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## 'Forgotten and forgiven'? Calvinism and French Society

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**This paper identifies and addresses a curious and persisting omission in the sociological literature on Calvinism, as specifically expounded in sociological journals. The omission consists in the failure of explicitly specifying or restating what originally Calvinism is from the standpoint of societal origin and framework, that is of which society it is the collective creation, on the implied assumption that this is commonly known and/or irrelevant. Whatever its reasons, the omission tends to make original--as distinguished from subsequent--Calvinism a partial mystery in respect of its specific societal genesis and setting, especially among many sociologists outside the specialty areas of the sociology of religion and historical sociology. The paper intends to correct this omission by reexamining Calvinism in its original societal type and context and its initial historical conjuncture such as a European society at a specific point of history. It aims to contribute to redressing a gap in the sociological literature and increasing the scope of the sociology of Calvinism by adding or making explicit this missing or implied, and yet sociologically relevant element.**

**Key words:** Calvinism, Calvin, reformation, Protestantism, France, Geneva.

### INTRODUCTION

What is exactly original Calvinism in sociological terms? One may wonder even five or so centuries after its emergence of which specific society Calvinism is the creation and element, that is, religious-political movement, 'revolution', or 'reformation'. Various important and insightful articles, including interestingly one in posthumous English translation by none other than Max Weber (1978), on Calvinism and related subjects have been published in major sociological and related journals. These articles span from these journals earlier (Mathews, 1912; Maurer, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1928a,b; Ross, 1907; Tillich, 1937) through intermediate (Bendix, 1946; Davis, 1978; Eisenstadt, 1965; Howe, 1978; Jonassen, 1947; Rossel, 1970; Thorner, 1952; Stokes, 1975; Tiryakian, 1975) to later (Camic, 1986; Clark, 1998; Clemens, 2007; Cohen, 1980; Goldstone, 1986; Gorski, 1993, 2000a, 2000b; Hillmann, 2008a, b; Kaufman, 2008; Lachmann, 1989; Loveman, 2005; Munch, 1981; Pellicani, 2013; Swidler, 1986; Tubergen et al., 2005; Zaret, 1989, 1996)

issues articles.

However, virtually none of these articles, included that by Weber, published in these sociological journals specifies or mentions what Calvinism originally is in sociological terms, namely which specific society is its collective creator or the societal framework in which it originates and develops. Consequently, many sociological readers even after reading all the past and current issues of these sociological journals may be left wondering what Calvinism is in respect of its societal point of origin and setting, simply 'where it comes from' in the sense of a society. In particular, those sociological readers searching for or having 'forgotten' the answer will not be able to find it in these sociological journals' articles studies on Calvinism and related subjects.

And the question as to 'what is original Calvinism' recurs or continues to be relevant for many sociologists and non-sociologists. This is so in light of the recurring or continuing studies and debates on Calvinism and its

variations in the contemporary sociology of religion and comparative-historical sociology in the Weberian and other traditions (Clemens, 2007; Gorski 2003; Hillmann, 2008a,b; Jenness, 2004; Kaufman, 2008; Loveman 2005; Lipset 1996; Munch 2001), nothing to say of theology and history, as well as in historically Calvinist and other modern societies. Also, although sociologically less important none of these studies of sociological journals' articles on Calvinism register or mention 'who Calvin was' in national or geographic terms, for example, his country birth; and those sociological readers looking for the answer will not find it and may wonder 'where he came from' in the first place. Similarly, this question recurs or remains important to many sociologists and other social scientists because of the recurrent or continuing interest in and controversy about Calvin in the sociology of religion, just as theology and history, as well as in contemporary Calvinist-rooted and other societies. In sum, answering the question 'what is original Calvinism' *sociologically*—that is, whose creation it is in terms of specific society—is "missing in action" in sociological and related journals, an evidently contradictory or ironic omission. In sum, in the midst of all the discussions of the strong and enduring impact of Calvinism and its derivatives like Puritanism (Pellicani, 2013) on subsequent social development, in particular in the United States, what Calvinism was in its original context has been to some degree lost<sup>1</sup>.

Regardless of the reasons for it, such an omission concerning original Calvinism and Calvin himself in sociological journals is striking and unjustified, more serious and consequential than it seems at first sight or is commonly viewed. Generally, this is because the omission leaves a sort of void or gap in the sociological literature making the sociology of Calvinism incomplete and to that extent incoherent or imbalanced in the sense of 'forgetting' or neglecting what can be called the 'young Calvinism' and focusing on the 'mature Calvinism'. Hence, the omission unduly limits the scope of the sociology of Calvinism to its later and derivative versus its early and original forms. Specifically, the omission is serious because it is often difficult, if not impossible, to fully understand, explain, and predict the development, forms, and outcomes of Calvinism without considering its original form, societal-historical context, and social effects. The former are, as various analysts suggest from Hume and Tocqueville to Weber and contemporary sociologists, mostly determined (Munch, 2001) and predicted by or path-dependent on (Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Inglehart, 2004; Jenness, 2004; Lipset, 1996) the latter. Generally, this is a pattern observed in Protestantism overall and other religions and cultures. Alternatively, taking account of the Calvinist, like and any religious-cultural, just as technical-economic, original is the necessary condition for understanding and explaining Calvinist and other derivatives or copies. These, for example, include Puritanism as what Hume and Weber

consider the English or Anglo-Saxon (Mentzer, 2007; Mises, 1966; Pellicani, 2013) sectarian derivation and extension of Calvinism, 'Presbyterianism' as the latter's Scottish variant (Gorski, 1993; Hillmann, 2008b), etc.

In Durkheim's terms, investigating the 'genesis' of Calvinism as a religious institution, like all social institutions, precedes and allows analyzing and explaining its 'evolution' and 'functioning'. For instance, Tocqueville specifically holds that the Calvinist-as-Puritan pre-revolutionary genesis or origin of the 'new nation' determines and predicts that the 'destiny of America' is 'embodied' in the first Puritans (Kaufman, 2008; Lipset, 1996; Munch, 2001; Swidler, 1986; Tiryakian, 1975). These involve notably Winthrop et al. who defined 'austere Calvinism' (Kloppenber, 1998) and acting as 'orthodox Calvinists' (Gould 1996). They provide an extant model and inspiration for US religious-political conservatism (Adorno, 2001; Dunn and Woodard, 1996); neo-conservatism like Reaganism and/or revived evangelicalism, though *not* for American liberalism and America's Constitution, as epitomized by Jefferson. Moreover, arguably, the United States' constitutional founding comes 'in clear opposition to the theocratic model of the Puritan Fathers' (Pellicani, 2013) as orthodox Calvinists. It is simply to know better the ways and means of the 'old', 'mature', 'derivative', 'developed' Calvinism, including Puritanism, what Weber calls 'neo-Calvinism' (Hollinger, 1980; Hiemstra, 2005) and Calvinist-rooted evangelicalism (Juergensmeyer, 2003), like any religious and other social institution, presupposes knowing those of the 'young', 'fresh', 'early', 'initial, or 'native' Calvinism. This holds true no matter how much the latter has evolved and expanded since its birth and original setting through its maturity and subsequent settings. In short, what Mannheim (1936) suggests for the sociological analysis of ideas or 'modes of thought'—that is, they 'cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured'—applies to analyzing Calvinism.

In addition, the omission is unjustified insofar as, as it often appears, not all sociological 'schoolboys', including academic sociologists and students, know what original Calvinism is sociologically, and secondarily who Calvin was nationally. For instance, it appears that many, especially US sociologists outside the specialized discipline of the sociology of religion, just as most ordinary people, particularly Americans, do not know or 'remember' what original Calvinism is and who Calvin was; in this sense in contrast to the virtually universal knowledge or 'remembrance' of Lutheranism and Luther. Thus, while it is commonly known that Lutheranism originally is the Protestant Reformation in Germany and Luther was a German, this does not seem, at least in America, so with respect to original Calvinism and Calvin. The latter is often described or regarded by many US sociologists outside the sociology of religion, just as most ordinary Americans, in identical and related terms, viz., Calvinism

as the Protestant Reformation or 'Reformed Church' originally in Switzerland, Holland, England, or early America, and Calvin as a native 'Swiss', 'Dutch', 'Englishman', if not 'American'—anything but a 'true answer'.

The above is an ironic cognitive asymmetry especially in America. Calvinism and Calvin have eventually proven more powerful and influential in modern Western, above all via the agency of Puritanism, Anglo-American, societies<sup>2</sup> (Gorski, 2000a) than Lutheranism and Luther, as Weber (1978) and other analysts (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Walzer, 1965) argue and commonly agreed. It has also prevailed within the 'Reformed' theology and church to the point of Calvinism being usually equated or identified and identifying itself with 'Reformed Protestantism' (Gorski, 2000b) as a whole. In Durkheim's terms, Calvinism may have become in its 'evolution'—that is, its internal growth, external expansion--and ultimate outcomes in society, more relevant and enduring in the modern Western world, in particular America, than Lutheranism, and yet it remains less known, at least among many US sociologists and most Americans, in its 'genesis', its original form, societal-historical setting, and social effects.

The preceding yields a cognitive paradox. It consists of the deep and enduring societal impact of the Calvinist expansion and development *and* yet relative lack of knowledge or remembrance of original Calvinism, especially in America. America has been widely observed, since Tocqueville and Weber through contemporary sociology, as the most and even the sole surviving Calvinist society cum the 'Puritan Nation' (Adorno, 2001; Baudrillard, 1999; Clemens, 2007; Hillmann, 2008a; Kaufman, 2008; Jenness, 2004; Lipset, 1955; Munch, 2001; Swidler, 1986; Tiryakian, 1975). Yet paradoxically, in this mostly, though not solely, Calvinist society what original Calvinism is--and also who Calvin was--seems, judging from casual observations and impressions, less known or remembered than in other Western societies. These include once Calvinist Holland (Hsia and Nierop, 2002) and in part Germany (Gorski, 1993; Nischan, 1994), transiently Puritan England (Elwood, 1999; Goldstone, 1986; Gorski, 2000a; Moore 1993), and long-Presbyterian Scotland (Hillmann, 2008b; Hobsbaum, 1972; Sprunger, 1982). In Tocqueville's words, the 'austere Calvinism' of Winthrop et al. through its Anglo-Saxon sectarian derivative and agent Puritanism (Pellicani, 2013) may be the 'destiny' and the prerevolutionary 'father' via the 'Pilgrim fathers' of America.

However, Calvinism's own 'genesis' and original form and societal setting in Europe apparently remain a partial mystery in the 'new Calvinist-Puritan nation', as least for most ordinary Americans and many sociologists outside the field of sociology of religion. In sum, in terms of its major theological dogma of predestination, Calvinism has

sociologically be 'predestined'--i.e., via Puritanism 'over-determined' (Munch 2001)--America as the Calvinist society/'Puritan nation'. And yet, the latter hardly seems to know or remember accurately the original form, the historical-societal context, and social effects of its major religious determinant, which is a remarkable cognitive paradox and historical irony (perhaps analogous to a child not knowing or remembering exactly the father from childhood).

Against this background, the present article takes seriously and aims to redress the above ironic *sociological* omission in the sociological literature on Calvinism, as expounded in most social science journals. By correcting this omission, the article seeks to contribute toward filling a void in the sociological literature on Calvinism, as at least expounded in these journals. Therefore, it contributes toward making the sociology of Calvinism more complete or less incomplete and imbalanced than it has been due to the omission and the resulting void in the sociological literature. Its specific methodological contribution consists in expanding the scope of the sociology of Calvinism to encompass both its original or early and its derivative or subsequent forms, simply "young Calvinism" and 'mature Calvinism'. The article corrects the omission by exploring what original Calvinism is sociologically by investigating its original form and by implication the societal conditions and historical conjuncture and for its rise and its social effects as topics for separate sociological analyses.

At first glance, the exploration and knowledge of the original form, and implicitly historical-societal setting and social effects, that is 'genesis', of Calvinism, like any other religious and cultural phenomenon, may seem irrelevant or secondary for its subsequent development, expansion, and outcomes; briefly its 'evolution' and current condition<sup>3</sup>. Yet, as Weber implies and Keynes (1972) explicitly suggests with respect to the historical origins of the laissez-faire doctrine, 'a study of the history of opinion is a necessary preliminary to the emancipation of the mind' and by implication to the development of social science. In this case, a study of the history, namely the original form and by implication historical-societal conditions and social effects of Calvinism as a religious 'opinion' and institution may be a 'necessary preliminary' not only to the 'emancipation of the mind.' It is also specifically necessary for the development of the sociology of religion such as the sociological analysis of Calvinism, as well as comparative-historical sociology. Hence, exploring what original Calvinism is--and relatedly who Calvin was--in sociological terms provides a necessary element of and specific contribution to what can be described as the sociology of the Calvinist religion. In this respect, this article intends to be a study in the comparative-historical sociology rather than another history, let alone theological reappraisal of

Calvinism.

### The Original Societal and Historical Form of Calvinism

This section reexamines the character and relevance of original Calvinism within a sociological framework. While certain historical as well as theological references and details are relevant and unavoidable, this examination is not another history or theology, but an exercise in the comparative sociology of Calvinism. It is by broadening the scope of the latter field through reconsideration of the original Calvinist type and by implication its initial societal conditions and effects. If even after reading various articles on the subject in this and related sociological journals, the reader may still wonder what original Calvinism is sociologically; redefining the latter may be useful to many sociologists, even if redundant and perhaps, as Weber<sup>4</sup> puts it in his analysis of its relation to capitalism, 'superficial' for theologians and the historians of religion. Original Calvinism was defined as the 'Second Protestant Reformation in 16<sup>th</sup> century French society'.

This definition hence involves four defining or constitutive elements of original Calvinism. The first element is general theological (the Protestant Reformation), the second, specific theological (the Second Reformation), the third, historical (the 16<sup>th</sup> century), and the fourth and most important in the present framework is sociological or societal (French society). Every 16<sup>th</sup> century and later 'schoolboy', namely French and other European theologians, historians, or philosophers likely knew this original fact and consequently considered Calvinism as defined. Yet, it was somewhat forgotten or obscured and neglected with the subsequent geographical expansion and societal outcomes as well as the theological developments and derivations of Calvinism beyond its French societal-historical point of origin into continental Europe, Great Britain, America, and beyond. The outcome is that apparently not all contemporary, especially US, sociologists, not to mention ordinary people like most Americans, still know or remember the above fact about of Calvinism by the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Specifically, the only unknown or least known and forgotten element of original Calvinism as the French Protestant Reformation of the 16<sup>th</sup> century is precisely--and ironically for sociologists--the sociological. This is that original Calvinism is in societal terms *French* society's own original Protestant Reformation (Heller, 1986) as a sort of 'mystery variable' for many sociologists outside the sociology of religion and most ordinary people and an omitted factor by virtually all the articles on the subject in major sociological journals. In general, these four defining elements of original Calvinism are known or remembered in a descending order as follows. First, in

theological terms of Christianity as a whole--but not world religions<sup>5</sup>--original Calvinism is the *Protestant* Reformation or rather, as Hume, Weber, and contemporary analysts (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Walzer, 1965) suggest, Revolution, thus Calvin being a Protestant Reformer cum Revolutionary. This seems universally known among sociologists and other scholars and even the lay public, and needs no elaboration.

Second, in intra-theological terms of Protestantism, original Calvinism is the *Second* Protestant Reformation (Ay and Dolphin, 1995; Gorski, 1993) following Lutheranism as the First, thus Calvin being the second-generation Protestant Reformer (Benedict, 2002) after Luther and his followers or heirs like Zwingli (Kim and Pfaff, 2012) as the first. This is commonly known or remembered among sociologists and the public, though perhaps not universally. This is indicated by that Calvinism is usually equated with--just as has defined itself as and virtually monopolized the venerable designation--the 'Reformed Church'<sup>6</sup>, as if Lutheranism were not or ceased to be the latter after Calvin, as he and his disciples claim. Still, despite such monopolistic claims since Calvin through contemporary Calvinists and their descendants, sociologists and most non-Calvinists seem to know or remember that original Calvinism is the Second and relatively late rather than the first and only 'Reformed Church' even in France. In France, although the Protestant Reformation eventually becomes almost completely Calvinist and equated with Calvinism (Elwood, 1999; Heller, 1986; Mentzer, 2007; Ramsey, 1999; Walzer, 1965), the latter is not the first and only 'Reformed Church' but historically prefigured or preceded by its initial or primitive Lutheran form, as in Germany and its Zwingli's more strident variation in Switzerland (Kim and Pfaff, 2012). In this sense, Calvinism recreates or 'reforms' the 'Reformed Church,' or however called, to become a sort of 're-reformed'<sup>7</sup> religion. However, it does not create the latter in strict historical terms and hence arises and functions as the Second Protestant Reformation initially in France and subsequently beyond<sup>8</sup>. In fact, Calvin's own 'sudden conversion' is, as he describes it, to the already existing 'Reformed Religion' in France (Ramsey, 1999) rather than its invention in the strict sense and prior to his theological innovations.

Third, historically Calvinism is the 16<sup>th</sup> century theology and religious-political movement and revolution in Europe, which is widely known, although not as universally as the previous two elements. This is indicated by certain confluences or lack of clear distinctions between original Calvinism and subsequent Calvinist ramifications, derivations, and generalizations such as Dutch, German, and other European 'Reformed' churches, Anglo-American Puritanism, Scottish Presbyterianism, etc. In spite of such occasional confusions, most sociologists and perhaps much of the lay public seem to know or remember that

original Calvinism is the earlier phenomenon, as distinguished from later Calvinist developments and extensions, including its sectarian derivations in the face of Puritans as Tocqueville's 'Pilgrim fathers' and 'destiny' of the 'new nation'. Simply, it appears almost commonly known that original Calvinism historically precedes<sup>9</sup> (Roelker, 1972) and theologically shapes Puritanism in England and New England, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and "Reformed" churches in Holland, Prussia, and other European countries.

Fourth, in sociological terms original Calvinism is the Protestant Reformation of late medieval French society (Ramsey, 1999). It is judged by causal observations and informal surveys, least known or remembered among many US sociologists outside the specialized field of the sociology of religion and comparative-historical sociology, as well as virtually unknown by the lay public, particularly most Americans. Hence, in an anomaly or ironic twist the least unknown, almost 'mystery' variable among many US sociologists as well as in American society is precisely the sociological element of original Calvinism in contrast to the non-sociological elements noted above. And it is another anomaly or irony that virtually none of the articles in most *sociological* and related journal registers or mentions, let alone elaborates and emphasizes the sociological core and definition of original Calvinism, while doing so with respect to its non-sociological, theological and historical elements. Thus, most sociological studies register and often emphasize that originally Calvinism is the Protestant Reformation or the Reformed Church of the 16<sup>th</sup> century but not that it is this and generally a religious-political movement and ultimately, if failed revolution in *French society* during that period. Due to this omission, the historically less informed or uninterested and unspecialized sociological reader may be left in the darkness thinking as if Calvinism were sociologically anything but 16<sup>th</sup> century French society's own Protestant Reformation. Conversely, one may well think that instead Calvinism and Calvin himself is, say, 'Swiss', or 'German', or 'Dutch', or 'English-Scottish', if not even 'American', in a descending order of 'knowledge' or remembrance among many US sociologists as well as the general American public<sup>10</sup>.

Against this peculiar background of 'momentary lapse' of knowledge or memory among many, especially non-European, sociologists and omissions of the relevant literature in this and related journals, it is instructive to emphasize the sociological 'truth' or core of original Calvinism. This is Calvinism as the Protestant Reformation, that is, the theology and religious-political movement and revolution in *French society* during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In short, the home of Calvinism and Calvin himself is the *ancient regime* of France as the social structure and historical conjuncture of its emergence and initial organization and expansion. On a lighter note, Calvinism in its

original form is sociologically as much the integral element and the product of French society, simply as French as 'French champagne'. Calvin himself was as French as 'French wine'. He was probably among the first and last notable Frenchmen, minus his followers and admirers (including Rousseau, cf., Garrard, 2003), to condemn 'corruptible food' and abstain from this quintessential symbol of France and part of Christ's last supper rejecting the Catholic sacrament of 'transubstantiation' (Jesus' presence in wine and bread) as 'carnal adoration'<sup>11</sup> (Elwood, 1999; Mentzer, 2007; Ramsey, 1999; Valeri, 1997; Vries, 1999).

In comparative terms, Calvinism and Calvin are as French in societal or national and cultural terms as Lutheranism and his Protestant predecessor Luther are German ethnically and culturally<sup>12</sup>. Calvinism is as 'made in France' during the 1530s as Lutheranism is in Germany in the sense of an ethnic and cultural, though not yet unified political, entity over the 1520s. Alternatively, it is also useful to stress and repeat that originally Calvinism is *not* the theology and religious-political movement and revolution, that is, the Protestant Reformation, in Swiss, German, Dutch, English-Scottish, and any societies of the 16<sup>th</sup> century other than the French society of that period, contrary to widespread views. On a lighter note, original Calvinism sociologically is not and Calvin personally was not as "Swiss", or 'German' ((Kim and Pfaff, 2012), or 'Dutch', or 'Scottish', or through the sectarian form of Puritanism as English as whatever in popular ideas defines or exemplifies these national characters (e.g., 'Englishness'); let alone as 'American' as the 'apple pie'<sup>13</sup>, and any social and cultural attribute or origin other than pure simple 'French'.

For instance, even following Calvin's lasting exile in Switzerland (Geneva) and temporarily in Germany (Strasbourg), Calvinism does not somehow become some sort of 'Swiss' and 'German'. Instead, it remains the purely French, Protestant Reformation that expands to these and other regions beyond France as the territorial state, initially to French-speaking cultural areas anyway. After all, Calvin dedicates all the editions of his first and major theological work to the French Catholic king, translates and rewrites in French, and primarily addresses it to and otherwise directs and assists his followers in France, while spending almost his entire life in exile nowhere else than in Francophone cultural environments such as these two cities (briefly in Basel). Generally, even when in exile Calvin continues to 'live' in France in the sense of being obsessed or preoccupied with what he called 'our French nation' as the societal point of origin and destination alike of his theology and church, for which Geneva is just a local experiment, micro-model, and stepping stone. Crucially, during his exile therein Geneva becomes the center and headquarters (Walzer, 1965) of, first and foremost, *French Calvinism* (Ramsey,

**Table 1.** The general indicator of original Calvinism as the French Protestant Reformation.

The 'birth', initial organization, operation, and expansion of Calvinism in France
The first Calvinist 'revolution' as the (second) French Reformation
Jean Calvin's sociological profile—born, lived, and died Frenchman

1999) and Calvin the leader of Calvinists in France, and only later through natural generalization of their European extensions generally, the 'Rome' and 'Pope of Protestantism', respectively. In this sense, even in exile Calvin continues to envision his mother-country France first--and then Europe, including Scotland and England during his life--experiencing, as he does, the 'sudden conversion' via religious revolution or 'holy' war to the 'Reformed Religion' to be instituted (Hopfl, 1982) as the 'only true', and being ultimately governed by his church after the local model of Geneva (Walzer, 1965) becoming *Christiana Respublica*. Calvin is and remains as Frenchman in literally all respects, with the single exception of his 'Reformed' religion and consequently morality, including condemnation of and abstention from 'corruptible' food like wine and 'corruptible' music and other arts, as his 'beloved', 'majestic', and 'most Christian' Catholic king of France (Francis I) to whom he devotes his theological master piece.

The skeptical or impatient sociological reader may ask or wonder what is the 'proof' that original Calvinism is in terms of societal origins the Protestant Reformation within precisely French—and not any other European--society. Predictably, the general compelling sociological 'proof' or indicator is that Calvinism originates and develops within French society under certain societal conditions and historical conjunctures, including the fact that its founder was born, educated, and lived approximately half of his life in France (Table 1), combined with specific 'proofs'. For instance, the specific 'proofs' or indicators of *French* Calvinism include the following. The first national Calvinists are the so-called French 'Huguenots'; as a corollary, the earliest of national/regional Calvinist theocracies is the Huguenot theocracy in some French regions; the initial national wars of religion between Calvinism and Catholicism occur in France; the first major national Calvinist council is held in Paris; Calvinists are first officially recognized and tolerated in France.

### The 'Birth', Operation and Expansion of Calvinism in French Society

First and foremost, Calvinism emerged and initially organized, operated, and expanded precisely within French society during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as its 'place and date of birth' (Benedict, 2002), respectively. This represents the general 'proof' or indicator of Calvinism as the second Protestant Reformation initially in France and sub-

sequently in other European societies (Gorski, 1993; Walzer, 1963, 1965). In Durkheim's terms, the 'genesis' of Calvinism (Heller, 1986) as a religious and political institution is nowhere else than in the 16<sup>th</sup> century French *ancien regime* and culture in a general sociological sense to include also French-speaking cultural areas nominally outside of France as a political system (Geneva, Strasbourg, etc.). In short, original Calvinism is a theological, religious, cultural, and political product conceived, produced, expanded, and developed in France. For example, the 'emergent movement of French Calvinism' (Ramsey, 1999) originates in 'seven provincial centres'<sup>14</sup> (Heller, 1986) of France, alongside the 'Francophone' (Mansbach, 2006) Swiss city-state of Geneva as substantively part of 16<sup>th</sup> century and later French society and culture (Garrard, 2003), if not formally of the French state, as during Rousseau's life, a Frenchman<sup>15</sup> (McNeill, 1954), the self-declared 'proud citizen of Geneva' he extolled as 'anti-Paris' (Table 1).

And such societal 'genesis' or birth (Benedict, 2002) of Calvinism determines or anticipates what Durkheim would call its evolution, organization, and functioning as a religious-political institution in society. Calvinism is not only born but also develops, organizes, and functions on a societal scale initially in French society and culture, including Paris, as well as French-speaking Geneva (and Strasbourg). Thus, Calvinism first expands in 'Reformation France' (Elwood, 1999) as a cultural area resulting in the 'growing popularity of the 'Reformed' faith (Ramsey, 1999), and then beyond, especially Holland, Prussia in part, Scotland, England, and New England and America overall. Comparatively, Calvinism reportedly grows 'more powerfully and more rapidly in France' than in other European countries, including Holland. This resulted in the 'Protestant controlled regions of France'<sup>16</sup> and even eventually after 1584 a local Calvinist leader becoming the 'heir apparent to the throne of France' (Benedict 1999). For instance, locally, alongside Calvin's Geneva, this expansion of Calvinism reportedly encompasses to some extent--by becoming 'a small but organized force' in--'Reformation Paris' to the point of appealing to 'the elite of the state officials in the *Parliament* and even to the princes of the blood' (Ramsey, 1999). As a peculiar curiosity, Paris is the site where the first major national theological and political-administrative council of Calvinism, directed and decisively influenced by Calvin from Geneva (Walzer, 1965). It was held during the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Heller 1986), which reflects the partial temporary transformation of the future 'city of lights' into

'Reformation Paris'. Another morbid curiosity that it is precisely in Paris during the 1530s that Calvin meets and has theological disagreement with Michael Servetus (Hobsbaum, 1972), who later while passing through is captured and burned at the stake in Calvin-ruled Geneva for 'heresy' apparently dating from his Parisian encounter with the future 'Pope of Protestantism'. Yet another striking moment is that a local Calvinist French leader during the 1580s enters triumphantly Paris, as Hume classically recounts, as the 'heir apparent to the throne of France'<sup>17</sup> (Benedict, 1999).

At this juncture, Calvinism emerges as the second and native phase or form of 'Reformation France' succeeding and ultimately superseding the first and German expressed in Lutheranism<sup>18</sup> (Gorski, 1993). Alternatively, 'Reformation France', including 'Reformation Paris', like Reformation Geneva, mutates into Calvinist, as French Protestantism is transformed from imported Lutheranism into home-grown Calvinism after Calvin enters the theological-religious and political stage, viz., his 'sudden conversion' (Hobsbaum, 1972; Ramsey, 1999) from the Catholic into the 'Reformed' religion and especially his first and major theological work. Thus, by 1535 a year before Calvin's lasting exile<sup>19</sup> from France into Geneva, the process of Calvinist mutation of 'Reformation France', of transformation of French Protestantism into Calvinism is nearly more or less complete, although continues, expands, and intensifies later. The process is largely completed theologically with the completion of this work. The process also begins and develops politically in view of his founding and organizing of a religious-political movement through an 'extensive network' (Heller, 1986) of followers, thus early Calvinists as originally 'French Reformed Protestants' (Mentzer, 2007).

In this sense, Calvinism emerges, organizes, functions, and expands as a sort of yet another reformation of 'Reformation France', that is, as the 're-reformed' theology, religion and church reforming French Lutheran-based Protestantism. Calvin acts as the Protestant 're-reformer', succeeding and eclipsing Lutheranism and Luther and other 'reformers' (Walzer, 1965). Such an outcome materializes first in France and later, alongside Francophone Geneva, Calvinist Holland, Presbyterian Scotland, Puritan England and New England, and in part Prussia (Gorski, 2003), as well as evangelical 'Christian' America (Adorno, 2001; Juergensmeyer, 2003).

This another way to state that Calvinism arises and operates as the blueprint and practice of religious-political radicalism, revolution, and militancy, as Weber and other analysts suggest, (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999; Tawney, 1962; Walzer, 1965). That is what he calls the 'Church Militant'. It represents radical and militant French-created Protestantism, or more so than its German-produced Lutheran version. And Calvin was 'natural born in France' revolutionary and 'holy

warrior, or rather 'super-naturally' conditioned to become so by his 1533 'sudden conversion'--though its facts are still "obscure" (Hobsbaum 1972)--more so than Luther, as Weber and other analysts suggest. Therefore, Calvinism 'reforms', that is reinvents and redefines the French Reformation as a religious-political revolution and militant movement. Calvin makes the Protestant reformers in France revolutionaries and warriors in contrast and deliberates opposition to Lutheranism and Luther, though revolutionary or militant elements and effects are not entirely absent in the latter, especially in its initial anti-Catholic phase. For example, Hume, in his seminal historical study, uses the terms Protestant-Lutheran 'reformation' and 'revolution' interchangeably, as do Pareto<sup>20</sup> and others (Walzer, 1965).

In general, Calvinism experiences not only initial intra-societal expansion and penetration into French society and culture, including Francophone areas like Geneva and Strasbourg, but also subsequent or parallel waves of inter-societal expansion and ramification beyond the latter to other European and non-European societies (Elwood 1999; Gorski 2003; Walzer 1965). While this issue is outside the scope of the present paper, it is useful to mention these waves or directions of Calvinist inter-societal movement and expansion beyond France, including many Calvinists leaving either voluntarily, as Sombart<sup>21</sup> suggests, or involuntarily (Acemoglu et al., 2005; Scoville, 1952; Shipton, 1936), their home country.

Historically, the probably first wave is Calvinism's expansion from France into Holland<sup>22</sup> (Gorski, 1993) in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century (1550-60s). The wave culminates in what Weber describes as the 'ecclesiastic revolution of the strict Calvinists in the Netherlands during the 1580s and their resulting political domination (Gorski, 1993; Hsia and Nierop, 2002; Sprunger, 1982). Another approximately simultaneous wave is Calvinism's expansion into Scotland, an independent state and ally of France at the time, in the form of Presbyterianism during the late 16<sup>th</sup> (1560s), according to Hume. Like in Holland, it also climaxes in the successful Calvinist cum Presbyterian revolution, personally incited, directed, and assisted by Calvin and his associates from Geneva, overthrowing the Catholic monarchy, and in the consequent enduring religious and political dominance of Presbyterianism as the official church in Scotland for long (Gorski, 1993; Hillmann, 2008b; Hobsbaum, 1972). Hume registers that the leading Scottish Presbyterian John Knox lived and personally encountered Calvin in Geneva before returning to Scotland upon the invitation of what Weber calls the Scottish nobility or barons (Hobsbaum, 1972). He launched its Calvinist anti-Catholic successful revolution, just as did many English Puritans<sup>23</sup>.

An approximately simultaneous mutually reinforcing wave is Calvinism's expansion into England by its partial penetration, along with Lutheranism, into Anglicanism

(the dogma of predestination) and primarily by the agency and in form of Puritanism during that period. Also, Hume specifies the 1560s as the starting point and registers the early English Puritans' 'communication with Calvin, and the other reformers who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva'. Like in Holland and Scotland, this wave of Calvinism culminates in the form of a Calvinist religious-political cum English Puritan Revolution of the 1640s deposing Anglicanism and the monarchy. Yet, unlike these two countries, this Calvinist theocratic revolution turns out to be only transiently victorious resulting in the temporary rule of Puritanism eventually defeated militarily or discredited politically (Elwood, 1999; Goldstone, 1986; Gorski, 2000a; Hillmann, 2008b; Moore, 1993; Walzer, 1965). Another subsequent wave is the partial expansion of Calvinism into Prussia (Brandenburg) during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (the 1640s). This led to the attempted yet ultimately unsuccessful Calvinization of this mostly Lutheran German state (Eisenstadt, 1965; Gorski, 1993; Nischan, 1994).

All these waves are followed and perhaps culminate in the inter-continental expansion of Calvinism--both in the original French or European form (Shipton 1936) and especially in that of English Puritanism--into the 'new world.' The latter primarily comprises what is to become Calvinist-Puritan New England (Hillmann 2008a; Kaufman 2008; Kloppenberg 1998; Munch 2001; Stivers 1994; Tiryakian 1975) during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (the 1620-30s) and later other regions (e.g., Dutch 'Reformed Churches' and Scottish Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, New York, etc., plus parts of Canada).

In aggregate, as both a theology and religious-political movement Calvinism is basically conceived and created in France during 1533-36. And then it is immediately or gradually 'exported' to other societies from continental Europe to what is today Great Britain and colonial America, all 'importing' and 'consuming' this, as its founder would put it, the 'spiritual' product--as opposed to physical 'corruptible' products like wine and the 'corruption' of the arts--of the 'French nation'. In a way, original Calvinism, as during its first thirty years of existence (the 1530s-60s) and Calvin's life, is an almost exclusively French affair (Benedict, 1999; Hobsbaum, 1972), and Geneva during his exile the center of, first and foremost, 'French Calvinism' (Ramsey, 1999) and only later its European generalizations, including those in today's Great Britain over his lifetime.

The preceding implies that the first Calvinist revolution as the blueprint and in part practice is 'made in France' in the form of the second and internal--as distinct from the first, external Lutheran-based--French Reformation as revolutionary action, as Hume and Pareto imply for the Protestant 'reformation' cum 'revolution' in general. For instance, Calvin's 1533 self-reported 'sudden conversion' into the 'Reformed' religion and especially reported

completion of his first and major theoretical work in 1535 (Greef, 2008; Hopfl,<sup>24</sup> 1982) generates probably the original, first vision or dream of the Calvinist revolution in both religious and political terms. Thus, At this point he already has in mind and hand what Weber calls the 'concept of a religious revolution', thus ready for implementation and expansion, as Calvin attempts while still being in France and completely succeeds in Geneva, and his French followers continue and extend such attempts during and after his life, just as those in non-French social settings like Holland and Great Britain during his life. Curiously, Weber suggests that Calvin shares the master 'concept of a religious revolution', 'religious wars' and related ideas with Mohammad (Harrold, 1936; Hedges, 2006; Mansbach, 2006), and consequently Calvinism and in extension Calvinist-rooted evangelicalism (e.g., Dominionism in the US; cf., Juergensmeyer, 2003) with Islam, in contrast to Luther and Lutheranism<sup>25</sup>.

At any rate, Calvin in the original 1536 edition of his theological magnum opus outlines the vision of the Calvinist revolution. He postulates medieval-style *Christiana Respublica* or the 'City of God'. This is what Weber calls the 'Biblical theocracy', as the prime, eternal goal and outcome of 'radical Calvinism' and its religious-political revolutionary action<sup>26</sup> (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 2000a; Heller, 1986; Rosenblatt, 1997; Walzer, 1965). In a sense, the title of Calvin's first and crucial theological work is an implied, if not overt program of religious and political revolution. This is the 'Institution of the Christian Religion'. It is established (Hopfl, 1982) through the imposition of 'Reformed Religion' as the 'only true' faith and church; it is like Calvinism during its development and expansion attempts in all societies, from his 'French nation', Geneva, Holland and England/Scotland to New England and evangelical America. Calvin and his followers, from 16<sup>th</sup> century France to 21<sup>st</sup> century America, understand the process or act of 'instituting' the 'reformed' Christian religion, judging by their theological statements and especially political actions; they institute it by imposition and thus coercion or violence, hence religious-political revolution or 'cosmic war' (Juergensmeyer, 2003). Calvin's book, *Institution of the Christian Religion* can really be 'judged' by its 'cover' or title, which truly reveals its content or substantive argument.

Calvin's find and organizing of a radical religious-political movement in the form of an 'extensive network' of his followers and sympathizers throughout France following his 1533 'sudden conversion' marks the original act or first effort of the Calvinist revolution. Hence, the latter precedes his exile and the 'totalistic' (Eisenstadt, 1965) realization of his revolutionary vision in Geneva (Walzer, 1965), let alone such subsequent revolutions or revivals in other societies like Holland, Scotland and England, in part Prussia, New England, America during



the Great Awakenings and later, etc. Hence, by 1535-6 both the theological vision and the political organization of the first Calvinist revolution are created in France through Calvin's 'sudden conversion' and founding of a radical social movement providing the model or precedent and inspiration for later Calvinists' revolutionary visions and actions. French society in 1535-6 became the societal stage and historical conjuncture of the first Calvinist revolution as a vision or dream and attempt or embryo, even if not realization. It hence inspires or precedes not only such later revolutions in other European societies like Holland, Great Britain, and colonial America but also that in Geneva, a Francophone cultural area, during the 1540s. This is the first 'totalistic', yet local, revolutionary triumph of Calvinism. This marks Calvin's personal victory and leading to his absolute rule to become designated as the 'Pope of Protestantism' and thus reveals Calvinists of all times and places--and also to non-Calvinists--what he really means by 'Institution of the Christian Religion'. Both his adherents and critics or cynics may say 'he really meant [revolutionary-theocratic] business'.

Alternatively, in an unintended play of words, it is the *second* and native French Reformation that represents the *first* and original Calvinist revolution. It is understood, at the minimum as the vision or dream Calvin probably experiences during his 1533 'sudden conversion' or the dogma he expounds in his major theological work completed two years later. Calvin's last years in France are fateful or crucial in that they mark both the theological inception of the vision and the organizational initiation of the practice of the Calvinist religious-political revolution and thus revolutionary, radical Calvinism (Benedict, 1999; Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Heller, 1986; Walzer, 1965). This is instructive to emphasize and reiterate since most sociological studies center on Calvinist 'disciplinary revolutions' (Gorski, 2003; Loveman, 2005) in societal settings and historical conjunctures outside France and after 1533-36, for example, alongside the local setting of Geneva during and after Calvin's exile to Holland, Germany, Great Britain, colonial America, etc. of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. They thus leave the misleading impression as if nothing important happened in this respect while he is still in his native country, which is a salient omission.

Rather, the period of 1533-36 in France marked the original Act 1 of the Calvinist revolution both as vision and action, dream and attempt, setting the model, inspiration, and precedent for these subsequent revolutions, which are thus derivative acts. For illustration, in historical terms, Geneva was Act 2 from 1541—and not, as commonly believed, the first form—then Holland and Scotland Act 3, Prussia in part Act 4, and, in the Puritan form, England Act 5, New England Act 6, and late colonial or early revolutionary "Great Awakening" America Act 7,

etc., of the Calvinist revolution. All these Calvinist revolutions or revivals are directly or indirectly derived and inspired from, or in continuity with, the original act or revolutionary 'genesis' in France during 1533-36. Simply, the Calvinist revolution as both a vision and action begins in French society during that time and then continues and expands in other societies, including, alongside the local setting of Geneva, Holland, Germany, Great Britain, and colonial America. Consequently, reconsidering the original act or beginning of the Calvinist revolution can help better understand and explain these derivative acts or sequels. Conversely, overlooking or downplaying the first leaves a void in the societal settings and the historical sequence of such revolutions- revolutionary Act 1 or genesis in French society of 1533-36 is 'missing in action'.

Of course, the original vision and first action of the Calvinist revolution is Calvin's own creation and endeavor while in France. After all, the inception of the vision of religious revolution/war can probably be, as Weber intimates, traced to Calvin's earliest 'Reformed' beliefs resulting from his 'sudden conversion', and its completion to his first and major theological work already finished while living in France. This thus provides the prototype for all such subsequent visions in Calvinism (Benedict, 1999; Elwood, 1999; Walzer, 1965), including Puritanism, from Geneva to Holland and Great Britain to early and modern America. Also, the first action of the Calvinist revolution is Calvin's finding and organization of a radical religious-political movement through the network of proto-Calvinists during his last years in France serving as the 'father' and role model of subsequent Calvinist revolutionaries<sup>27</sup> (Elwood, 1999) and 'holy' warriors of all social spaces and times. For example, Calvin's revolutionary and warfare 'children' include Beza, Coligny, Condé, etc., in France and Geneva, Dutch Calvinists like William of Orange, Knox and other Presbyterians in Scotland, what Weber calls 'Calvinist Puritans' a la Cromwell and Winthrop et al. in England and New England, 'Great Awakenings' and 'Bible Belt' evangelicals in America, and so on. Hence, the preceding reintroduces more fully and explicitly Calvin in person at the 'stage' of this article in the form of a proxy sociological profile.

### **The Sociological Profile of Jean Calvin—'Born and Forever Frenchman'**

In a sense, the ultimate 'proof' that original Calvinism constitutes French Protestantism, in particular the first Calvinist revolution being the second Protestant Reformation in France, is the founder, Calvin himself. Perhaps one may wonder, especially by those sociologists outside the sociology and history of religion, who originally and really Calvin is. As implied and known in the sociology

and history of religion and theology but seemingly not beyond, originally Calvin is the French Protestant Reformer (Benedict, 1999; Foerster, 1962; Walzer, 1965) born in France in 1509, specifically, of all places, the vicinity of Paris (Noyon, the province of Picardy) (Davis,<sup>28</sup> 2010; Elwood, 1999; Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999). Furthermore, Calvin lives, with minor interruptions (like his stay in Basel over 1534-6), all his life and dies in French societal or cultural settings; first in France until 1536, including Paris and later in French-speaking areas (Scoville 1953) while in exile, mostly the city-state of Geneva (1536-38 and from 1541 to 1564, the year of his death); and the then German town Strasbourg (1538-41). Moreover, the 'three important first generation leaders of the Reformed church, namely, [Jean] Calvin, Theodore Beza and Pierre Viret' as sort of original holy 'Calvinist trinity' (Linder, 1975; also, Kingdon, 1964) are all French, born (except for the third) and educated, living and acting, notably converting<sup>29</sup> to the "Reformed" religion, in France, notably Paris, before and after their second home Geneva. For instance, Calvin is educated at the "great intellectual centers of France" (Linder, 1975), including even the University of Paris, a decade or so before moving to exile in Geneva.

In this respect, Calvin was born, always lived, 'felt', and died as the 'child' of France; simply a 'Frenchman' (Foster, 1927; Mansbach, 2006; Walzer, 1965). This intimates that his original name is *Jean*--not, as commonly believed or pronounced especially in English-speaking countries, John--Calvin<sup>30</sup> (Elwood, 1999; Ramsey, 1999), as one can see from the title of the French edition of his first and major theological work<sup>31</sup> *Institution of the Christian Religion (Institution de la religion Chrétienne par Jean Calvin)*. It suggests that US and other English-speaking sociologists perhaps need to do justice to Calvin by using and pronouncing his original French name rather than its English translation, to say nothing of Anglo-Saxon Calvinists in America and elsewhere, for their theological 'Father Calvin' (Foster, 1927) likely would not be very pleased with this curious change or ignorance of his true name by his own 'children'. Calvin is and remains the genuine, typical 'child' of France not just because of such biographical details as born, christened, lived, and died as a true 'Frenchman' but more importantly, he is 'the Frenchman Calvin' (Ay and Dolphin, 1995) in substantive, including theological-religious and cultural-political, terms.

Thus, Calvin is and remains the theological and generally religious 'child' of France on account of his works in theology and his activities in religion overall. First, Calvin dedicates and addresses to none other than the French Catholic king Francis I (Walzer,<sup>32</sup> 1965) his theological magnum opus *Institution*; although he originally publishes it and later republishes it while being in exile formally outside France and thus the monarchy's jurisdiction,

conceivably persecution. Specifically, Calvin dedicates to Francis I all the editions of *Institution*; three in Latin (Basel, 1536; Strasbourg, 1539; Geneva, 1559) and two in French (Strasbourg, 1541; Geneva, 1560) (Durand,<sup>33</sup> 1888). For instance, the first Latin edition (*Christianæ religionis institutio*) contains Calvin's following dedication<sup>34</sup>: 'preface addressed to the most Christian king of France, present him this book as confession of faith by Jean Calvin, of Noyon. Basel, 1536.' Also, the first and last French editions are dedicated with the following words: 'For the most Christian king of France Francis I by His Name. His Prince and Sovereign Master, Jean Calvin, Peace And Health In Our Lord Jesus Christ'. The address to Francis I ends on the following 'high note' and well-wish: 'May the Lord, King of the kings, establish your throne in justice and your fortress in equity'<sup>35</sup>. Curiously, both in the last Latin (1559) and French (1560) edition he personally edits and reviews, Calvin retains his dedication and address overall to Francis I even though the latter died before 1547. On this account, in this major theological work Calvin is as a true 'Frenchman' in national terms as his 'most Christian' Catholic king of France Francis I, rather than 'Swiss' or 'German', as one may erroneously infer by the fact that *Institution* during his life time is not published in France but only in Geneva (and Basel initially) and then German Strasbourg, and he lives in them during his exile (from 1536 to 1564), yet Francophone linguistic and cultural areas anyway.

At this juncture, that Calvin remains a loyal, patriotic child of France is indicated by the fact that he personally translates (in 1541 while being in exile in Strasbourg) from Latin into French *Institution*. Calvin entitles the French edition *Institution de la religion Chrétienne* 'composed in Latin by Jean Calvin and translated in French by myself' and states in the preface that 'at first it was written in Latin in order to serve all men of study, of whatever nations they were, and then after wishing to communicate what can prove of benefit to our French nation it was translated in our language'. Apparently, even during his theological work and religious-political activity in exile from France, Calvin has above all in mind the 'French' nation and language, including evidently its Catholic king. Also, Calvin personally edits or finalizes (in 1560 while living in Geneva) the second and last French edition<sup>36</sup> of *Institution* (Durand, 1888). Moreover, as implied by his reference to 'our language', Calvin probably hopes that *Institution* will indirectly and does, as subsequently observed in France<sup>37</sup> (Durand, 1888), contribute to the development or codification of the French language and literature, just as to make a direct cardinal contribution to 'Christian' cum 'Reformed' theology and religion<sup>38</sup>. Also, Calvin originally writes in French *First Catechism* in 1537 and in Latin the following year. And Calvin apparently succeeds in attaining the first goal by virtue of 'his French prose' being 'admired' for long

(Linder, 1975).

Notably, Calvin likely creates or conceives the original version of *Institution* in France in that he completes the book already in 1535 (Greef, 2008), a year before his exile to Geneva; at least he envisions it prior to his stay in Basel (Hopfl,<sup>39</sup> 1982), where it is published. Calvin experiences what he describes as the 'sudden conversion'<sup>40</sup> from the Catholic to the "Reformed" religion in France just a few years (1533-4) (Linder, 1975; Ramsey, 1999) prior to the initial publication of *Institution* (March 1536), which suggests that he writes or outlines it in these intermediate years (1533-35), as also indicated by the fact that it is published the same year he moves to exile in Geneva. In light of the interval between Calvin's 'sudden conversion' in his 'French nation' and its initial publication, the original version of *Institution* substantively is a theological, as well as literary, product 'conceived and made in France', which is confirmed by the later French versions he personally rewrites or 'polishes'. After all, even though published outside France, this version ensures, first and foremost, Calvin's 'undisputed position as the leading voice of the French Reformed church'<sup>41</sup> (Ramsey, 1999). An indirect implied 'proof' that *Institution* is already conceived and completed in France is the striking moment that Calvin is theologically challenged by and 'fell out' with Servetus initially nowhere else than in Paris<sup>42</sup> (Hobsbaum, 1972), two decades prior to Geneva. Servetus' theological challenge and disagreement suggest that Calvin's major doctrines, including the defining twin, composite doctrine<sup>43</sup> of predestination and absolutely sovereign God, are created, proposed, and even partly known, and to that extent *Institution* conceived and completed, in Paris around 1534-6.

And although while in exile in Geneva (and Strasbourg) Calvin expands<sup>44</sup> the first version of *Institution*, this expansion is the further elaboration of fundamental theological conceptions already formed or germinated in France during the time between his 'sudden conversion' and its first publication. For instance, Calvin's cardinal twin theological dogma of omnipotent God and Divine predestination, i.e., what precisely defines original Calvinism, is conceived in France following or perhaps precisely during his 'sudden conversion', as confirmed by that it is expounded in the original version of *Institution*. Thus, in the latter he proclaims and glorifies an 'omnipotent God' (*omnipotentis Dei*), including the absolute 'power, wisdom, justice, mercy, truth' of 'magnificent and miraculous' God (*magnus and mirabilis Deus*) (Calvin, 1536,181) as the 'King of kings'. In Weber's words, Calvin's 'Christian God' is 'a transcendental being, beyond the reach of human understanding [with] quite incomprehensible decrees [unlike] the Father in heaven of the New Testament; so human and understanding, who rejoices over the repentance of a sinner', instead of becoming a sort of 'hard, majestic king' revealing

'omnipotence' and 'pitiless' law (Harrold, 1936), and acting like 'Oriental despot' (Artz, 1998). In passing, this probably prompts even Puritan Milton to say (as cited by Weber) 'though I may be sent to Hell for it, such a God will never command my respect.' By contrast to omnipotent, non-understanding, inhumane, and 'pitiless' God (MacKinnon, 1988a), Calvin (1536,138/151) posits and condemns the 'corruption' (*corruptionis*) of humans and human activities and creations, especially their artistic forms (e.g., 'corruption of songs'), and urges purging them from their 'corruption' (*corruptione expurgentur*)<sup>45</sup>.

Calvin explicitly presents the doctrine of 'predestination of God' (*prædestinatio Dei*) into salvation or election (*electio*) and damnation or reprobation (*reprobationis*, *reprobis*) engendering the 'elect' and the 'reprobate'. For instance, he states in the first edition of *Institution* that by 'God's incomprehensible wisdom' (*incomprehensibilem Dei sapientiam*) humans are divided into, 'those who are eternally his designed elect (*aeterno eius consilio electi*) and those who are reprobate (*reprobati*)' (Calvin, 1536, 140). This forms an evidently original and classic statement of the doctrine of Divine predestination, which Weber describes as 'harsh', 'merciless', gloomy, and 'extreme inhumanity' (Fourcade and Healy, 2007). Also, Calvin (1536,490) expounds the vision of 'Christian Republic' (*Christiana Respublica*) and thus what Weber calls the 'Biblical theocracy' or 'Bibliocracy' considered 'Divinely ordained' by original Calvinism. Consequently, it is so considered by its European developments like 'neo-Calvinism', British derivatives such as Puritanism and Presbyterianism, and US Protestant generalizations and revivals involving evangelicalism, fundamentalism, sectarianism, Dominionism, etc. reconstructing 'Christian America' (Hedges, 2006; Juergensmeyer, 2003; Lindsay, 2008; Phillips, 2006; Smith, 2000). *Institution of the Christian Religion* is in essence Calvin's vision of institution or establishment--both as the condition and process, outcome and act--of evangelical theocracy designated as the 'Christian Republic' (Rosenblatt,<sup>46</sup> 1997) and the 'city of God' (*civitas Dei, la ville de Dieu*) a la Saint Augustine, i.e., 'godly' society<sup>47</sup> or "holy commonwealth" (Gorski, 2000a; Walzer, 1965).

In aggregate terms, in France following his 'sudden conversion' of 1533 Calvin conceives and formulates the dogma of omnipotent, omniscient, infinite Christian God, the doctrine of Divine predestination, the idea of depraved and corrupt, basically evil, humans to be purged from their depravity, and the design of Biblical theocracy. These are the foundational and defining elements of original Calvinism, as what Hume calls the 'doctrine of absolute decrees.' At this societal and historical point of France, 'Calvinism' as a theological system is in its foundations complete and created, despite the relatively embryonic character of the first edition of *Institution* compared to its final version, and hence Calvin

becomes 'Calvinist'. What remains is to implement and expand his theology, as Calvin personally attempts and totally succeeds in Geneva during his exile, and through, albeit with temporary or partial success, his French followers 'Huguenots' in his native France. In turn, his other European children or followers cum Calvinist "saints" (Walzer, 1965) are triumphant completely and enduringly in Holland, Scotland, New England and evangelical America, transiently in England, and partly in Germany.

In sum, on this account Calvin's 'Reformed' doctrine of 'Christian' God, predestination, and 'republic' is 'conceived and made in France' and he becomes 'Calvinist' during 1534-5, thus effectively creating what is designated after him 'Calvinism' as the 'new' theology and religion already prior to his exile. Comparatively, Calvin is considered, as in Weber's comparative sociology of religion, the 'Christian' counterpart of Muhammad and thus original Calvinism the Protestant 'Christian' equivalent of Islam on the account of the shared doctrine of omnipotent God and Divine predestination (and predetermination<sup>48</sup>) and related doctrines and practices, notably religious revolutions and wars for the 'glory of God' (Harrold, 1936; Hedges, 2006; Juergensmeyer, 1994; Mansbach, 2006). In this connection, when his main disciple in France and Geneva, Beza admits that Calvin "in doctrine made scarcely any change" (Walzer,<sup>49</sup> 1965), this explicitly refers to Christian theologian, notably St. Augustine as the crucial influence and precedent. It also implicitly refers to Islam that historically precedes and apparently inspires early or later Calvinism (e.g., Carlyle in Great Britain according to Harrold 1936), just as Islamic fundamentalism is reportedly admired and emulated in its theocracy by revived Calvinist-rooted theocratic evangelicalism (e.g., Dominionism) in contemporary America<sup>50</sup> (Juergensmeyer, 2003).

Even if Calvin's expansion and elaboration of *Institution* in exile generates certain, mostly secondary theological innovations or novel reformulations of the original doctrine formed or conceived in France, these are still produced in Francophone settings like Geneva as the center of French Calvinism (Ramsey, 1999; Walzer, 1965) and to that extent are also French products, so substantively 'made in France' in social-cultural terms. Recall he translates himself the original Latin version into 'our [French] language' for the 'benefit of our French nation' and dedicates not only the first edition but also the later editions, including the last, of *Institution* to King Francis I of France. This suggests that Calvin, though nominally in exile from France as a political system, feels or acts as if he still lived in and never left France as a cultural or linguistic entity encompassing or influencing adjacent French-speaking cities like Geneva and Strasbourg. When he refers to 'our French nation' he appears to include, at least culturally, both France as the territorial

state and French-speaking areas like his adopted home, Geneva. Also, Calvin's exile is part self-imposed, a sort of free 'rational choice' in the sense of being induced by the feeling of 'his own righteousness' and 'for conscience's sake'<sup>51</sup> (Heller, 1986), and partly banishment resulting from persecution following his public renunciation of Catholicism in 1534; though he does not experience the fate befalling his theological critics like Servetus and 'libertines' for 'heresy' in Geneva under his 'Reformed Church'. Hume remarks that 'Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva' (Bien, 1961; Linder, 1975; Merton,<sup>52</sup> 1984) Inquisition-style for "heresy" stemming from their initial disagreement in Paris (Hobsbaum 1972). Calvin thus comes full circle from his own heretical conversion--for which he evidently evaded the same fate he inflicted on his Geneva 'heretics'--to the 'Reformed Religion' in France. At any rate, during his exile Calvin as a 'Frenchman' in Francophone Geneva (and Strasbourg) probably feels and acts as being 'home' in his "French nation" ('fish in the water'), easily fitting in and eventually subjugating and ruling in an autocratic manner the city-state (Mansbach, 2006; Mason, 1993; Swidler, 1986; Walzer, 1965).

Furthermore, Calvin is the true 'child of France' not only in a theological or linguistic sense of *Institution* conceived in and devoted to 'our French nation' and he translated in 'our [French] language.' He is even more so on the account of his religious and political activity. His religious and political action, notably his organizing activity making the 'Reformed Church' a highly organized, coherent, and effective revolutionary movement (Elwood, 1999; Gorski,<sup>53</sup> 1993; Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999), focuses initially and persistently on France—and subsequently and jointly on all Europe, notably Great Britain--during his life, including that in exile. Specifically, this activity encompasses the three decades spanning from his 'sudden conversion' nearby Paris (1533) to his death in French-speaking Geneva (1664). Calvin proves himself a true Frenchman by virtue of the initial and persistent French focus and scope of his religious and political activity, though later expanded to all Europe, especially Scotland and England, notably his design and practice of revolution, just as of his theological magnum opus *Institution*. For instance, just a few years before his death, Calvin from Geneva directly or indirectly via his disciples (Beza, etc.) crucially shapes the decisions (e.g., 'Confession of Faith') of the first national synod of Calvinism in France held in Paris in 1559 (Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999; Walzer, 1965). He naturally extends this persistent focus on 'our French nation' to his increasing involvement in Europe's religion and politics, most openly and successfully in Great Britain, England through the early Puritans and Scotland via Knox et al., both making pilgrimage to and personally instructed by Calvin in Geneva in the Calvinist revolution and theocracy.

In a way, 'our French nation' is and remains Calvin's obsession or major preoccupation, extended in or joined with his later interest and involvement in Europe, of his 'Reformed Church' and political activities, as of his theological writings. He therefore proves to be the genuine and loyal 'child of France' even when living in exile from the later, yet still remaining in French cultural areas. Predictably, from his 'sudden conversion' in the vicinity of Paris 1533 to his death in Geneva 1564 Calvin is virtually obsessed with and determined through his religious-political activities, as well as his theological writings, in expanding his own personal conversion. This involves converting, first of all, France to the 'Reformed Religion' and then other major European nations, notably Great Britain, just as he converts Geneva as a sort of local experimental exercise or stepping stone to this primary national and in extension international goal. Calvin's original Paris-native and eternal Geneva-exile dream is the Calvinist 'Reformed' 'French nation' after his example and image, to be subsequently or simultaneously extended to other 'Papist' European states, including still Catholic Scotland and yet again England during the 1550s. First and foremost, it is precisely in France that Calvin founds Calvinism not only as the new 'Christian' theological doctrine expounded in *Institution*. He also founds it as the 'Reformed' religion and politics, i.e., a radical religious movement and ultimately revolution seeking, though eventually failing, to become and acting as the 'only true' faith and church of the 'French nation.' Simply, Calvin founds the 'Reformed church' precisely in France (Kingdon, 1964).

Thus, during the time between his 'sudden conversion' to the 'Reformed Religion' and his exile, Calvin already effectively forms an embryonic yet extended Calvinist revolutionary movement in France, including Paris, through creating 'an extensive network of personal ties throughout the kingdom'<sup>54</sup> (Heller, 1986), just as his major theological doctrines. To that extent, the last few years in his "French nation" (1533-36 or even 1534) mark effectively the birth or embryos of 'Calvin's cultural [and political] revolution' (Ramsey, 1999). This applies to the latter at least as a design to be implemented in parts of France by Calvin's followers under his political and theological leadership from exile, as well as in Geneva by himself in person, and through his 'spiritual' direction or impact as the 'Pope of Protestantism' in other European countries, notably Great Britain, Holland, Prussia in part, and colonial and contemporary America. If so, as the design and practice of religious-cultural and political revolution, just as theological doctrine, Calvinism basically emerges or originates in France following Calvin's 'sudden conversion' and prior to his exile to Geneva (and even his stay in Basel). Moreover, Calvin's 'sudden conversion' is perhaps the very act of creation or inception of the Calvinist revolution as a design, just as of Calvinism

as theology. In this sense, Calvin substantively writes or conceives during his last years in France, notably Paris, the blueprint of the Calvinist religious and political revolution and 'holy' war, just as he does his theological system *Institution*. For instance, recall during that period precisely in Paris with its expanding Calvinist network, Calvin has initial contact and disagreement with Servetus (Hobsbaum, 1972), in which the first apparently does not forget and forgive and for which the second pays the price in the form of Inquisition-style burning for 'heresy' in Calvin-ruled Geneva two decades or so later (1553). This indicates that 1533-36 are fateful years for Calvin as well as Servetus. In this connection, 'Calvin's murder of Servetus'<sup>55</sup> (Bien, 1961) in 1553 is in a way perhaps anticipated by the first given his being 'quarrelsome', 'harsh and vindictive' and 'ill-tempered' (Linder, 1975; Davis, 1996); at least predictable, already when they meet and become theological adversaries in Paris exactly two decades earlier. In this sense, what Scheler<sup>56</sup> (1964) depicts as 'Calvin's dark, stormy, passionate and power-hungry soul' is a sort of predictor of Servetus' adverse fate in Geneva.

In sum, the period between his 'sudden conversion' in and his exile from France is the most fateful time in Calvin's theological thinking and religious and personal life and hence in the origin and development of what is designated after his name as Calvinism cum the 'Reformed Religion.' Simply, when he moves to exile Calvin leaves behind an emergent Calvinist revolutionary movement later expanding to and temporarily ruling parts of France, while taking to Geneva the unfulfilled, yet in France, design of religious-political revolution to be fully implemented in this city-state, just as his theological doctrines in *Institution*. In this sense, Calvin forms and initially organizes Calvinism as a revolutionary design and movement, like a theological doctrine, in France, and only implements and renews it in Geneva. When he moves to the later he is fully ready to implement and renew what he has already invented in his 'French nation'. After all, he considers Geneva (and Strasbourg) an integral element of 'our French nation' or culture and no wonder renders it the center of French Calvinism. This is important to emphasize and reiterate because the received opinion or conventional wisdom among sociologists, at least those outside the historical sociology of religion, is that Calvin created both his 'Reformed' theology and his design of religious-political revolution while living in exile in Geneva. This overlooks or downplays the period between his 'sudden conversion' in and moving out of France as the fateful time for the creation of Calvinism in theological and political terms and his life.

Consequently, Calvin becomes the leader of the emergent Calvinist revolutionary movement, just as conceives his 'Reformed' doctrine, precisely while living

in France, notably Paris, during these fateful years following his 'sudden conversion' and prior to his exile to Geneva (and even his stay in Basel). As implied, Calvin assumes the mantle of the political leader of the French Reformation through his 'extensive network of personal ties' throughout France, including Paris, his 'organizing powers', and 'by force of his example'<sup>57</sup> (Heller, 1986) before as well as during his exile, just as he establishes himself as the theological 'leading voice of the French Reformed church' (Ramsey, 1999) by *Institution* written or conceived in France. Curiously, this time gap reveals that Calvin first becomes known, as in Paris' circles or his native town,<sup>58</sup> gracing and immortalizing him today with *Musée Calvin de Noyon*, as a religious revolutionary or political organizer for the cause of the 'new' religion before the publication of *Institution*. This means that he becomes only later famous or notorious as (in Rousseau's words) a theologian, though the sequence is probably opposite, as himself implies, during his fateful 'sudden conversion'.

Furthermore, even upon moving out of France as the territorial state Calvin remains obsessed with 'our French nation' and the genuine 'child of France' in terms of religious and political action, just as in a theological or linguistic sense, as he moves, along with his followers like Beza, to Francophone regions like Geneva<sup>59</sup>. First and foremost, while being in exile (not counting his stay in Basel to return to France, first, in Geneva, then Strasbourg, and Geneva again), Calvin continues to be or reestablishes himself as the leader of the French 'Reformed' religion as the design and movement of religious-cultural and ultimately political revolution, just as a theological doctrine indicated by his translating and republishing *Institution* in French. For instance, upon returning to Geneva in 1541 Calvin resumes and exercises until his death the 'leadership of the evangelical movement in France as well as elsewhere' making emergent French Calvinism an 'effective religious and political movement'<sup>60</sup> (Heller, 1986). In particular, during this period he exercises leadership not only by theological doctrine but by political activity, simply 'sword' as Calvinism's instrument of choice (Tawney,<sup>61</sup> 1923), the 'development of the highly organized communities of French Huguenots from his exile in Geneva' (Ramsey, 1999; Benedict, 1999; Scoville, 1953). Hence, the 'French Huguenots' develop effectively as the first Calvinists in national terms. At this point suffice it to register that their national political leader, joined with their local or regional leaders, just as their original and supreme theological master, is Calvin even when living outside France as a territorial state.

In military terms reflecting the trust of original Calvinism as Weber's 'Church Militant', even in exile Calvin is 'commander in chief' by 'word and sword', dogma and action, of the French Huguenots (Benedict, 1999; Walzer,

1965). And the latter are his 'Christian soldiers' or 'holy warriors' for the 'glory of God' and in defense of *Christiana Respublica*, Geneva is the 'command post', and France, including Paris, the initial, constant, and major 'field of operations' or 'frontline'<sup>62</sup> extended to Europe during his life, notably Great Britain. In economic terms, Geneva is the 'headquarters' of French Calvinism (Watt,<sup>63</sup> 2002) as national and eventually international religious 'free enterprise' with various 'entrepreneurs', 'divisions', 'affiliates', or 'subsidiaries' in France and later beyond. And French society is the initial, primary, and largest 'market' in Europe for Calvinist spiritual and political 'products', though this is an analogy rather than an exercise in the 'economics of religion' as sometimes applied to the Protestant Reformation (Ekelund et al., 2002).

In theological and geographic terms, Geneva is the relatively small 'city of God' à la St. Augustine, the main theological influence on Calvin (Harrold, 1936; Mathews, 1912; Maurer, 1924; Spengler, 1973; Walzer, 1965), and the point of departure and part of a future total, national 'godly' society in the form of *Christiana Respublica* in France and generally Europe. This suggests that Geneva's French-speaking 'City of God' is best understood and explained in the context of Calvin's overarching vision of France and in extension Europe as 'Christian Republic' (Rosenblatt, 1997). After all, under Calvin's autocratic and Machiavellian<sup>64</sup> rule (Walzer, 1965) Geneva becomes the 'capital of French Protestantism'<sup>65</sup> and then via a sort of natural extension of the European 'Reformed' religion as a whole, including that in Great Britain<sup>66</sup>. In comparative terms, the 'direct links' of Calvin in Geneva to French Calvinism are 'far more substantial' than, for example, those between the 'great Calvinist city on a hill' and Dutch Calvinists (Benedict, 1999).

Notably, Calvin establishes and enforces in Geneva the first French-speaking and local Calvinist theocracy as a sort of experiment, stepping-stone, of micro-model (Heller,<sup>67</sup> 1986; Rosenblatt,<sup>68</sup> 1997; Walzer, 1965) for establishing full-blown theocratic state in France through his French followers the 'Huguenots', and eventually in other European countries, including Holland<sup>69</sup> and Great Britain<sup>70</sup> (notably, Scotland). At this juncture, Calvin's main and perpetual aim, simply--to paraphrase the name of a perfume evoking his name--'obsession', is to implement his vision of theocracy by establishing the 'Reformed Religion' as the 'only true' Christian not just in local French-speaking areas like Geneva, but above all and ultimately in 'our French nation' and in an natural escalation Europe. This is what his followers the Huguenots in France precisely attempt and partially, as Hume and Weber note, succeed under his theological and political mastery during his lifetime and especially after his death<sup>71</sup>.

In this sense, counterfactually Calvin would die fully 'happy' only if he, to paraphrase the proverb about Rome, saw France, including Paris, completely under the established 'Reformed Religion' and himself in person. However, he did not see this outcome materialized during his life and probably fell short of full 'happiness'. Yet, his first 'children' the Huguenots partly and temporarily fulfill his ultimate wish in France (Benedict, 1999; Scoville, 1953), and his followers, self-declared Calvinist 'saints' (Walzer, 1965) in Europe do so fully, immediately following his death, as in Scotland and Holland during the 1560s-80s, or afterwards, including Prussia and England over the 1640s, New England of the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, the post-bellum 'Bible Belt', evangelical America, etc. On this account of especially instituting the 'Reformed Religion' in non-French, notably Anglo-Saxon, societal settings, Calvin might well be, as his descendants and apologists (Davis, 2010) suggest, a 'happy man' to a degree, although would be much 'happier' if it is also instituted in 'our French nation'. This is so despite his and most Calvinists', notably--as Hume and J. S. Mill suggest and Weber implies--Puritans' 'trained incapacity' for happiness or 'trained capacity' for unhappiness, including pleasure and enjoyment of life (Heller, 1986; Phelps 2007) due to declaring and presenting themselves as 'saints' (Walzer, 1965).

And when, as Hume bluntly puts it, 'Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva' for the 'heresy' of a different interpretation of the Christian holy trinity, as well as 'libertines' for other heresies or blasphemies he commits the first act and provides the model of what Weber, Tawney, and others suggest as the Calvinist variant or proxy of Inquisition (Kaplan, 2002). Generally, intentionally or not he sets the pattern of behavior or precedent for his followers in France and beyond, including Holland, Great Britain, and Puritan America. For instance, just a few years following this event in 1553 on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Calvin's 'sudden conversion' into anti-Catholic 'heresy', the first major national Calvinist theological and political council held, of all places, nearby Paris in 1559 decides that the 'Reformed Religion' can be fully established in France only by the 'extermination' of Catholics and other non-Calvinists, inspired by or evoking his original method of dealing with Servetus, other 'heretics', and 'libertines' in his Geneva theocracy. Like the latter, Calvin's literally inquisitorial punishment of Servetus and other dissenters in Geneva (Linder,<sup>72</sup> 1975; Fromm, 1941; Heller, 1986; Walzer, 1965) represents a local experiment, exercise, or blueprint for applying the method of 'godly' extermination of the 'ungodly' on a national or regional scale in France, as his followers try and partially succeed after his death, a sort of 'pre-game workout' for the main Calvinist 'game' in 'our French nation' and later beyond, especially Great Britain and Puritan America.

Calvin would thus die fully 'happy' if he saw not only

Geneva but France and eventually Europe 'purified' from non-Calvinists burned at the stake or otherwise purged from their 'corruption', but did not see this outcome realized and not attain 'full happiness' at his death. Yet, 'Father Calvin' might be, after all, a 'happy man', in part. For following the Calvinist Synod's decision, like related decisions, under 'Calvin's strict guidance' (Walzer, 1965), his first French 'children' partly succeed to implement his dream of extermination or purging of 'enemies of God' through religious wars, though much happier if they do totally so and win them. So do, for that matter, more fully and lastingly his later disciples like Calvinists in Scotland (Knox, etc.) and Holland (William of Orange) and Puritans in England and New England (Cromwell, Winthrop et al.), as well as, with some qualifications, Protestant sectarians, evangelicals, or fundamentalists in contemporary America, at least the South (the "Bible Belt").

In general, Calvin's virtually every political action in and outside France, notably directing his French followers the Huguenots as the methodical executors of his will, reveals himself as the 'child' of France obsessed with the 'French nation', naturally expanded into and joined with his interest in Europe, including Great Britain, to be placed under the 'Reformed Church,' ultimately himself as the 'Pope of Protestantism'. Simply, what Hume calls Calvin's instituted and enforced 'discipline and worship of Geneva' represents the local prototype of Calvinist disciplinary, ascetic theocracy via the 'only true' church to be established, first and foremost, in France and in extension beyond, including Great Britain (especially Scotland), Holland, and New England, as happens mostly after his death.

Calvin remains the 'child of France' even outside France on at least four accounts. The first is moving to and remaining the rest of his life within French-speaking cultural environments. The second is directing and dedicating his first and major theological work to 'our French nation' and king and translating it himself in French. The third is focusing and spending his religious-political activity and energy primarily on, notably directing the first organized national Calvinist movement in, France. The fourth is aiming and attempting to establish national theocracy in France through his followers after the micro-model and local setting of Geneva. Alternatively, French-born, raised, and educated Calvin does not become 'Swiss' or 'Genevan' while living in Geneva (or Basel) nor 'German' in Strasbourg but 'feels', acts and stays as French<sup>73</sup> (Mason, 1993) as his first followers the French Huguenots and the 'most Christian' Catholic king of France. This is a commonplace in history and theology, yet omitted by virtually all the articles in sociological journals and perhaps unknown or 'forgotten' by many sociologists outside the sociology of religion, and the lay public in the US and other non-French contexts.

## Conclusion

The paper identifies and attempts to redress an evidently ironic and incongruent omission concerning Calvinism in much of the sociological literature. This is the omission or 'lapse of memory' of the *sociological* core of Calvinism in this literature, as particularly expounded in various journals of the discipline. Consequently, even five centuries or so after its rise, one may wonder what original Calvinism is from the perspective of its societal point of origin and milieu. Thus, after perusing virtually all the articles on the subject published in sociological journals, the question remains or arises as to 'of what national society Calvinism is its creation', its own religious and political movement or revolution, specifically the Protestant Reformation, or conversely, which specific social-cultural system is its collective creator.

Specifically, in much of the sociological literature, as found in these journals, Calvinism as the Protestant Reformation of the late medieval society of France and Calvin as a Frenchman seem almost 'forgotten'<sup>74</sup> and perhaps 'forgiven', given Calvinist typically theocratic and generally repressive, disciplinarian, militant, radical, ascetic, sectarian, as via Puritanism as its 'pure sect', and related attributes and outcomes. By contrast, history and theology have not 'forgotten'--and non-Calvinist Catholic and in part Lutheran theologians have not 'forgiven'-- this historical moment yet. Thus, virtually all sociological articles, including Weber's posthumous article, on the subject in these sociological journals do not explicitly specify or mention that Calvinism is the French Protestant Reformation and Calvin was a native Frenchman, nearly 'Parisian', let alone his correct first 'all-French' name, on the likely presumption that these are commonly known historical facts and so redundant to state. Regardless of the reasons, by such omissions and even sometimes incorrect commissions the sociological literature in this and related journals leaves the impression<sup>75</sup> as if Calvinism is anything but the Protestant Reformation of late medieval France and the French 'Reformed Church'—of Germany? Switzerland? Holland? England and Scotland? New England? America?--and Calvin anyone other than a Frenchman (Genevan/Swiss? German? Dutch? English-Scottish? perhaps American?).

This is an incongruous situation in light of Calvinism's profound and enduring impact on modern Western society, including its economy, politics, and culture, as sociologists and other social scientists have emphasized since at least Weber's assumed Calvinist 'elective affinity' with modern capitalism. It is in particular incongruous with respect to America observed to be the most, largest, and even the last contemporary Calvinist-as-Puritan society. At least, this reportedly applies to the evangelical "Bible Belt" as the major one of the vestiges or "stumbling-blocks" of Calvinism cum Puritanism in the country

(Hobsbaum, 1972). Ironically, America has historically been and remains in religious terms mostly 'one nation indivisible under God [of Calvinism]', yet much of the sociological literature in this and related journals does not specify or register, just as most ordinary Americans do not seem to know or remember, what originally Calvinism is. Hence, perhaps it is the time to correct this omission, and the paper has been a contribution in this direction. Generally, the article aims to contribute toward making the comparative-historical sociology of the Calvinist religion more complete and better known to those sociologists outside this field.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I thank an anonymous reviewer for this observation.

<sup>2</sup> Gorski (2000,1455-8) observes that historically Calvinism 'was the most obvious thing the North Atlantic polities had in common', including Great Britain and America (plus Holland) described as 'the Calvinist countries of the North Atlantic.'

<sup>3</sup> Simply, one may object what it is not really a 'great deal' for sociology, as different from history or theology, to reexamine what original Calvinism is and relatedly who Calvin was. The paper argues that it is, as elaborated throughout.

<sup>4</sup> Weber in his analysis of the 'elective affinity' between Calvinism and capitalism admits that 'we have continually to deal with aspects of the Reformation which must appear to the truly religious consciousness as incidental and even superficial.' And in the article posthumously translated and published, Weber (1978, 1113) describes himself as a 'theological layman', as would the present author.

<sup>5</sup> Recall Weber includes Christianity as a whole into the great 'world religions', and not Calvinism and Protestantism overall, as do following his lead most contemporary sociologists. This is instructive to recall because Calvinism or Protestantism is often misclassified or misperceived, just as it claims to be, a 'world religion', but at least in the conventional Weberian sociological framework only Christianity is, alongside such other religions as Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, and Islam. Calvinism becomes a 'world religion' if theologically claiming, as it typically does from Calvin to contemporary evangelicalism, to be the 'only true' Christian, not to mention 'Reformed', Church. Yet, Weber and most sociologists (e.g., Gorski 2000b) do not take such claims--or those by other Christian churches or sects--seriously as sociologically relevant, although these are presented by Calvinist theologians and believers, just as repudiated by their non-Calvinist Catholic, Orthodox, and Lutheran counterparts, with theological strictness and deadly seriousness and effects. This is witnessed during Protestant-Catholic and even Calvinist-Lutheran and Puritan-Anglican post-Reformation and in part current wars of religion or tensions (Northern Ireland, etc.).

<sup>6</sup> Historically, the term 'Reformed Church' was first used in reference to that of Luther's followers like Zwingli in Switzerland (Zurich). Weber also registers that the 'Reformed' is not necessarily identical with the 'Calvinist' church. In turn, he implies that the original, earliest Calvinists were those in France in observing that the Calvinist 'first' translation of the Bible--and so the concept of a calling (translated as *labour*)--was in French ('Romance') language.

<sup>7</sup> One of the two largest Calvinist denominations in contemporary Holland is reportedly self-designated as the "Re-reformed Church" and is more theologically conservative or orthodox 'Calvinist' than the other simply called the 'Reformed Church' (Tubergen, Grotenhuis and Ultee 2005).

<sup>8</sup> If original Calvinism as the Second rather than the first 'Reformed Church' is the 'best kept secret' or lost truth among early Calvinists and their heirs, then this is the 'worst kept secret', simply no secret or mystery, among sociologists and other scholars and even the non-Calvinist lay public.

<sup>9</sup> Roelker (1972, 408-9) insists on 'distinctions between the theological-ecclesiastical-cultural "system" called Calvinism in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries [Puritanism], and the beliefs and practices of 16<sup>th</sup> century French men and women who looked to Calvin as their spiritual guide.'

<sup>10</sup> If this sounds implausible or exaggerated, the US and other non-European reader is invited to ask informally colleagues outside the sociology of religion and historical sociology, students, friends, etc. the question 'what Calvinism originally is' or 'who was Calvin' (in a simple or multiple-choice format) in terms of societal/national origin, and see what responses will receive. Likely, the smallest numbers of responses will answer that Calvinism is the French Reformation, and Calvin a native Frenchman, compared to, above all, the 'Swiss', following in a descending order by 'German', 'Dutch', 'English', and perhaps even 'American.' Even more likely is that not many, if any, will give the correct answer to the question about the exact first French name of Calvin (Jean, not John) or his birthplace (Noyon or nearby Paris).

<sup>11</sup> Valeri (1997,136-7) comments that for Calvin those 'who ran taverns that catered to profligate wine bibbers [etc.] had chosen their callings selfishly and poorly.' Still, showing that he was and remained a true French, in the last edition of his *Institution* Calvin contrasts 'good wine' (*bon vin*) to 'bitter and muddy water'. Vries (1999,75) cites Calvin's saying that he who "hesitate[s] respecting good wine, will afterward be unable with any peace of conscience to drink the most vapid; and he will not presume even to touch purer and sweeter water than others."

<sup>12</sup> According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, the 'Reformed Church bore indeed even more than the Lutheran the impress of a single mind; but then that mind was as typical of France and the second Protestant generation as Luther was typical of Germany and the first.'

<sup>13</sup> This is particularly useful to note, because Puritanism did and does via Puritan-inspired evangelicalism claim to be and is commonly regarded and extolled as American as the 'apple pie', the source and model of 'Americanism', for example, the idea of America's 'manifest destiny'. However, the preceding indicates that Puritanism is sociologically sectarian Calvinism and geographically the European--immediately English, ultimately French--'foreign' product, just as Catholicism initially persecuted and in part still denounced as 'Roman' and 'un-American', as well as Lutheranism branded or downplayed as 'German', by Puritans and their evangelical heirs. If the extant form or source of Puritanism as the Calvinist 'pure sect' is Calvinism rising as the Protestant Reformation of French society and, 'of all places', Paris, Calvin's near-birthplace, it is a sociological and historical non sequitur to claim that Puritans are as 'American' as the 'apple pie' despite being Tocqueville's 'Pilgrim fathers' and 'destiny' of the 'new nation.' This is a special case of the frequent general historical pattern of a foreign non-native religious or political group founding or over-determining a society. Simply, Calvinists as French Protestants are original proto-puritans, and Puritans derivative sectarian Calvinists and in that sense 'foreign' forces, geographically and theologically, coming to America and before, as Weber suggests, to England in theological terms. The latter also involved a geographical dimension, as some English Puritans make pilgrimage to or are, as Hume notes, in 'communication, with Calvin in Geneva' and then return to England to import and implement his geographically 'foreign'--and at that French-made--vision of religious revolution and war, as do Scottish Presbyterians like Knox.

<sup>14</sup> Heller (1986; xi) registers that 'the history of the beginnings of French Calvinism [starts with] its genesis in [besides Geneva] seven provincial centres' in France during the 1530s.

<sup>15</sup> McNeill (1954,227) describes Calvin as a 'frail, earnest Frenchman'.

<sup>16</sup> Benedict (1999,70) adds that by 'in France, upwards of a thousand Reformed congregations may have been founded by 1562. The Protestants 'already represented a majority of the population of some cities.'

<sup>17</sup> Benedict (1999,4) refers to the 'emergence of the Protestant Henri de Navarre as the heir apparent to the throne of France' after 1584.

<sup>18</sup> In an insightful article published, Gorski (1993,275) remarks that 'early modern historians often distinguish between a first Reformation, which begins with Luther, and a second Reformation, which begins with Calvin', but does not specify the national origin of the latter and thus of Calvinism apparently assuming that this is commonly known also among sociologists.

<sup>19</sup> Between 1534-36 Calvin reportedly visited or lived in Basel where his first theological work is published but still returns and remains in France before moving to Geneva and the date of his exile is usually considered 1536. Even if this date is changed into 1534 or 1535, this does not substantively affect the argument that Calvin creates his theological doctrine as well as founded his religious-political movement while still in France. For Calvinist theology the fateful moment is his 'sudden conversion' to the 'Reformed Religion' in 1533, thus effectively the date of the birth of Calvinism as a doctrine at least in the mind or vision of Calvin, and for the Calvinist revolutionary movement, his network of arch-Calvinists formed or initiated over 1534-35.

<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Pareto suggests that 'the revolution known as the Protestant Reformation' is no less than a special case of a revolution against 'economic and social progress' (i.e., against its agents "speculators" vs. *rentiers*), thus contradicting the conventional wisdom linking Protestantism, in particular the Calvinist Revolution, to modern capitalism in the manner of Weber as well as to democracy or republics a la Parsons et al. In turn, Pareto considers the Reformation a form of adverse 'religious reaction' to social progress or change, notably the secular and humanistic (as also described by Simmel and Parsons) Renaissance and in that sense a religious counter-revolution. To that extent, this casts the new light--or perhaps 'darkness'-- on Weber's Calvinist religious disciplinary revolutions as counter-revolutions or restorations of a primitive social state, as are in Bourdieu's (1998) view, all conservative 'revolutions', including the Nazi 'revolutionaries' of the

1930s and the neo-conservative 'revolution' in the US and the UK since the 1980s.

<sup>21</sup> Sombart (2001,176) invokes the *Calvinistic Jewish Mirror* of 1608 in which some Calvinists in Germany say 'we left our country [France] to wander in other lands where we are not known in our true colours.'

<sup>22</sup> Gorski (1993,275) observes that the 'first Calvinist preachers spilled over the French border into the southern Netherlands in the 1550s', forming a 'movement more militant, better organized, and better able to resist state-sponsored persecution than those that had preceded it', and identifies 1559-68 as the 'first phase of the revolt'.

<sup>23</sup> According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, 'English Reformers, fleeing from martyrdom, found a refuge within its hospitable walls, and, returning to England, attempted to establish the Genevan discipline, and failed, but succeeded in forming the Puritan character.'

<sup>24</sup> Hopfl (1982,20) notes that *Institution* was 'completed' in 1535, such that the 'prefatory letter' to the French king is dated 23 August 1535.

<sup>25</sup> Weber remarks that within Christianity 'the concept of a religious revolution was consistent most' with original Calvinism, i.e., Calvin's teachings, in contrast to Luther 'who absolutely rejected religious wars and revolutions'. Weber adds that also the 'duty of religious revolution for the cause of faith was naturally taught by the religions that engaged in wars of missionary enterprise and by their derivative sects', namely Islam and its various sects. Generally, Weber finds that 'radical Calvinism' provides a 'similar [revolutionary, violent] solution to the problem of the relation between religion and politics' as does Islam. Also, Weber proposes that, like Calvinism, 'the religion of Muhammad' is 'fundamentally political in its orientation', and that 'his position in Medina was nearly identical that of Calvin at Geneva.' Thus, in Weber's view, 'Calvin and Muhammad, each of whom [was] convinced that the certainty of one's own mission in the world came not from any personal perfection but from his situation in the world and from god's will.' As it stands, Weber implies that Calvin is a sort of Christian or rather specifically Protestant emulation or functional equivalent, even if unwittingly or denied by him and Calvinists, of Muhammad, and Calvinism of Islam, as Harrold (1936) explicitly suggests.

<sup>26</sup> Elwood (1999:172) suggests that Calvinist 'religious radicalism supplied a new political framework and laid the foundation for the forms of political praxis that profoundly disturbed social and political relations through most of the societies of early modern Europe'.

<sup>27</sup> Elwood (1999:171) comments that 'if the French context ultimately undermined Calvinist militancy, elsewhere [it] was a potent source of revolutionary energy. Calvinism in Scotland galvanized the revolt against the regency of Mary of Guise and provided symbolic and conceptual support for the deposition of Mary Stuart. Calvinists in the Netherlands threw off Spanish rule and established a republic. In England Calvinists deposed and executed a king and temporarily abolished the monarchy. There is considerable irony in [an] association of revolutionary politics with a figure as politically conservative as Calvin.'

<sup>28</sup> Davis (2010,4) notes that 'Calvin was born and educated in France. He earned both bachelor's and master's degrees in Paris.'

<sup>29</sup> Linder (1975,173) observes that 'Calvin's conversion apparently took place sometime late in 1533 or early in 1534, Beza's in 1548, and Viret's sometime between 1527 and 1530' all in France, notably Paris.

<sup>30</sup> According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, his original last name was actually Cauvin, but he decided to call himself Calvin.

<sup>31</sup> Prior to the 1536 edition of *Institution* Calvin had published a legal text *Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* in 1532 (followed by *Commentary on Romans* in 1540). After *Institution* Calvin published some other theological works such as *First Catechism* (1537, first written in French, and a year later in Latin) followed by *The Genevan Catechism* (1542) and *A Reformulated Catechism taken from the Geneva Catechism* (1560), as well as *Comments on Isaiah* dedicated to England's Queen Elizabeth only three months after she was crowned in January 1559, although, according to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, she 'distrusted Calvin' and 'swore that she never read his books'.

<sup>32</sup> Walzer (1965,2) comments that 'it was not reverence but cold practicality which led him to start with the French monarch.'

<sup>33</sup> In the preface to the final 1560 French edition, Durand (1888,vi) comments that *Institution* 'has had three principal editions in Latin and two in French' and that it 'is correctly considered as the main work of Calvin.'

<sup>34</sup> Curiously, the first English translation of *Institution* published in 1545 is longer: 'Prefatory Address To His Most Christian Majesty, The Most Mighty And Illustrious Monarch, Francis, King Of The French, His Sovereign John Calvin Prays Peace And Salvation In Christ'.

<sup>35</sup> The English (1545) translation is 'Most illustrious King, may the Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne in righteousness, and your sceptre in equity.'

<sup>36</sup> Durand (1888,vi) comments that the last French edition that Calvin himself reviewed or polished (but, one has reason to believe, only in part) was that of Geneva 1560.'

<sup>37</sup> Durand (1888,6) suggests that 'in terms of form one finds in presence of one of great classics of the French language of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.' He cites approvingly a French literary analyst's evaluation that 'the style of Calvin is one of the greatest styles of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, simple, correct, elegant, clear, ingenious, animated, varied of forms and tones, it has commenced to fix the French language for prose as that of Clément Marot has done for the verses.' Also, the Cambridge History of the Reformation registers 'Calvin's services to the French tongue. He perhaps more than any other man made it a literary vehicle, a medium for high philosophical and religious discussion. The *Institutio* has been said to be the first book written in French which can be described as logically composed, built up according to a consecutive and proportioned plan.'

<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, one of the best known and most used English translations in 1580 of *Institution* was from the last French edition rather than the Latin editions. (Yet, the lay public and even some sociologists outside the sociology of religion in English-American settings seem to believe that Calvin was writing in 'English' or at least in 'German', but not many know or remember his writing in French.) This implicitly confirms that Calvinism as theology and religion overall originates and develops as the 'Reformed' doctrine and faith in, and Calvin himself is the true 'child' of, France as a society or culture (to include Francophone areas like Geneva and Strasbourg). Also, the date of publication of the English translation indicates that in terms of theological formulation and codification French Calvinism as the original precedes Anglo-Saxon Calvinism as the derivative to be rechristened Puritanism (England) and Presbyterianism (e.g., 1536/1541 versus 1545/1580). Negatively, it confirms that Calvinism originally is not the Anglo-Saxon or German Reformation, and so Calvin not the English or 'German' or 'Swiss' reformer. Also, it is curious that the English translation of *Institution de la religion Chrétienne* is *Institutes of the Christian Religion* though evidently the title *Institution of the Christian Religion* does more justice to Calvin's own French original. Also, it does not do justice to the Latin original title *Christianae religionis institutio* for the plural word *Institutes* does not fully reflect *institutio*, first as singular, and second, meaning institution as both the static institutional arrangement and the dynamic process of instituting of the 'Christian Religion'. One wonders why various English translators (from Beveridge in 1845) translate the title this way when Calvin himself previously (1841) translates it into French as *Institution de la religion Chrétienne*, simply as 'institution', not 'institutes.' Hopfl (1982,20) objects the English translation is *Institutes* but the 'work wore no resemblance whatever to a legal codex [so] *Institution* has come to be preferred again [i.e.] an account of that religion as 'instituted' or founded by Christ, as opposed to its current man-made deformations.'

<sup>39</sup> Hopfl (1982,10) implies this in noting that 'some time before he left France [for Basel in 1535], Calvin's attention has been concentrated entirely on [evangelical] theology'.

<sup>40</sup> Ramsey (1999,8) notes that 'Calvin's own break with Catholicism can be dated to the period of 1533-34.'

<sup>40</sup> Ramsey's (1999,8) full statement is that 'the publication in 1536 of the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* established his undisputed position as the leading voice of the French Reformed church'.

<sup>40</sup> Hobsbaum (1972, 29) remarks that 'Servetus, was seized for heresy and burnt. The laws of Geneva had no jurisdiction over him; he was merely passing through.'

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<sup>43</sup> For instance, Calvin (1888,426-8) admonishes in the last 1560 French edition of *Institution* that the ‘ignorance of this principle diminishes the glory of God’ [la gloire de Dieu] and also subtracts of true humility [la vraie humilité] and further that ‘by whatever whoever renders the doctrine of predestination odious (odieuse) detracts or negates overtly God [detracte ou niesdit de Dieu ouvertement].’

<sup>44</sup> The difference in length is significant but not dramatic: the first 1536 Latin edition has 522 pages, and the 1560 final, French edition 755 pages.

<sup>45</sup> In the later Latin editions of *Institution* Calvin states that from the ‘sentiment of our ignorance, vanity, penury, infirmity, what is more, perversity and corruption (*ignorantiae, vanitatis, inopiae, infirmitatis, pravitatis denique et corruptionis*), we are led to know that there is only in Lord (*Domino*) true clarity of wisdom, solid truth, perfect affluence of all good, pure justice (*sapientiae lucem, solidam veritatem, bonorum omnium perfectam affluentiam, iustitiae puritatem*), such that we are influenced by our evils (*malis*) to consider Divine good’ (*Dei bona*). For those readers interested in his French writing, Calvin himself translated this statement from Latin as follows: ‘Parquoy du sentiment de nostre ignorance, vanité, disette, infirmité, voire, qui plus est, perversité et corruption, nous sommes induits à cognoistre qu’il n’y a nulle part ailleurs qu’en Dieu vraye clarté de sagesse, ferme vertu, droite affluence de tous biens, pureté de justice, tant y a que nous sommes esmeus par nos misères à considérer les biens de Dieu: et ne pouvons aspirer et tendre à luv à bon escient, qu’ayant commencé à nous desplaire du tout.’

<sup>46</sup> Rosenblatt (1997,259) comments that ‘according to Calvin, the Christian republic was meant to serve as an aid to sanctification: the business of both Church and State was the enforcement of Christian virtue. The roles of Church and State were inextricably connected; being a good citizen was closely linked with being a good Christian.’

<sup>47</sup> Gorski (1993, 274) suggests that ‘Calvin had cautiously articulated the vision of a “godly commonwealth” modeled on the polity of the ancient Jews, in which religious and secular leaders would cooperate in effecting a radical Christianization of society [and] a revolutionary defense of traditional privileges.’

<sup>48</sup> Weber states in the *Protestant Ethic* that Islamic (Mohammedan) doctrine ‘was that of predetermination, not predestination, and was applied to fate in this world, not in the next’, unlike Calvinism. However, in his later work *Economy and Society* (section the Sociology of Religion), he suggests that Islam has and thus shares the ‘belief in predestination’ with Calvinism.

<sup>49</sup> Walzer (1965,21-2) remarks that Calvin’s ‘innovation was far less important in theology than in moral conduct and social organization’.

<sup>50</sup> Juergensmeyer (2003:212) observes that US evangelicalism like Calvinist-based Dominion and Reconstruction theology ‘admires the attempts of Muslims in Iran, Sudan, and Afghanistan to create regimes grounded in Islamic law.’

<sup>51</sup> Heller (1986:115) elaborates that Calvin ‘was supremely confident of his own righteousness [and] willingness to abandon everything, i.e., career, fortune, esteem in his native land, and consciously to accept exile for conscience’s sake’

<sup>52</sup> Merton [1984,1098] comments that ‘Michael Servetus [was] denounced by Calvin and burned alive after trial by the magistrates of Geneva.’ Also, Linder (1975,179) admits that ‘no one can excuse him for his part in the trial and execution of Michael Servetus in 1553.’

<sup>53</sup> Gorski (1993,273) suggests that ‘Calvin devoted most of his life not to theology but to building the Reformed church.’

<sup>54</sup> Heller (1986; 116) remarks that ‘Calvin’s influence made itself felt even prior to his exile from France. Before leaving the country Calvin established an extensive network of personal ties throughout the kingdom. These included contacts in his hometown of Noyon as well as with humanists and jurists at Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Angoulme and Poitiers.’

<sup>55</sup> Bien (1961,329-30) comments that ‘this Christianity which Voltaire so detested embraced Calvinism as well as Catholicism; when all was said and done, Calvin was no better than Loyola.’

<sup>56</sup> Scheler (1964,18) remarks that ‘Calvin’s dark, stormy, passionate and power-hungry soul was inflamed to its very depths by the deep resentment which he had against [Catholic ideals].’

<sup>57</sup> Heller (1986; xi) comments that Calvin ‘had an important hand [within] the development of French Protestantism from the 1530s onward’. In this view, ‘without Calvin there would of course have been a French Protestantism. But without him it would have remained an inchoate, fragmented and powerless sect—isolated, unable to organize itself effectively at the political level, or to develop the internal coherence necessary to its survival in the long term. Calvin, by force of his example, through his organizing powers, and by means of the clarity of his theological teaching, likewise placed himself at the head of the French Reformation’ (Heller 1986; 112).

<sup>58</sup> Ironically, Catholic France has eventually been more graceful and even generous to Calvin than Anglican England to its own Calvinist cum Puritan ‘saints’ a la Cromwell. While Calvin is today graced and immortalized by the museum bearing his name in his home town, about half hour from Paris by train, Cromwell’s body was reportedly desecrated from the grave and thrown on the streets to dogs by the masses following the restoration of the monarchy and the reestablishment of Anglicanism. For instance, in dramatic contrast to Calvin’s posthumous gracious fate in France, Spencer notes that ‘Cromwell’s body was exhumed, and his head stuck on Temple Bar’, like criminals and tyrants being ‘drawn and quartered as well as hung’.

<sup>59</sup> The Cambridge History of the Reformation emphasizes that ‘men like John Calvin and Theodore Beza did not cease to be sons of France though they became citizens of Geneva; and they used their foreign citizenship to serve their mother land more effectually than they could have done in any of her own cities.’

<sup>60</sup> Heller (1986:120-30) states that ‘following his exile in 1536 Calvin’s primary concern was no longer with France’ but Europe overall, including today’s Great Britain, and then relaxes, if not dispense with, this statement by observing that by 1545 there was ‘Calvin’s leadership of the evangelical movement in France as well as elsewhere’. Conceivably, if his ‘primary concern was no longer with France’, Calvin would not have become the leader of the Calvinist movement in France to the point of instigating and directing the Huguenots, including their first Synod, from Geneva; conversely, the fact that he did proves that it was. Heller (1986;111) implicitly acknowledges this observing that from the 1540s Calvin ‘was able not only to master the popular reformation in France but to make it the basis of an effective religious and political movement. Through his intellectual and political leadership a subterranean and fragmented movement of reformation gradually became a cohesive force challenging the existing ecclesiastical and political order.’

<sup>61</sup> Tawney (1923,804) registers that following its founder ‘Calvinism, assuming different shapes in different countries, became an international movement, which brought not peace but a sword, and the path of which was strewn with revolutions.’

<sup>62</sup> Consider the following account in the Cambridge History of the Reformation: while a ‘French preacher’ at Strasburg, in Geneva Calvin did ‘develop his system of education; it supplied the Reformed Church, especially in France, with the men which it needed to fight its battles and to form the iron in its blood. France was the main feeder of the Academy; Frenchmen filled its chairs, occupied its benches, learned in it the courage to live and the will to die. From Geneva books poured into France; and the French Church was ever appealing for ministers, yet never appealed in vain. Within eleven years, 1555-66 Geneva sent 161 pastors into France.’

<sup>63</sup> Watt (2002,444) register that various disputes (including that over the ‘naming of children’), ‘pitted the native Genevan laity against the French clergy’ and ‘clearly bred resentment among Genevans toward the French pastors.’

<sup>64</sup> Walzer (1965,9-10) observes that the 'people in Geneva [did] discover in Calvin' not just an (autocratic) person but a movement and ideology, and that 'Calvin pursued power in Geneva with all the artfulness of a Machiavellian adventurer [as did] his followers in England [i.e.] the English Calvinists' cum Puritans.

<sup>65</sup> In the account of the Cambridge History of the Reformation 'Geneva was in fact now regarded as the capital of French Protestantism; French refugees had gone there in increasing numbers, and had contributed to Calvin's definite triumph over his opponents in the very year, 1555, in which the French Churches began to be organized.'

<sup>66</sup> As known, the Protestant Reformers in England and later Scotland rebelled against the Roman Catholic Church and the rule of the Pope on the ground of being 'foreign'. Yet, in an apparent contradiction or irony, they overlooked that both Geneva to become the 'Rome of Protestantism' and Calvin becoming the 'Pope of Protestantism' were also 'foreign'. Notably, Calvin effectively instigated and directed ('advised') the 'Reformation' in these two then independent countries during his last years, notably via his disciple Knox the Presbyterian Scottish anti-Catholic rebellion, and in part the English (second) abolition of Catholicism and restoration of Protestantism under Queen Elizabeth. Even more contradictory or ironic, given the English-French near-permanent wars or hostilities and tensions in those and later times, both Geneva and Calvin were not just foreign but at that French in cultural and national terms, respectively. And another irony was, as noted, that the 1580 widely used English translation of Calvin's *Institution* was from the last (1560) French edition rather than the Latin editions.

<sup>67</sup> Heller (1986:124) registers the 'new system of ecclesiastical discipline introduced by Calvin at Geneva'. In this account, for Calvin 'the secular order is ordained by God. Because mankind is under original sin this order necessarily is one of repression. The people are incapable themselves of government but must be governed. Accordingly, social and political inequality including both differences in wealth and station are inevitable. Even tyranny must be suffered in obedience because it is ordained by God. [Such a view was] based on the idea that the people at all costs must be held in check' (Heller 1986:131). In short, 'popular sovereignty as an ideal thus occupies no place in Calvin's political or ecclesiastical thought' (Heller 1986:132).

<sup>68</sup> Rosenblatt (1997,10) notes that 'Calvin wanted Geneva to be the very model of a Christian commonwealth. His vision was predicated upon the fusion of belief and citizenship, illustrated by the oath he tried to impose upon the Genevan population in 1537. The people of Geneva were asked to accept the confession of faith at the same time as they swore their loyalty to the city. (In the *Serment des Bourgeois*) each newly admitted member of the bourgeoisie was made to promise that he would "live according to the Reformation of the Holy Gospel" even before promising to be "good and loyal to this city of Geneva." This explains why a Genevan citizen who changed his religion automatically lost his citizenship. Rosenblatt (1997, 259) adds that 'according to Calvin, the Christian republic was meant to serve as an aid to sanctification: the business of both Church and State was the enforcement of Christian virtue. The roles of Church and State were inextricably connected; being a good citizen was closely linked with being a good Christian.'

<sup>69</sup> According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, the 'ideal then realised in Geneva exercised an influence far beyond France. It extended into Holland, which in the strength of the Reformed faith resisted Charles V and his son, achieved independence, and created the freest and best educated State on the continent of Europe.'

<sup>70</sup> Hume registers that early English and Scottish Puritans were in 'communication with Calvin, and the other reformers who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva'. For instance, in Hume's account in 1557 'John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character [and] invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation.'

<sup>71</sup> Rosenblatt (1997,12) suggests that 'Calvinism, since Calvin, has been an evolving and multifarious religion [e.g. in Geneva] at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, many Calvinists believe[d] that the period since Calvin had been plagued by excessive attention to relatively obscure matters of dogma such as predestination and Original Sin at the expense of more important ethical concerns [so] the trend was toward liberalization and greater humanism in dogma. This had an undeniable effect on the doctrines of predestination and Original Sin, and on the Calvinist portrayal of human nature'. In this view, 'in their moral theologies (Pictet, Turretini, Vernet) the doctrines of Original Sin and predestination were consistently down-played or avoided [so] by the 18<sup>th</sup> century Genevan Calvinism had undergone an "Enlightenment" of its own [i.e.] anthropologically optimistic, "reasonable," and moralistic brand of Calvinism' (Rosenblatt 1997,17).

<sup>72</sup> Linder (1975, 179) notes that 'Calvin certainly was harsh and vindictive in many of his dealings with people [especially] increasingly ill-tempered in his declining years'.

<sup>73</sup> Mason (1993,28) describes Calvin following his exile from France as "a preacher come from France who subjugated Geneva and made it over into his image".

<sup>74</sup> This forgetting is perhaps by analogy to 'champagne', almost forgotten in the US at least that it is French due to California and other 'American champagne', or for that matter to 'aspirin' forgotten as being German due to the US government's effective expropriation of Bayer on evident nationalistic grounds during WW I, both incidentally in apparent violation of applicable national or international copyright laws.

<sup>75</sup> As a result, even many academic sociologists, not to mention their students, may lack precise knowledge or recollection of these elemental facts from Western religious history, specifically the Reformation period, which 'every schoolboy' should know but seemingly does not, especially in US and other non-French environments. Thus, anecdotal evidence suggests that many US sociologists outside the fields of the sociology of religion and historical sociology, like most of their students and ordinary Americans, have 'forgotten' and hence conceivably 'forgiven' what Calvinism originally is--and relatedly who Calvin actually was--in respect of its society-creator or country of origin. In the author's informal surveys, the answers to 'what is Calvinism's and Calvin's original country of origin' have ranged from Germany to Switzerland or Geneva and Europe overall to England? No one answered that Calvinism is the French Protestant Reformation and that Calvin was a Frenchman born nearby Paris, let alone knowing his true first name.