells us therein, how much he loves us. The contents of the special revelation is God's mercy towards us and the assurance<sup>63</sup> of that, awakened in our hearts. Objective truth and subjective certainty, unchangeable conviction respecting reality of revelation and unwavering surety regarding our own salvation, are with Calvin closely connected; faith embraces both, in one and the same act.

[7] But Calvin does not rest in this certainty.<sup>64</sup> He

53. "De hoofgedachten van Calvijns *Institutie*," 3. *ziels-ervaring* could be translated perhaps better as "soul's-experience."

54. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 3. "~~With Luther~~" is followed by "In the case of Luther."

55. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 3. "Change" is scratched out and replaced by "transition."

56. "De hoofgedachten van Calvijns *Institutie*," 3. "*Schuldgevoel*" could be translated as the "feeling of guilt"

57. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 3. "Joyful" is replaced with "glad," which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

58. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 4. A clear example of the edits between manuscript A and B, brackets inserted where ^ is, formerly where they are in this sentence: "He discovered ^ the pool of error, into which he was enveloped [as in a flash of lightning], and equally suddenly he saw ~~clear and distinctly and clearly~~ clearly and distinctly, what he had to confess as truth according to the Word of God." The paragraph is not split in "Bavinck Manuscript A."

59. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 4. "It contained (~~comprised~~) in germ the whole contents (~~tenor~~) of his belief (faith) and the whole complete programme of of his labours (~~work~~)."

60. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 4. The translator crosses out "essential" moving it from the beginning to the penultimate word in the sentence, which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

61. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 4. "Of" is crossed out and replaced with "from," which is reflected in Bavinck's Manuscript B."

62. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 5. "Heart" is replaced with "core," which is reflected in "Bavinck's Manuscript B."

63. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 6. "Certainty" is scratched out and replaced with "assurance," which is reflected in "Bavinck's Manuscript B"

64. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 7. He has written above "certainty," "security."

does not delight in the experiences of his own soul, but he goes back from the certainty of God's grace in Christ to its source and origin. He rises from the creature to the Creator, from the temporal to the Eternal, from the seen to the Unseen, from the fleeting (transitoriness of) history to the unchangeable counsel of the Lord.

He does not do this, because he feels<sup>65</sup> compelled by logical reasoning or systematic unity, but because he has been so instructed by the Scripture and so led by his own inner experience. The<sup>66</sup> grace of God being a grace that is full and true, and the certainty of belief, bearing an absolute character, point immediately and directly to a Divine energy, which lies behind them and manifests itself in both. The almighty and merciful will of God is revealed in the grace of Christ and in the certainty of salvation, which is implanted in the heart by the witness of [8] the Holy Spirit.<sup>67</sup> According to Calvin, grace and election, the Gospel of Christ, and the Absolute sovereignty of God, are not in antagonistic to each other, and do not exclude each other; but grace is, as grace<sup>68</sup> in its fullest and truest sense, elective in nature and the Gospel is not only the declaration, but also the realization of the divine will unto salvation; the source of our knowledge of God, and also the means of grace.

As a reaction against rationalism, the newest philosophy frequently<sup>69</sup> interprets the essence of the world as will, energy, and power. And this was also the conviction

of Calvin, although in a very modified sense. He did not look upon God as a guardian of his creation, nor as a deistic being, that in the beginning called matter with its inherent power and law into existence, and afterwards left the whole development of things to itself. But he conceived God as an almighty, sovereign, incomprehensible will. That will is revealed in everything, in all the diversity and inequality of the creature, [9] and also in the sin and misery of life. There is an almighty and supreme will that withholds privileges, recalls blessings, disposes of disasters and calamities and even dooms to perdition through sins and iniquities. It is of no avail, says Calvin, to close one's eyes to this. Reality preaches it, Holy Scripture bears witness to it. It is a sovereign will, which gives no account of its deeds;<sup>70</sup> it is an "awful decree,"<sup>71</sup> which lies at the foundation of this mysterious world of misery and pain.<sup>72</sup>

But while many in our day draw the conclusion from these sad realities, that that almighty and incomprehensible will must be blind, unreasonable and miserable, and that consequently the whole world is a work of darkness, which only for a short time comes to light in the consciousness of man; while in this as in all kindred world-systems<sup>73</sup> man betrays the inclination of his heart, to justify himself and to accuse God of unrighteousness; Calvin takes [10] his stand along with Paul and Augustine on God's side, throws man in the dust, and exclaims to him: "Who are thou O man, that repliest against God and callst Him before thy judgment-seat?"

And he at once addresses two considerations: in the first place, there is nowhere a will of God at work, that brings nothing but misery. For the earth is full of his goodness. There is no original, eternal, independent power of darkness. The whole world of seen and unseen things, of angel and man, of spirit and matter, of heaven and earth, has its origin and unity in the supreme, but also holy and merciful will of God. Sin is no substance,<sup>74</sup> but a deformity,<sup>75</sup> which may again be eradicated and annihilated. There is therefore no small portion, or tiniest particle in the world, where the glory of God does not shine forth. There is no single creature and no single man, who in an absolute sense is deprived of all grace. There is a common grace, which extends over the whole world, which leaves no one without a witness, which does good from heaven and [11] fills our hearts with food and goodness, which makes God's sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and the unjust.<sup>76</sup>

And the second is specially important: that this will of God, so endlessly varied in its manifestations and operations, yet in its kernel and essence is a saving grace,

65. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 6. "Was himself" is crossed out and replaced with "feels," which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

66. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 6. "If" is crossed out and replaced with "The," which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

67. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 7-8. He writes "Holy Spirit" twice. The duplicate is removed for smoother reading. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 7. He notes to swap the ordering of "through his witness in the heart" to "in the heart by through his witness," which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

68. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 8. This phrase is circled in the manuscript, and underlined here to reflect that.

69. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 7. "frequently," reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

70. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 8. "Does not give any" is scratched out replaced with "gives no account of." This change is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

71. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 8. "Horrible decree"

72. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, trans. John T McNeill (London, UK: S.C.M Press, Ltd., 1961), III, xxiii, 7. "I confess the decree is dreadful"

73. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 8. "view" is crossed out and replaced with "systems," which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

74. "De hoofdgedachten van Calvijn's *Institutie*," 9. "zelfstandigheid" may be rendered independent, matter, substance, stuff.

75. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 8. It reads "~~deformation~~ deformity."

76. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 10. Underline original; Matthew 5:45b—"For he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust."

and leads world and humanity through darkness to light and through death to life eternal—this we are absolutely sure of, through the Person of Christ, who is the only Son of the Father, and through the witness of the Holy Spirit in our hearts. Unsearchable are the judgments of God his ways past finding out;<sup>77</sup> yet we understand by faith, that it is no blind fate nor irrational chance, but the will of an almighty God and a faithful Father, that rules the world.<sup>78</sup>

And just as Calvin ascends from the certainty of the divine grace to God's sovereign, discriminating will; so he also advances through the diversity of creation to [12] the final end of all things. At every turn in Calvin's writings the expression occurs—*coram deo*, in the presence of God. He brings the whole world, all creatures especially man into direct relationship with God and sets them before His face. He views everything in the light of eternity and throws over all things the splendor of the divine glory. The whole world in its length and breadth comes to lie, as an organic and harmonious whole, between the purpose of God and the end, He has in view in his creation.<sup>79</sup> It is an instrument, an organ, a plaything in the hand of his will for the honour of His name.

In this universe every creature and each circle of being<sup>80</sup> occupies its own place, heaven and earth, plant and animal, man and angel, family, state and society, vocation, science and art. They are all distinguished according to the wise and freely operating will of God. They have all their own [13] nature and law; social equality has no place in Calvin's system. But yet amidst all their diversity there is unity, for they have all their origin in the same divine will, and are all, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, serviceable to the glorifying of all God's virtues. Of God, through God, and to God are all things.<sup>81</sup>

It is the privilege and also the calling of the church of Christ, consciously and willingly to live to the honor of God's name.<sup>82</sup> Calvin himself did this. God was not to him far off only, but also very near. He felt his presence. He walked before His face. He consecrated his whole soul and body as a burnt offering unto God. Oftentimes he used the figure<sup>83</sup> of a dog, that barks when his master is attacked; and just as faithfully indeed did Calvin serve His Lord and Saviour. According to the testimony of Pope Pius the Second, money had never any attraction to him. Like his disciple Knox [14] he never feared the face of man, and there was no respect of persons with him. Few men have lived, who have been so permanently impressed by the fear of the God as Calvin, and who have so wholly dedicated their whole life to

His service. To him doctrine and life were one. He was eaten up by the zeal of God's house.

Now, he wished every Christian to live in this way. Word should in him become deed, doctrine life, faith works. The divine will, which revealed itself as grace in Christ and permeates the conscience and heart of man by the witness of the Holy Spirit, must be continued in the energy and activity of the believer. He must not be absorbed within himself and he must not feast on the delight of his own feelings<sup>84</sup>; but just as he lives by and through the will of God, so he ought also to press towards the mark of all God's way, namely the glorification of his name. We are never indeed<sup>85</sup> our own, we are God's property. Genuineness of faith is [15] revealed by good works; they are necessary as tokens of His election and are proofs of His grace.

The confession of His elective grace therefore does not make careless and godless men; much rather does it strengthen their self-consciousness, creates in the heart the indispensable comfort of salvation, and by this means stirs up to renewed exertion all the powers of the will. Moral life, in its widest extent, does therefore attain with Calvin the highest conceivable value; it receives religious meaning, it acts on to eternity.<sup>86</sup> The

77. Romans 11:33 – "Oh, the depths of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!"

78. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 9. The manuscript reads: "nevertheless ~~we understand by~~ faith teaches us, that it is no blind fate nor ~~inecalculable~~ chance ~~fortune accident~~, but the will of an almighty God and a faithful Father that ~~governs~~ rules the world." A few of these changes are reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

79. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 9. The clause reads: "He ~~sets before~~ has in view ~~with~~ in his creation." These changes are reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

80. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 12. Life is crossed out and replaced by being.

81. Romans 11:36 – "For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be glory forever. Amen."

82. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 13. Underline original.

83. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 10. "image" is replaced by "figure," which is reflected in "Bavinck Manuscript B."

84. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 11. "soul" is crossed out and replaced by "inner life," this change is reflected in "Bavinck's Manuscript B."

85. "Bavinck Manuscript B," 14. This word is circled in the manuscript and underlined here to reflect that.

86. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 11. "The confession of this elective grace does not make careless and godless men, on the contrary, it awakes self-consciousness, creates in the heart the indispensable comfort of salvation and ~~in~~ thus incites the will to the exercise of all its powers. Moral life, in its ~~broadest~~ widest extent, does therefore ~~with~~ obtain with Calvin the highest ~~imaginable~~ (possible) value it receives religious ~~significance~~ meaning; it acts on to eternity." These few sentences show the original version and the influence of the "Corah's Manuscript" (p. 17).

good works, which every Christian achieves in his own special vocation, are not disconnected, but they are the expression and manifestation of one harmonious moral life, which originates from one principle, is modelled after one law, and is serviceable to one end. This life may assume a puritan, or even a rigorous character, it is in principle opposed to [16] every kind of asceticism. The Christian is a man of God, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. And the church is the organized fellowship of believers, who make themselves known everywhere and at all times by their holy conversation as the people of God.

This was the lofty ideal, that stood before the mind of Calvin and that he sketched out in his *Institutes*. But he did not stop there; he also tried to realize it, first of all in his own person, and afterwards in any circle, to which his influence extended. Calvin was endowed with a keen, penetrating intelligence, but also with a burning passion and a firm, energetic, and decisive will. In Geneva the opportunity was offered him unsought, of bringing his ideal into reality. In this endeavor he was met with strong opposition and had to encounter much resistance. But after a long and passionate struggle he succeeded in overcoming all enemies, and made of frivolous Geneva [17] a model city of the Reformation, whose piety and moral purity were everywhere honoured.

That was not all, but under the influence of Calvin, Geneva became a watch-tower, from which he surveyed the whole religious and political movements of his day. By word and writing, by preaching and teaching, by conversation and correspondence, by translation and exposition of nearly the whole of Scripture, he became the spiritual advisor and leader of the Reformation in almost the whole of Europe. Wherever Calvin was able to exercise his influence, he awakened among all ranks and classes of people self-consciousness in a wonderful

way; and by bringing back confidence in God, he revived their own self-confidence. At a time of doubt and uncertainty he re-infused faith and enthusiasm in the heart, established conviction concerning eternal things, and made life, even for the humblest man, again worth living. [18] For by the consciousness of being the object of Gods eternal, immutable election, and by the assurance given thereof by the witness of the Holy Spirit in the heart, people were raised out of their dejection and despair, incorporated into the fellowship of the saints and enabled to perform mighty deeds, of self-abnegation as well as of conquest of the world.<sup>87</sup> Calvin was himself a marked, decided character, and he formed characters by means of his doctrine and life.<sup>88</sup>

We are indebted to him for the independence of the church and the free exercise of its discipline; the emancipation of the congregation<sup>89</sup> and its presbyterial government; the limitation of the power of the state and the people's consciousness of liberty; the budding of home virtues and the faithfulness in earthly calling; the restoration to honour of the natural life, and the increase of popular prosperity; the close connection between the earthly and heavenly callings, and the opening of the eyes [19] to the divine glory, which is spread forth over the whole creation.

Whatever praise may be offered Calvin on his memorial-day and whatever tablets<sup>90</sup> may be erected to his honour, his fairest monument<sup>91</sup> has been built up by himself, in the heart and lives of his numerous, spiritual descendants. And these can do their predecessor and leader no great honour than by confessing with heart and mouth: "Of and through and to God are all things, to him be honor and glory!" ■

87. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 13. "For by the consciousness of being ~~an~~ object of Gods eternal, immutable election and by the assurance given, thereof by the witness of the holy Spirit in the heart, ~~they~~ people ~~raised out people~~ were raised out of their dejection and despair, incorporated into the ~~comm~~-fellowship of the saints and enabled to ~~mighty~~ perform mighty deeds, of abnegation as well as of conquest of the world."

88. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 13. "Calvin ~~himself~~ was a ~~character~~ himself a strong and decided character and formed characters by means of his doctrine and life."

89. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 13. "church" is crossed out for "congregation," which is reflected in "Bavinck's Manuscript B."

90. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 14. "tablets" is written above "monuments."

91. "Bavinck Manuscript A," 14. "Tablet" is crossed out and replaced by "monument."