of the things in this world, to count riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof not only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion unto Christ. They were solicitors of men to fasts, to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desires as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered seemed to pierce like a sword through them.

If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with deep sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, "Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament." So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men's use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselves openly abrood in worse: the ordinary names of the days in the week they thought it a kind of profaneness to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction than by numbers, the First, Second, Third day.

[7.] From this they proceeded unto public reformation, first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched that themselves only had the truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that since the apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to control the ministers of the gospel for attributing so much force and virtue unto the scriptures of God read, whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to con-

vert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto applicable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promised before should be, saying, "I will put my "law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their "hearts." The Book of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; besides it they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects unto human writings, so far to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any books save the Holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publicly on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrenses concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the state of souls departed, and suchlike, are things needless to be rehearsed. And forasmuch as they were of the same suit with those of whom the apostle speaketh, saying, "They are still learning, but never "attain to the knowledge of truth," it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the sounder in his own persuasion excusing the dear brethren, which were not so far enlightened, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of

God towards them notwithstanding their swerving from him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified as men whose vocation was from God; the rest their manner was to term disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees, to account their calling an human creature, and to detain the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Baptism administered in the Church of Rome they judged to be but an execrable mockery and no baptism; both because the ministers thereof in the Papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd persons, thieves and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrist's synagogue. The custom of using godfathers and godmothers at christenings they scorned. Baptizing of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued ever since the very Apostles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly because sundry errors are of no less antiquity; and partly for that there is no commandment in the gospel of Christ which saith, "Baptize infants;" but he contrariwise in saying, "Go preach and baptize," doth appoint that the minister of baptism shall in that action first administer doctrine, and then baptism; as also in saying, "Whosoever doth believe and is baptized," he appointeth that the party to whom baptism is administered shall first believe and then be baptized; to the end that believing may go before this sacrament in the receiver, no otherwise than preaching in the gaver; sith equally in both, the law of Christ declareth not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after supper; and for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mystical words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," they thought it not safe to mention either body or blood in that sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these, "Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord: Drink, shew forth our Lord's death." In rites and ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cause they would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as Antichrist (they said) was the first inventor of them.

[8.] The pretended end of their civil reformation was that Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and sceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Christian men but he, no regiment keep them in awe but his discipline, amongst them no sword at all be carried besides his, the sword of spiritual excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in overturning the seats of magistracy, because Christ hath said, "Kings of nations," in abolishing the execution of justice, because Christ hath said, "Resist not evil;" in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial trial, because Christ hath said, "Swear at all:" finally, in bringing in community of goods, because Christ by his apostles hath given the world such example, to the end that men might excel one another not in wealth the pillar of secular authority, but in virtue.

[9.] These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them was but this, "O quam honesta voluntate miseris errant! With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil!" Luther made request unto Frederick duke of Saxony, that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their error excepted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the state of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands.

[10.] The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes were most effectual: first, a wonderful show

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of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even rapt in every thing they spake; secondly, an hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorized guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to pour down showers of tears, in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both temporal and spiritual taken from them, that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, “These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere prophets.” If any such prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condign and deserved punishment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people, (so strangely were their hearts enchanted,) as though blessed Saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament that God took away his most dear servants from them.

[11] In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained, after speculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done but with mighty opposition and resistance; against which to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into league of association. And peradventure considering, that although they were many,

yet long wars would in time waste them out; they began to think whether it might not be that God would have them do, for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime God's own chosen people, the people of Israel, did. Glad and fain they were to have it so; which very desire was itself apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather arguments of likelihood, that so God himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, than that a new Jerusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themselves that new Jerusalem, and the old did by way of a certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by applying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old commonwealth of Israel: concluding that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this world's servile thraldom unto sin and superstition; as Israel was to root out the idolatrous nations, and to plant instead of them a people which feared God; so the same Lord's good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, under the conduct of other Josuas, Samsons, and Gedeons, perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty: and therefore, as the cause why the children of Israel took unto one man many wives, might be lest the casualties of war should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; so it was not unlike that for the necessary propagation of Christ's kingdom under the Gospel the Lord was content to allow as much.

[12] Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erroneously persuaded that it is the will of God to have those things done which they fancy, their opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest

1 p. 55.  2 p. 6, 7.  3 p. 7.  4 p. 27.  5 p. 6.
till they have brought their speculations into practice. The
lets and impediments of which practice their restless desire
and study to remove leadeth them every day forth by the
hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite
and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings: so as
what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the
cloak of divine authority, impossible it is that ever the wit
of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the
fruits of them: for which cause it behoveth wisdom to fear
the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear.
These men, in whose mouths at the first sounded nothing
but only mortification of the flesh, were come at the length
to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives
apiece; they which at the first thought judgment and jus-
tice itself to be merciless cruelty, accounted at the length
their own hands sanctified with being embroiled in Christian
blood; they who at the first seemed to desire to beat down
all dominion, and to urge against poor constables, "Kings
of nations;" had at the length both consuls and kings
of their own erection amongst themselves: finally, they
which could not brook at the first that any man should seek,
no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken
or withheld from him, were grown at the last to think they
could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, than by
turning their adversaries clean out of house and home, and by
enriching themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage; which
thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readiness
their answer, that now the time was come, when according
to our Saviour's promise, "the meek ones must inherit the
"earth;" and that their title hereunto was the same which
the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked
Egyptians.

[13.] Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so
fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it
must not offend you, though, touching the sequel of your
present mispersuasions, much more be doubted, than your
own intents and purposes do haply aim at. And yet your
words already are somewhat, when ye affirm, that your

1 Mart. in his third Libel, * 
2 [Second Adm. p. 59, (misprint for 65,) ed. 1617. "We beseech 
you to pity this case, and to pro-
vide for it; it is the case already 
of many a thousand in this land; 
yea, it is the case of as many as 
seek the Lord aright, and desire 
to have his own orders restored. 
Great troubles will come of it, if 
it be not provided for; even the 
saints of God that hath stirred me, 
a man unknown, to speak, though 
those poor men which are locked 
up in Newgate, neither do, nor 
can desire to speak, will daily 
"stir up more," 
Str. Whig. II. 18. (from a MS.)
"One of our late libellers" [marg. 
Martyn!] "braggeth of 100,000 
"hands: and wisheth the parlia-
ment to bring in this reformation 
though it be by withdrawing the 
Queen's Majesty." 
Ibid. 191. In 1592, the Barrow-
ists were reckoned to amount to 
20,000 by Sir W. Raleigh, in a 
speech of his in the last parlia-
ment. 
"You are too broad with Mar-
tin's brood, for he hath 100,000 
"that will set their hands to his 
"articles, and shew the Queen." 
Pap with an Hatchet. (Of this 
pamphlet see before, in a note 
to the Life of Hooker.)
Let the magistrate once con-
sider what pestilent and dangerous 
"beasts these wretches" (the Bi-
shops) "are unto the civil state. 
"For either by their own confe-
sion they are the bishops of the 
"Devil, (and so by that means will
be the undoing of the state, if 
"they be continued therein,) or 
"else their places ought to be in 
this commonwealth whether her 
"Majesty and our State will or no, 
"because they are not (as they say) 
"the Bishops of man. Are they 
then the Bishops of God? that is, 
"have they such a calling as the 
"Apostles, Evangelists, &c. had? 
"that is, such a calling as ought 
"lawfully to be in Christian com-
"monwealth (unless the magistrate 
"would injury the Church, yea, 
"main, deform, and make a mon-
"ster of the Church) whether the 
"magistrate will or no." Ha' ye
any Work for a Cooper? p. 28.
And in the Epitome, against Dr. 
Bridges, having quoted a passage 
from Bp. Aylmer's "Harborough 
"for faithful Subjects," in which 
the Bishop had commended those 
that in King Henry VIII. days 
"would not grant him that his pro-
"clamations should have the force 
of a statute," Penny proceeds "I 
assure you, brother John, you 
have spoken many things worthy 
the noting, and I would our par-
liament men would mark this ac-
tion done in K. Hen. VII. days, 
"and follow it in bringing in reg-
"formation, and putting down Lord 
"Bishops, with all other points of 
"superstition. They may in your 
judgment not only do any thing 
"against their King's or Queen's 
mind (that is befoleful to the 
"honour of God and the good of 
"the commonwealth), but even 
"withstand the proceedings of their 
"sovereign."]
ourselves, if to bring in discipline some such means here- 
after be used as shall cause all our hearts to ache. "That 
"things doubtful are to be construed in the better part," 
is a principle not safe to be followed in matters con-
cerning the public state of a commonweal. But howsoever 
these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or 
regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing desire 
for the practice of your discipline brought the matter already 
unto this demurmer amongst you, whether the people and 
their godly pastors that way affected ought not to make 
separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of 
discipline without the license of civil powers, which license 
they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which 
question as ye have now divided yourselves, the warier sort 
of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the 
other; so in case these earnest ones should prevail, what 
other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having 
first resolved that attempts for discipline without superiors 
are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed 
what may be attempted against superiors which will not have 
the sceptre of that discipline to rule over them? Yea even 
by you which have stayed yourselves from running headlong 
with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath 
been done without the leave or liking of your lawful superiors, 
for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the 
clergy thereunto addicted. And lest examination of prin-
cipal parties therein should bring those things to light, which 
might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar 
against that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added 
unto the rest even upon this occasion, an opinion to exempt 
you from taking oaths which may turn to the molestation 
of your bretheren in that cause. The next neighbour opinion 
whereunto, when occasion requireth, may follow for dispensa-
sion with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to 
import a necessity of detecting ought which may bring 
such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the 
cause be. O merciful God, what man's wit is there able 
to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, 
whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclined to 
sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error 
in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to 
defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary public 
resolution!

[14] Wherefore if we any thing respect their error, who 
being persuaded even as you are have gone further upon that 
persuasion than you allow; if we regard the present state of 
the highest governor placed over us, if the quality and dispo-
sition of our nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous 
universities, if the profession of the civil or the practice of the 
common law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto even 
before our eyes so many others have fallen headlong from no 
less plausible and fair beginnings than yours are: there is in 
every of these considerations most just cause to fear lest our 
hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence

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1 Demonstr. in the Pref. ["We 
2 have sought to advance the cause 
3 of God, by humble suit to the 
4 parliament, by supplication to 
5 your convocation house, by writ-
6 ing in defence of it, and by chal-
7 lenging to dispute for it: seeing 
8 none of these means used by us 
9 have prevailed, if it come in by 
10 that means, which will make all 
11 your hearts to ache, blame your-
12 selves: for it must prevail, mau-
13 gre the malice of all that stand 
14 against it; or such a judgment 
15 must overtake this land, as shall 
16 cause the ears that hear thereof to 
17 tingle, and make us be a by word 
18 to all that pass by us."

1 [conisterd, ed. 1594.]

2 [In 1562, some of the ministers 
3 who had been silenced by the bi-
4 shops for nonconformity began to 
5 set up separate assemblies, using 
6 the Geneva Prayer Book. Strype, 
7 Parker, i. 478—485. In 1572, 
8 the same party, by their "use 
9 "or rather abuse" (Bishop Cox 
10 to Burghley, in Str. Ann. ii. 
11 611.) of prophesyings, caused 
12 the inhibition of those exercises, 
13 (Queen's letter to the Bishop 
14 of Lincoln, ibid. 612.) and the 
15 suspension of Archbishop Grindal. 

3 (Grind. 342.) In 1585, they are 
4 charged with having established 
5 synods and classes in various 
6 counties, with secession, un- 
7 authorized fast-days, and other 
8 schismatical acts. (Articles against 
9 Cartwright, in Fuller, C. H. IX. 
10 200, 201, 202.) comp. in Strype's 
11 Whitg. III. 344—356, the bill ex-
12 hibited against them in the Star 
13 Chamber.

1 [This seems to have been first 
2 started, in a formal and public way, 
3 by Cartwright and others, when 
4 cited before the ecclesiastical com-
5 mission in 1590. Strype, Whitg. 
6 II. 10, 26, 28—31.

2 [The 31st article tendered to 
3 Cartwright, (Fuller, ubi sup.) con-
4 tains this clause,: "That they should 
5 "all teach . . . that it is not lawful 
6 "to take any oath, whereby a man 
7 "may be driver to discover any 
8 thing penal to himself or to his 
9 "brother; especially if he be per-
10 suaded the matter to be lawful, 
11 "for which the punishment is like 
12 "to be inflicted: or having taken 
13 "it in this case, need not discover 
14 "the very truth."]

Vol. I.
Retraction, for the Truth's Sake, no Disgrace.

IX. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to reexamine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can; to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men, deem it not impossible for you to err; sif: unpartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason or vehemency of affection, which hath bred and still doth feed these opinions in you. If truth do anywhere manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glistening delusions, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best victory when the same doth prevail over you.

[2.] That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, shall be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many so huge volumes as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation and honour, than the book wherein he carefully collecteth his own oversights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear; but the glory of an ingenuous mind he hath purchased by these words only, "Behold, I will lay "mine hand on my mouth: I have spoken once, yet will I "not therefore maintain argument; yea twice, howbeit for "that cause further I will not proceed."

[3.] Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be joined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions: the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end,

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1 Greg. Naz. in Apol. [p. 33, sqq. ed. Pat. 1609: 'Ἀγωνίας, ἄραντα τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνίκων καὶ κάτω φθοράσισις τε καὶ παρασκευής, φύγας πιάρεται ἐκ του μισερός, ὡσε φησίν ἀναγκασάτο, λαβοντες τοῦ πολλῶν ἐλπίδα ἐκαθή καὶ τῆς σκεπασμας ὅτι πολεμεὶς μὲν ἀλλὰ λόγος τὰ μέρη, ἀγαθόν εἰ καὶ τι δράσατος οὐκ ἂν σαρκικός. Σάλωνες ἐν τούτῳ καὶ πολεμικάς εὐθυμίας καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἄρα ἄνθρωποι πάντας ἐκ τῆς σκέπασμας, ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀλήθειας εἰς τοὺς ἔθνους ἐν τούς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὲρ μισερότερον, οἰδί- εἰς ἁγιασμοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀναγκασάτο.']

2 Job xlv. 5.

The Times like those of Nazianzen.

will be heavy even on both sides. Brought already we are even to that estate which Gregory Nazianzen mournfully describeth, saying, "My mind leadeth me" (sith there is no other remedy) "to fly and to convey myself into some "corner out of sight, where I may escape from this cloudy "tempest of maliciousness, whereby all parts are entered "into a deadly war amongst themselves, and that little "remnant of love which was, is now consumed to nothing. "The only godliness we glory in, is to find out somewhat "whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each other's "faults we observe as matter of exprobration and not of "grief. By these means we are grown hateful in the eyes "of the heathens themselves, and (which woundeth us the "more deeply) able we are not to deny but: that we have "deserved their hatred. With the better sort of our own "own fame and credit is clean lost. The less we are to "marvel if they judge vilely of us, who although we did "well would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they also "build that are lewd, and what we object one against "another, the same they use to the utter scorn and disgrace "of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-"dissensions. This we are worthy rewarded with, which "are more forward to strive than becometh men of virtuous "and mild disposition."

[4.] But our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at their highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfieghnedly reconciled love,
shew ourselves each towards other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfy, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will,) the blessings of the God of peace, both in this world and in the world to come, be upon him moe than the stars of the firmament in number.

What Things are handled in the Books following:

Book the First, concerning Laws in general.

The Second, of the use of Divine Law contained in Scripture; whether that be the only Law which ought to serve for our direction in all things without exception.

The Third, of Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Polity; whether the form thereof be in Scripture so set down, that no addition or change is lawful.

The Fourth, of general exceptions taken against the Laws of our Polity, as being popish, and banished out of certain reformed churches.

The Fifth, of our Laws that concern the public religious duties of the Church, and the manner of bestowing that Power of Order, which enableth men in sundry degrees and callings to execute the same.

The Sixth, of the Power of Jurisdiction, which the reformed platform claimeth unto lay-elders, with others.

The Seventh, of the Power of Jurisdiction, and the honour which is annexed thereunto in Bishops.

The Eighth, of the power of Ecclesiastical Dominion or Supreme Authority, which with us the highes: governor or Prince hath, as well in regard of domestical Jurisdictions, as of that other foreignly claimed by the Bishop of Rome.