

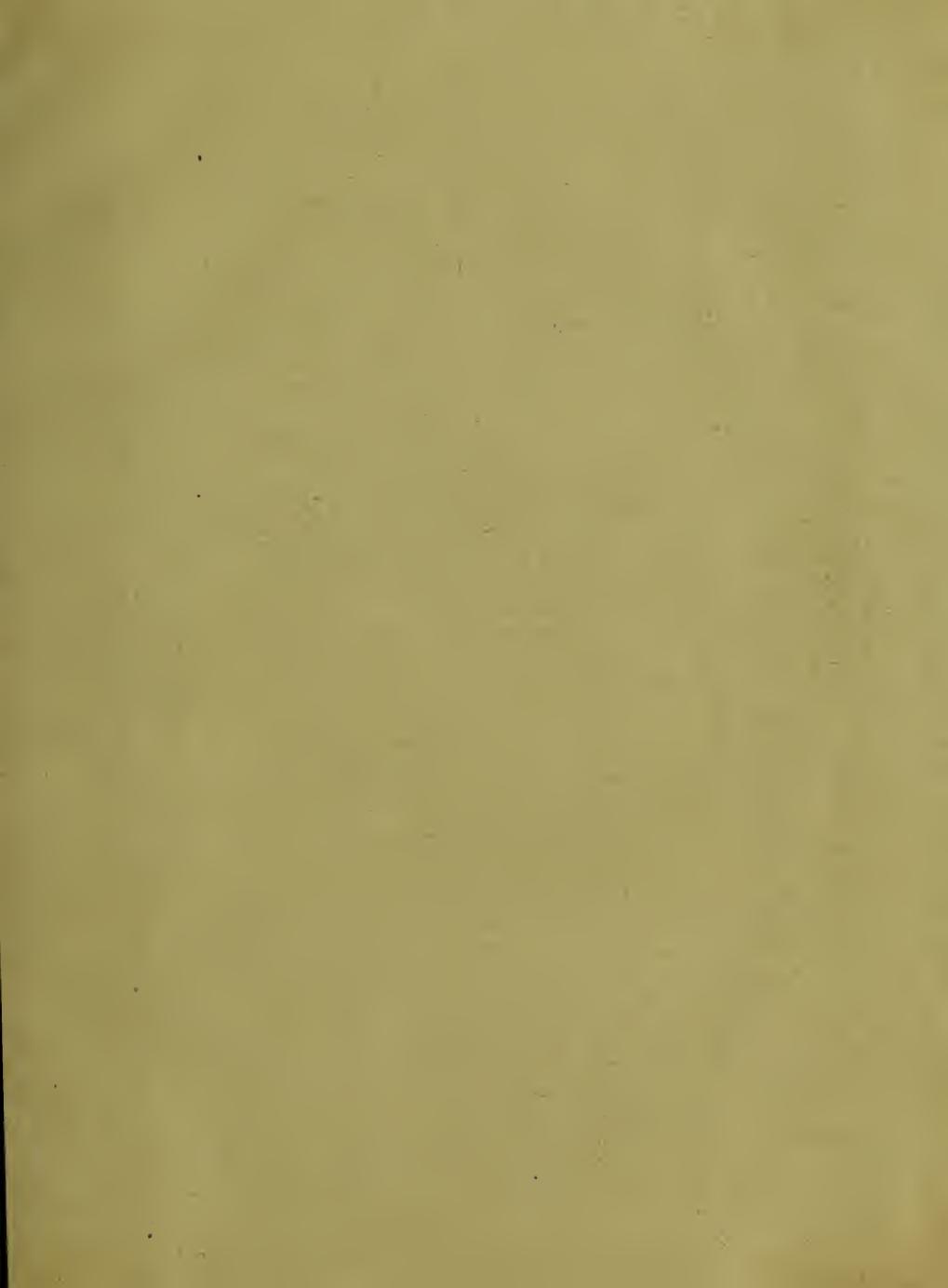


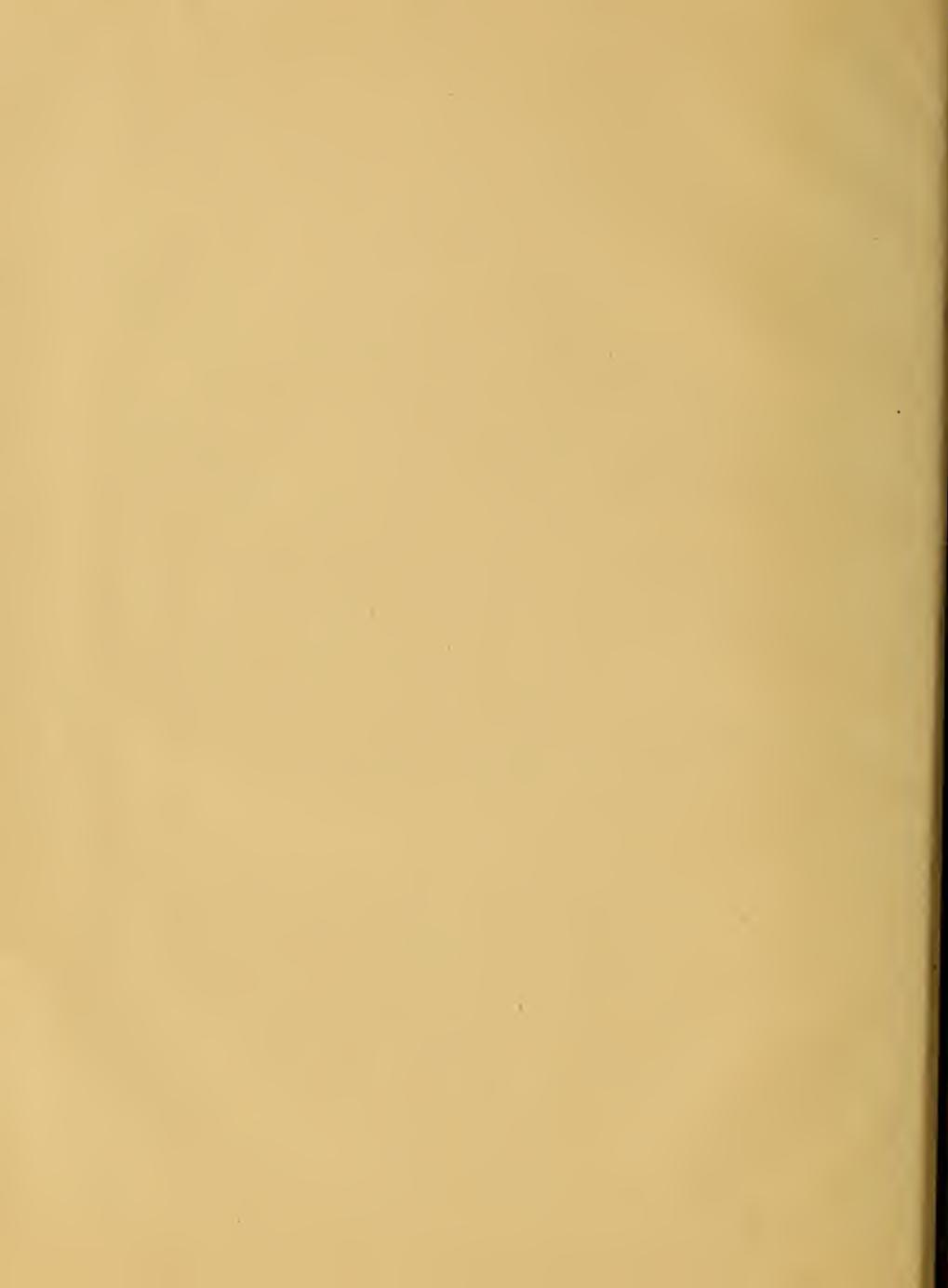
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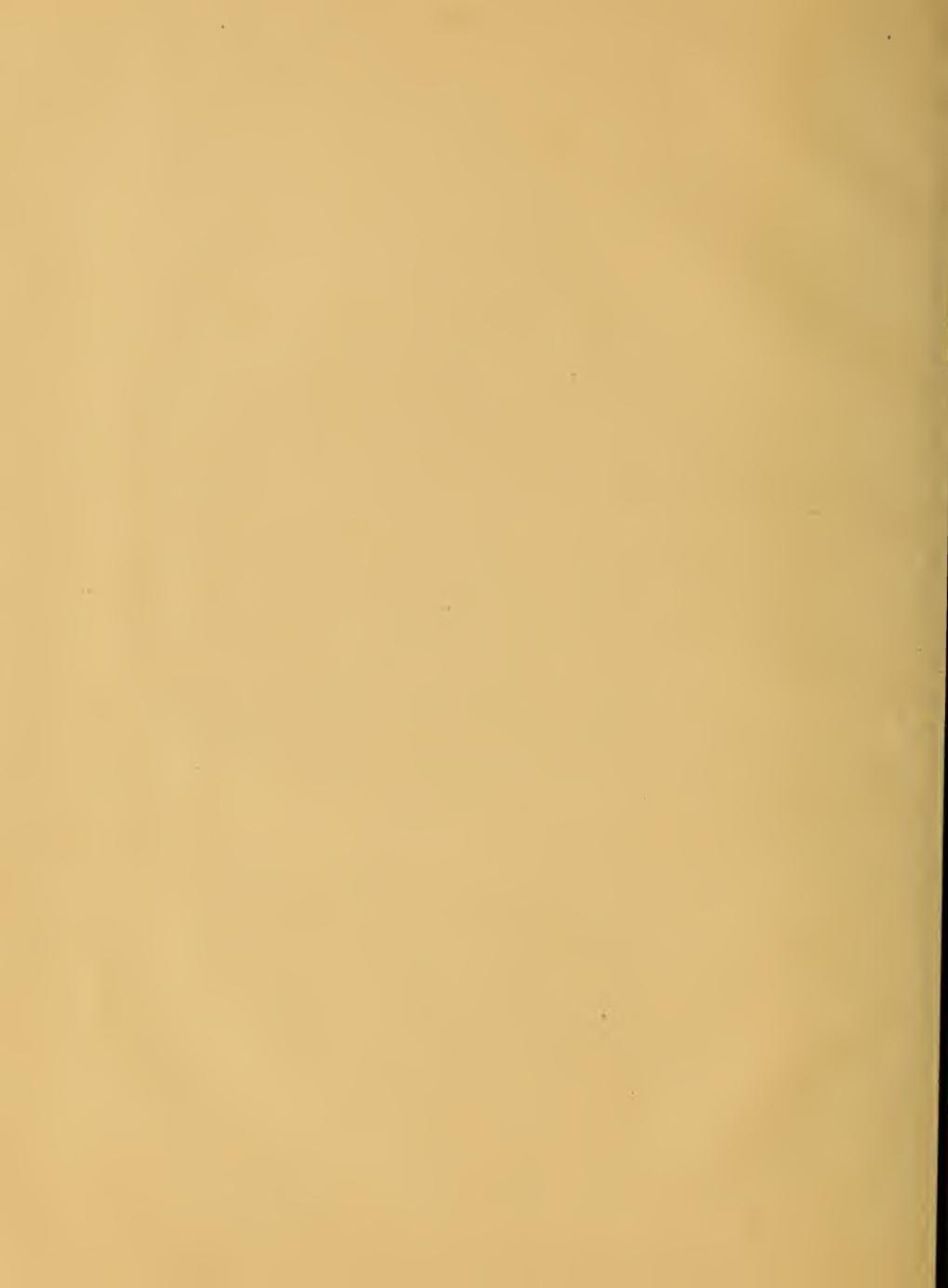
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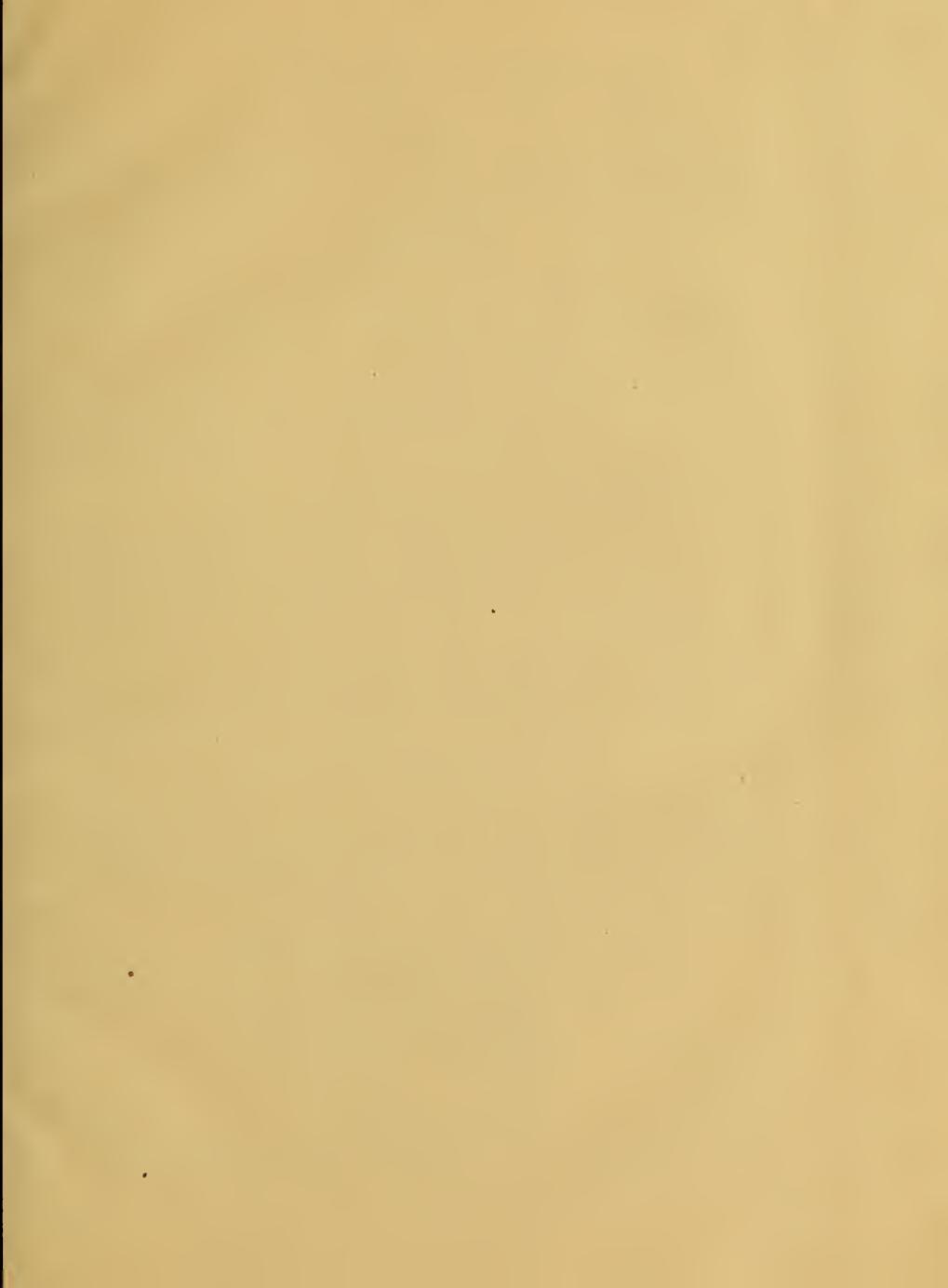
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45 Of Episcopacy.

THREE EPISTLES

OF

PETER MOULIN Doctor and
Professor of Divinity.

Answered

By the Right Reverend Father in God
Lancelot Andrews,

Late Lord Bishop of *Winchester.*

Lancelot Andrews

Translated for the benefit of the Publike.

S. Clemens in Epist. ad Corinth. 1.

Οι Απόστολοι ἡμῶν ἦγαν διὰ τὸν Κυρίον ἸΗΣΟΥΝ κεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸς Επισκοπούς.

Our Apostles underlaid by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be contention
about the name of Episcopacy.



London

Printed in the Yeer. 1641.

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see foot of page 6 for date (1648.)

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To the most Reverend Prelate,
the Lord Bishop of Winchester,
Peter Moulin wisheth all
health and hap-
pinels.



Hat Honorable man, your Pre-decessor, was taken hence, not without great damage both to the Church and Commonwealth. The King lost a most wise Counsellor, and the Church a faithfull Pastor; but I a Patron and a friend; who, though he was most carefull and desirous of my good yet, oblig'd me more by his Virtues, then his benefits. I have his Letters by me, which he wrote to me when he was sick, and his recovery was almost desperate; the very sight wherof doth exceedingly afflict me. But yet my grief was not a little eas'd, when I heard that you succeeded in his room, whose learning I long since admir'd, and of whose good affection I had great expe-

4 D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy*. I. Epist.
— breifly my meaning in them.

— I said, indeed, that the *Names* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were taken for all one in the *New Testament*: But I thought not that the *Dignity* of the *Bishop* was lessned thereby, since I spake only of the *Name*, not of the *Office* only: and I have (beside clear places of *Scripture*) the consent not only of *Hierom* the *Presbyter*, but also of the most famous *Bishops* of the *Ancient Church*, *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, *Theodore*, who took it not as a wrong to them, or that any thing was abated of their honor, if it were beleived that the *Names* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were at first used in the same sense.

— II That the *Order*, indeed, of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* was one and the same, that I said: For so did the *Ancient Church* ever think; and the *Church of Rome* thinks so, to this day: although there be in that *Church* an incredible difference betwixt the *pomp* of the *Bishops*, and the *meanness* of the *Priests*. Thence it is that in the *Roman Pontifical* there is set down the *Consecration* of *Bishops*, but not the *Ordination* of them. Indeed, *Order* is one thing, a *Degree* another: for men of one and the same *Order* may differ in *Degree* and *Dignity*; even

as

D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy*. I. Epist.
as among *Bishops* the *Degree of Archbishops* is
the more eminent.

5

Howbeit, that this *Episcopal Degree* and *Prerogative* is by *Ecclesiastical*, not by *Divine Right*, I confess it was said by me. For beside that to speak otherwise then I thought, had not been the part of an upright honest man, *you*, according to *your wonted goodness*, will easily judg, that a *French man*, living vnder the *Polity of the French Church*, could not speak otherwise, but he must incur the censure of our *Synods*, and vnder the danger (^{and suppositione}) of degrading, be forced to a recantation. For to think that *our Churches* do err in points of *Faith*, and in that which is of *Divine Right* were, questionles, to brand them with the note of *Heresy*, and to shake the conscience of many weak ones.

III —

Truly, I came very vnwillingly to the writing of this Book, but *our Church* requiring it, and lately enforcing me, for to stop the insolency of our Adversaries, who in this point insult over vs out of all temper, and speak of vs as of so many doltish mushrums, newly sprung out of the earth, and as of a company of base fellows who by force and tumult had got the Pulpit. But, howsoever,
I think,

I think, I have kept such a temper, that, in defending our own, I have not struck at your government; nor by immoderate affection to a part have inclined, more then was meet, to either side. Nor did I ever mention the *Bishops of England* without due honor.

These things I thought fit to write to you, Great Sir, by whom I chiefly desire my papers may be approved. I had sent my *Book* to you before now, but that I was told by divers you vnderstood not French. Now I send it, because, since you enjoy a more frequent and nearer presence of His Majestie, I doubt not but He may have some speech with you about it, and use you as an umpire in the cause. And I shal most willingly stand to your judgment; well knowing that the most learned are ever the most candid; and hoping that you wil not lauce too deep whatever may be salved with a fair interpretation. So think of me, as of a man with whom the Authority of Antiquity shalbe ever in great esteem; and who shall think my self sufficiently arm'd against al opposite judgments, if you shal not vtterly disapprove what I have writ. God preserve you, Great Prelate. Farewell,

Paris. Nones of Sept.

1618.

Your Honors most devoted,

Peter Moulin.

The



The Bishops Answer.

Had wrote these in the begining of *March*, and was about to send them presently; when, lo, the indisposition of the *King*, in point of health, made me lay them by, and hindred my sending of them. This sickness, contracted first by grief, for the death of *his* most dear *Consort*, our most *Gracious Queen*, and the neglect of all care of *his* body upon that greif, ended at last in a diseas; a diseas, indeed, so intricat and doubtfull, that the Physicians themselves were at a stand what the event would be. Wherby I forgat that I wrote, and so omitted to send to *you*. For all I had to do was to fall to my prayers, with many moe, who were sore perplexed, as then in jeopardy, for a most *Gracious King*. But *God* lookd upon us, and restord *Him* to us, & in *Him* us to our selves. And now, being returnd to my self, I return to *you*, what I confess, I have bin too long indebted to *you* in; so that, as a bad debtor, I was fain to be calld vpon, by *Monsieur Beaulieu*, in *your name*. *You* will accept of this my too just excuse, kindly, as *you* are wont; and promise *your self*, from me, what good offices one friend can do another.

Now concerning *your Book*. *You* write that some passages therin greivd the *Kings Soul*. And no wonder. For *his soul* is tender, and very sensible of any thing in that kind that bites or stings. For, out of *His Piety to God*, *He* makes it not the least of *His* cares to tender the *Peace and Order of His Church here*. And therfore, in

His great wisdom, He presently discernd, whether these Three points tended.

- I I. The name of Bishop is not distinct from that of Presbyter.
- II II. The Order is not distinct, that is, not the Thing it self.
- III III. And so the whole [mater] is not anything of Divine Right.

What could they, who lately made all the stirrs among us, mutter more, possibly? Then, that 1. the *Name is taken confusedly*. that 2. *the Thing is not distinct*. 3. Finally, that *it is a Human invention*: being setled by man may be unsettled, and so stands or falls at the pleasure of the Commonwealth. These *Dictats* are too well known to the King: He hath been long usd to them: They have long since on all hands been rounded in His ears. He knows that there are still among us such, as will from *your* writings presently take a new occasion, perhaps, not to pluck up this *Order* of ours, that for so many ages hath taken root but, surely, to defame and calumniat it.

And this so much the rather, because, at one and the same time, not by agreement, I beleeve, but yet as though vpon a compact, lo, one Bucer, a fellow not hurt, nor medled with by any, in a very unseasonable time, set forth a Book in *Latin*, as it were, of the same argument. What King, that studies the *Peace*, not only of *His* own *Church*, but, which *He* desireth, and would purchase at a dear rate, even of the whole *Christian world*, would not these things trouble? Wherfore, if the King set a dash of dislike upon those passages, take it not ill: I dare say, *He* had rather set *many asterisks* of commendation, then *one dash* of dislike, specially upon what is *your*.

This, surely, is the Kings mind; and is (as it ought to be) the mind and sense of *us all*. Wherin I appeal to

your

your own equity. You were for manteining of *Your Churches Government*, and the repressing of your adversaries insolency : should you not do it, you should incurr the censure of *your Synod*, and be forced either to recant, or fear to be degraded. In this We pardon you, and demand the like pardon from *you*; that it may be lawfull for us also to defend *our Government*, as becometh upright honest men. For we likewise have foward adversaries ; and there are consciences, too, among *us*, which we may not suffer to be shaken or undermind, asthough they liv'd under another form of *Church Government*, then was from the begining, even from the very times of the *Apostles*. And we are ready , if need be , and occasion shall serve, to make this good to the whole *Church*.

How I wish therfore , that *you* had not so much as touchd upon *our Church Government*. For who put *you* upon it ? *You* might have turnd *your* weapons against those enemys (*you* speak of) and never have jerkt at *vs*. Theres no such complication of *ours* with *yours*, but that *you* might easily have pass'd by *ours* with silence, And

A faithfull silence hath its sure reward.

Or, if *you* were so set upon it , that you must needs be intermedling with *Ours*, how I wish *you* had first imparted your mind to the King : and, whilst the coast was clear , had seasonably taken *His advice* in that *you* had to say of *His affairs* : (for *Ours He* accounts *His*.) You your self know (and , indeed , who knows not since *He* hath wrote so much, so admirably ?) that , as *He* is mostable in respect of *his* other endowments of *Wit* and *Learning*, so also, in respect of *his acuteness* and *solidity of judgment*, he is equal to the best , or rather goes before them. No man living hath in *our Churches affairs* a clearer insight, a readier dispatch, then *he*. *He himself*, in any point, but specially in what concernas *his own*

Church could have answerd you best : and have set you the bounds, so far to go, but not beyond. Wherfore, if hereafter you shall go about any thing in the like kind, pray remember this my advice , which proceeds from a very good will to you ; I knowing that the King is well affected to you ; that he hath deserved well of you , (nor will you deny it,) and, I hope , will for the future deserve better.

I

Concerning those Three points, if you demand (as you do) what I think, I shall give you here this ingenuous answer ; That the Names of Bishop and Presbyter are taken promiscuously in Holy Scriptures : that at first, there was not so great force in the Words , I shal easily grant you. Nor did his Majestie regard so much, what you said, as to what purpose ; as what others would catch from thence; who, both in other parts, & here among us, too, are not rightly affected to this our order : that these things were spoke to this purpose , as if the Names being promiscuous , the Things themselves were so also. For to what end is it , of what concernment, to speak of Words taken confusedly, when the Things are distinct. No man, lightly, carps at the Name , but he that wisheth not very well to the Thing also.

1. And yet nothing here hath befallen Bishops, which hath not befallen those other Orders also. For, in those very places, in those very Authors whom you name, it is said in like manner also of Deacons.

a S Chrysost in ad P. ilip c. 1. Even a Bishop is called a Deacon : wherupon S. Paul, writing to Timothy, said to him, though a Bishop, Fullfill thy Deaconry. From thence you may gather, that the Names of Bishop and Deacon are taken for the same. Nay, the very Apostles themselves call themselves sometimes Presbyters , sometimes Deacons, and so their whole Office a Deaconry ; and yet is not Deacon or Presbyter the same that Apostle. Why therfore did

did you not add that too, that it might appear that the other suffered as much as Bishops: and that, in the begining, not only the names of Bishops, but of other Orders also were taken, in like maner, promiscuously; wheras the Things, the Offices themselves were distinct.

2. Wheras, then, in those very places, where the Fathers speak so, [*That then they communicated in Names*] they presently apply a remedy, and give this item, that the Things themselves are otherwise. And instantly add [*Afterward the proper name was given to each; of Bishop to a Bishop, of Presbyter to a Presbyter.*] By the rule of speech then, who would urg; the common name, when the proper had taken place? For no body would now call a King, a Tyrant; or a Souldier, [*Latronem*] as of old they were wont, a Robber: neither, sure, would they call a Presbyter, a Bishop; as when S. Hierom wrote, had he called himself Bishop, and S. Augustine Presbyter, you know, he would have been laughed at for his pains.

3. Add further, that in those very places wherin the Fathers speak so, before they speak, they are forced [*arguuntur*] to object by way of exception concerning the use of names, and to premise some what that should put the thing out of question. S. Chrysostom; what meaneth this? were there then more Bishops of one & the same city? by no means. No, not then when S. Paul wrote. Theodore; It could not be, that many Bishops should be Pastors of one City. S. Hierom; There could not be many Bishops in one City. S. Ambrose; God appointed several Bishops over several Citys. So that they do clearly shew, the Offices were then distinct, when they make the inference touching the name. I collect then; how ere it was for the names, at first; Be it they then neglected the Propriety of speech, yet that even then, there was but one Bishop, but one Pa-

for in one City. And this holdeth among *us*, even at this day : but doth it so among *you*? Thus if you had prefac touching the *Thing* it self, and had afterward inferr'd touching the *names*, (though to what end is it to make any stir about the *name*, when we are agreed on the *thing*?) that they were (a little while) taken *one* for *another*; and had not spoken so loosely concerning the promiscuous use of the *names*, his Majestie would not, I beleieve, have set his dash of dislike upon that passage.

— II

The next is touching the *Order*. Where, I pray, consider, whether they be to be called *One* and *the same Order*, whose *Offices* are not *one* and *the same*. But that they are not *the same Offices*, even they who less favour the *Episcopal Order* do confess, in that they ever except *Ordination*. Again, whether they be to be called *One* and *the same Order*, wherin there is not *One* and *the same*, but a *new and distinct Imposition of hands*. For, that in all *Antiquity* there was *Imposition of hands* upon *Bishops*, no man, I think, will deny. And, whether the *Antient Church* were of this opinion, let *Isidore* be the witness, who

b Elym. 7.12. b in plain words calls it the *Order of Bishoprick*.

To the Schole, indeed, if you referr it, they do not agree among themselves. Your *Altisidorensis*, our *Major*, and others are *for the distinction of the Order*. But *they who are most against it*, though *they will not grant it a Sacrament of Orders* (the whole force wherof they bound within the *Eucharist*) yet an *Order* they grant, since an *Order* is nothing else, but a *Power* to a *special Act*, (as, namely, to *Ordain*,) which is competitive to *Bishops* only. For what a thing were this, if that, from whence *Ordination*, and so all other *Orders* proceed, should it self not be an *Order*?

For we pass not for the *Church of Rome*, or the *Pontifical*.

tisical. If they please themselves with the name of *Consecration*, let them enjoy it. Even the *Church of Rome* it self did anciently speak otherwise. For instance; *The Church of Rome*, (faith *Tertullian* c) gives out that *Clement was ordained by S. Peter*. Otherwise also the Fathers, (even they, whom you allege,) even *S. Hieronim*, d who affirms, that *S. James, the brother of our Lord, was presently after the Passion of our Saviour ordained Bishop*.

And of *Timothy*; e *Timothy had the gift of Prophecy, together with his Ordination to Episcopacy*. *S. Ambrose*; f *For unlawfull it was, and might not be, that the Inferior should ordain the superior*; (to wit, a *Presbyter a Bishop*). *S. Chrysostom*; g *For Presbyters could not have ordained the Bishop*. For the Latin word, *Ordination*, is agreeable to the Greek, *κατεύθυνσις*, and is often rendred by it: nor is any word more frequent, where mention is of making *Bishops*, then that of *κατεύθυνσις*. *Theodoret*; h *Titus was ordained by S. Paul Bishop of Creet*.

But, you say, an *Order* is one thing, a *Degree* another. Yet you know that, in *Holy Scriptures*, these words are taken one for another, no less then those of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*: where the *Deaconry* is called, *βαθμός*, a *Degree*; i which, notwithstanding, you will not, I know, deny i 1. Tim. 3. 13. to be an *Order*. You know also that it is so among the Fathers; among whom you may often read that a *Deacon*, or *Presbyter* may, *βαθμός ἀποτελεῖν*, fall from his *Degree*, and be degraded, no less then a *Bishop*. Indeed, every *Order* is a *Degree*; but not every *Degree* an *Order*. But both are in *Episcopacy*; though in one respect an *Order*, in another a *Degree*. A *Degree*, as it hath a superiority even without any power; an *Order*, as it hath a power to a special act. For, were it a *Degree* only, it had been enough to have used the word [*Πρεσβύτερος*]. the *superlative*, which denotes a *Degree superior to that of [Προφήτης] Presbyter*, the

b Occum in
Pref. Ep.
ad Tit.

c D: Prescrip
32.

d De Script. 2.

e In 1. ad
Tim. 4.

f In 1. ad
Tim. 3.

g In Philip 1.

i 1. Tim. 3. 13.

the Comparative, neither would there have been need to fetch in a new word [*Erinnerung*] a Bishop, meerly to design a Degree. For as touching Archbishops tis quite another reason: They are not indued with a power to any special act: For even they, if they were not Bishops before, receive their Ordination from Bishops: And, as they are Archbishops, they are not necessary to the Ordination of Bishops: for, by the Fourth Canon of the Council of Nice, Three Bishops together have power to ordain a Bishop.

But we very well know, that the Apostles, and the Seventy two Disciples were Two Orders, and those distinct. And this, likewise, we know, that every where among the Fathers, Bishops and Presbyters are taken to be after their example: That Bishops succeeded the Apostles; and Presbyters the Seventy two. That these Two Orders were by our Lord appointed in those two. Cyprian; k Deacons must remember that our Lord chose the Apostles, that is, Bishops and Prelates: But the Apostles, after the Ascension of our Lord appointed Deacons for themselves, as Ministers of their Episcopacy, and of the Church. Nay, S. Hierom; l with us Bishops hold the place of the Apostles. All [Bishops] are successors of the Apostles. And that is a famous place in him; in him, and S. Augustine, too, upon the 44. Psalm. In stead of thy Fathers thou shalt have children: i.e. in stead of Apostles, Bishops. S. Ambros., in 1. Corinth. 12. 28. God hath set in the Church [Caput Apostolorum] first Apostles. Now the Apostles are Bishops: the Apostle S. Peter giving us assurance of it; And his Bishoprick let another take. And a little after. Are all Apostles? He saith right: for in one Church but one Bishop. And in Ephes. 4. The Apostles are the Bishops.

*k Epist. 65:
ad Rogat.*

*l Epist. ad Mar.
et. de Err.
Mont.
Epist. ad.
Euseb.*

— III From hence we have a fair passage to the last point: Whether this Order be by Divine Right. Very glad I was to hear it from you, That the Authority of Antiquity should

should be ever in great esteem with you. I love you for that word : Nor will it be the least of your praises , if your deeds make your words good. For my part it hath been my opinion ever, I was ever of that mind.

But, or I am deceiv'd in the whole story of *Antiquity*, or the *Apostolical men*, i. e. the *Disciples* of the *Apostles*, or (as *Eusebius* calls them) επιστολαι, they that conversed with them, both they who are not mentioned in *Holy Scripture* (as *Polycarpus* and *Ignatius*,) and they who are expressly mentioned (as *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Clemens*,) were *Bishops*, while the *Apostles* were alive ; and were constituted and ordained by the *Apostles* themselves.

(a) *Polycarp* by S. *John*. (b) *Clemens* by S. *Peter*.
(c) *Titus* and (d) *Timothy* by S. *Paul*.

I give you these witnesses. Concerning *Polycarp*: (e) *Irenaeus*; (f) *Tertullian*; (g) *Eusebius*; (h) *Hierom*. Concerning *Ignatius*: (i) *Eusebius* and (k) *Hierom*. Concerning *Timothy*: (l) *Eusebius*, (m) *Hierom*, (n) *Ambrose*, (o) *Chrysostom*, (p) *Epiphanius*. Concerning *Titus*: (q) *Eusebius*, (r) *Ambrose*, (s) *Theodoret*. Concerning *Clement*: (t) *Tertullian*, (u) *Eusebius*, (x) *Hierom*. Not to speak of (y) *Linus*, (z) *Dionysius*, (a) *Onesimus*, (b) *Eupaphroditus*, (c) *Caius*, (d) *Archippus*; concerning whom we have the like testimonies of the Fathers. And not of these alone: even S. *Mark* the *Evangelist*, and that while the *Apostles* lived, who saw it; for S. *Mark* dyed in the (e) Eighth year of *Nero*, full Five years before S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* were crown'd with martyrdom. And not He alone, S. *James* also the *Apostle*. Witness for S. *Mark*, (f) *Hierom*: for S. *James*, (g) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegeſippus*)

- (a) *S. Hierom. de Scrip.*
- 17. (b) *Tertul. de Praef.*
- 32. (c) *Occum in Praefat.*
- Titi. (d) *S. Hier. de Scrip.*
- (e) 3.3 (f) *de Praef* 32.
- (g) 3.35. (b) *descrip* 17.
- (i) 3.3. (k) *descrip* 16.
- (l) 3.4 (m) *descrip* 9.
- (n) *Praefat in 1. Tim*
- (o) *Phil. 1. (p) Hier. 75.*
- (q) 3.4 (r) *Praef in Tit.*
- (s) *apud Occum Praef in Tit.*
- (t) *descrip* 32. (u) 3.14.
- (x) *de scrip* 15.
- (y) *Euseb. 3. 4 ex Dionys. Corinb. & 4. 23.*
- & *Hier. de scrip.* 19.
- (a) *Euseb. 3. 35. ex Ignatio* (b) *Theodoret in Philip. 1. 2. & 1 Tim 3.*
- (c) *Origen in 16 ad Roman.* (d) *Calv. Institut.*
- (e) *Euseb. 2. 24.*

(f) *descrip & Praef in S. Math & S. Mar.*
(g) 2. 1.

(b) de script c. 2. (i) in (h) Hierom. (i) Chrysostom. (k) Ambrose
 Et. 15 (k) in Gal 1 2. (l) Epiphanius. (m) Augustine.
 1) Ha. ej 66. (m) con-
 Za Crescentium 2.37

Could any then take it ill, that you said, That Episcopacy was received, in the Church, from the very next times to the Apostles? you said too little: you might have said more, and, if you had, Antiquity would have born you out; that it was received from the Apostles themselves: and that they, the Apostles themselves, were constituted in the Episcopal Order. There was nothing in that passage of yours that any could be offended with, unless, happily, that in stead of [was called the Bishop] you should have said, was the Bishop. For we do not contend, about the Name; all the controversy is about the Thing.

This was done, or we must give one general dash through all the Ecclesiastical Historians. And when was it done? After the Ascension of our Lord: saith Eusebius.

(n) l. 2 c. 1. (n) Presently upon the Passion of our Lord; so S. Hierom.
 l. 3. c. 1. (o) Done, by whom? They were placed in the Office of
 (o) de script. 2. (p) de Pref. 32. Episcopacy by the Apostles; (p) Tertullian. By the Apostles;
 (q) l. 3. c. 35 so Epiphanius. By the Ministers of our Lord; so (q) Eusebius.
 (r) de script. Ordained by the Apostles; so (r) S. Hierom. Con-
 stituted by the Apostles; (s) so S. Ambrose. Will any man then deny, that S. James, S. Mark, Titus, Clemens,
 ad Gal. 2. were Bishops by Apostolical Right? Was any thing done by the Apostles, which was not by Apostolical Right? By Apostolical, i. e. as I interpret it, by Divine. For nothing was done by the Apostles, that the Holy Ghost, the Divine Spirit did not dictate to them. Sure (if by the Apostles) by the same Right, which those Seven were by, Acts 6. whom, I am sure, you your self will grant to be by Divine Right: Deacons the Holy Scripture doth nowhere call them; that is only a word of the Church. I hope what the Apostles did, they did by Divine Right: and that

that it cannot be denied, but their Deeds (of which we are certain) not only their Words, or Writings, are of Divine Right. And not only those things of which S. Paul wrote to the *Corinthians*, (t) but those other also⁽¹⁾ *1.corin.14* which He set in order at His being at Corinth, (if they were known to us what they were,) were by the same right to wit, by Divine, all of them; both these and they from the *Holy Spirit*, all. And yet, though they be by Divine Right, we do not say these things belong to *Faith*. They belong to the *Agenda* or *Practice* of the *Church*; to the *Credenda*, or points of *Faith*, 'tis but improper to refer them.

Tis very strange therfore which you say, *That your Countrymen openly complain of you*, both that you undertook the cause of *Bishops*; bylike, your Country-men are enemies to *Bishops*; would not have their cause pleaded, but are desirous it should be lost: as also, *that you condemned Aerius*, who was antiently condemned in *Asia* by *Epi-phanius*; in *Europe* by *Philastrius*; in *Africa*, by *S. Augustine*; whose name, all the world over, is in the *Black-Book of Hereticks*; nor undeservedly, seeing *He durst oppose himself* (as you your self confess) to the *Consent* and *Practice* of the *Catholik Church*. You should rather complain of them, who for this complain of you.

As for that where *you would not have your papers to be ript up to the quick*, I know no body here that doth it. Should any, he would have somewhat to stick upon in the very *Title*; take which word you will, *that of Pastor*, or *that of Calling*. They are both *novelties*; the word *Pastor*, (I'm sure, in this sense,) and *Calling*, too; and not of any *Age*, but this *last*, nor of *all that*. For, I pray, who of the *Antients* ever spake so? among whom you shall scarce find the word *Pastor* used, but when they speak of *Bishops*; which form of speech S. Peter taught them,^{1.5.Pet.2.25.}

when he joined *Pastor* and *Bishop* in our Saviour.

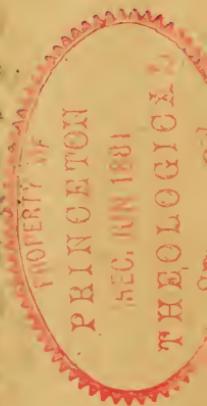
Nor shall you ever read, that they , by that word, pointed out such as, either in *City* or *Country* , had the care of some few persons distinguished by *Parishes* : For that the *Presbyters* (*Vrbin*, or *Rural*) were by the *Bishop* designed to that imployment. Who, indeed, at the begining, were of the *Bishops family*, and did live, as you very well know, of the *Sportula* [i. e. of the *Oblations* of the *Church*.] before the *distinction* of *Parishes* came up.

And the word *Calling* (in the sense you take it) is altogether as unknown. In stead whereof they used the words *Ordination* or *Constitution*.

And the very name of *Minister* is of the same stamp : which they would never have understood to be spoken of any but a *Deacon* : as it is derived, indeed , from ; no other fountain but, the Greek, Διάνοια. But we must pardon you : you must speak the language of your *Church*, which hath *no Bishops* ; another kind of *Presbyters*, [*Elders* they call them,] another kind of *Deacons* ; and, I add, another kind of *Calling* , then ever the *Antient Church* acknowledged. I, for my part, in my best wishes for your *Church*, and so for all the *Reformed* do wish this, (that you may keep constant in the other points of *Faith*, but for *Government* and *Order* that God would vouchsafe to you no other but that which He hath vouchsafed us, i. e. by *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Such as those we read of in the *Histories* of the *Church*, and in the *Councils*, and the *Antient Fathers* : unto whom (or self-conceit shrewdly deceives me, or) most like are *Our* : most like, I say, in their *Order*, not in their *Worth* ; but would to *God* in their *Worth* also. And that no *Policy* , no form of *Government* in any *Church* whatsoever cometh nearer the sense of scripture, or the manner and usage of the *Antient Church*, then this which flourisheth among us.

These

These I intrust to you, that, if you please, they may be with you. But know withall, that I have ever been, both by *Nature* and *Choice*, addicted to *Peace*. And my Age now requires it of me, who ere long must be packing: but cheifly living under a King, whose Word is that of our *Saviour*; *Blessed are the Peacemakers*. And, I assure you, I shall never incline to any immoderate or harsh counsels: but shall qualifie, as much as I may, your writings, with a fair interpretation. For neither can we bragg of our happiness, more then antiently *S. Augustine* did, whose saying it was; *what we teach is one thing; what we are fain to tolerate, another.*





To the most Reverend Father,
the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

Most Reverend Prelate, I sent unto you my Book concerning the *Calling of Pastors*: and with it some Letters, wherin I endeavour'd to satisfie you touching some points, wherin I seem'd to your most Gracious King too ill affected to the Order of *Episcopacy*. Which Letters if you have received, I doubt not but you will judge of me, as of a man who both thinketh and speaketh honorably of your Order. I am not so proudly arrogant as to oppose my self to all *Antiquity*; and to reject that as a thing faulty and wicked, which hath been received in the Church from the very next Age to the Apostles. I was ever of this mind, that concord might be kept whole and intire between Churches, living howere under a different form of Ecclesiastical Government: so that Christ be preached, as he is set forth in the *Gospel*, & the Christian Faith remain safe and sound. But, among the rest of your Order, I ever highlyest esteemed you, for many

many causes, which I had rather acquaint *others*, then *yourself* withall. As a witness of which my affection I send you this *new Book*, which the command of the *Church*, whom I serve, and the impudent insulting of a *Court-Iesuite* forced from me. I desire that you would be a means to pacifie the *Kings* anger against me : That *He* would consider with *Himself*, and weigh it in an equal ballance, that there can be no place, in the *French Church*, for a *Pastor* that should teach the *Pri-macy of Bishops* to be of *Divine Right*; without which there could be *no salvation*; without which the *Church* could *not stand*. To affirm this, were, nothing els but, to damn all *our Churches* to the pit of Hell, & to pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon my own Flock. Which should I do, *you your self* would account me a sensless ungracious fellow, and worthy to be spit upon by all. But enough of this : For an overlabored Defence, specially to an understanding man, and in a clear and manifest point, is altogether needless. *God* preserve *you*, and prosper *your* endeavours, that they may redound to the edification of the *Church*. Farewell.

Paris. XVI. Calends
of Decemb. 1618.

Your Honors most devoted
Peter Moulin.

The



The Bishops Answer to the Second Epistle.

He Post was not yet gone, he staied here a day or two, but he had these letters, here inclosed, sealed up as they are; when, lo, I received your Second, by the hands of S. William Beecher, Agent for the King, lately come from you. I presently recalled my former, yet opened them not, but, as they were, inclosed them in these. For I would not so trespass as to commit the same fault again; but rather make amends for my former tardiness with the quicknesſ of this Answer. You shall therfore with my First receive these Second; together with my thanks for both: but [severing the ſeal] the First Second, as it were; to wit, in these Second Letters my First thanks now, and in the First my Second, (as it falls out.) Thanks, I ſay, both for that your Book, formerly ſent; and this Later, ſhortly, as I hope, to be ſent. For S. William Beecher will deny either that it was bound (when he came thence) or els brought to him; and in that conſideration he came the later to me: but he bad me look for it; for that I ſhould not look in vain.

As for pacifying the Kings anger against you, beleieve me, you need not much trouble your ſelf. There is nothing in Him, which needs pacifying: there are ways wherby you may more and more gain him, and make him yours: and it would be worth your labour, if you do it. And do it you may, if you take that course; which you

you cannot learn better of any man living, then of himself. As for me, I gladly acknowledg that you are more moderate toward us, then most of your men commonly are: and, the more you convers with *Antiquity*, will be daily more and more: nay, I add, and much more would be, if your Church would give you leave; and I would to God, it would. It should seem that shee hath transfer'd the faults of Persons upon *Things*; and, for some abuse, hath taken away the lawful use: a fault which you should by little and little unlearn Her. You, while you follow and sway with it, follow not the bent of your own mind and judgment; for I iudg of your affection by your pen; which was so well inclin'd toward us, that it had wrote (and, I think, not against your mind) that *Our Order of Bishps was a thing received in the Church even from the time of the Apostles*. And indeed your pen had wrote very right: Mary, you blotted out [of the Apostles] and, in leiu of it, put in [next to the Apostles.] But this, I beleieve, you did in favour of your Church. And, indeed, that was very true, which you put in. [next to the Apostles.] but that not a whit less true, which you blotted out. For that Order was not only from the Age next to the Apostles; but even from the very Age of the Apostles; or els all Antiquity deceives us, and ther's not a Church-History left worth credit. That all Antiquity is for us, you your self deny not; and whether we must yeeld more to any present Church, then to all Antiquity, judg you. If I know you well, the more free and ingenuous I am in writing thus to you, you will loye me the better: and so shall I you, if you deal as freely with me in it.

Hear me then, I pray. This is not enough for us, if a man do not reject *Our Church Government*, as a thing faulty or sinfull: for this is it we stand upon, that it

may be clear, and confessed by all, that the *Government of our Church* is such, as cometh most neer to the *form and manner* of the *Antient Church*, or (as you grant) that, next to the *Apostles*; or (as you had once wrote, and we contend for't,) of the *Apostolick Church*. And, that you are of the same judgment with us, I doubt not. If then, by your *Churches* leave, you would once speak out, you should do us a curtesie; if you may not, no discurtesie, if for the future you would let *Our* affairs alone. For, that way you are in, it will scarce be possible for you, both to please *your own*, and not to displease us. And yet, though *Our Government* be by *Divine Right*, it follows not, either that there is *no salvation*, or that a *Church cannot stand, without it*: He must needs be *stone-blind*, that sees not *Churches standing without it*: He must needs be *made of iron*, and *hard hearted*; that *denys them salvation*. We are not made of that metal, we are none of those Ironsides; We put a wide difference betwixt them. Somewhat may be wanting, that is of *Divine Right*, (at least in the *external Government*) and yet *Salvation* may be had. So that you shall not need to damn them to the pit of Hell, or pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon your flock. This is not to damn any thing, to preferr a better thing before it: This is not to damn *your Church*, to recall it to another form, that all *Antiquity* was better pleased with, i. e. to *Our*: but this, when God shall grant the opportunity, and your estate may bear it. If we do but agree upon this point, in all the rest we shall not fall out. But yet we wish not a concord, that is but pieced and patched up, but an intire, absolute agreement, without any piecing and patching: which, we doubt not but, you likewise wish with us.

If any thing remain, I remit you to my former :
 (for we are here, now, full of busness.) These I re-
 commend to your favorable acceptance : and so I
 commend you in mine, and desire you to recommend
 me in your prayers to God. Farewell.

John Andrew's Epistles

To A brother, London. Decemb.
12, 1615.





To the most Reverend and most
worthy Prelate, the Lord Bishop
of Winchester.

Great Sir. I received your Letters, full both of choice stuff, and of the testimony of your good affection to me. For although you seem to be a little more moved then ordinary, yet that great sweetnes, which you temper your reproofs with, puts me in hope that your goodwill is not lessned toward me, and that you will readily accept of this my satisfaction. It is to my great profit and honor to be taught by you; nor am I so sensless as to contend with a man of so great learning and worth. Neither indeed did I write to that end, that you should write to me again: for it is abundantly sufficient for me, if you take my Letters in good part. Nor are my writings of any such value, that they should beget you any trouble, or take you off from your

your more weighty affairs. If therfore any thing was written by me amiss, I am much indebted to that my error, which hath drawn from you so learned and accurate Letters, that no gold can value, and weigh against them; which I shal keep by me, while I live, as a most pretious ~~reputation~~ and threasurie. Nevertheless, because you seem to me not to have reached my meaning in some pas- sages of my former Letters, you will pardon me, if I endeavour in these to explain my mind a little more fully.

I said that the *Names* of *Presbyter* and *Bish-
op* are taken in the *New Testament* for one
and the same.

That the *Order* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* is
the same.

That the *difference* between *Bishop* and
Presbyter is but of *Ecclesiastical*, not of *Divine
Right*.

These things you wish had not been said
by me. And you bring many Arguments to
the contrary, indeed, learnedly and accu-
rately, but wherof a good part toucheth not
me. Breifly of each.

You deny not but the *Names* of *Presbyter*
and *Bishop* are *promiscuously* taken in the *New
Testament*.

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Testament. But, you say, to what purpose
 this? Forsooth, you think that I tacitly in-
 sinuate therby, that the *Things* likewise are
promiscuous. For no man, likely, carps at the
Name, but he that is ill affected to the *Thing*.
 And you add, that the *Fathers*, in those very
 places, wherin they teach that the *Names* iare
 taken in the same sense, do presently apply a
 remedy, and add, that this afterward was o-
 therwise, and that the *Names*, as well as the
Offices, were and are *distinct*.

Here it is easie for me to prove to you that
 I had no purpose to abuse the passivity of
 the *Names*, therby to confound the *Fun-
 ctions*. For there I presently apply the same
 remedy, which, you truly say, was applyed by
 the *Fathers*. For I subjoin: Presently after
 the times of the Apostles, or even in their times,
 as the Ecclesiastical History beareth witness, it
 was decreed, that in one City, One of the other
 Presbyters should be call'd the Bishop, who for
 avoyding of confusion, which groweth oftentimes by
 equality, shalld have Preeminence among his
 Collegues. And this form of Government was
 every where received by all Churches. These
 very words were added by me therby, which
 do abundantly wipe off that suspition
 Could

Could I possibly wish ill to your Order, wher-
of I never spake without honor ? as very
well knowing that the *Reformation* of the
Church of England, and the *ejection* of *Papery*,
next to *God* and your *Princes*, is chiefly to be
ascribed to the learning and industry of your
Bishops: some of whom, being crowned with
Martyrdom, sealed the *Gospel* with their
blood. Whose *writings* we keep by us, whose
acts and *zeal* we remember, as no way infe-
rior to the *zeal* of the most eminent Ser-
vants of *God*, whom either *France* or *Germany*
brought forth. Whosoever shall deny this,
must needs be either senslessly wicked, or (as
envying *Gods* glory, or foolishly besotted)
not see at high noon. I desire therfore this
suspition may be wip'd off from me: special-
ly, when I take notice that even *Calvin* and
Beza, whom they usually pretend to, as a-
bettors of their peevishnes, wrote many
Letters to the *Prelates* of *England*, and in-
treated them as the faithfull servants of *God*;
as men that deserved well of the *Church*. Nor
am I such a boldface, as to pass sentence up-
on those *Lights* of the *Antient Church*, *Ignatius*,
Polycarp, *Cyprian*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostom*,
Basil, the Two *Gregories* *Nissen* and *Nazian-*
zen,

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zen; all of them *Bishops*; as upon men wrong-
fully made; or usurpers of an unlawfull of-
fice. *The reverend Antiquity of those First Ages*
shall ever be in greater esteem with me, than the
novel device of any whosoever.

— II I come to the Second part of your censure. I said that there is but *One Order of Bishop* and *Presbyter*. You contrary-wise are of op-
nion that the *Order of Bishops* is another and
diverse from that of *Presbyters*: and to that
purpose bring many testimonies from the
Fathers; who speak of the *Ordination of Bish-
ops*; neither do I oppose; for the *Antients*
speak so, indeed. And although the *Roman*
Pontifical absteins from that word, yet the *An-
tient Bishops* of *Rome* did use it. *Leo* the *1* in
his 87. *Epistle*, which is to the *Bishops* of the
Province of *Vienna*, commandeth, that a *Bi-
shop*, who is not rightly *ordained*, be disipla-
ced: and, in the same *Epistle*, he often useth
the same word. Now between an *Order* and
a *Degree* you make this difference; that a
Degree denotes only a *Superiority*; but an
Order is a *power* to a *special Act*: That there-
fore every *Order* is a *Degree*; but not every
Degree an *Order*. Very well. For though
many do not observe this difference of
words,

words, yet it is best to use proper terms; that things which differ in substance, be distinguished in names, too. But these do not prejudice me at all. For you should have considered with your self, whom I have to deal with. I dispute against the *Pontificians*, who make *Seven Orders*; *Door-keepers*, *Readers*, *Exorcists*, *Acolyths*, *Subdeacons*, *Deacons*, *Presbyters*: but the Order or character of *Bishops* they will by no means have to be diverse from that of *Presbyters*. Could I, disputing with them, use other words, then such as are receiv'd by them? Could I deal with them about the *Order of Bishops*, which they acknowledg not? Should I have inveigh'd against them for not making the *Order of Bishops* distinct from that of *Presbyters*, when our own Church's make it not? He that should do this, should not so much contest with the *Church of Rome*, as with our own. Then to what purpose is it to insist so much upon the distinction of *Words*? since every *Order* is, by S. Paul, call'd a *Degree*. Nor can a *Bishop* be depriv'd of his *Orders*, but he must be degraded, and fall from his *Degree*. I pray, weigh my words well: Every *Bishop* is a *Presbyter*, and a *Priest of the Body of Christ*; and of these

1 Tim. 3:13.

*Liber de Muneris
Paporum pag.
144.*

the Church of Rome makes but one Order. It plainly appears that I do not in these words affirm, what ought to be beleaved, but what is the sense of the Church of Rome.

But here somewhat falls in, which may begat a doubt. It is confess'd by all, that every Bishop is a Presbyter: but a Presbyter is not a Deacon. Hence it comes to pass, that there is another manner of difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, then betwixt a Presbyter and a Deacon. Since therefore a Presbyter differs in Order from a Deacon, it seems to follow that a Bishop differs not in Order from a Presbyter.

Nor is it without some doubt, that you say, that Order is a power to a special Act. For a power to a special Act is given to many without Order; as to them who are extraordinarily delegated to the performance of some special actions. Then you deny that Archbishops are another Order from Bishops: And yet an Archbishop hath a power to some special actions; as namely, to call a Synod, and to do other offices, which are not lawfull for Bishops; and which are not permitted to Archbishops themselves under the Papacy; but when they have received the Archiepiscopal Pall.

Pall from the Pope. You, out of your great wisdom, will consider, whether it be apparent by these, that the power to a special *Axiom* may be conferr'd, even by a *Degree*, without a *Diversity of Order*.

The Third point is still behind: to wit, that I said, that *Episcopacy* is by the most *Antient Ecclesiastical*, but yet not by *Divine Right*. You on the other side resolve and maintain that it is by *Divine Right*: and to that purpose produce many examples of *Bishops*, S. *Mark*; *Timothy*; *Titus*; *Clemens*; *Polycarp*; S. *James*, *Bishop of Hierusalem*; all who received the *Order of Episcopacy* from the *Apostles themselves*. And you quote a great number of *Fathers*, who affirm as much. (Learnedly all, and according to the truth of the *Primitive Historys*.) But what then? Why, say you, if *Bishops* were constituted by the *Apostles*, plain it is that the *Order of Episcopacy* is by *Apostolical*, and so consequently by *Divine Right*. This indeed is to make your self master of the whole strength of the cause. But that *Axiom* of yours [*All things that are of Apostolical Right are likewise of Divine*] seemes to me (by your good leave) to be liable to some exceptions. Many things were

III -

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ordered about Ecclesiastical Policy, which even
the Church of England acknowledgeth not to
be of Divine Right, by not observing the
same. S. Paul in 1. Timoth. v. would have Dea-
conesses appointed in the Church: But this
fashion was long ago out of date. The same
S. Paul 1. Corinth. xiv. would that, at the
same hour, in the same Assembly, Three or
Four should prophecy, i. e. as S. Ambrose un-
derstands it, *Interpret the Word of God*; and
that the others should judg of what was
spoken: which custome is long since ceased.
The Apostles command, touching absti-
nence from things strangled and blood, was
for many Ages observed by the Antient
Church: witness the Apologetic of Tertullian,
chap. ix. the Council of Gangra, Canon, II.
and the Trullan, Canon LXVII. and there is
frequent mention of the same point in the
Councils of Worms and Orleance. yet S. Au-
gustine, in his xxxii. Book against Faustus,
chap. xiij. saith that Observing hereof was
generally neglected by the Christians; and that
they who were posses'd with that scruple
were laugh'd at by others. You have, not the
Apostles alone, but even, that precept of
Christ himself, Touching shaking off the dust of
the

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 the feet, against the refusers of the Gospel. If any
 should now go about to lay the foundation
 of Christian Religion, among the Tartars or
 Sinenses; were he bound to obserue that Rite
 against the refractory? Such things as apper-
 tain to Salvation and to Faith were ordered
 by the Apostles, by a Divine Inspiration; but
 in the rest they did often use their own pru-
 dence, as S. Paul intimates, 1. Corinth. 7. 25.

Nor are you ignorant, so oft as examples
 are brought of Bishops placed by the Apo-
 stles, in a higher degree above Presbyters, what
 is commonly answered: viz. that they had
 not that preeminence, as Bishops, but as E-
 vangelists: of whose superiority above Pastors
 somewhat you may have in S. Chrysostom, on
 the 1. v. to the Ephesians. Which reply of
 what strength it is, I had rather stand to
 your judgment, than any mans. Indeed
 S. Ambrose, on that same place, makes Evan-
 gelists inferior to Bishops, and without Seas.
 Yet, however you shall call Titus, Timothy,
 and S. Mark, whether Bishops or Evangelists,
 it is clear they had Bishops their successors and
 heirs of their preeminence.

You determine therfore that our Churches
 do offend against the Divine Right; yet so,

as you exclude them not from hope of salvation: but do think, that, in our Church Government, men may attain to Salvation: for this you brought in, in your Second Letter, that you might deal the kindlier with us. But in your larger, you liken us, in this point, to *Aerius*; who, you say, was deservedly, upon this ground, by the *Antients* put in the black Book of Hereticks. Herein, Great Sir, I appeal to your equity. Think with your self, what streits you drive me to. For, if I should have spoke, as you conceive it, I could not but necessarily accuse our Church of Heresie; and so doing, be forced ^{augustinus}, to be pack-ing, to leave my station here, and to provide for my self as I could. Nor could I say that the Primacy of Bishops is by *Divine Right* but I should brand our Churches, (which have spilt so much blood for Christ) with Heresie. For, questionless, to be obstinately set against such things, as are of *Divine Right*, and peremptorily to gainsay what God commands, is downright Heresie, whether it concern Faith or Discipline. Besides that I should have overthrown that Principle, wherwith cheifly our Religion defends her self against Popery, viz. That what things are by *Divine Right* are sufficiently

I hear what you will reply. That it had been safer and better for me, to have been silent in these points, then itch to be writing so unseasonably. Because therby it comes to pass that I must necessarily offend our own Church, or your; nay, haply, both. And to tell you truth, I had rather have been silent: for very unwillingly I sett my mind to write; nor did I write, but upon command. Arnoldus the Jesuite, the Kings Confessor, publikely and in the pulpit, before His Majestie, inveighed against the Confession of our Church, and further in a pestilent book revil'd it, wherin he mightily insults over us; in this question, and odiously seeks to overthrow our Churches Government: This book coming to be sold all over France, through the high ways and streets, at the voice of a Cryer, did greatly scandalize many. Nay, before this, the Pulpits, the Markets, the Court, the Streets, and the very Barbers shops, rang with this question. This is the field wherein wanton witts sport themselves daily. How earnestly my Book was look'd for, which should stop that insolency, it doth thence appear

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 appear, that, in Four months space, it was
 nine times printed. I could not therefore shun
 this task. Nor was it possible to write exact-
 ly of that Argument, but I must begin with
 the signification of the words, *Bishop* and
Presbyter; and treat of the *Original* of the Of-
 fice. But here I took occasion to speak ho-
 norably of the *Bishops* of *England*. I deriv'd
 the dignity of *Bishops*, from the very *infancy*
 of the *Church*. I condemn'd *Aerius*: I said
 that S. James himself was *Bishop* of *Hierusa-
 lem*: from whom in a long course, the suc-
 cession of *Bishops* of that City is deduced.
 Only this one thing was wanting, viz. that I
 did not say, that our *Church* was heretical;
 and did trample the *Divine Right* under her
 feet; which, indeed, I neither could nor
 ought to do; yea, had I done it, you your-
 self would have noted that want of pru-
 dence in me.

This may serve for the Three chief points;
 To which you further add this, ~~and~~ or cor-
 rollary; namely, [your] judgment touching
 the *Title* of my book, [which] I wrotel for
France,] Of the *Calling* of *Pastors*. These
 words, you say, are nowell, and never us'd by
 any of the *Antients* in this sense. Iacknowl-

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 ledg, indeed, that the word *Calling* is unusual
 among the *Antients*, nor taken in that sense.
 But we *Frenchmen* speak otherwise : for as
 many as have wrote of that Argument,
 either *Our*, or *Papists* use this word : which,
 with us, signifies somewhat more then *Ordi-
 nation*; for it is taken for the *Office* it self. If
 I had wrote in *Latin*, I should have given this
 Title, of the *Office and Ordination of Pastors*.

Neither would you have all *Presbyters and
 Ministers of the Word of God*, to be called by the
 name of *Pastors*. For this word, you say, be-
 longs only to *Bishops*, (and that the *Antients*
 spake so.) If this be true, Worthy Sir, the
*Churches in France, Germany, Lowcountrys and
 Helvetia*, are flocks without a *Pastor*. But
 S. Paul, *Acts* the xx commandeth the *Presby-
 ters of Ephesus*, *pascere*, i. e. to be *Pastors* of
 the *Church*. v. 17. & 28. And S. Peter, in his
 1. Epist. 5. ch. 1. 2. v. The *Presbyters*, who
 are among you, I exhort, — *Pascite*, feed the
 flock of God, which is among you, taking the over-
 sight therof, not by constraint but willingly; not for
 filthy lucre: which exhortation to diligence,
 and shunning filthy lucre, no doubt, belongs
 also to the *inferior Presbyters*. Now to think
 that they ought not be called *Pastors*, whom

40 D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy*. III. Epist.
God commands Pascere, to feed the flock,
I cannot persuade my self. But, if the
Word of God be Pabulum, the food of
Souls, I see not why he should not be
call'd a Pastor, who doth administer this
food. S. Paul in the fourth to the Ephesians,
verse, 11. makes an enumeration of Ec-
clesiastical Offices: God gave some Aposiles,
some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pa-
stors and Teachers. If Presbyters who la-
bour in the Word, whom we Frenchmen
call Ministers, be not understand under the
name of Pastors, I see not what place they
can have in this enumeration of the Apostle.
S. Augustine, in his 59. Epistle, saith, that
Pastors and Doctors, here, are the same.
The same thinketh S. Hierom, upon this
place of S. Paul. *Vincentius Lirinensis*, ex-
pounding this place; maketh no mention
of Pastors, but comprehends them vnder
Doctors, whom he calls Treatisers, who
certainly were a different thing from Bi-
shops. But that Bishops only are Doctors, I
never yet read any where. S. Ambrose is so
far from thinking the name of Pastors to
belong only to Bishops, that he even calls
Readers, Pastors. Readers, saith he, are,
and

D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy.* III. Epist.
and may be Pastors, who fatten the souls of
their Auditors with Reading. The term Pa-
stor is usual among the Prophets : Prophet
Isaiah. 56. 11. Prophet *Ieremiah.* 10. 21.
and 22. 22. and 23. 1. 2. Prophet *Eze-
chiel.* 34. 2. and Prophet *Zachariah.* 10. 3.
Which places whosoever shall weigh in the
even ballance of judgment, he shall find,
that under the name of Pastors were rec-
kon'd not only the cheif Priests, or the
heads of the Levites but all the Prophets and
Levites, upon whom the Office of teaching
lay.

But the following matter, and my
earnest desire to satisfie you, hath carried
me beyond my bounds. I have too too
much abus'd your leasure. Yet shall not
this my pains be ill bestowed, if you
shall take notice hereby, how much I e-
steem you, how desirous I am of peace,
how glad I would be that all the Refor-
med Churches, who are united by one Faith,
were also united by one and the same bond
of Ecclesiastical Government. I beseech you,
Sir, accept in good part this my ingenu-
ous liberty, which truly shall never de-
tract from that observance and honor,

D.Moulin's *Of Episcopacy.* III.Epist.
 which, I shall ever profess before the
 world, I owe unto you. God preserve You,
 and grant You a fresh and lively old age,
 with the increase of all honor and hap-
 piness. Farewell.

Dated Paris.

Your Honors most devoted
 in all observance.

Peter Moulin.





The Bishops Answer to the Third Epistle.

Never could learn this trick of sawing, or (which is all one) of tossing replys. No, not, when my years were fitter for it. But now old age, which of it self is a diseas, and yet never cometh without diseases attending it, plucks me by the ear, and bids me get me out of this cockpit, and rank my self with them, whose whole business is *Prayer*. Nevertheless, because in this skirmishing, it hath happen'd to us both alike, *viz*, that we have not reach'd one anothers meaning, I shall, not unwillingly, more fully and plainly expound my mind to you, as you did your to me.

That which I first meet withall is but a slight matter; for I do not understand at all, how I was any whit more mov'd then ordinary. Neither do I remember ought of yours, that mov'd me more then ordinary; nay that mov'd me at all; but only that you said, that some passages of yours had griev'd the *Kings* soul. That word [*greiv'd*] griev'd me somewhat, I confess, and mov'd me more then ordinary: Besides, nothing that I remember.

His Majestie had made three dashes upon your Book. Touching them you would know of me, what my mind was, what I thought. I answered, as was truth, where the King had made them, they ought to be made.

The first place, noted by the King, was that, concerning the passivity of the words, (as you speak.) I said it

I —

was justly noted. Here you did not reach my meaning ; for you take it for all one, as if I had said *that you therby did tacitly insinuate*, I know not what. But that came not into my thoughts. I did not say, *what you did therby insinuate*, but *what others would snatch at from thence*. For, questionless, *snatch at they will*, *as if you did insinuate*, though you did not, as men are, and stand affected. I, for my part, do not deny, that *those words* are taken for *one and the same*; and so far you are right. This I deny, that those things which are right may, all of them, safely, by any man, at any time, be committed to writing. For you must consider, not so much what *you might mean* there, as what *others* would *snatch* from thence. Our writings must be regulated by that of the *Apostle*, *Not what is lawfull, but what is expedient*. See you, whether this controversie be seasonable at this time ; and whether it were advisedly done by you; and whether it be not expedient, *cumbrant et inconveniens*, to cut off occasions from them, who earnestly snatch at all occasions of setting novelties afoot. Perhaps, I fear what is safe enough, but I fear though, lest, an occasion being taken from hence, those stirrs unhappily break out again, which seemed wholy to be made up among us.

Nor was I ever of that opinion, I never wrote it, *that afterward it was otherwise done*. That was not done otherwise afterward, which was done by the *Apostles themselves*. It is S. Chrysostom: *were there many Bishops in one City? by no means*. It is S. Hierom: *For in one City there could not be many Bishops*. It is Theodorets: *It could not be, that there should be many Pastors in one City*. Of what time are these to be understood? When were there not? When could there not be those *many Pastors in one City?* What, when S. Chrysostom, S. Hierom, Theodorets lived? doubtless, when the *Apostle* wrote that to the *Philippians*. I could not

not possibly say then, that that was done afterward, which they said was done, even when the Apostle lived and wrote.

I said, that the remedy was there applyed by the Fathers. You say that the same was applyed by you. Applyed, I grant; but truly, neither the same, nor in the same place.

For, 1. their [προνοετική] their preventive caution was premis'd before they spake. Your [πρεμετίκη] yours is but a playster layd on, after the wound is made.

2. What you say by way of disjunction, viz. either immediatly after the time of the Apostles, or even in their time, that would not they have said so; but, as truth was, without any disjunction, without the former part. That it was done, in the very time of the Apostles, and by themselves.

3. Then, no where do they say, that any constitution was made about it. Nor do I think you will ever read of any such [σανάζειν or] constitution, in any History. We read, indeed, in the Acts, that the Order of Deacons was constituted by them: of Presbyters, of Bishops, there was no constitution: for Bishops were formerly instituted by Christ in the Apostles; and Presbyters in the Seventy Two.

4. Nor only, that any was called Bishop, but that he was a Bishop. For there were no Titular Bishops then: they had their Name from their Office: they were called what they were; they were, what they were called.

5. Nor, that should be only with preeminence, but that should be invested with power: power, I say, of In-position of hands, of commanding, of receiving informations, of reproofing.

6. Nor only, to take away Confusion, which is contrary to Order; but also to take away Schism, which is contrary to Unity. Nor for these two only, but also for all other

ether ends, for which, we said, that power was given.

You see that the Fathers had anothergates remedy for this disease : and that those speeches of yours, *It was constituted; That should be called; should have the preeminen-*
ce; are too narrow ; and I add, by your leave, too weak and dilute ; nor the same with those, which are the ingredients of that medicine, which the Fathers made.

But yet I have a mind here to put the question ; *If Confusion commonly growes from Equality,* how comes it to pass, that there is no need of this remedy among you ?

Again ; if it be true, that this Form of Government ~~was~~ received every where by all Churches ; that, which was every where receiv'd by all, why doth not your Church receive? why doth she only run counter to all the Churches, which then were everywhere ? For that is a most true word, you said, and deserv'd an asterisk of commendation, *That all Churches everywhere receiv'd this Form of Government.* Nor were there ever, before this Age, any Churches, which were governed by any other, then by Bishops.

Wherfore there was no cause at all, that you should go about to wipe off that suspicion, (for I had none of you,) that you were not well affected to our Order. I shall never be induced to beleeve it ; for I cannot but give credit to you, affirming it in your Letters, that your Countrymen complain of you, for favoring and wishing so well vnto it. Indeed, that you wish well, I doubt not at all ; but thereto I am more perswaded by your word, then by your arguments.

For here you slip from the Order to the Persons of Bishops ; of whose Learning, Industrie, Martyrdom, you speak much and excellently. But there were, as you know

know, of old, men that hated the *Tyrant*, but not his *Tyranny*: and why not now, men that love *Bishops*, but not the *Government* by *Bishops*. Pass by the *men* therefore; it matters not for *them*; speak of the *Order* it self. For *Calvin* himself, and *Beza*, if they wrote to our *Prelates*, know, that they wrote likewise to them, whom you call *peevish*: and that their Letters, which these pretend for their *peevishness*, are produced by them; and thus they oft reply, To what purpose do I hear *Calvins words*, when I see his *Deeds*? For the *Order* it self, if it be such as you would have it seem, the *Bishops* of *England* cannot make it better, nor of *Spain* worse. I advis'd you not to transferr the faults of *Persons* upon *Things*; and to unlearn your *Church* that custom.

As for those *Antients*, whom you worthily call the *Lights of the Church*, and who themselves were *Bishops*, though you say much, yet you say not enough. For this is not enough, That you would not give sentence against them; That they were not wrongfully made; That they did not usurp an unlawfull Office: These are but terms of diminution, Not give sentence against; Not wrongfully made; not usurpers of an unlawfull Office; speak out, speak as the truth is, That they were lawfully made; (lawfully, if ever any) and did exercise a most lawfull Office: That our, at this day, are to be made after their example: That the same Office is to be exercised by all Ours: These speak home to the *Order*, are nothing to the *Men*.

But, whatever become of those passages, I cannot but commend your conclusion there; nor shall I stick to set an asterisk of approbation upon it: I would to *God* that might put an end to the whole controversie betwixt us. It is this: The venerable Antiquity of those first Ages shall be ever in greater esteem with me then the new upstart device of any whosoever. O would to *God*, that Antiquity

might be more and more in esteem with you with all: for if Antiquity might prevail, if these new upstart devices were discarded, then, sure, the Cause of this Order could not be in danger.

— II

The Second dash of dislike set by His Majestie, and very justly, was at that place, where you contend that the *Order of Bishop and Presbyter* is one and the same. I have shew'd that it is *not the same*.

Both, 1. Because the *Offices* are *not the same*. For a *Presbyter* doth *not Ordin*; no, not in S. Hieroms judgment.

As also, 2. Because there is *not the same Imposition of hands*, but a *new one* in a *Bishop*.

Again, 3. Because, among the *Fathers*, *Isidore* clearly calls it the *Order of Bish:ps*!

And lastly, 4. Because those *Two Orders* were distinguished by *Christ* in the *Apostles*, and the *Seventy Two*.

Here you produce to us the Title of the *Pontifical*; which is concerning *Consecration*, not *Ordination*. I shew'd that the *Antient Bishops*, even of *Rome* it self, spake otherwise; otherwise the *later Popes*. Among the *Antient*, that the word *Ordination* was most usual, and most approved.

You appeal to the Schole. I acquainted you, in what sense the Schole calls them the *same*, or *not the same*. The *same*, in reference to the *Body of Christ*; upon which they terminat their *Seven Orders*: About the *Body of Christ* a *Presbyter* doth as much as a *Bishop*. You your self say as much: *Of these in respect of the Body of Christ, the Church of Rome makes but one Order. Not the same*; if you respect the power to a *special Act*, viz. of *Ordination*, which is peculiar to a *Bishop*. This is *not mine*, as you imagin'd, but the definition of *Orders*, all the Schole over. Nor yet *that difference*, which afterward you put upon me: both of them are from the *Schole*; both *definition and difference*.

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ence. These things, if you would speak scholaſtically,
were not to be deny'd by you, who appeal'd to the
Schole.

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But to what purpose do you say, *that you deal with or,*
that you dispute against the Pontificians, who will not have the
Order of Bishops distinct from that of Presbyters? And yet
presently you subjoin: *Ought I to inveigh against them,*
(viz. the Pontificians) *because they do not make the Order of Bishops distinct from that of Presbyters, when Our*
Churches do not make it neither? He that should do this,
should not so much contest with the Church of Rome, as with
our own. You dispute therfore against them, but yet you
will not inveigh against them: you dispute against the
Pontificians, and yet you allege their Pontifical. You dis-
pute against them, yet your own Churches do the self
same thing. Nor yet will you affirm, *what ought to be*
beleev'd, but what the Church of Rome thinketh: which
thinketh the very same that your Church doth; and your
Church, I beleeve, you would have to be beleev'd. You
do not therfore contest with the Pontificians; for, I trow
you have no mind to contest with your own. 'Twere a-
gainst your Religion so to do. Nevertheless your
Church, as you confess, doth the same thing in this
point, that the Roman doth.

You say it is best to use proper terms, *that the things*
which differ in substance be distinguished in Name: and
yet in the same page, afterward, as if you were some-
what angry, you ask, *To what end is it, to stick so much up-*
on the distinction of Words? To what end then is it, to
make proper words, which are made proper for no other
end, but for distinction? If this be to no end, it is better,
trust me, neither to use proper words, nor to make any
words at all proper; for we must use the better, both you,
and we.

Notwithstanding this, why do you reject the distinction of words, here? Because, every Order (you say) is a Degree. What then? Since every Degree is not an Order, if we will use proper words. Deaconry, in S. Paul, is a Degree; and the same is an Order with all men. But Arch-deaconship is a new Degree, and yet no Order. Nor can a Bishop be outed of his Order, but he must be degraded (say you) or fall from his Order. Yea, but he may be degraded, though he be not outed of his Order; for of his Order he can no way be outed. For after (that, which they call) Degradation, there remaineth a power to the Acts of his Order: the use of which power may be inhibited; the power it self cannot be taken away.

But here some scruples arise in your mind. The First is: that every Bishop is a Presbyter: very true that, and confess by all. But a Presbyter, you say, is not a Deacon. Among you, haply, he is not, according to your novell device: But with that Reverend Antiquity (which you speak of) he is: Nay, then, a Bishop himself is a Deacon: Read S. Chrysostom, Even a Bishop was call'd a Deacon; wherupon S. Paul, writing to Timothy, said, Fulfill thy Deaconry; to him, being a Bishop. Whense also it is, that many Bishops now adays write, to my Fellow-Presbyter, to my Fellow-Deacon. Read S. Ambrose, on the 4. to the Ephesians. For all Orders are in a Bishop; because he is the first Priest, i. e. the Prince of Priests. And, on the 1. to the Corinth: 12. Though Apostles be Prophets too; for the first Degree hath all other under it. I may truly therefore infer the contrary; Seing a Bishop differs not from a Presbyter, by any other way of difference, then a Presbyter doth from a Deacon; But a Presbyter differs from a Deacon in his Order; therfore it is agreeable, that a Bishop differ from a Presbyter in his Order. This ever seem'd agreeable to the consent of Antiquity. I wonder that these things scap'd you:

you: for I dare not suspect, that what are so obvious to all are unknown to you. But the Deaconry, in use among you, deceived you; a meer stranger it, I speak it boldly, to all Antiquity (with whom Deacons were ever one part of the Clergy.)

The Second scruple. That Order is a power to a *special Act*, I say not of myself; the whole Schole saith so; it is the definition of Order received in the Scholes: speak you, if you have another; for I remember not that I have anywhere read of any other. Your scruple here ariseth from them, who (say you) are extraordinarily delegated to the performance of certain *Acts*. I rejoin: What have they who are delegated without Order, to do with Order? The very word *Order* requireth that this be understood of ordinary power.

The Third Scruple. An *Archbishop* hath a power to a *special Act*. What *Act*? To call a Synod. I eas you of this scruple also. This *Act* is not *special* to an *Archbishop*: for a *Bishop* exerciseth the same *Act*: He doth as much call a *Synod in his Diocese*, as the other doth in his *Province*. Though, if we will speak truly, the calling of *Synods* is a *special Act* to neither of them, but is by *Delegation from the Prince*; by whose Laws there is special provision against unlawful Assemblies. You, in your wisdom, see, that nothing appears here, why either by a *Degree* any *Power* may be conferd, or by an *Order* may not be conferd.

The Third dash of dislike was upon your denying *Episcopacy* to be of *Divine Right*. you grant it to be of *Apostolical*: But that serves not you to make it be of *Divine Right*. No, not among us, who do not observe certain things which were appointed by the Apostles.

For, 1. not *Widows*. I read of no command there for the appointing of *Widows*: but for *Ephesus*, and those

Churches, which had *Widows*, there is a command touching their *Age*. The institution of *widows*, was left free to every *Church*. For none were to mantein *Widows*, unless they would; and, indeed, they could not be manteined among the poorer.

Not, 2. *that Custom for three or four to prophecy at one hour*. But that Custom was, cleerly, extraordinary; and the extraordinary gifts ceasing, that ceased too.

Not, 3. *to abstain from things strangled, & blood*. Yea, but that was temporary; not appointed by the *Apostles*, with any other intention, then, to be in force, during the non-burial of the *Synagoge*; the *Synagoge* once buried, to be free, to observe or not.

So your first instance was, *not necessary*; your second, *not ordinary*; your third, *temporary, not perpetual*. These do not make a *Divine Right*.

But, that the *Precepts* of the *Apostles* may not be of *Divine Right*, you will not have *that of Christ*, touching *shaking off the dust of their feet, to be so*, neither. But, in truth, *this is no Precept*; but, if a *Precept*, of *Divine Right*? For, I hope, you will not say that *Christ* commanded *this, using his Prudence, without Divine inspiration*. No man ever understood that, *νετός περί*, according to the *Letter*; and that upon this ground; because it was *sometime observed, sometime altered, sometime quite omitted*: not according to the *Letter*, I say, but, *νετός των διδασκαλιῶν*, according to the *mind* of the speaker. Whose mind was, that such were to be given for desperate, whether *with or without using the Ceremony*.

But, be more sparing, I pray, of that point, of the *Apostles oftentimes using their prudence*. For it cannot be said or writ without great danger, *that the Apostles in some things had Divine Inspiration, in the rest did often use their own prudence*; and that in their writings which are extant.

tant. For even that very place, where *κατὰ γνώμην* is, according to my judgment, you know, is concluded with [*Δοκεῖ δὲ νέων πίστις εἰς ιχνούς*] But I think also that I have the Spirit of God. so that his very *νόημα*, his judgment had the dictate therof, from the Spirit of God. As for that place, which you quote, if it were not written by Divine inspiration, but by humane prudence, we are to score it for *Apcryphal*. How then? are we for making an *Index*, and for *Expurgating the New Testament*? For separate we must the pretious from the vile. What were dictated by humane prudence will never stand in conjunction with those which were by Divine inspiration.

But, although there be weight enough to confirm this cause, from the Right and maner of the Apostles, yet, you may remember, that I deriv'd this distinction of Orders higher, viz. from Christ our Saviour in the Apostles, and Seventy Two Disciples. That it is every where among the Fathers, and clearly confessed by them, that Bishops succeeded the Apostles, and Presbyters the Seventy Two. I cited Cyprian; But Deacons must remember, how our Lord chose Apostles, i. e. Bishops and Prelates; but the Apostles, after the Ascension of our Lord, appointed to themselves Deacons, as ministers of their Episcopacy, and of the Church. That those Seven were instituted, *Acts vi.* by the Apostles; but no Presbyters, but after the example of the Seventy Two; nor Bishops, but after their own pattern. This Order therfore hath the strength and sinews therof, not only from the Apostles, but even from our Saviour himself.

Would you have me fetch it yet higher? even out of the Old Testament, and there from the Divine Law it self? S. Hierom doth: And that we may know that the Apostolical traditions were taken out of the Old Testament; what Aaron, and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, that

that do Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons challeng to themselves in the Church. S. Ambrose doth, in both those places, 1. Corinth. 12. and Ephes. 4. speaking of the Jews, Whose tradition, saith he, hath passed over to us. Iomitt Aaron; lest you should reject him, as a Type of Christ. Over his Sons, the Priests, was there not in their several families שׁוֹרֵא. i. e. a Prelate; or, as is said elsewhere, קָרְבָּן. i. e. a Bishop. Over the Gersonites. Num. 4. 16. Numb. 11. 9. R. Isai. 60. 17. Num. 3. 24. Over the Kohathites. vers. 30. Over the Merarites. verse 35. Was not Eleazar there, even while his Father was alive, שׁוֹרֵא וְשׁוֹרֵא, as if you would say, Prelate of Prelates. verse 32. Who is elsewhere called בָּכָר בֶּקָר as if you would say, Archbishop. There are therefore in the Law, כהוֹתִים, שׁוֹרְאִים, לְיוֹתִים, i. e. Prelats or Bishops, Priests, and Levites: In the Gospel, The Apostles, the Seventy Two, and those Seven, Acts vi. In the Apostles practise, which was taken from those Two [the Law and Gospel] Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons. But do not, do not think, that this was by Apostolical Right alone; if there be in the Gospel, if in the Law, any Divine Right, this Government is not without example in both, it is founded on both. Either then there is no Divine Right in the form of Church Government, and then welfare Amsterdam, where so many humane prudences as there are, so many forms of Government shall be set up. Or, if there be any Divine Right, it is in Those Three, it is for us.

And now to your skirmishes of lighter consideration. That I know, what useth to be answered, by the Vulgar, concerning Timothy and Titus. Add this too, that I know, that many things are ill answered by the Vulgar. But what is answered by the Vulgar? that they were Evangelists. Who affirms this? either the Vulgar, or they that, out of some mans novel device, have spread

spread these doubtfull speeches among the Vulgar, For none of the *Antientis* ever spake so; no *History* can witness it. But *History* doth witness, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Bishops*. *Epiphanius*, *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, *Hierom*, *Theodore* say it. That they were *Evangelists* no man ever said, wrote, or dream'd, before our Age. This Vulgar answer is a Vulgar forgery.

Therefore, whether *Evangelists* were superior or inferior to *Bishops*, it's nothing to us; since these, by no means, were *Evangelists*. Who saith so? S. *Chrysostom*. But I am, to mind you, that he corrects what he had spoken, with some diffidence, there, concerning *Evangelists*. For that nothing can be collected out of that place, *Ephes.* 4. concerning the *Priority* of any. But we may fetch it from another *Epistle*, *i. Corinth.* 12. 28, where we have, *μετών, διυτερόν, τρίτον*, first, second, third: But *Evangelists* appear not there. Besides that they, whom you, with the Vulgar, would have to be counted *Evangelists* (*Timothy*, and *Titus*) are from thence placed among the *Pastors*, *πατέρων ἀποστολίων θ. &c.*, intrust'd with the care of their several Provinces, and in general of all, but not among *Evangelists*. *Aquila* and *Priscilla* are to him *Evangelists*: that I cannot but wonder, what you meant to mention that place. For, from that place of S. *Paul*. 2. *Timoth.* 4. 5. if you will hear S. *Chrysostom*, you shall assoon make *Timothy* but a *Deacon*, from the fulfilling [*σικαρίου*] of the *Deaconship*; as an *Evangelist*, from the work of an *Evangelist*. Do not you therefore make such a disjunction, either *Bishop*, or *Evangelist*. *Evangelists* they were never reputed by any, but some, I know not who, two or three days ago, whom any upstart device pleaseth better, then reverend *Antiquity*. Do we give credit to *Antiquity*? They were *Bishops*; they had *Bishops* their successors;

their heirs both in Superiority and Power.

You demand then, Whether your Churches sin against the Divine Right? I did not say it; this only I said, that your Churches wanted somewhat that is of Divine Right: wanted, but not by your fault, but by the iniquity of the times. For that your France had not your Kings so propitious at the reforming of your Church, as our England had: in the interim, when God shall vouchsafe you better times, even this, which now you want, will, by his grace, be supplied. But, in the mean while, the Name of Bishop, which we find so frequent in the Scriptures, ought not to have been abolish'd by you. Though to what purpose is it to abolish the Name, and to retein the Thing? (For even you retein the Thing, without the Title; and they Two, whom you named, while they lived, what were they, but Bishops in Deed, though not in Name) seing, as he in the Poet saith excellently, there is scarce any man that would wish

Tyrannus esse nolle & non pati posse.

To be a Tyrant, and not to tyrannize.

That Acrius was put in the black book of Hereticks (and worthily) whosoever shall beleevē Epiphanius, Philastrius, or S. Augustine, must needs confess. And you that condemn Acrius, upon what consideration do you condemn him? What, because he oppos'd himself to the consens of the Catholike Church? He that is of the same opinion doth not he also oppose himself? and is to be condemn'd upon the same consideration? But, if there be any error, so it be not with obstinacy of mind, though he think as Acrius did; his cause will be far from what the cause of Acrius was. Do not you therfore betake yourself to those tragical expressions

ons of damning to the pit of Hell, of giving sentence of damnation against your Church, as against her that treads under foot the Divine Right. Ther's no necessity of that. Weigh only calmly what is spoken. To vote that a thing were so, is not to devote, if it be not. A *wish* is no sentence of damnation. To want somewhat that is of Divine Right, is not to tread under foot the Divine Right. Let but obstinacy and perversenes be wanting, it will be no heresy. And, if it be heresy, (being about a point of Discipline) it will not be among those, which S. Peter calls *unjuste vanitas, damnable heresies.*

But far be it from me that I should drive you to any fireits. For neither would I have you hold your peace, being so provoked by the Jesuit. Nay, but write, by al means write : but yet, when you write, so mantain your own, that you pinch not upon, I say not, other mens matters which belong not to you ; yes, which somewhat concern you : (for our affairs are not meer strangers to you.) And, see, heer's a larg field for you, wherin you may shew the sharpnes of your wit, (which indeed is excellent.) But do not, do not hope that you can ~~imposture~~, play on both sides. Your own will complain of you : Ours need no such defence ; So you will loose the thanks of either side.

But, although these things be evidently enough contained in Holy Scriptures, to any whose eye is single, yet is not that Principle so, as you have laid it. For, not what belong to Divine Right, but what belong to Faith, and Good manners [are evidently enough conteined.] But these are not adæquate to Divine Right.

Howbeit, you might well, you might have wrote (as you speak) exactly, had you begun, not where the words were *promisimus*, but, where the Things being

always distinct; the signification of the words began likewise to be distinct. It was possible for you to have abstained from words equivocal, confused; and promiscuously taken; nor did any necessity enforce you to begin there.

You might also have balk'd all occasion of diverting to us. Your design was touching Bishps: you were to treat of them, and of the Office it self. Of the Bishps of England to what purpose? Doth England make that lawfull, which out of England is unlawfull? The abuses of men, wherever they are, must be taxed: the office it self, in what country soever, is the same; of it self, in it self, by it self lawfull: Nor, if the Bishps be not good, is the Office of Bishps not good: Yea but let the Office of Bishps be; let Them be no Bishps; unless they make good their Name.

* But here, I know, the King would set an asterisk of approbation. When you derive Episcopacy from the very infancy of the Church. When you acknowledg S. James to be Bishop of Hierusalem; and a long succession of Bishps, there, deriv'd from him. When now again you condemn Aerius. See, you have Three asterisks for the Three dashes. For these things are most true; and according to the judgment of the Antients, even of Irenaeus, who leads the train of the Antients. The true profession is the doctrine of the Apostles; and the antient state of the Church, through the whole world, is according to the succession of Bishps, to whom They deliver'd that Church, which is in every place; which hath reached even unto us:

Somewhat I added, afterward, concerning the novel, upstart name of Calling: and so of Pastors; (as they are now in use with you.) Touching that of Calling, you do not deny but that it is unusual: you used, I suppose a ~~word~~, the figure of exten~~tion~~; for it is so unusual, that it is

is not at all. Calling, indeed, is sometime used for the office; for Ordination, never. But neither do you deny what I observed touching that word, *Pastors*. Nor do you produce any, either among those *Antients*, or the later *Writers*, before our Age, that was so call'd, viz. a *Pastor*, who was not, indeed, a *Bishop*. Only, I know not how, you heap up many things together, but all beside the matter: that you seem not in them neither to have reach'd my meaning. For, what if I grant all that you allege? That your flocks are not without a *Pastor*; (as it seemeth good to you to stile him:) That all you say but of S. Paul, S. Peter, the Prophets is true: What are these to me? who only say that the *Antients* spake thus; that that other name is not from *Antiquity*. I recall you therefore to this; That, among the *Antient Christians* in former ages, you shew me out of their writings, where the word *Pastor* was ever used, and they spake not of the *Bishop*: or, that it was used (as with you it is) of a *Parish Priest*. Prevail thus far with your self, as to shew this; for, unless you do this, you do nothing to the purpose.

But yet see, of what force those things are, that you brought there! For S. Paul doth not say there, that *Presbyters* [did pascere] were *Pastors*: this He saith, wherein the Holy Ghost hath made you *Bishops* [pascere] to feed [to be *Pastors over*] the Church of God. Saint Paul's *Pastor* therefore is a *Bishop*. And, lest you should think that the name *Bishop* is to be taken, there, appellatively (as if you would say, *Such as haue the Cure of*) not properly; behold, the *Syriack Interpreter* himself reteins the Greek word †; when the *Syriack* wants not a word of her own, by which to express, [Such as haue the Cure of.] *Ιεράρχος* *θεοφόρος* *πατέρας* *καρδινάλιος* *πρεσβύτερος*

And so also S. Peters *Pastor*. I. Epist. 5. chap. 2. v.

For I wholly doubt whether that place, of S. Peter, belong to inferior Presbyters. For He addeth there (as you know) ~~in particular~~, being Bishops over them: so that He also conjoins [as ~~in particular~~] being Bishops, with [as ~~in particular~~] being Pastors. That word indeed I stand not upon. That which follows there [not Lording over the Clergy] doth plainly evince, that they, to whom S. Peter wrote this, had ~~no~~, power, and authority over the Clergy: otherwise, that ~~responsible~~ that Domineering and Lording over them could not possibly be apply'd to them. Wherfor S. Peters Pastor must needs be a Bishop. And who indeed can doubt of this, seeing the conjunction of those two words took the first rise from S. Peter.

For, wheras you inferr that the Word of God is [Pabulum] food: that therfore they, who administer this food, do [pastore] feed: I shall easily grant you, that feed they do; that is, ~~in sum~~, but not therefore ~~in sum~~, whence cometh ~~spiritus~~, as you know, i. e. Pastor; who, over and above the food of the word, administer somewhat else beside. But what you bring from that place to the Ephesians, chap. 4. are either uncertain; For 1. One will have Pastors and Doctors to be all one. 2. Another maketh no mention of Pastors. 3. A Third thinketh that Readers are Pastors. I shall speak of them all. To S. Augustine, Pastor and Doctor are no otherwise the same, then Order and Degree were to us, a little before. Every Order a Degree, but not every Degree an Order; so every Pastor is a Doctor, but not every Doctor a Pastor. Who saith this? Saint Hieron.

2. Of him, who makes no mention, there, of *Pastors*, nor will I make mention. The *Monks* are better inclin'd, commonly, to *Treatisers*, then to *Bishops*.

3. For S. Ambrose, who understood *Bishops* in *Apologists*; *Presbyters* in *Prophets*; *Deacons* in *Evangelists*; no wonder, if at last he fell upon *Readers*, when he had none beside them, to whom, after those Three, he might referr them.

Thus, say I, either *uncertain* they are: or, when they are *Certain* they make against you. By name, S. Chrysostom; Who defineth *Pastors* to be *they*, to whom was committed (^{n. 13. c.}) the generality of the people. Are your so? And he adds who were such, as *Timothy*, saith he, and *Titus*; who were both *Bishops* in S. Chrysostom's account: and, I beleeve, in your account, they were more then *Presbyters*, labouring in the Word.

Yet remains what you glanc'd at, out of the *Prophets*. Which places if any do accurately consider, he shall find, that not only the *high Priests*, but also the *Prophets* and *Levites*, upon whom the Office of teaching lay, were called by the name of *Pastors*. Doubtless, he shall. Add moreover; he shall find *Princes* in the State, and *Magistrates* often, nay oftner a great deal, to be called by the name of *Pastors*, then all them put together, whom you set down. And yet we do not call *Princes* by the name of *Pastors*. Nor do I think that at Geneva he is call'd a *Pastor* who is the chief *Magistrate*. The *Pastors* therfore in the *Prophets* reach not home to this. Tell me, who of the *Antient*s ever spake so; otherwise we are beside the cushion.

Lastly, that seem'd to me a wondrous strange opposition. Indeed it is not by the *Antient*s; but me *Frenchemen* speak so. For, must the *Antient*s speak as the

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the French ; or the French as the Antient Christians ?
And you run upon the same rock again , afterward .
The Presbyters who labour in the Word , whom we French-
men call Ministers . For it's strange , how it became
lawfull for Frenchmen , to put upon a Presbyter that
name which never any among the Antients used , but
for a Deacon . I speak not this otherwise , but that
even among us too , that bad fashion is taken up , of
calling them Ministers , and Pastors too . But these
words were brought in by them , who best relish any
upstart fashion ; but against their mind who rever-
ence Antiquity ; and , as they may , disclaim these
usages . For we suffer , as I said , many things ,
which we teach not ; and bear with that which
we cannot take away . But he , that but bears with
a thing , loves it not , though he loves to bear
with it .

And now you have an Answer to your Letters , so
far as my occasions give me leave . For I have not
the happiness of much leisure . But although I read
none of yours unwillingly , yet I read no passage
more willingly , then that last , wherin you pro-
fess , How desirous you are of peace , how glad you
should be that all the Reformed Churches , who are
united by one Faith , were united by one and the same
bond of Ecclesiastical Government . Which is like-
wise my earnest and hearty prayer : and I daily
begg it humbly of God , that they may be united
in the same Form of Church Policy , by the bond of Ec-
clesiastical Government ; but that same which derives its
pedegree from the very infancy of the Church ; from
which , the Reverend Antiquity of the First Ages ; which
whoever opposeth , opposeth himself to all Antiquity ;
which Saint James the Apostle began in the Church
of

of Hierusalem, from whom the succession of Bishops in a long course descended ; which condemned Aerius, for daring to oppose himself against the Consent and Practise of the Catholik Church ; which all Churches every where received.

I come at last to give you thanks. For, the Book, you promis'd me, shortly after I had sent you my former Letters, was deliver'd to me. I do heer both acknowledg and thank you, that you were pleased to inlarg and inrich my Library with your Two Books. And I intreat you, begg of God for me, that the remainder of my life, which is to come, may be, rather good, then long. For as a *Play* so our *Life*, it skills not how *long*, but how *good*, how *well acted*. In like maner, I, wishing all happiness to you, (and in that I put this, *That the Reverend Antiquity of the First Ages may be in higher esteem with you, then the upstart novell device of any whosoever,*) do freely promise you my help and assistance in any thing, that may, heer, concern your interest. You will pardon me, if I have spoke somwhat more freely ; assuring yourself, that, though I am of a quite different judgment in some points, yet my *charity*, and *brotherly affection* toward you, is not chang'd awhit ; nor (by the grace of God) shall ever be.

F I N I S.

S. Ignatius in Epistola ad Magnesianos.

Ωντειρ ὁ Κλειστὸς ἀλεύοντας πατέται, εἰπόντος καὶ συμβούλου της Ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ Πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲ Διάκονος, μηδὲ Λαϊκός. Μηδὲ πειθαρίστα μηδὲν οὐλογον παρεῖται ἀντεῖν γιασίμων. Τὸ δὲ ταῦτα παρέγιμον, καὶ θεῖον εχθρόν.

As our *Lord* doth nothing without his *Father*; so neither do ye without the *Bishop*; neither *Presbyter*, *Deacon*, nor *Layman*. Let nothing seem reasonable to *you*, against *his* liking: For whatsoever is so, is against the *Law*, and offensive to *God*.





