

THE

STUMBLING-BLOCK

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DISOBEDIENCE & REBELLION

Cunningly imputed by P. H. unto CALVIN, removed in a Letter to the said P. H. from I. H.

Let no man put a Stumbling-block in his brothers way, Rom. 14.13.

Gave my indgment upon your late book (that I mean againt Calvin) in fuch manner among fome Gentlemen, that they defired me to write something in Answer to it, which if there happen to be need I may; In the mean time it will, perhaps, be enough if I acquaint you with as much as I have acquainted them. In this,

1603:01

book of yours you speak some things as a Polititian only,. others as a Polititian and a Divine too. Now to repeat a few, and yet as many I think as are needful of each kind, I shall begin with the former.

The Rife, Progress, and Period of the Commonwealth of Lacedemon is observable in Authors by these

iteps,

The Insufficiency of the Monarchy. 2. The Form of the Commonwealth.

3. An Infirmity in the Form, and a cure of it.

4. The Corruption and Dissolution of the whole. All which happened within the compasse of eight hun-

dred years.

To the first you say, That the Spartan Kings were as absolute Monarchs as any in those times, till Eurytion, or Eurypon, to procure the favour and good will of the Rafcall-rabble (so you commonly call the people) purchased nothing but the loffe of Royalty, beside an empty name unto

his Family, thence called the Eurypontidæ.

It is true that Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus fayes, That Eury pon was the first, who to obtain favour with the people, let loofe the reins of Government, and this he faith there without shewing any necessity that lay upon the King so to do; nevertheless that such necessity there was is apparent in Agis, where he affirmeth, That a King of Lacedemon could never come to be equal unto any other King, but only by introducing Equality among the people; for almuch as a fervant or Lieutenant of Seleucus, or Piolomy, was worth more then ever were all the: Kings of Sparta put together. Which latter speech if a man consider the narrowness of the Laconick Territory, being but a part of Peloponnesus, must needs evince the former action to have been not so voluntary in Eurypon, as in prudence unavoidable. But Eurypon having by this means rather confessed the infirmity of the Monarchy, then introduced any cure of the Government, it remain[3]

ed that the people not yet brought under fit Orders mult needs remain in disorderrs as they did till the institution of the Commonwealth.

The Monarchy that is or can be absolute, must be founded upon an Army planted by Military Colonys upon the overballance of Land being in dominion of the Prince; and in this case there can neither be a Nobility, nor a People to gratifie, at least without shaking the foundation, or disobliging the Army. Wherefore the Spartan Kings having a Nobility or People to gratifie, were not absolute. It is true, you call the Kings of France absolute, so do others, but it is known that in the whole world there is not a Nobility nor a People so

frequently flying out or taking Armes against their Prin-

ces as the Nobility and People of France.

The Monarch that is founded upon a Nobility, or a Nobility and the people (as by the rife and progresse of the Norman line in our story is apparently necessary) must gratifie the Nobility or the Nobility and the people with such Laws and liberties as are fit for them, or the government (as we have known by Experience, is found in France, and no doubt was seen by Eurypon) becometh Tyrannical, be the Prince otherwise never so good a

Thus Carilans in whose Reigne the Commonwealth was instituted by Lycurgus, is generally affirmed to have been a good man, and yet said by Aristotle to have been a Tyrant; it remainesh therefore with you to shew how a good man can otherwise be a Tyrant then by holding Monarchical government without a sufficient balance, or if you please, how he that shall undertake the like, (be he never fo good or well deserving a man) can be any other, Or confesse that not the savour of Princes (by which if they be well balanced they lofe nothing) nor the usurpation of the people (by which without a popular balance they get nothing) but the infirmity of the Monarchy

[4]

caused the Common wealth of Lacedemon. And what less is said by Plutarch, or thus rendred by your self; Not the people only sent messages to Lycurgus for his counfel, but the Kings were as desirous he should return from his travels, in hope that his presence would bridle and restrain the people; but Lycurgus applyed not himself unto either, being resolved to frame both into one Commonwealth.

To the form of this Common Wealth, you say, That whatever the Kings lost, the people got listle by this alteration, being lest out of all imployment in affairs of state, and forced to yelld obedience unto Thirty Masters, whereas

before they had but two.

P.41.

P.43.

A ftrange affirmation feeing the Oracle conteyning the model of Lacedemon is thus recorded by your Author, when thou hast divided the people into Tribes and linages, thou shalt establish the Senate, consisting with the two Kings of thirty Senators, and assemble the people as there Ball be occasion, where the Senate Ball propose and dismiss the people without suffering them to debate. who feeth not that the people having no right to debate, must therefore have had the right to refolve, or elfe were to be affembled for nothing? but the Ultimate result is the soveraign power in every government. It is true the Greek of the Oracle is obsolete, and abstruse, but then it is not only interpreted by Plutarch in the fense I have given, but by the Verses of the Poet Tyrteus, which the Kings themselves, though they would have made other use of, acknowledged unto the people to be Authentick.

They having of Apollo sought,
This Oracle from Delphos brought;
Unto the Spartan Kings, among
The Senators, it doth belong

[5]
To moderate in Royal Chairs,
And give their Votes in all Affairs;
And when they have proposed these,
The People chose what ere they please.

Of many other Testimonies, I shall add no more then one out of the Isocrates; I am not ignorant (saith he, to the Arcopagites) that the Lacedemonians slourish for this cause especially, that their government is popular.

To the infirmity of this form, and the cure of it you p.45. fay; That the Royalty and power of the Kings being thus impaired, the people absolutely discharged from having any hand at all in publick government, and the Authority of the Senate growing every day more insolent and predominant by reason that (albeit the Senators were elected by the people) they had their places for term of life, the Kings resolved upon a course of putting the people into such a condition as might inable them to curb and controle the Senators, to which end they ordained the Ephori, Magi-frates to be annually chosen out of the body of the people

In which first you make that to be a practise of the Kings against the Senate, which by your Author is plain to have been a combination of the Kings, and the Senate against the people; for the people upon the insolency and predominancy of the Kings, and the Senate, sell, as is in that case, the inevitable nature of them, upon counsel how to defend themselves, and so assumed the power of debate. Hereupon the Kings Theopompus and Polidore would have added unto the tenor of the Oracle, that if the people went about by debate to change the propositions of the Senate, it should be lawful for the Kings and the Senate to null the result of the people; which practise if it had pass, must have made the

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De Leg.3.

Pol.lib. 2.

De Lig 31

Kings and the Senate altogether uncontrollable; wherefore the people incensed at it, put a bitt into the month of the Senate, by the institution of the Ephori: This is the clear sense of Plutarch, which he taketh out of Plato, who affirmeth the Ephorate to have been fet up against the hereditary power of the Kings; with whom agree both Aristotle and Cicero; the former affirming this Magistracy to contain the whole Common Wealth, inalmuch as the people having obtained it, were quiet; and the later that the Ephori in Lacedemon were fo opposed to the Kings, as the Tribunes in Rome to the Confuls. Now if other Authors attribute the institution of the Ephori unto the Kings, and there be a story affirmed as well by Plutarch as others, that Theopompus having thus created the Ephori, and being told by his Queen he had done that which would leave narrower power to his children, answer'd well, that it would leave that which would be narrower, but longer: This is neither any Riddle nor kind of contradiction to the former sense : Seeing, when we say that Henry the Third inflituted the Parliament to be affiftant to him in his government, we no more doubt of that, then how it is to be understood. Nor if his Queen had said as shee of Lacedemon, and our King had made the like answer, would that have alter'd any thing, or proved the wo-man to have been, (as you will have it) the better Prophet, seeing either Government lasted longer for either reformation, nor came to alter, but through the alterationof the ballance, which was nothing to the womans prophecy.

The ruine of this Ballance, and corruption of the Common wealth, you wholly omit to the end, that picking up your objections against the Government in vigour, out of the rubbish and dissolution of it, you may cast dust in menseyes, or perswade them that the Epheri trussing to the power and interest, they had in the

[7]

Communalty, came to usurp upon the Kings, and to be Tyrants as they are called by Plato and Atistotle, so you af-

firm.

But the truth is thus recorded by Plutarch in the life of Agis. So foon as the Lacedemmoans having ruin'd Athens, became full of gold and filver, the Common wealth began to break; Nevertheless, the lots or divifion of lands made by Lyourgus yet remaining, the Equality of the foundation held good, till Evitadeus an ill-natur'd fellow became Ephore, and having a mind to dif-inherit his fon, got a Law to pass whereby any man might dispose of his lot as he pleased: This by him purfued of meer malice to his fon, was hurri'd on by the avarice of others, whose riches came thus to eatethe people so cleerly out of their lands, that in a short time there remained not above an hundred Freeho'ders in all Sparta. This he shews to have been the rise of the O. ligarchy: The Oligarchy thus balanced totally excluded the people, and murther'd Agis, the first King that was ever put to death by the Ephori; and to these times (about which Plato and Aristotle lived) relateth that Tyranny, which they who (as was shewn) commended the Ephorate in the Common wealth, now laid unto it in Oligarchy. Thus have you fetcht arguments against a Common wealth, that are nothing to it. Again, whereas Agis and Cleomenes, by the restitution of the lots of Lycurgus were affectors of popular power, you infinuate them to have been affertors of Minarchy; fuch is your play with humane Authors, or as a polititian. Now let us fee, whether you have dealt any thing better with Scripture, or been more careful as a Divine. In order to this Discovery, I shall repeate that peice of Calvin, which you call the stumbing block of disobedience. Calvin having preached obedience to your good approbation comes at length to this expression. But fill I must be understood of private persons; for if there be 81077º ."

P.55.

Calv. Inst. lib. now any popular officers ordained to moderate the licentions.

C.10.§31. ness of Kings (such as were the Ephori, set up of old as gainst the Kings of Spatta, the Tribunes of the people against the Roman Consuls, and the Demarches against the Athenian Senate, of which power perhaps as the world now goes, the three estates are seized in each several Kingdom when solemnly assembled so far am I from hindring them to put restraints upon the exorbitant power of Kings, as their office binds them, that I conceive them rather to be guilty of persidious dissimulation, if they connive at Kings when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly insult on the people; in that so doing they betray the liberty of the subsection of which they know themselves to be made Guardians

by Gods own ordinance.

What Calvin sayes of the Athenian Demarches, they having been Magistrates of another nature, is a mistake, but such an one, as destroyes no other part of his affertion, the rest of the Parenthesis, or that which he saith of the Ephori, and the Tribunes being confirmed as hath been already shewn by Plato and Aristotle, by Cicero and Plutarch. Wherefore of the Ephori and the Tribunes enough; now why the effates in a Gothick Model should be of less power, no Polititian in the world shall ever shew a reason; the estates are such by virtue of their effates, that is of their over-ballance in dominion, you are then either speculatively to shew how the over-ballance of dominion should not amount unto Empire, or practically that the over-ballance of dominion hath not amounted unto Empire, and that in a quiet Government, orit can be no otherwise in a quiet Government, then that the over-ballance of dominion must amount unto Empire. This principle being now sufficiently known, is the cause it may be why you chuse in this place to speak rather like a Divine, as you suppose, then a Polititian. For you would fain learn, you fay, of Calvin, in what part of the Word of God we Shall find any

[9]

such Authority given to such popular Magistrates, as he tels us of.

To which by the way I answer, That God founded the Israelitish Government upon a popular balance, that we find the people of Israel judging the tribe of Benjamin, and by the Oracle of God, levying War against them, which are acts of Soveraign power, therefore a popular ballance, even by the ordinance of God fudg. 20, himself expressed in Scripture, amounted unto Em-

pire.

But you, when you have asked in what part of the word of God we shall find any such Authority givento popus. I. Magistrates; answer, Not in the Old Testament you are sure. For when Moses first ordained the Seventy Elders, it was not to diminish any part of that power which was invested in him, but to ease himself of some part of the burthen lying upon him, as you will have to appear plainty by the 18th of Exodus, where Moses upon the advice of Jethro chose able men out of all Israel, and made them Rulers of Thousands, Rulers of Hundreds, Rulers of Fisties, and Rulers of Tens. Now I am sure that about this time the number of the men of Israel was above six hundred thousand, and so any man may be sure that the elders thus chosen should be count but the Rulers of the thousands only) must have come at the least to six hundred, wherefore, you cannot be sure that this makes any thing to the election of the seventy elders.

Well, but out of these (say you) God afterwards in the Eleventh of Numbers, willed Moses to chuse the seventy

Elders.

You may do me a greater favour then you can suddenly imagine, to tell me really for what cause, or upon what authority your speech is so positive, that God willed Moses to choose the seventy Elders out of those that were chosen in the Eighteenth of Exodus; For whereas Moses is willed to choose them out of such as he knew to

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P. 290.

beelders, such there were in honour among the people, though not in power before the election of those advised by fethro, as appears. Ex. 3, 16. & 4. 29 But had this been as you would have it, what is the necessity; that because there lay an appeal unto Moses from those in Exodus (that is from the Jethronian Elders, or Courts which fat afterwards in the gates of the Temple, and of every City ,) therefore there must needs lye an appeale from the sevency Elders, or the Sanbedrim unto Mofes, especially while the whole stream of fewish writers or Talmudists, (who should have had some knowledg in their own Common-Wealth) unanimoully affirms that there was no fuch thing? Whereupon to Grotius ad Ex. the election of the former Elders, faith Grotius, in the place of these came the Judges in the gates, and in the place of Moses the Sanhedrim. Nor need we go farther than the Scripture, for the certainty of this affertion, where the seventy are chosen not to stand under Moses. but with him, not to diminish his burthen, or bear it under him, with an appeal in difficult cases to him, as is expressed in the election of the fethroinan Elders, but to bear the burden with him, and without any mention of fuch appeal. Mefes before the election of the fethronian Judges had the whole burthen of Judicature lying upon him, after their election, the buiden of the appeals only, wherefore if the seventy Elders were indeed instituted to bear the burthen with Mofes, there thenceforth lay no appeal unto Moles, which is yet clearer in this precept, If there arise a matter of controversie within thy gates, (which plainly is addrest to the fetbronian Courts) too hard for thee in judgment, then shalt thou come unto the Priest and the Levite (by which in the sense of all Authors fewish and Christian is understood the Sanhedrim), or to the Judg that shall be in those dayes (the Suffes or Dicator) and they shall show thee the sentence of Judgment; whence by the clear fense of Scripture.

18,21.

Num. II.

Deut.17.8.

[n]ell matter of appeal in Israel, lay unto the Sanbedrim. Your next Argument, that there must be nothing in all this but easing the supreme Magistrate of some part of the burthen, which was before too heavy for him, without any P.192. diminution, in the least respect of his power; is, that when God had taken of the Spirit which was upon Moses, and put it upon the seventy Elders, the Spirit yet rested upon Moses in as full a measure as it did at first : I grant in a fuller, for I believe his wisdom was the greater for this diminution of his power, it being through the nature of the ballance, apparently impossible that he could be any more then a Prince in a Common-wealth; but your argument can be of no force at all, unless you will have him to have been less wife, for not assuming foversign power, where without confusion, it was altogether impossible he should have held it: A Pince in a Common-wealth subsistes hy making himself, or being made of use unto the free course of popular orders; but a foveraign Lord can have no other subfiftance or security, then by cutting off or tearing up all roots, that do naturally shoot or spring up into such branches. To conclude, if the Congregation of the people, in law to be made, had such power as was shewn, and in law, so made, the ultimate appeal lay unto the Sanhedrim; why, are not here two estates in this Common-wealth, each by Gods own ordinance, and both plain in Scripture? well, but when they came (you will fay) to make unto themselves Kings, what ever power they had formerly, was now loft. This at best were but to dispute from the folly of a people against an ordinance of God, for what less is testified by himself in those words to Samuel, 1 Sam. 8.7. They have not rejetted thee, but they have rejetted me that I hould not raign over them. The Government of the Senate and the people, is that only which is or can be the government of lawes and not of men, and the

government of lawes and not of men, is the govern-

[12]

Arift pol. 3. c. ment of God and not of men: He that is for the go-12 vernment of limes, is for the government of God, and he that is for the government of a man, is for the government of a beaft. Kings, no question, where the ballance is monarchical, are of divine right, and if they be good the greatest bleffings that the government fo standing can be capable of; but the ballance being popular, as in Israel, in the Grecian, in the Sicilim Tyrannies, they are the direft curse that can befal a nation. Nor are divines, who will alwayes have them to be of divine right, to be hearkened to, feeing they affirm that which is clean contrary to Scripture, for in this case saith Hosea, They have set up Kings and not by me, they have made Princes and I knew it not. Pha-HOS.8.4. raoh may impose the making of brick without the allowance of firaw, but God never required of any man or of any government, that they should live otherwise, then according to their estates. It is true if a mans want make him a servant; there are rules in Scripture that injoyn him the duty of a fervant . But fhew me the sule in Scripture that obligeth a man who can live of himself unto the duty of a servant. Hath God less regard unto a nation then to a man? Yet the people of Ifrael, continuing upon a popular Agrarian, though God forwarned them, that by this means they would make themselves servants, would needs have a King; whence faith the same Proph t. O I/rael, thou 740/.13. hast destroyed thy self, but in me is thine kelp, I will be thy King (which foretels the restitution of the Common-wealth, for) where is any other that may fave thee in all thy cities? and thy Judges of whom thou faidst give me a King and Princes. I gave thee aKing in mine anger (that is in Saul) and I took him away in my wrath (that is in the captivity, so at least faith R, abbi Bichai, with whom agree Nachmoni, Gerschome, and others. Kimchi, it is true, and Maimonides are of op non, that the people making a.King, displeased God not in the matter, but in the form only, as if the root of a tree, the ballance of a government, were form only and not matter: nor do our divines yet, who are divided into like partys, see more then the Rabbys. Both the Royalists and the Common-wealthsmen of each fort, that is whether divines or Talmudists appeal unto the letter of the law. which the Royalists (as the Translators of our Bible) render thus; When thou shalt say (the Common-wealthsmen, as Dirdatithus, If thou come to fay) I will fet a King over me, like all the nations that are about me, thou shalt in any wife set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God fall choose. The one party will have the law to be positive, the other contingent, and with a mark of detestation upon it, for so where God speaketh of his peoples doing any thing like the nations that were a. beut them it is every where else understood. But let these (which are no nicities) be as you will; who seeth not that to argue from this place, for the necessity of the King, is as if one from that foregoing should argue for Verse 9. the necessity of the Judges. The words are these, Thou shalt come unto the Priest and to the Levite (which, as was said, is to the Sanhedrim) and (that is or) to the Judg that shall be in those dayer. Yet that the Judg not by any necessity implyed in these words, but through the meer folly of the people came to be set up in Israel, is plain by fosephus, where he shews that the Israelites lay- Book 5.c.2, ing by their Armes. And betaking themselves unto their pleasures, while they did not as God had commanded, root out the Canaanites from among them, but suffered them to dwell with them, suffered also the form of their Common-wealth to be corrupted, and the Senate to be broken; the Senators nor other solemn Magistrates being elected as formerly, which both in word and fact is confirmed also by the Scripture. In words, as where it is thus written. When Josua had let the people go (that is, had dismissed the Army, & planted them upon their popular

[14]

fudg. 26.

ballance) the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land, and the people served the Lord all the dayes of Josua, and all the dayes of the Elders that out-lived Josua (that is, while the Sanhedrim conrinued after him, but when the Elders hereof came to dye, and the people elected them no successors) they did evil in the fight of the Lord (and having broken their civil orders, forfook also their religion, the government whereof depended upon the Sanhedrim) and served Ba-And for the matter of fact included in these words, it farther appears, where Judab Said unto Sime-Indg. 1.3. on his brother come up with me into my Lot, that we may fight against the Cananites, and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot; fo Simeon went with him. By which the tribes leaguing at their pleasure one with another, it is plain, that the Sanhedrim their common Ligament was broken: Now except a man shall say that this neglect of Gods ordinance was according unto the law Pacuvious apud of God, there is no disputing from that law to the necessi-Livium. lib. 23 ty of the judg, which happened through no other then this exigence(quippe aut rex, quod abominandum, aut quod unuus libera civitatis confilium est fenatus habendus est) wherefore the judg of Israel was not necessitated by the will of God, but foreseen only by his Providence, not simposed by the law, but provided by it as an expedient in case of necessing ty, and if no more can be pleaded from the law, for the judg against whom God never declared, much less is there to be pleaded from the same for the King, against whom he declared so often. There is nothing more clear nor

certain in Scripture, then that the Commonwealth of Ifra-

el was instituted by God, the judges and the Kings no o-

therwife then through the imprudence and importunity of

the people. But you who have no better name for the peo-

ple in a common-wealth, then the rascal rabble will

have Kings at a venture to be of divine right, and to

be absolute; whereas in truth if divine right be derived

[15]

unto Kings from these of the Hebrews only, it is most apparent that no absolute King can be of divine right: for these Kings if they were such by the law alledged, then by the same law they could neither multiply horses nor wives, nor filver, nor gold, without which no King can be absolute; but were to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, and so by consequence were Dan. 17. regulated Monarchs; Nay, could of right enact no law, but as those by David for the reduction of the Ark, for the regulation of the Priests, for the election of Solomon, which were made by the suffrage of the people, no otherwise then those under the Kings of Rome, and ours under the late Minarchy. What then is attributed by Calvin unto popular Migistrates, that is not confirmed by Scripture and reason? yet nothing will ferve your turn but to know what power there was in the Sanhedrim, to control their Kings: to which I answer, that both Skickardus and Grotius with the full consent of the Talmudists have affured you, that in case the King came to violate those lawes and statutes it was in the power of the Sanhedrim, to bring him unto corporal punishment. Moreover it is shewn by the later out of Josephus, that Hireanus, when he could not deliver He- De jure B.ac.p. rod from the Sanhedrim by power, did it by art : Nor is Lib.1. Gap. 16 your evalion fo good as that of Hircanus, while you having nothing to fay to the contrary, but that Herod when he was questioned, was no King, shuffe over the business without taking any notice as to the point in controversy, that Hireanus who could not fave Herod from the quefion was King.

The manner of the restitution of the Sanbedrim made achr. 19, by Jehoshaphae plainly shews, that even under the Monarchy the power of the Sanhedrim was coordinate with that of the King, at least, such is the Judgment of the Jewish writers, for saith Grotius, the King (as is rightly noted Ad Mat. 5. by the Talmudists,) was not to judg in some cases, and

[16]

2cr.38 5.

to this the words of Zeackia seem to relate, where to the Sankedi in demanding the Prophet Jeremiah, he said beheld k. is in your hands, for the King is not he that can do any thing without yen. Nor (except Davia) had ever any King session or vote in this councel: to which soon after he adds, that this court continued till Hered the great, whose infolencie, when exalting it self more and more against the law, the Senators had not in time as they ought, suppressed by their power; God punished them in such manner for the neglect of their duty, that they came all to be put to death by Hered, except Sameas only, whose society had strequently contemned. In which woids Gretien sollowing the unanimous consent of the Talmadis (six they knew any thing of their own orders) expressy attributes the same power unto the Sankedim, and charged upon these by Calvin.

thick Model, and charged upon these by Calvin.

Thus that there never lay any appeal from the Sankedim, unto Meses nor (except when the Jews were in captivity, or under provincial government) to any other Magistrace, as also that they had power upon their King, being that your selfsay. Is the objection Paramount, and which not answered, you consels that the three estates convened in Parliament, or any other popular Magistrate Colvin dreames of, notwiths standing y discontinuance; or non usage on their parts, or any prescription alledged by Kingsto the contrary, may resume and exercise that Authority which God hath given thim when ever they shall sind a six timeson it: Asial, this lecter showing plainly that you have in no wise answered this objection; it remains that your whole book (even according to your own acknowledgment,) is constitued by this Letter. Or if you be of another mind, I shall hope to hear farther from you.

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