

honor the leaders. Sovereignty can be imposed by God upon a few, upon many, and upon all. This does not touch the principle itself. If, however, Calvin is free to choose, he prefers a republic. He read too closely the annals of the sins of royal autocrats, not to dislike despotism. In an authority entrusted to many there is less temptation to tyranny.

And what must be done when the authorities oppress the land? May a private person take up arms? Never, says Calvin. And when the authorities issue orders that are contrary to the honor of God, not even then. Refuse obedience, and suffer the penalty. But when Calvin is asked, whether then there is no way of resistance, he quickly adds: "This observation I always apply to private persons. For if there be any magistrates appointed for the protection of the people, as the Ephori at Sparta, or the popular tribunes at Rome, or the three estates of Parliament, then, I am so far from prohibiting them, in the discharge of their duty, to oppose the violence or cruelty of kings, that I affirm, that if they connive at kings in their oppression of their people, such forbearance involves the most nefarious perfidy, because they fraudulently betray the liberty of the people, of which they know that they have been appointed protectors by the ordination of God." With Calvin is found the origin of the system of secondary authorities, of the motto under which de Condé rose against Charles, the Netherlands against Philip, England's Parliament against the Stuarts, and the American colonies against the mother country. With Calvin is found the glorious principle from which has germinated constitutional public law.

Finally, a point which is no less worthy of emphasis is this: Calvin opposed non-intervention. According to his international law, Europe was not an aggregate of independent states, but formed one family of nations. Hence it was the duty of the prince of a neighboring realm to interfere, whenever a prince committed an offence against his people. Start-