

BOOK VIII.*

^aTHEIR SEVENTH ASSERTION, THAT UNTO^b NO CIVIL PRINCE OR GOVERNOR THERE MAY BE GIVEN SUCH POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINION AS BY THE LAWS OF THIS LAND BELONGETH UNTO THE SUPREME REGENT THEREOF.

[THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS EIGHTH BOOK.

- I. State of the Question between the Church of England and its Opponents regarding the King's Supremacy.
- II. Principles on which the King's modified Supremacy is grounded.
- III. Warrant for it in the Jewish Dispensation.
- IV. Vindication of the Title, Supreme Head of the Church within his own Dominions.
- V. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Church Assemblies.
- VI. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Church Legislation.
- VII. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Nomination of Bishops.
- VIII. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Ecclesiastical Courts.
- IX. Vindication of the Prerogative regarding Exemption from Excommunication †.]

* E. adds containing.

^b to E.C.

* [Q.L.C.D. stand for MSS. described vol. i. p. xliv. E. for the ed. 1651; see vol. i. p. xxxiii. There was an earlier ed. 1648, here marked E. which was followed by Gauden, 1662.] 1886.

† [Archdeacon Cotton has transmitted to the editor, from a MS. [D. 3. 3.] in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the following extract, being part of a kind of analysis of the eighth book, written out by Abp. Ussher as for his own use.

"Of Kings and their Power Ecclesiastical generally.

1. "An Admonition concerning Men's Judgments about the Question of regal Power.
2. "What their Power of Dominion is.
3. "By what 1 Right, after what 2 Sort, in what 3 Measure, with what 4 Conveniency, and according to what 5 Example, Christian Kings may have "it. In a word, their manner of holding Dominion.

"Of the Kings of England particularly.

4. "Of the Title of *Headship*, which we give to the Kings of England in relation "unto the Church.
5. "Of their Prerogative to call general Assemblies about the affairs of the "Church.
6. "Of their Power in making Ecclesiastical Laws.
7. "Of their Power in making Ecclesiastical Governors, (the chief Ministers of "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction).
8. "Of their Power in Judgment Ecclesiastical.
9. "Of their Exemption from Judicial kinds of Punishment † by the Clergy."]

[† Censures Ecclesiastical written underneath this clause.]

I. WE come now to the last thing whereof there is controversy moved, namely *the power of supreme jurisdiction*, which for distinction's sake we call *the power of ecclesiastical dominion*. BOOK VIII.
Ch. i. 1.

It was not thought fit in the Jews' commonwealth, that the exercise of supremacy ecclesiastical should be denied unto him, to whom the exercise of chieftly civil did appertain; and therefore their kings were invested with ^eboth. This power they gave unto Simon¹, when they consented that he should be "their prince," not only "to set men over the^d works, "and ^eover the country, and ^eover the weapons, ^eand over "the fortresses," but also "to provide for the holy things;" "and that he should be obeyed of every man, and that ^fall "the writings in the country should be made in his name, "and that it should not be lawful for any of the people or "priests to withstand his words, or to call any congregation "in the country without him²."

And if it be haply^g surmised, that thus much was given unto^h Simon, as being both prince and high priest; which otherwise, being onlyⁱ their civil governor, he could not lawfully have enjoyed: we must note, that all this is no more than the ancient kings of that people had, being kings and not priests. By this power David, Asa, Jehosaphat, Ezekias^k, Josias, and the rest, made those laws and orders which the^l Sacred History speaketh of, concerning matter^m of mere religion, the affairsⁿ of the temple, and service of God. Finally, had it not been by the virtue of this power, how should it possibly have come to pass, that the piety or impiety of the king^o did always accordingly change the public face of religion, which thing^p the priests^q by themselves never did, neither^r could at any time^s hinder from being done? Had the priests alone been possessed of^t all power in spiritual affairs, how should any law^u concerning matter of religion have been made but only by them? In them it had been, and

^c in both Q. ^d their E.Q.L.C. ^e over their works, and country, and weapons, but also, &c. E. ^f all om. E. ^g haply it be E.C.L. ^h to E.
ⁱ only om. E. ^k Ezekias om. E.C.L. ^l the om. E. ^m matters E.Q.L.C.
ⁿ officers C.L. ^o kings E. ^p things E.C. ^q prophets E. ^r nor E.C.L.
^s at any time could E.L. any time could C. ^t with D. ^u thing E.C. change Fulm.

¹ I Maccab. xiv. 42.

² Vid. inf. c. iii. 1.

BOOK VIII. not in the king, to change the face of religion at any time. Ch. i. 2. The altering of religion, the making of ecclesiastical laws, with other the like actions belonging unto the power of dominion, are still termed *the deeds of the king*; to shew that in him was placed ^xsupremacy of power even^y in this kind over all, and that unto their high^z priests the same was never committed, saving only at such times as their^a priests were also kings or^b princes over them.

[2.] According to the pattern of which example, the like power in causes ecclesiastical is by the laws of this realm annexed unto the crown. And there are which imagine^c, that¹ kings, being mere lay persons, do by this means exceed the lawful bounds of their calling^d. Which thing to the end that they may persuade, they first make a necessary separation perpetual and personal between the Church and the^e commonwealth. Secondly², they so tie all kind of power ecclesiastical unto the Church, as if it were in every degree their only right which^f are by proper spiritual function^g termed Church-governors, and might not unto Christian princes in^h any wise appertain.

To lurk under shifting ambiguities and equivocations of words in mattersⁱ of principal weight is childish. A church and a commonwealth we grant are things in nature the^k one distinguished from the other. A commonwealth is one way, and a church another way, defined. In their opinion^{kk} the church and the^l commonwealth are corporations, not dis-

^x the supremacy E.C. ^y even om. E.C. ^z high om. E.C.L.Q. ^a the E.C.
^b and E.Q.L.C. ^c do imagine E.C. ^d callings E.C. ^e the om. D.
^f who E.Q.C.L. ^g functions E. ^h in om. D. ⁱ matter E. ^k the om. E.
^{kk} opinions E'. ^l the om. E.C.

¹ [1 Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 694. "To these three jointly, i. e. to the ministers, seniors, and deacons, is the whole regiment of the Church to be committed." Answ. ibid. "Methinks I hear you whisper that the prince hath no authority in ecclesiastical matters." T. C. i. 153. al. 192. "The prince or civil magistrate hath to see that the laws of God touching his worship and touching all matters and orders of the Church be exercised and duly observed, and to see that every ecclesiastical person do that

"office whereunto he is appointed, and to punish those which fail in their office accordingly. As for the making of the orders and ceremonies of the Church, they do (where there is a constituted and ordered Church) pertain unto the ministers of the Church and to the ecclesiastical governors. . . . But if those to whom that doth appertain make any orders not meet, the magistrate may and ought to hinder them and drive them to better."]

² See below, c. ii. 1.

tinguished only in nature and definition, but in subsistence^{ll} BOOK VIII. perpetually severed; so that they which^m are of the one can Ch. i. 2. neither appoint nor execute, in whole nor in part, the duties which belong unto them which are of the other, without open breach of the law of God, which hath divided them, and doth require that being soⁿ divided they should distinctly and^o severally work, as depending both upon God, and not hanging one upon the other's approbation for that which either hath to do.

We say that the care of religion being common unto all societies politic, such societies as do embrace the true religion have the name of the Church given unto every^p of them for distinction from the rest; so that every body politic hath some religion, but the Church that religion which is only true. Truth of religion is that proper difference whereby a church is distinguished from other politic societies of men. We here mean true religion in gross, and not according to every particular: for they which in some particular points of religion do swerve^q from the truth, may nevertheless most^r truly, if we compare them to men of an heathenish religion, be said to hold and profess that religion which is true. For which cause, there being of old so many politic societies established throughout^s the world, only the commonwealth of Israel, which had the truth of religion, was in that respect the Church of God: and the Church of Jesus Christ is every such politic society of men, as doth in religion hold that truth which is proper to Christianity. As a politic society it doth maintain religion; as a church, that religion which God hath revealed by Jesus Christ.

With us therefore the name of a church importeth only a society of men, first united into some public form of regiment, and secondly distinguished from other societies by the exercise of Christian^t religion. With them on the other side the name of the Church in this present question importeth not only a multitude of men so united and so distinguished, but also further the same divided necessarily and perpetually from the body of the commonwealth: so that even in such a politic society as consisteth of none but Christians, yet the Church of

^{ll} substance, ed. 1676, '82. ^m that E.Q.C.L. which E'. ⁿ so being E.C.
^o or E.Q.L. ^p every one of them E. ^q sever E. [swerve Fulm.] ^r most om. E.
^s through E.C. ^t Christian om. C.L.

BOOK VIII. Christ and the commonwealth are two corporations, independ-
Ch. i. 2. ently each subsisting by itself^a.

We hold, that seeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a^x member of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England; therefore as in a figure triangular^y the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the selfsame line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest: so, albeit properties and actions of one kind^z do cause the name of a commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of a Church^a to be given unto^b a multitude, yet one and the selfsame multitude may in such sort be both, ^cand is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also^d of the other. Contrariwise, unless they against us should hold, that the Church and the commonwealth are two, both distinct and separate societies, of which two, the^e one comprehendeth always persons not belonging to the other; that which they do^{ee} they could not conclude out of the difference between the Church and the commonwealth; namely, that^f bishops may not meddle with the affairs of the commonwealth, because they are governors of another corporation, which is the Church; nor kings with making laws for the Church, because they have government not of this corporation, but of another divided from it, the commonwealth; and the walls of separation between these two must for ever be upheld. They hold the necessity of personal separation, which clean excludeth the power of one man's dealing in^g both; we of natural, which doth not hinder^h but that one and the same person may in both bear aⁱ principal sway¹.

^a E. reads the church and commonwealth are two corporations, independently subsisting [each Fulm.] by itself. The correction is made upon the authority of all the MSS. ^x man a om. E.C. ^y triangle E. ^z kind om. E. ^a the Church E.L. ^b to E.Q.C. ^c both. Nay, it is so E. ^d The MSS. read as above, only C. omits so. ^e also to be E.C. ^f the om. E.Q.C.L. ^g that—do between brackets E. ^h the bishops E. ⁱ with E. ¹ which does not hinder, om. E. inserted from Q.D. ¹ a om. E.C.L.

¹ ["Etsi duo sunt gubernationis genera, alterum civitatis, alterum ecclesie, tamen utrumque ab eodem profectum est auctore. Quod quamvis diversa fiat ratione, et illud a Deo sit quatenus Creator et Moderator rerum humanarum, hoc quatenus Redemptor est humani generis, et unumquodque suum habeat finem; tamen quan-

[3.] The causes of common received error^k in this point seem to have been especially two: one, that they who embrace true religion living in such commonwealths as are opposite thereunto, and in other public affairs retaining civil communion with such, ^lare constrained, for the exercise of their religion, to have a several communion with those who are of the same religion with them. This was the state of the Jewish Church both in Egypt and in ^mBabylon, the state of Christian Churches a long time after Christ. And in this case, because the proper affairs and actions of the Church, as it is the Church, haveⁿ no dependence^o upon the laws, or upon the governors^p of the civil state, an opinion hath thereby grown, that even so it should be always¹. This was it which deceived Allen in the writing of his Apology: "The Apostles," saith he², "did govern the church in Rome when

^k errors E.Q.C.L. ^l such as are E. [such; are Fulm.] ^m in om. E.D. ⁿ hath E.C. ^o dependencie D. ^p government E.

"do eadem societas ecclesia est et civitas, sicut ab eodem utriusque regiminis auctoritas manat, ita ad eundem postremum finem respicit, et eodem se recolligit. Unde fit, ut multa habeant communia, quæ nunquam recte nisi communi consilio et assensu possunt perfici. Evangelii ministera Deo Servatore regiminis in ecclesiam habet auctoritatem: magistratus a Deo omnium Creatore in cives. Qui quoties simul amice conspirant, et eodem sua consilia referunt, optime cum civitate, optime agitur cum ecclesia." Saravia de Divers. Ministr. Grad. c. xi. p. 27.]

¹ ["Dicunt, ecclesiam et rempublicam res distinctas esse: quod nos quidem fatemur nonnunquam personis et ratione fieri, nonnunquam ratione tantum. Ubi universa civitas aut resp. fidem Christi profitetur et amplectitur, ratione tantum differunt cives regni Dei, et reip. Ubi civitas et princeps est infidelis, ibi non ratio tantum, sed personæ civium utriusque regni diversæ sunt. Quo in loco diversæ possunt esse summæ jurisdictiones. Ubi vero eadem est resp. et ecclesia, minime hoc fieri potest. Cum igitur in nostro regno idem sint cives regni Dei, et

reip. una debet esse summa potestas, nisi subditorum et præsidum alia sit ratio." Sutcliffe, de Presbyterio, p. 42.]

² [Apol. doctissimi Viri D. Gulielmi Alani [i. e. Cardinal Allen, v. p. 92, note 3] pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu, et aliis Seminariorum Alumnis: Augustæ Trevirorum, 1583. cap. iv. p. 64, 65: "Est error manifestus, omni eruditione tam humana quam divina damnatus, affirmare primatum in causis ecclesiasticis naturalibus aut Christianis legibus in potestate et jure regis temporalis includi, aut hujusmodi dignitatem unquam in gubernatorem aliquem civilem jure collatam aut conferri posse, sive is ethnicus, sive Christianus fuerit, asserere. . . Sub Nerone, præcipui Apostoli ecclesiam Romanam gubernabant: quemadmodum modo, ubi regna ab avita fide desciverunt, ecclesia suam spiritalem necessario habeat gubernationem, quæ a regibus ethnicis, quibus tamen in rebus sæcularibus obtemperant Christiani, minime dependeat. Quapropter omnia quæ a Protestantibus ex sacris literis adferuntur, non plus principi Christiano quam ethnico quoad hanc potestatem favent."]

BOOK VIII.
Ch. i. 3.

BOOK VIII. Nero bare^a rule, even as at this day in all the Turk's^r
Ch. i. 4. "dominions, the Church hath a spiritual regiment without
"dependence, and so ought she to have, live she^s amongst
"heathens, or with Christians."

[4.] Another occasion of which misconceit is, that things appertaining unto religion are both distinguished from other affairs, and have always had in the Church special^t persons chosen to be exercised about them. By which distinction of spiritual affairs and persons therein employed from temporal, the error of personal separation always necessary between the Church and theⁿ commonwealth hath strengthened itself. For of every politic society that being true which Aristotle hath¹, *namely, "that the scope thereof is not simply to live, "nor the duty so much to provide for life^v, as for means of "living well : " and that even as the soul is the worthier part of man, so human societies are much more to care for that which tendeth properly unto the soul's estate, than for such temporal things as this life doth stand in^z need of: other proof there needs^{zz} none to shew that as by all men the kingdom of God is first to be sought² for^a, so in all commonwealths things spiritual ought above temporal to be provided^b for. And of things spiritual, the chiefest is religion³. For this cause, persons and things employed peculiarly about the affairs of religion, are by an excellency termed spiritual. The heathen^c themselves had their spiritual laws, causes, and offices^d, ⁴always severed from their temporal; neither did this make two independent estates among^e them. God by revealing true religion doth make them that receive it his

^a did bare D. ^r church's E.C. ^s live she om. E.C.L. ^t spiritual E.
^u the om. E.C.L. ^x saith E.C.L. ^y the life E. ^z which the life hath
need of E. as this life hath need of C. ^{zz} needeth E'. ^a to be sought first for E.
^b sought E. ^c heathens E.Q.C.L. ^d affairs E. ^e states amongst D.

¹ Polit. [lib. iii. cap. 6.] p. 102. [τὸ κοινὴν συμφέρον συνάγει, καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος ἕκαστῶ τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς· μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἔστι τέλος, καὶ κοινὴ πᾶσι, καὶ χωρὶς συνέρχονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν αὐτοῦ.]
² S. Matt. vi. [33. This reference from Q.]
³ Arist. Pol. p. 196. [om. E. Q. C. L.]
⁴ Arist. Pol. lib. iii. cap. 20. [123. l. 10. et 181. l. 28. D. vi. 8. t. iii. 566. c. ed. Duval. Ἄλλο δ' εἶδος ἐπιμελείας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶον, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιμελητὰ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερά.] Liv. lib. i. c. 20. ["(Numa) "sacerdotibus creandis animum ad- "jecit . . . Pontificem . . . legi eique "sacra omnia exscripta exsignata- "que attribuit . . . ut esset quo con- "sultum plebis veniret."]

Church. Unto the Jews he so revealed the truth of religion, BOOK VIII.
that he gave them in special consideration^f laws, not only for Ch. i. 4.
the administration of things spiritual, but also temporal. The Lord himself appointing both the one and the other in that commonwealth, did not thereby distract it into several independent communities, but institute several functions of one and the same^g community. Some reason^h therefore mustⁱ be alleged^k why it should be otherwise in the Church of Christ.

I shall not need to spend any great store of words in answering that which is brought out of^{kk} holy Scripture to shew that secular and ecclesiastical affairs and offices are distinguished; neither that which hath been borrowed from antiquity, using by phrase of speech to oppose the commonwealth^{ll} to the Church of Christ; nor yet the^m reasons which are wont to be brought forth as witnesses, that the Church and commonwealth areⁿ always distinct. For whether a church and a^o commonwealth do differ, is not the question we strive for; but our controversy is concerning the kind of distinction, whereby they are severed the one from the other; whether as under heathen kings the Church did deal with her own affairs within herself, without depending at all upon any in civil authority, and the commonwealth in hers, altogether without the privity of the Church; so it ought to continue still, even in such commonwealths as have now publicly embraced the truth of Christian religion; whether they ought to be^p evermore two societies, in such sort, several and distinct.

I ask therefore, what society that was, that was^q in Rome, whereunto the Apostle did give the name of the Church of Rome in his time? If they answer, as needs they must, that the Church of Rome in those days was that whole society of men which in Rome professed the name of Christ, and not that religion which the laws of the commonwealth did then authorize; we say as much, and therefore grant that the commonwealth of Rome was one society, and the Church of

^f considerations E.Q. ^g selfsame E.L. ^h reasons E.Q.C.L. ⁱ there be E.
^k already [alleged Fulm.] ^{kk} the holy E'. ^l E. reads, Three kinds of their proofs are [I. Fulm.] taken from the difference of affairs and offices. L. as in the text, only reading, officers for affairs D.C. and Q. give the reading above. ^{ll} common-
wealth in E'. throughout this §. ^m their E.C.L.Q. ⁿ were E. ^o or E. ^p ever-
more to be E.C.Q. ^q was that E. that was C.L.Q.

Three kinds of proofs for confirmation of the foresaid separation between the Church and commonwealth, the first taken from difference of affairs and offices in each¹.

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Ch. i. 4.

Rome another, in such sort as^r there was between them no mutual dependency^s. But when whole Rome became Christian, when they all embraced the gospel, and made laws in the^t defence thereof, if it be held that the church and the^u commonwealth of Rome did then remain as before; there is no way how this could be possible, save only one, and that is, they must restrain the name of the^v Church in a Christian commonwealth to the clergy, excluding all the residue^x of believers, both prince and people. For if all that believe be contained^y in the name of the Church, how should the Church remain by personal subsistence^z divided from the commonwealth, when the whole commonwealth doth believe?

The Church and the commonwealth therefore^a are in this case personally one society, which society being termed a commonwealth as it liveth under whatsoever form of secular law and regiment, a church as it hath^b the spiritual law of Jesus Christ^c; forasmuch^d as these two laws contain so many and so^e different offices, there must of necessity be appointed in it some to one charge, and some to another, yet without dividing the whole, and making it two several impaled societies.

The difference therefore either of affairs or offices ecclesiastical from secular¹, is no argument that the Church and the commonwealth are always separate and independent the one on^f the other: which thing even Allen himself considering somewhat better, doth in this point a little^g correct his former judgment before mentioned², and confesseth in his

^r that E.Q.C.L. ^s dependence E.C. ^t the om. E.C.L.Q. ^u the om. E'.
^v a church E.Q.C.L. ^w rest E. ^x continued E. corr. in 1662. ^y subsistencie D.
^z are in this case therefore E.Q.C.L. ^a as it liveth under E.C.L. ^b Jesus om.
E.C.L. ^c forasmuch E.C.L. ^d so om. E. ^e from D. ^f a little om. Q.

¹ 2 Chron. xix. 8, 11; Heb. v. 1; 1 Thess. v. 12; T. C. iii. 151.

² ["A true, sincere, and modest Defence of English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad; against a false, seditious and slanderous libel, entitled 'the Execution of Justice in England.'" c. v. p. 98; 99. "Though the state, regiment, policy and power temporal be in itself always of distinct nature, quality, and condition from the govern-

ment ecclesiastical and spiritual commonwealth called the Church or body mystical of Christ, and the magistrate spiritual and civil divers and distinct, and sometime so far that the one hath no dependence of the other, nor subalternation to the other in respect of themselves, (as it is in the churches of God residing in heaven kingdoms, and was in the Apostles' times under the pagan emperors,) yet now when the laws

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Defence of English Catholics, that "the power political hath her princes, laws, tribunals; the spiritual, her prelates, canons, councils, judgments; and those (when the^h princes are pagans) wholly separate, but in Christian commonwealths joined though not confounded¹." Howbeit afterwards his former sting appeareth again; for in a Christianⁱ commonwealth he holdeth, that the Church ought not to depend at all upon the authority of any civil person whatsoever, as in England he saith it doth.

[5.] It will be objected, that "the Fathers do oftentimes mention the commonwealth and the Church of God by way of opposition². Can the same thing be opposite¹ unto itself? If one and the same society be both^m, what sense can there be in that speech which saithⁿ, that 'they suffer and flourish together³?' What sense in that which maketh one thing^o adjudged to the Church, another^p to the commonwealth⁴? Finally, in that which putteth a difference between the causes of the province and of^q the Church? Doth^r it not hereby appear that the Church and the commonwealth are things evermore personally separate⁵?"

No, it doth not hereby appear that there is^{rr} perpetually

^h temporal princes C. ⁱ Christian om. E.C.L. ^k Proofs... commonwealth om. E. ^l opposed E. ^m both Church and commonwealth E.C.L. ⁿ which saith om. E. that saith Q. ^o to be adjudged E. ^p and another E.Q.C.L. ^q of om. E.C.L. ^r Church, doth E.Q.C.L. ^{rr} not E'. edd. 1662, '76. corr. 1682.

"of Christ are received, and the bodies politic and mystical, the Church and civil state, the magistrate ecclesiastical and temporal, concur in their kinds together, (though ever of distinct regiments, natures and ends) there is such a concurrence and subordination betwixt both, that the inferior of the two (which is the civil state) must needs (in matters pertaining any way either directly or indirectly to the honour of God and benefit of the soul,) be subject to the spiritual, and take direction from the same. The condition of these two powers (as St. Gregory Nazianzen most excellently resembleth it) is like unto the distinct state of the spirit and body or flesh in a man. . . The spirit may and must command, overrule, and chastise

"the body. . . So likewise, the power political," &c.]
¹ ["Nor yet the spiritual turned into the temporal, or subject by perverse order (as it is now in England) to the same; but the civil, which indeed is the inferior, subordinate, and in some cases subject to the ecclesiastical; though so long as the temporal state is no hinderance to eternal felicity and the glory of Christ's kingdom, the other intermeddleth not with his actions." Allen, ubi supra.]

² T. C. l. iii. p. 151.
³ Socr. lib. 5. præfat. Sozom. lib. 3. c. 20. [These two references from D.]

⁴ Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. [c. 65.]

⁵ Aug. Ep. 167. [al. 89.]

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any such separation ; we may^a speak of them as two, we may sever the rights and causes of the one well enough from the other, in regard of that difference which we grant there^t is between them, albeit we make no personal difference. For the truth is, that the Church and the commonwealth are names which import things really different ; but those things are accidents^{tt}, and such accidents as may and should always^u dwell lovingly^x together in one subject. Wherefore the real difference between the accidents signified by those names, doth not prove different subjects for them always to reside in. For albeit the subjects wherein they are^y resident be sometime^{yy} different, as when the people of God have their being^z among infidels ; yet the nature of them is not such but that their subject may be one, and therefore it is but a changeable accident, in those accidents^a, when the subjects they are in be diverse.

There can be no error in our conceit concerning this point, if we remember still what accident that^{aa} is, for which a society hath the name of a commonwealth, and what accident that which doth cause it to be termed a Church. A commonwealth we name it simply in regard of some regiment or policy under which men live ; a church for the truth of that religion which they profess. Now names betokening accidents unabstracted, do betoken^b not only those^c accidents, but also together with them the^d subjects whereunto they cleave. As when we name a schoolmaster and a physician, these^e names do not only betoken two accidents, teaching and curing, but also some person or persons in whom these accidents are. For there is no impediment but both may be one man^f, as well as they are for the most part diverse^g. The commonwealth and the Church therefore being such names, they do not only betoken those accidents of civil government and Christian religion which we have mentioned, but also together with them such multitudes as are the subjects of those^h accidents. Again, their nature being such thatⁱ they may well enough dwell together in one subject, it followeth

^a may om. E.C. ^t there om. E.Q.C.L. ^{tt} accident E'. ^u always should E.C.L. ^x lovingly dwell E.L.D. ^y be E.C.L. ^{yy} sometimes E'. ^z residence E. ^a in those accidents they are to be divers E. ^{aa} that om. E'. ^b inabstracted, betoken E.; so in 1662-82. ^c the accidents themselves E.Q.C.L. ^d the om. E. ^e those E.C.L. ^f in one man E.Q.C. ^g in divers E. *not in* E'. ^h these E. such C.L. ⁱ as E.Q.

BOOK VIII.
Ch. i. 5.
that their names, though always implying that difference of accidents which^k hath been set down, yet do not always imply different subjects also. When we oppose the Church^l therefore and the commonwealth in a^m Christian society, we mean by the commonwealth that society with relation unto all the public affairs thereof, only the matter of true religion excepted ; by the Church, the same society with only reference unto the matter of true religion, without any otherⁿ affairs besides : when that society which is both a church and a commonwealth doth flourish in those things which belong unto it as a commonwealth, we then say, "the commonwealth doth flourish ;" when^o in those things which concern it as a church, "the Church doth flourish ;" when in both, then^p "the Church and commonwealth flourish together."

The Prophet Esay, to note corruptions in the commonwealth, complaineth, "¹ That where judgment and justice^q had lodged now were murderers ; princes were become companions of thieves ; every one loved gifts and rewards ; but the fatherless was not judged, neither did the widow's cause come before them." To shew abuses in the Church, Malachy doth make his complaint² : "Ye offer unclean bread upon mine altar : if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, it is not amiss^r as ye^s think ; if the lame and the sick, nothing is amiss." The treasures^t which David³ did bestow^u upon the temple do^x argue the love which he bare to the Church : the pains that^y Nehemias⁴ took for building the walls of the city are tokens of his care for the commonwealth. Causes of the commonwealth, or province, are still as Gallio was content to be judge of⁵ : "If it were a matter of wrong, or an evil deed, O ye Jews, I would according to reason maintain you." Causes of the Church are such as Gallio there⁶ rejecteth² : "If it be a question of your law, look you unto it, I will be no judge of those things^a." In respect of these

^k that E.C.L. ^l therefore the Church E.C.L. ^m a om. E. ⁿ without any affairs ; besides, when, E. ^o when... church doth flourish om. E.C.L. ^p when in both [of] them, we then say E. ^q justice and judgment E.Q.L. [*The Geneva Bible, D. and C. read as in the text.*] ^r evil Gen. Bible, E.Q.C.L. ^s you D. ^t treasure E.C. ^u bestowed E. ^x did E.C.L. ^y which E.C.L. ^{yy} Nehemiah E'. ^z reciteth E.C.L. [rejecteth Fulm.] ^a thereof E.C. of those matters L. of those things, Gen. Bible.

¹ Isai. i. 21, 23. ² Mal. i. 7, 8. [cf. VII. xxii. 4.] ³ 1 Chron. xxix. 3. ⁴ Nehem. ii. 17. ⁵ Acts xviii. 14. ⁶ Ver. 15.

BOOK VIII. differences^b therefore the Church and the commonwealth may
 Ch. i. 6. in speech be compared or opposed aptly enough the one to
 → the other ; yet this is no argument that they are two inde-
 → pendent societies.

3. Proofs of perpetual separation and independency between the commonwealth and the Church^c, taken from the effects of punishments inflicted and released^d by the one or the other.

[6.] Some other reasons there are, which seem a little more nearly to make for the purpose, as long as they are but heard and not sifted. For what though a man being severed by excommunication from the Church, be not thereby deprived of freedom in the city ; nor^e being there discomoned, is thereby^f forthwith excommunicated and excluded from^g the Church^h? what though the Church be bound to receive them upon repentance, whom the commonwealth may refuse again to admitⁱⁱ if it chance the same men to be shut out of both? That division^b of the church and commonwealth, which they contend for, will very hardly hereupon follow.

For we must note that members of a Christian commonwealth have a triple state ; a natural, a civil, and a spiritual. No man's natural estate is cut off otherwise than by that capital execution, after^{hh} which he that is gone fromⁱ the body of the commonwealth doth not, I think, remain still^k in the body of the^l visible Church.

And concerning a^m man's civil estateⁿ, the same is subject partly to inferior abatements of liberty, and partly unto diminution in the very^o highest degree, such as banishment is ; which^p, sith it casteth out quite and clean from the body of the commonwealth, must^q needs also consequently cast the banished party even out of the very Church he was of before, because that Church and the commonwealth he was of were

^b this difference E. ^c Proofs... Church om. E. ^d and released om. E. or released Q.C. ^e or E. ^f is not therefore E.Q. is therefore C.L. ^g from om. E.C. ^h admit? If it chance the same man be shut out of both, division E. 1666. ⁱ both, divisions E. ^{hh} execution. After E. ⁱ none of E. none of is gone from L. cut off is gone from C. once that way gone from Q. ^{fit} E. [still Fulm.] ^l that E. ^m a om. E.D.C.L. ⁿ state D. ^o very om. E.C. ^p which om. E. ^q it must E.

¹ T. C. l. iii. p. 152. [151. "A man may, by excommunication, be sundred from the Church, which forthwith loseth not of necessity his burgessship or freedom in the city, or commonwealth... The civil magistrate may by banishment cut off a man from being a member of the commonwealth, whom the Church cannot by and by cast out

"by excommunication... When one is for his misbehaviour deprived of his privileges both in the Church and commonwealth ; albeit the Church be upon his repentance bound to receive him in again as member thereof, yet the commonwealth is at her liberty whether she will restore him or no."]

BOOK VIII. both one and the same society : so that whatsoever doth
 Ch. i. 6. separate utterly^r a man's person from the one, it separateth
 → also from the other^s. As for such abatements of civil state
 → as take away only some privilege, dignity, or other benefit which a man enjoyeth in the commonwealth, they reach only unto our dealing with public affairs, from which what should^t let but that men may be excluded and thereunto restored again, without diminishing or augmenting the number of persons in whom either church or commonwealth consisteth? He that by way of punishment loseth his voice in a public election of magistrates, ceaseth not thereby to be a citizen. A man disfranchised may notwithstanding enjoy as a subject the common benefit of protection under laws and magistrates. So that these inferior diminutions which touch men civilly, but neither do clean extinguish their estate as they belong to the commonwealth, nor impair a whit their condition as they are of the Church of God : these I say clearly do^u prove a difference of the affairs of^x the one from the other, but such a difference as maketh nothing for their surmise of distracted societies.

And concerning excommunication, it cutteth off indeed from the Church, and yet not from the commonwealth ; howbeit so, that the party excommunicate is not thereby severed from one body which subsisteth in itself, and retained of^y another in like sort subsisting ; but he that^z before had fellowship with that society whereof he was a member, as well touching things spiritual as civil, is now by force of excommunication, although not severed from the same^a body in civil affairs, nevertheless for the time cut off from it as touching communion in those things which belong to the said^b body, as it is the Church.

A man which hath^c both been excommunicated by the Church, and deprived of civil dignity in the commonwealth, is upon his repentance necessarily readunited^d into the one, but not of necessity into the other. What then? that which he is adunited^e unto is a communion in things divine, whereof saints^f are partakers ; that from which he is withheld

^r utterly separate E. sever C. ^s from the other also E. ^t may E. ^u do clearly E. ^x the affairs of om. E.C.L. ^y by E. ^z which E.C.L. ^a same om. E. ^b same E.C. ^c which having E.L.Q. which having been both D.A. man which hath both been C. ^d reunited E.L. received C. ^e admitted E.C. ^f both parts E.