

BOOK VIII. we are to note, that because whatsoever hath necessary being, Ch. iv. 6. the Son of God doth cause it to be, and those things without which the world cannot well continue, have necessary being in the world; a thing of so great use as government amongst men, and human dominion in government^a, cannot choose but be originally from him, and have reference also of subordination unto him^b. Touching that authority which civil magistrates have in ecclesiastical affairs, it being from God by Christ, as all other good things are, cannot choose but be held as a thing received at his hands; and because such power as^c is of necessary use^d for the ordering of religion, wherein the essence and very being of the Church consisteth, can no otherwise flow from him, than according to that special care which he hath to guide and govern^e his own people: it followeth that the said authority is of and under him after a more peculiar^f manner, namely^g, in that he is Head of the Church, and not in respect of his general regency over the world. "All things," (saith the Apostle¹ speaking unto the Church) "are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." Kings are Christ's, as saints; and kings are Christ's, as kings: as saints, because they are of the Church; as kings, because they are in authority over the Church, if not collectively^h, yet divisively understood; thatⁱ is over each particular person within that Church where they are kings. Such^k authority, reaching^l both unto all men's persons, and unto all kinds of causes also, it is not denied but that they lawfully may have and exercise^m; such authority it is, for which, and for no other in the world, we term them heads; such authority they have under Christ, because he in all things is Lord over all. And even of Christ it is that they have received such authority, inasmuch as of him all lawful powers are: therefore the civil magistrate is, in regard of this power, an under and subordinate head of Christ's people.

^a amongst.....government *om.* E.C.L. ^b and have.....unto him *om.* E. ^c as *om.* E. ^d of necessity E.C. ^e govern and guide E.C. ^f special E. ^g namely *om.* E. ^h E. reads kings are Christ's as saints, because they are of the Church, if not collectively, &c. C. reads, as saints, because they are of the Church: as kings, because they are in authority over the Church, &c. in which L. agrees. D. and Q. give it as in the text. ⁱ It E. [The mistake might arise from the old way of abbreviating "that."] ^k surely E.C.L. ^l reacheth E.C. ^m may have and lawfully exercise it E.

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 22, [23.]

[7.] It is but idle^o when they plead¹, "that although for several BOOK VIII. companies of men there may be several heads or governors, Ch. iv. 7. "differing in the measure of their authority from the chiefest Against the second difference, whereby Christ is said to be universally head, the king no further than within his own dominions". "who is head of^p all; yet so^q it cannot be in the Church, for "that the reason why head-magistrates appoint others for such "several places is, because they cannot be present every where "to perform the office of a head. But Christ is never from "his body, nor from any part of it, and therefore needeth not "to substitute any, which may be heads, some over one church "and some over another." Indeed the consideration of man's imbecillity, which maketh many hands^r necessary where the burden is too great for one, moved Jethro to be a persuader of Moses, that a^s number of heads or rulers might be instituted for discharge of that duty by parts, which in whole he saw was troublesome. Now although there be not in Christ any such defect or weakness, yet other causes there may^t be diverse, moe^u than we are able to search into, wherefore it might seem to him expedient to divide his kingdom into many portions^v, and to^w place many heads over it, that the power which each of them hath in particular with restraint, might illustrate the greatness of his unlimited authority. Besides, howsoever Christ be spiritually always united unto every part of his body, which is the Church; nevertheless we do all know, and they themselves who allege this will, I doubt not, confess also, that from every church here visible, Christ, touching visible and corporal presence, is removed as far as heaven from earth^x is^y distant. Visible government is a thing necessary for the Church; and it doth not appear how the exercise of visible government over such multitudes every where dispersed throughout the world should consist without sundry visible governors; whose power being the greatest in that kind so far as it reacheth, they are in consideration thereof termed so far heads. Wherefore, notwithstanding that^z perpetual conjunction, by virtue whereof our Saviour remaineth always^a spiritually united unto the parts of his mystical body; Heads endued^b with supreme power, extending unto a certain compass, are for the exercise of visible^c regiment not unnecessary.

^o This side-note *om.* E.Q. ^p where they speak E. where C.L.Q. ^q over E. ^r seeing E. ^s heads E.L. ^t the E¹. ^u may *om.* E. [Fulm. "may be"] C. ^v more E¹. ^w provinces E.C. ^x to *om.* E. ^y the earth E. ^z is *om.* D. ^a the E. ^b always remaineth E.C.L. ^c indeed E. ^d a visible E.

¹ T. C. lib. ii. p. 413.

Some other reasons there are belonging unto this branch, which seem to have been objected, rather for the exercise of men's wits in dissolving sophisms, than that the authors of them could think in likelihood thereby to strengthen their cause. For example¹, "If the magistrate be head of the Church within his own dominion, then is he none of the Church; for all that Church maketh^d the body of Christ, and every one of the Church fulleth the place of one member of the body. By making the magistrate therefore head², we do exclude him from being a member subject to the head, and so leave him no place in the Church." By which reason, the name of a body politic is supposed to be always taken of the inferior sort alone, excluding the principal guides and governors; contrary to all men's custom^e of speech. The error riseth by misconstruing^f of some scripture sentences, where Christ as the head, and the Church as the body, are compared or opposed the one to the other: and because in such comparisons and^g oppositions, the body is taken for^h those only parts which are subject to the head, they imagine that whoso is headⁱ of any church, he is even thereby^k excluded from being a part of that church: that the magistrate can be none of the Church, if so be^l we make him the head of the church in his own dominions. A chief and principal part of the Church^m, therefore no part; this isⁿ surely a strange conclusion. A church doth indeed make the body of Christ, being wholly taken together; and every one in the same church fulleth the place of a member in the body, but not the place of an inferior member, he^o which hath supreme authority and power over all the rest. Wherefore, by making the magistrate head in his own dominions, we exclude him from being a member subject unto any other person which may visibly there rule in place of an head or governor^p over him; but so far are we off from leaving him by this means no place in the Church, that we grant^q him the chiefest^r place. Indeed the heads of those visible bodies, which are many, can be but parts inferior

^d that are of the Church make E. ^e customs E.C.L. ^f misconceiving E.Q.C.L. ^g or E.Q.C.L. ^h from E.C.L. ⁱ the head E.Q.C.L. ^k therefore even E. ^l be om. E.Q.C.L. ^m of the Church om. D. ⁿ the Church therefore next this, is E. ^o the E. ^p a superior or head E.C.L. ^q do grant E.C. ^r chief E.

¹ T. C. lib. ii. p. 419.

² Ut Hen. 8. 6. 9. [26 Hen. viii. cap. 1. ?]

in that spiritual body which is but one; yea, they may from this be excluded clean, who notwithstanding ought to be honoured, as possessing in the other^s the highest rooms: but for the magistrate to be termed, one way, within^t his own^u dominions, an head, doth not bar him from being either^v way a part or member of the Church of God.

As little to the purpose are those other cavils: "A Church which hath the magistrate for head, is a^x perfect man without Christ. So that the knitting of our Saviour thereunto should be an addition of that which is too much." Again, "If the Church be the body of Christ, and of the civil magistrate, it shall have two heads, which being monstrous, is to the great dishonour of Christ and his Church¹." Thirdly, "If the Church be planted in a popular estate, then, foras-^{much} as all govern in common, and all have authority, all shall be head^y there, and no body at all; which is another monster¹." It might be feared what this birth of so many monsters^z might portend, but that we know how things natural enough in themselves may seem monstrous through misconceit; which error of mind is indeed a monster, and so the skilful in nature's mysteries have used to term it. The womb^a of monsters, if any be, is^b that troubled understanding, wherein, because things lie confusedly mixed together, what they are it appeareth not^c.

A Church perfect without Christ, I know not which way^d a man should^e imagine; unless there may be either Christianity without Christ, or else a Church without Christianity. If magistrates be heads of the Church, they are of necessity Christians; if Christians^f, then is their Head Christ.

The adding of Christ the^g universal Head over all unto the^h magistrate's particular headship, is no more superfluous in any church than in other societies itⁱ is to be both severally each^j subject unto some head, and to have also a head^k general for them all to be subject unto. For so in armies and^l in

^s order E.L. the order C. ^t termed in E.Q. ^u termed within [C. in] his own dominions C.L. ^v any E. ^w a om. E¹. ^x heads E. ^y monsters together E.C.L.Q. ^z the skilful in nature's mysteries have been used to term it, The womb, &c. ^a it is E. ^b appears D. ^c how E.C.L. ^d shall E. ^e if Christians om. E. ^f the om. E. ^g each E. ^h each om. E. ⁱ a head also E. ^j and om. E.

¹ T. C. ii. 412.

civil corporations we see it fareth. A body politic in such respects is not like to a natural body; in this, moe^m heads than one areⁿ superfluous; in that, not.

It is neither monstrous nor as much as uncomely^o for a church to have different heads: for if Christian churches be in number many, and every of them a body perfect^p by itself, Christ being Lord and Head over all; why should we judge it a thing more monstrous for one body to have two heads, than one head so many bodies? Him God^q hath made the supreme Head of the whole Church; the Head, not only of that mystical body which the eye of man is not able to discern, but even of every Christian politic society, of every visible Church in the world.

And whereas, lastly, it is thought so strange, that in popular states a multitude should to itself^r be both body and head, all this wonderment doth grow from a little oversight, in deeming that the subject wherein headship is^s to reside, should be evermore some one person; which thing is not necessary. For in a^t collective body that hath not derived as yet the principality of power into some one or few, the whole of necessity must be head over each part; otherwise it could not possibly have power^u to make any one certain person head; inasmuch as the very power of making a head belongeth unto headship. These supposed monsters therefore we see^x are no such giants, that^y there should need any Hercules to tame them.

[8.] ^{1z} For the title or style^a itself, although the laws of this land have annexed it to the crown, yet so far we would^b not strive, if so be men were nice and scrupulous in this behalf only, because they do wish that for reverence unto Christ Jesus, the civil magistrate did rather use some other form of speech wherewith to express that sovereign authority which

^m more E.1. ⁿ is E.C. ^o nor yet uncomely E.Q.C. ^p perfect body E.C.
^q him that God E.C.L. ^r to itself should E. should be to itself C. ^s ought E.
^t the E. ^u have power possibly E.C. ^x we see therefore E.C. ^y as that E.C.
^z This paragraph is inserted before "these things," p. 368. E.Q.C.L. There it is clearly incongruous, and here the transition would be clearer without it. ^a state E.C. [style Fulm.] ^b should E.

¹ [This section stands here on the authority of the Dublin MS. But it must be apparent to every reader that it is out of its place. Probably it was a note made to be inserted, in substance, somewhere in the treatise, but the place of insertion not determined. The conclusion of the whole subject, in p. 392, seems no improper place for it. But without MS. authority it might be too great a liberty to transpose it. The Dublin MS. bears marks of unusual inattention in this part.]

he lawfully hath over all, both persons and causes of the Church. But I see that hitherto they which condemn utterly the name so applied, do it because they mislike that any^c such power should be given unto civil governors. The greatest^d exception that Sir Thomas More took against that title, who suffered death for denial of it¹, was "for that it maketh a lay, "or secular^e person, the head of the state² spiritual or ecclesiastical;" as though God himself did not name even^f Saul the head of all the tribes of Israel; and consequently of that tribe also among the rest, whereunto the state spiritual or ecclesiastical belonged. When the authors of the Centuries reprove it in kings and civil governors, the reason is³, "istis non com-
"petit iste primatus;" "such kind of power is too high for
"them, they fit it not." In excuse of Mr. Calvin⁴, by whom this realm is condemned of blasphemy for entitling Henry the Eighth Supreme Head of this Church under Christ, a charitable conjecture is made, that he spake by misinformation, and thought we had meant thereby far otherwise than we do⁵; howbeit, as he professeth utter dislike of that name, so whether the name be used or no, the very power itself which we give unto civil magistrates he much complaineth of,

^c any om. E. ^d great E. ^e a secular E. ^f even om. E. ^g and thought . . . we do om. E.

¹ G. Courin. in Epist. de Morte T. Mori, et Episcopi Roffensis, p. 517. [ap. "Thomæ Mori, Angliæ Ornamenti eximii Lucubrations." Basil. 1563.*]

² ["Illud dico, me septem annis intendisse animum studiumque meum in istam causam, verum hactenus in nullo doctorum ab ecclesia probatorum reperi scriptum,] quod laicus, aut, ut vocant, sæcularis, possit aut debeat esse caput status spiritualis aut ecclesiastici."

³ Præf. Cent. 7. [t. iv. p. 11. Basil. 1567. "Non sint capita ecclesiæ, quia istis," &c.]

⁴ Calvin. in Com. in Amos vii. 13. [Quoted by T. C. ii. 413. "Qui initio tantopere extulerunt Henricum regem Angliæ, certe fuerunt

"inconsiderati homines: dederunt illi summam rerum omnium potestatem: et hoc me semper graviter vulneravit. Erant enim blasphemii, qui vocarent eum summum caput ecclesiæ sub Christo. Hoc certe fuit nimium. Sed tamen sepultum hoc maneat, quia peccarunt inconsiderato zelo . . . Faciunt illos nimis spirituales. Et hoc vitium passim regnat in Germania. In his etiam regionibus nimium grassatur . . . Principes, et quicumque potiuntur imperio, putant se ita spirituales esse, ut nullum sit amplius ecclesiasticum regimen. Non putant se posse regnare, nisi aboleant omnem ecclesiæ auctoritatem, et sint summi iudices, tam in doctrina, quam in toto spirituali regimine." p. 282. ed. 1610.]

* This note, except "Roffensis. Epist. p. 517." om. E.Q.C.L. "p. 517." om. D.

BOOK VIII. and testifieth^b, "That their power over all things was it which
Ch. iv. 9. "had ever wounded him deeply; that unadvised persons had
"made them too spiritual; that throughout¹ Germany this
"fault did reign; that in those very parts where Calvin him-
"self was, it prevailed more than were^j to be wished; that
"rulers, by imagining themselves so spiritual, have taken
"away ecclesiastical regiment^k; that they think they cannot
"reign unless they abolish all authority^l of the Church, and
"be themselves the chief judges, as well in doctrine, as in the
"whole spiritual regency." So that in truth the question is,
whether the magistrate, by being head in such sense as we term
him, do use or exercise any part of that authority, not which
belongeth unto Christ, but which other men ought to have^m.

Opposition
against the
difference
in kindⁿ.

[9.] The last difference which we have made^o between the
title of head when we gave it unto Christ, and when we gave^p
it to other governors, is, that the kind of dominion which it
importeth is not the same in both. Christ is head as being
the fountain of life and ghostly nutriment, the well-spring of
spiritual blessings poured into the body of the Church; they^q
heads, as being^r his principal instruments for the Church's
outward government: He head, as founder of the house;
they, as his chiefest overseers¹. Against this there^s is ex-
ception^t especially taken, and our purveyors are herein said
to have their provision from the popish shambles: for by

^b protesteth E.L.Q. ¹ through D. ^j was E.C. ^k government E.
^l the authority E.C.L.Q. ^m Here the Dublin MS. proceeds as in p. 388,
line 20. "Their meaning is," to "whole or any part," in p. 392; and then
inserts what follows in this place, as far as "spiritual government," p. 388.
ⁿ This side-note om. E.Q.C. Against the third difference L. ^o made om. E.
^p give E.Q.C.L. ^q these D. ^r the E.C. ^s there om. E.C. ^t exceptions D.

¹ [Whitg. Def. 300, 301. "Christ
"is the only head of the Church, if
"by the head you understand that
"which giveth the body life, sense,
"and motion: for Christ only by
"his Spirit doth give life and nutri-
"ment to his body. He only doth
"pour spiritual blessings into it, and
"doth inwardly direct and govern
"it. Likewise he is only the head of
"the whole Church, for that title
"cannot agree to any other. But
"if by the head you understand an
"external ruler and governor of any
"particular nation or church, (in
"which signification head is usually
"taken) then I do not perceive why
"the magistrate may not as well be
"called the head of the church, i.e.
"the chief governor of it in the ex-
"ternal policy, as he is called the
"head of the people, and of the
"commonwealth. And as it is no
"absurdity to say, that the civil
"magistrate is head of the com-
"monwealth, next and immediately
"under God, (for it is most true,)
"so is it none to say, that under
"God also he is head of the church,
"i.e. chief governor, as I have be-
"fore said."]

Pighius and Harding, to prove that Christ alone is not head BOOK VIII.
of the Church, this distinction they say is brought, that ac- Ch. iv. 9.
cording to the inward influence of grace, Christ only is head; but according to outward^u government the being head^x is a thing common with him to^y others¹.

To raise up falsehoods of old condemned, and to^z bring that^a for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which hath already^b been sufficiently^c proved an error, and is worthily so taken, this would justly deserve censuring. But shall manifest truth be therefore^d reproached, because men in some things convicted^e of manifest untruth have at any time taught^f or alleged it? If too much eagerness against their adversaries had not made them forget themselves, they might remember where being charged as maintainers of those very things, for which others before them have been condemned of heresy, yet lest the name of any such heretic holding the same which they do should make them odious, they stick not frankly to profess^g, "that they are not afraid to consent in "some points with Jews and Turks." Which defence, for all that, were a very weak buckler for such as should consent with Jews and Turks, in that which they have been abhorred and hated for of^h the Church.

But as for this distinction of headship, spiritual and mystical inⁱ Jesus Christ, ministerial and outward in others besides Christ; what cause is^k to dislike¹ either Harding, or Pighius, or any other besides for it? That which they have been re- proved for is, not because they did herein^m utter an untruth, but such a truth as was not sufficient to bear up the cause which they did thereby seek to maintain. By this distinction they have both truly and sufficiently proved that the name of head, importing power ofⁿ dominion over the Church, might be given unto others besides Christ, without prejudice unto any part of his honour. That which they should have made

^u the outward E.C. ^x of head D. ^y to him with E.C.L.Q. ^z to om. E.Q.C.L. ^a it E. ^b already hath E. ^c sufficiently been E.C.L.Q. ^d therefore be E.Q.C. ^e convicted in some things E.Q.C.L. ^f thought E. ^g confess E.C. ^h in E.C. ⁱ of E. in E'. ^k is there E.Q.C.L. ¹ mislike E. ^m therein E. ⁿ and E.C.

¹ T. C. ii. 414. ["It is first to "so the doctor's purveyors had it
"be noted from whom this provi- "from Harding, or from both."
"sion was brought him. For as ² T. C. lib. iii. p. 168.
"Harding borrowed it of Pighius,

manifest was, that^o the name of Head, importing the power of universal dominion over the whole Church of Christ militant, doth, and that by divine right, appertain unto the Pope of Rome. They did prove it lawful to grant unto others besides Christ the power of headship in a different kind from his; but they should have proved it lawful to challenge, as they did to the bishop of Rome, a power universal in that different kind. Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully so great power as they challenged in that kind, and not in making two kinds of power, unless some reason^p can be shewed for which this distinction of power should be thought erroneous and false.

[10.] A little they stir, although in vain, to prove that we cannot with truth make any^q such distinction of power, whereof the one kind should agree unto Christ only, and the other be^r further communicated. Thus therefore they argue¹: "If there be no head but Christ, in respect of the^s spiritual government, there is no head but he in respect of the word, sacraments, and discipline, administered by those whom he hath appointed, forasmuch as that is also^t his spiritual government." Their meaning is, that whereas we make two kinds of power, of which two, the one being spiritual is proper unto Christ; the other men are capable of, because it is visible and external: we do amiss altogether, they think, in so distinguishing^u, forasmuch as the visible and external power of regiment over the Church, is only in relation unto the word, the sacraments, and discipline, administered by such as Christ hath appointed thereunto, and the exercise of this power is also his spiritual government: therefore we do but vainly imagine a visible and external power in the Church differing from his spiritual power.

Such disputes as this do^x somewhat resemble the wonted^y practising of well-willers upon their friends in the pangs of death, whose manner is even then to put smoke in their nostrils, and so to fetch them again, although they know it a matter impossible to keep them living. The kind affection^z which the favourers of this labouring cause bear towards it will

^o that *om.* E.Q.C.L. ^p reasons E.C.L. ^q any *om.* E. ^r to be D.
^s the *om.* E.Q.C.L. ^t also as it is E. as it is also C. ^u in distinguishing,
they think E. as they think, in so distinguishing C. ^x doth D.E'. ^y wonted
om. E.C. ^z kind of affection E.C.L.

¹ T. C. lib. ii. p. 415.

not suffer them to see it die, although by what means they should be able to^a make it live, they do not see. But they may see that these wrestlings will not help. Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcast so clear a light with some mist of ambiguity in the name of spiritual regiment?

To make things therefore so plain that henceforth^b a child's capacity may serve rightly to conceive our meaning: we make the spiritual regiment of Christ to be generally that whereby his Church is ruled and governed in things spiritual. Of this general we make two distinct kinds; the one invisibly exercised^c by Christ himself in his own person; the other outwardly administered by them whom Christ doth allow to be the^d rulers and guiders of his Church. Touching the former of these two kinds, we teach that Christ in regard thereof is peculiarly^e termed the Head of the Church of God; neither can any other creature in that sense and meaning be termed head besides him, because it importeth the conduct and government of our souls by the hand of that blessed Spirit wherewith we are sealed and marked, as being peculiarly his. Him only therefore we do acknowledge^f to be that^g Lord, which dwelleth, liveth and reigneth in our hearts; him only to be that Head, which giveth salvation and life unto his body; him only to be that fountain, from whence the influence of heavenly grace^h distilleth, and is derived into all parts, whether the word, or sacramentsⁱ, or discipline, or whatsoever be the mean^k whereby it floweth. As for the power of administering these^l things in the Church of Christ, which power we call the power of order, it is indeed both Spiritual and His; Spiritual, because such duties properly concern^m the Spirit; His, because by him it was instituted. Howbeit neither spiritual, as that which is inwardly and invisibly exercised; nor his, as that which he himself in person doth exercise.

Again, that power of dominion which is indeed the point of this controversy, and doth also belong to the second kind of spiritual governmentⁿ namely unto that regiment which is

^a be able to *om.* E. ^b henceforward E.C.L.Q. ^c invisible, exercised E.C.L.
^d the *om.* E. ^e particularly E.Q.C.L. ^f him only do we acknowledge E.
him therefore only (L. only therefore) do we C.L. ^g the E.C. ^h graces E.
ⁱ the sacraments E.C.L.Q. ^k means E.C.L. ^l those D. ^m such properly
concerns E. ⁿ regiment D.