BOOK VIII, Ch. iv. 6.
we are to note, that because whatsoever hath necessary being, 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, cannot choose but be originally from him, and have reference also of subordination unto him. 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 is of necessary use 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 his own people: it followeth that the said authority is of and under him after a more peculiar manner, namely, in that he is Head of the Church, and not in respect of his general regency over the world. "All things," (saith the Apostle 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, yet divisively understood; that is over each particular person within that Church where they are kings. Such authority, reaching 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; 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.

* amongst...... government om. E.C.L. 
  b and have......unto him om. E. 
  e as om. E. 
  f of necessity E.C. 
  * govern and guide E.C. 
  i special E. 
  * namely om. E. 
  A 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 in the text.
  1 It E. [The mistake might arise from the old way of abbreviating "that." ] 
  * surely E.C.L. 
  reacheth E.C. 
  m may have and lawfully exercise it E.

[i Cor. iii. 22. [23.]

[7.] It is but idle...when they plead, "that although for several companies of men there may be several heads or governors, differing in the measure of their authority from the chiefest.... who is head of all; yet so it cannot be in the Church, for that the reason why head-magistrates appoint others for 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 own dominions, which maketh many hands necessary where the burden is too great for one, moved Jethro to be a persuader of Moses, that a 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 be diverse, more than we are able to search into, wherefore it might seem to him expedient to divide his kingdom into many portions, and to 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 distant. Visible government is a thing necessary for the Church; and it doth not appear how the exercise of visible government over such multitudes everywhere 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 perpetual conjunction, by virtue whereof our Saviour remaineth always spiritually united unto the parts of his mystical body; Heads endowed with supreme power, extending unto a certain compass, are for the exercise of visible regiment not unnecessary.

[This side-note om. E.Q. where they speak E. where C.I.Q. over E. 
  a seeing E. 
  f heads E.C. 
  * the E. 
  m may omit E. [Pulm. "may be"] C. 
  * more E. 
  * provinces E.C. 
  * to om. E. 
  i the earth E. 
  t is om. D. 
  * the E. 
  m always remaineth E.C.L. 
  i indeed E. 
  * a visible E.

T. C. lib. ii. p. 413.
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 the highest rooms: but for the magistrate to be termed, one way, within his own dominions, an head, doth not bar him from being either 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 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 Church." Thirdly, "If the Church be planted in a popular estate, then, forasmuch as all govern in common, and all have authority, all shall be head there, and no body at all; which is another monster." It might be feared what this birth of so many monsters 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 of monsters, if any be, is that troubled understanding, wherein, because things lie confusedly mixed together, what they are it appeareth not.

A Church perfect without Christ, I know not which way a man should 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, then is their Head Christ.

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

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1 T. C. lib. ii. p. 419.  2 Ut Hen. 8. 6. 9.  [26 Hen. viii. cap. 1. 1]

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The Dispute of the Supremacy not verbal merely.

Catholics and Foreign Protestants, their Objection to it.

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 such power should be given unto civil governors. The greatest exception that Sir Thomas More took against that title, who suffered death for denial of it, was "for that it maketh a lay, or secular person, the head of the state spiritual or ecclesiastical;" as though God himself did not name even 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 is, "istis non communicant "petit iste primatus;" "such kind of power is too high for them, they fit it not."" In excuse of Mr. Calvin, 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 do; 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, we should need any Hercules to tame them.

For the title or style itself, although the laws of this land have annexed it to the crown, yet so far we would not strive, if so be men were nicely and scrupulously 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

1 G. Courin, in Epist. de Mort T. Mori, et Episcopii Roffensis, p. 517.
2 "Thomae Mori, Angliae
3 Ornamini eximii Lucubrationum.
4 Basil. 1563.
5 "Ilud dico, me septem annis
6 intendisse animum studiumque
7 neum in istam causam, verum
8 hactenus in nullo doctorum ab
ecclesia probatorum reperti scrip
tum] quod laicus, aut ut vocant,
9 sanctuariorum, possit aut debeat esse
c impartial et spiritualis aut eccle
siasticus.
11 Non sint capita ecclesiae,
qui istis, &c.
12 Calvin, in Com. in Amos vii. 13.
[Definit. T. C. ii. 413.
13 Qui...tum exterum Henricum
regem Angliae, certe fuerunt
14 "inconsiderati homines: deederunt
illi summam rerum omnium po
testatem: et hoc in tempore gra
tiatu vulneravit. Eam enim blas
phemia, qui vocarent eum summum
caput ecclesiae sub Christo. Hoc
certum neut nimium. Sed tamen se
putum hoc maneat, quà peccatum
inconsiderato zelo... Pacienti illos
nimi spiritualibus. Et hoc vitium
"passim regnat in Germania. In his
"etiam regionibus nimium grassatur
'. . . Principes, et quicunque potenti
urpero, putant se ita spiritualibus
esse, ut nullum sit amplius eccle
siasticum regimen. Non putant
se posse regnare, nisi aboleant
omnem ecclesiae auctoritatem, et
"sint summum judicium, tantum in do
na, quam in toto spirituali reginis
8 any om. E. 9 great E. 10 a secular E. 11 even om. E. 12 and thought . . . we om. E.
Opposition against the difference in kind.

[9.] The last difference which we have made between the title of head when we gave it unto Christ, and when we gave 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 are heads as being their principal instruments for the Church's outward government: He head, as founder of the house; they, as his chiefest overseers. Against this there's exception especially taken, and our purveyors are herein said to have their provision from the popish shambles; for by

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 nutriment 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 external 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 commonwealth, 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 before said."

2 Pighius and Harding, to prove that Christ alone is not head of the Church, this distinction they say is brought, that according to the inward influence of grace, Christ only is head; but according to outward government the being head is a thing common with him to others.

To raise up falsehoods of old condemned, and to bring that for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which hath already been sufficiently proved an error, and is worthily so taken, this would justly deserve censuring. But shall manifest truth be therefore reproached, because men in some things convicted of manifest untruth have at any time taught 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, "that they are not afraid to consent in some points with Jews and Turks." Which defense, 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 the Church.

But as for this distinction of headship, spiritual and mystical in Jesus Christ, ministerial and outward in others besides Christ; what cause is to dislike either Harding, or Pighius, or any other besides for it? That which they have been reproved for is, not because they did herein 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 of 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

3 "It is first to so the doctor's purveyors had it be noted from whom this provision, from Harding, or from both."
Spiritual Power, some outward, some invisible. 389

not suffer them to see it die, although by what means they should be able to 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 regimen?

To make things therefore so plain that henceforth a child's capacity may serve rightly to conceive our meaning: we make the spiritual regimen 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 by Christ himself in his own person; the other outwardly administered by them whom Christ doth allow to be the rulers and guiders of his Church. Touching the former of these two kinds, we teach that Christ in regard thereof is peculiarly 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 to be that 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 distilleth, and is derived into all parts, whether the word, or sacraments, or discipline, or whatsoever be the mean whereby it floweth. As for the power of administering these 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 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 government namely unto that regimen which is

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