

# OF PLURALITY OF MASSES.

## THE THIRTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one church in one day.

[OF PLURALITY OF MASSES IN ONE CHURCH IN ONE DAY.—

ARTICLE XIII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

As M. Jewel here descendeth by divers proportions and degrees from thirty to five, first by taking away ten, the third part of the whole, and then five from the rest three times; so it might have pleased him also to have taken away three from five, the last remnant<sup>5</sup>, and so to have left but two in all. Which if he had done, then should we have<sup>6</sup> made up that number, as in this audit he might not otherwise do, in regard of his own free promise, but allow our account for good and sufficient. For that number we are well able to make good. And what reason hath moved the ancient fathers, governors of the church, to think it a godly and a necessary thing to have two masses in one church in one day, the same reason in cases either hath or might have moved them, and their successors after them likewise, to allow three or four masses, and in some cases five or more.

Two masses in one day, M. Harding offereth to prove, but no more.

A simple guess.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding of his courtesy should give us leave to lay out our own reckonings, as we think best, having himself the advantage of controlment, if error happen to fall out. Of so great a number of masses as they have this day in their churches, and say they have had and continued from the beginning, even from the apostles' time, if I require of him only the proof of five, I offer him no wrong: but, if he of that whole number be able to shew but only two, and if the same two in the end be found no masses neither, but only public communions, such as be now used in reformed churches, then is he a great dissembler, and doth no right. Upon what occasion M. Harding's masses grew first to this plenty, and to so great waste, Cochläus, one of the chief patrons of that cause, declareth it thus: *Quod olim tam frequentes non fuerint missæ, neque tot sacer-* *dotes, quot hodie, inde accidisse arbitror, quod olim omnes tum sacerdotes, tum laici, quicunque intererant sacrificio missæ, peracta oblatione, cum sacrificante communicabant: sicut ex canonibus apostolorum, et ex libris atque epistolis antiquissimorum ecclesie doctorum perspicue cognoscitur*<sup>7</sup>: "That in old times there were not so many masses nor so many priests as be now, I reckon the cause thereof to be this, for that in old times all that were present at the sacrifice of the mass, as well priests as lay-men, did communicate together with the minister; as it is plain to be seen by the canons of the apostles, and by the books and letters of the most ancient doctors of the church." He addeth further: *Nunc vero, &c.*: "But now, seeing the order of communion is no more observed amongst us, and that through the negligence and slothfulness as well of the lay-people as of the priests, the Holy Ghost, by the often saying of private masses, hath found out a godly remedy for this want." Here we see that negligence and slothfulness and

Joan. Cochl. de Sacrif. Missæ.

[<sup>5</sup> Remanent, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>6</sup> So have, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>7</sup> Cochl. Sacerd. ac Sacrif. Nov. Leg. Def. In-  
golst. 1544. cap. iii. De Applic. Miss. fol. Hh. iii. b.]

lack of devotion, both in the people and in the priest, is a good leare<sup>1</sup> to breed masses. And that the priests, as many as were present, did then communicate with the priest that ministered, it is plain by the canons of the apostles<sup>2</sup>, and by sundry other good authorities, which now I purposely pass by. And to this purpose it is written thus in a little book set abroad under the name of St Hierome: *Non debet episcopus repudiare eucharistiam presbyteri*<sup>3</sup>: "The bishop ought not to refuse the sacrament of a priest." But M. Harding's priests utterly refuse to communicate one with another; and, be they never so many in one church together, yet will they say several masses at sundry altars. And not only thus, but also (as it appeareth by the council of Toledo in Spain) one priest hath sometimes said four, five, or more masses in one day<sup>4</sup>. Pope Leo said some days seven, some days eight masses, and some days more<sup>5</sup>. The excess and outrage whereof was so great, that they have been forced to provide laws and canons to the contrary. For thus they have decreed: *Presbyter in die non amplius quam tres missas celebrare præsumat*<sup>6</sup>: "Let not any one priest presume to say more than three masses in one day." We may well think that priests then said good store of masses, when it was thought sufficient to stint them at three. The cause, that moved Leo<sup>7</sup> and other ancient fathers to appoint two communions to be ministered in one day, was, as it shall well appear, that the whole people might communicate all together, quietly, and without disturbance. Which thing of itself utterly overthroweth the whole abuse of private masses.

But the causes that have increased the number of M. Harding's private masses, as they are alleged by Innocentius the third and others, are these: "That there may be one mass said of the day, and another for the dead; and that there may be regard had to honesty and profit." For so they say: *Causa honestatis, vel utilitatis: ut si, dicta missa de die, superveniat aliqua magna persona, quæ velit audire missam*<sup>8</sup>: "As if any notable personage happen to come to church, after that mass is done, and be disposed to hear mass." These be very easy causes: upon the same the priest may say twenty masses as well as three.

#### M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

*Now, if that reckoning could duly be made of our part, M. Jewel perhaps would then say, as commonly they say that confess their error in numbering, that he had mistold himself. Albeit, here it is to be marvelled that he appointeth us to prove a number of masses in one church in one day, that utterly denieth the mass, and would have no mass in any church any day at all. And standing in the denial of the whole so peremptorily as he doth, it may seem strange that he should thus frame this article. For what reason is it to challenge us for proof of so great a number, sith he taketh away all together?*

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I have kept my reckoning well enough, as, I trust, it will well appear. But if M. Harding, of so great a number of his masses, be able to prove no more but two, and the same two in the end be found public communions, and no private masses at all; then may we justly say, that he hath both much misreckoned the people, and also shamefully mistold himself.

As before I utterly denied that any private mass was ever used within six hundred years after Christ, so in this article, that the simple, that so long have

[<sup>1</sup> Leare: learning, lore, skill.]

[<sup>2</sup> Canon. Apost. 8. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[<sup>3</sup> ... non debere episcopum repudiare eucharistiam presbyterorum.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. De Sept. Ord. Eccles. 6. Tom. V. col. 104. This treatise is not genuine.]

[<sup>4</sup> ... uno die, si plurima per se Deo offerant sacrificia, &c.—Concil. Tolet. xii. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 421.]

[<sup>5</sup> Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Lib. de Cor. Mil. ad

calc. Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. p. 42.]

[<sup>6</sup> Concil. Salegunst. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 800.]

[<sup>7</sup> Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxxi. 2. col. 436.]

[<sup>8</sup> Alex. II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 53. col. 1904.]

Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xli. cap. 3. et Gloss.; where *missam audire*.]

Canon.  
Apost. can. 9.

De Sept.  
Ordin. Eccles.  
Grad. 6.

Concil. Tolet.  
xii. cap. 5.  
Beat. Rhenan.  
in Annot. in  
Tertull. de  
Cor. Mil.  
Concil. Sales-  
gunstad.  
can. 5.

Leon. Epist.  
81.

De Consecr.  
Dist. 1.  
Sufficit.  
De Celebr.  
Mismar. et  
alii, &c.

been deceived, might the better understand both the great disorder that M. Harding maintaineth, and also how far the church of Rome is grown from the primitive church of God, I thought it not amiss to set out the matter by parts, in such plain division. Therefore the marvel that M. Harding raiseth hereof is not so great. The matter considered, his reader will rather marvel at his marvel.

## M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

*It appeareth that, being not unwitting how good proofs we have for the mass itself, he thinketh to blank us by putting us to the proof of his number of thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five.*

*Verily this kind of men fareth with the church much like unto strong thieves, who, having robbed an honest wealthy man of his money<sup>9</sup>, say afterwards unto him uncourteously: Ah, carle, how camest thou by so much old gold? Or if it like not them to be compared with thieves, in regard of the room they have shuffled themselves into, they may not unfitly be likened to a judge of the stannary<sup>10</sup> at Lydford in Devonshire, who (as I have heard it commonly reported) hanged a felon among the tinnors in the forenoon, and sat upon him in judgment at afternoon. And thereof to this day such wrongful dealing in a common proverb is in that country called Lydford law<sup>11</sup>. Sith that you, M. Jewel, and your fellows that now sit on the bench, require of us the proof of more masses in one church in one day, as it were a verdict of twelve men, of equity and right ye should have heard our verdict ere ye had given sentence and condemned the mass.*

[Lydford law used by the gossellers. H. A. 1564.]

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

How good cause M. Harding hath to make these vaunts of his proofs for his private mass, it may soon appear unto the discreet reader upon the view. But here he thought it proof sufficient for the multitude of his masses to call us thieves and wicked judges, and to charge us with the law of Lydford, and so to solace himself with an old wives' tale, and to make holy-day out of season. Howbeit, this comparison of his thieves is not so greatly agreeable to his purpose. For the coin that is taken from him was neither gold, nor so old as he maketh it, nor was it touched with Cæsar's stamp. We may rather say unto him: "Sometime ye had gold; but how is it now become dross! ye had good seed; but how is it now become cockle! thou wert<sup>12</sup> sometime a faithful city; how art thou now become an harlot! thou wert<sup>12</sup> sometime the house of God; how art thou now turned into a cave of thieves! how have ye lost the holy communion that the apostles had from Christ, and you from them! how came ye by your private masses, that the apostles had never?" Thus, thus, M. Harding, we may appose you. For it were but lost labour to trouble you with questions of your old gold. Ye are not that rich wealthy carle that ye would be taken for, but even as it is written in the Apocalypse of St John: *Dicis, Dives sum, et ditatus, et nullius egeo; et nescis quod tu es miser, et miserabilis, et pauper, et cæcus, et nudus*: "Thou sayest, I am rich and wealthy, and need nothing; and thou knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

Isai. i.  
Mark iv.  
Isai. i.

Rev. iii.

Neither are they always thieves that spoil a thief. Oftentimes the true man forceth the thief to lay down that he hath untruly gotten. Cicero saith: *Fures earum rerum, quas ceperunt, nomina commutant*: "Thieves use to change the names of such things as they have stolen:" even as these thieves use to do, that call the communion the mass, and their mass the communion; private public, and public private; and, as the prophet Esay saith, good evil, and evil good; light darkness, and darkness light; and thus by subtle shift of words miserably spoil and rob the people. To be short, the thief fieth the trial of the light, even as you, M. Harding, and your fellows fly<sup>13</sup> the trial of God's holy word.

Cicero.

Isai. v.

John iii.

[<sup>9</sup> All his money, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>10</sup> Old editt. *stemery*.]

[<sup>11</sup> See Nares, Gloss. "Lydford law." There is a reference to this in the works of a poet some-

what later than Jewel. See Original Poems by William Browne, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges, Lee Priory Press, 1815, p. 9.]

[<sup>12</sup> Were, 1565.]

[<sup>13</sup> Flee, 1565.]

But how ye came to all that ye had, and, being but copper, uttered the same for old gold, it is an easy matter to be answered. For you yourselves will not say ye had it either from Christ, or from the apostles, or from any the ancient fathers. It were double robbery to make any of these the authors and fathers of your robberies. Your own doctor Cochlæus confesseth, as it is said before, that the multitude of your masses sprang not from God, but from the negligence, and slothfulness, and want of devotion, that grew both in priest and people<sup>1</sup>. Then ye began to tell the simple, that it was sufficient for them to sit by; that your mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for their sins; that it was available unto them *ex opere operato*, although they understood not what it meant; that you had power to apply it to quick and dead, and to whom ye listed; and that the very hearing thereof of itself was meritorious. Upon this foundation ye erected up your chantries, your monasteries, your pardons, your supererogations, and I know not what. Thus was the holy communion quite forgotten; thus were your masses multiplied above number; thus ye came by that ye would have called your old gold. Then this doubt first grew in question, whether Christ, being in one of your hosts, might see himself, being at the same time in another host<sup>2</sup>. Then ye began to devour up poor widows' houses. In consideration hereof your own gloss saith of your soul-priests: *Malus presbyter æquiparatur corvo in nigredine vitiorum, ... in raucedine vocis, ... in voracitate... oblationum mortuorum, ... in fetore spiritus, ... in garrulitate, et in furto*<sup>3</sup>: "An evil priest is resembled unto a raven for the blackness of his vices, for the hoarseness of his voice, for his ravening of the oblations of the dead, for the stench of his breath, for his unpleasant voice, and for his theft." Unto such chevisance these words of St Augustine may be well applied: *Si... [presbyter]... intercessionem vendit, viduarum munera libenter amplectitur, ... negotiator magis videri potest, quam clericus. Nec dicere possumus, Nemo nos invasores arguit, violentiæ nullus accusat; quasi non interdum majorem prædam a viduabus blandimenta illiciant, quam tormenta. Nec interest apud Deum, utrum vi an circumventionem quis res alienas occupet*<sup>4</sup>: "If a priest make sale of his prayers, and gladly receive the rewards of widows, he ought rather to be called a merchant than a clerk. Neither may we say, No man chargeth us with extortion. For of a widow a man may get a greater prey by flattery than by violence. And before God there is no difference whether a man withhold another man's goods by might of hand or by crafty dealing." These be the things that M. Harding complaineth are taken from him. Julius Cæsar conveyed three thousand pounds weight of pure gold out of the treasury in Rome, and laid in the like weight of copper gilded. Lysander picked a great sum of gold out of the bottom of a bag (for the mouth was sealed), and sewed it skilfully up again. But Cæsar's copper was betrayed by the touch: Lysander's theft was espied by a billet, that was still remaining in the bag. Even so, whatsoever they of M. Harding's side, that so bitterly complain they are robbed of their robberies, and would so loth be called thieves, either have conveyed into the church, as into God's great treasury, or else have privily picked thence, the billet doth espy them, the touch doth betray them; it cannot be hidden.

In his fable of Lydford, which in all respects is as good as his other fable of Amphilocheus, as he compareth us to the over-hasty judge, so he compareth his mass unto the felon. Wherein notwithstanding we might easily and truly say, we needed no law to abolish such things as they by force and violence had usurped against all laws, and that their mass of itself fell down and fled away before the holy communion, even as the darkness fleeth before the light, and as the idol Dagon fell down at the presence of the ark of the God of Israel; yet M. Harding well knoweth, that in these cases of religion there was nothing at any time done either hastily and upon the sudden, or by any small assembly; but

[<sup>1</sup> See before, page 625, note 7.]

[<sup>2</sup> R. Holkot sup. Quat. Lib. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. iv. Quæst. iii. fol. m. vi. n. ii.]

[<sup>3</sup> Corvo æquiparatur malus prælatus, vel presbyter in, &c. ... mortuorum oblationum, &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr.

Sec. Pars, Caus. 11. Quæst. vii. Gloss. in can. 30. col. 696.]

[<sup>4</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxii. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 150; where we have *potest videri, viduis*; and *eliciant*. The Benedictine editors do not consider this a genuine work of Augustine.]

Cochl. de  
Sacrif. Missæ.

R. Holkot.  
Lib. iv.  
Quæst. 3.

ii. Quæst. 7.  
Non omnes.  
In Glossa.

De Verb.  
Dom. in  
Evang. M.  
Serm. 19.

Sueton. in  
Julio.

Plut. in  
Lysand.

1 Sam. v.

in the open parliament of the whole realm, with great and sober deliberation, with indifferent and patient hearing what might be said and answered and replied of both sides, and at last concluded with public authority, and consent of all states and orders of this most noble kingdom. I judge him not well advised, nor worthy to rest in England, that will compare the state and majesty of that most high and honourable court to the law of Lydford.

Lydford  
law.

But it were long to shew in particular what laws M. Harding's friends used when they sat upon the bench. They caused dead men and women to be digged out of their graves, and so sat upon them solemnly in judgment, and condemned them. Their holy one of Rome, much like that speedy judge of Lydford, burnt that most reverend father D. Cranmer at Rome in a mummery, before he ever saw him or heard him speak; and yet, that notwithstanding, they arraigned him in Oxford, and judged him afterward to be burnt. They first took and imprisoned the innocent, that had broken no law, and afterward devised a law to condemn him. With such courtesy, Cyrillus saith, Christ was entreated of the Jews: *Primum ligant: deinde causas in eum quæerunt*<sup>5</sup>: "First they bind him; and afterward they imagine matter against him." And to pass by many other like disorders, and horrible extremities of that time, first they scattered and forced their masses through the realm against the laws; afterward they established the same by a law; last of all, the next year following they summoned and had a solemn disputation in Oxford, to try whether their law were good or no. Verily this seemeth much like the law of Lydford. For in order of nature the disputation should have been first, and then the law, and last of all the execution of the same among the people. But Tertullian saith: *Hæretici, ex conscientia infirmitatis [suæ], nihil unquam tractant ordinarie*<sup>6</sup>: "Heretics, for fear of their own weakness, never proceed in due order."

Cyrl. in  
Johan. Lib.  
xii. cap. xlv.

Tertull. de  
Resur. Carn.

#### M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Now touching the number and iteration of the mass, first we have good and ancient authority for (197) two masses in one church in one day. That eloquent and holy father, Leo the first, writeth thus to Dioscorus the<sup>7</sup> bishop of Alexandria: *Volunus illud quoque custodiri, ut cum solennior festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit, et ad eam tanta multitudo convenit, quæ recipi basilica simul una non possit, sacrificii oblatio indubitanter iteretur; ne, iis tantum admissis ad hanc devotionem, qui primi advenerint, videantur ii, qui postmodum confluerint, non recepti: cum plenum pietatis atque rationis sit, ut quoties basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia novæ plebis impleverit, toties sacrificium subsequens offeratur*<sup>8</sup>: "This order we will to be kept, that, when a number of people cometh to church together at a solemn feast, if the multitude be so great as may not well be received in one church at once, that the oblation of the sacrifice hardly be done again; lest, if they only should be admitted to this devotion who came first, they that came<sup>9</sup> afterward may seem not to be received; forasmuch as it is a thing full of godliness and reason, that how oftentimes<sup>10</sup> the church, where the service is done, is filled with a new company of people, so oftentimes the sacrifice there eftsoons be offered."

The hundred  
and ninety-  
seventh un-  
truth. For  
these two  
masses were  
two commu-  
nions.

Church filled.

By this father, whom the great (198) general council of Chalcedon agnised for supreme governor of the church of Christ, and honoured with the singular title of universal<sup>11</sup> bishop, it is ordained that, if any where one church could not conveniently hold all the people together at one time, they that came after the first company should have their\* devotion served by having another mass celebrated again. And lest perhaps some might doubt whether that were lawful so to be done

The hundred  
and ninety-  
eighth un-  
truth. For  
there is no  
such canon  
in all that  
council.

\* This devo-  
tion was, that  
the whole  
people  
should re-  
ceive the  
communion;  
which thing  
is contrary to  
private mass.

[<sup>5</sup> Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xii. Tom. IV. p. 1025.]

[<sup>6</sup> Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resur. Carn. 2. p. 380; where *nunquam ordinarie tractant*.]

[<sup>7</sup> H. A. 1564, omits the.]

[<sup>8</sup> Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc.

Epist. lxxxi. 2. col. 436; where we read *illud quoque volumus, convenerit, quam recipere basilica, ne his tantum, and videantur hi.*]

[<sup>9</sup> Come, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>10</sup> Oftentimes, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>11</sup> The universal, H. A. 1564.]

or no, or because then some doubted thereof, as now likewise some seem to doubt of it; to put the matter out of doubt, he saith assuredly: *Sacrificii oblatio indubitanter iteretur: "Let them not stick to iterate or do again the oblation of the sacrifice;" that is to say, let the mass be celebrated again indubitanter, without casting peril, without sticking, staggering, or doubting. In that epistle he sheweth two great causes why more masses than one may be done in one church in one day. The one is, lest the after-comers should seem rejected, non recepti, "not received\*;" the other is, that the one part of the people be not defrauded of the benefit of their devotion; as himself saith: Necessesse est autem ut quaedam pars populi sua devotione privetur, si, unius tantum missæ more servato, sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint<sup>1</sup>: "It must needs be that a part of the people be bereft of their devotion, if, the custom of having one mass only kept, none may offer the sacrifice but such as came to church together in the morning or first part of the day." Now, the people may neither be rejected whom God hath chosen, nor sparkled abroad whom our Lord hath gathered together; neither ought they to be defrauded of their devotion by withdrawing the mass from them, but rather to be stirred thereunto by their devout presence at the celebration of the same, where the death and passion of our Lord is lively represented before their eyes, the very same body that suffered on the cross, of them by the ministry of the priest offered to the Father, in a mystery, but truly, not to be a new redemption, but in commemoration of the redemption already performed.*

By this testimony we find that it was lawful within six hundred years after Christ (for Leo lived about the year of our Lord 450) to have two masses in one church in one day; for so much the word *iteretur* doth import at least, and, if there were more, the case so requiring, the word will bear it well enough.

Now by this holy bishop's godly will the custom of having one mass only in one day was abrogated, and this decreed, that, in time of two sundry resorts of people to church, two sundry masses should be celebrated, for the avoiding of these two inconveniences; lest the after-comers should seem not received, but rejected like excommunicate persons, and that a part of the faithful people should not be put beside their devotion. Whereupon I make this reason: The causes standing, the effects follow; but the danger of the people's seeming to be rejected, and the defrauding of their devotion, which are causes of iterating the mass in one day, did in that age in some holy-days of likelihood thrice, yea, four or five times, happen, and in our time certainly<sup>2</sup> doth commonly so often or oftener happen; wherefore the mass may so many times be said in a day in one church.

Where great multitude of christian people is, as in towns, we see some resort to church early in the morning, making their spiritual oblations to the intent to serve God ere they serve man in their worldly affairs: all cannot come so early. Others come at their convenient opportunity, some at six, some at seven, some at eight, some at nine or ten of the clock. If they, which through lawful lets cannot come at the first hours, coming afterward be roundly told by the priest, *Come ye at such or at such hours, or else ye get no mass here; shall not they, according to Leo his saying, seem to be rejected, and defrauded of their devotion? All well-disposed people about Paul's cannot come to postles'<sup>3</sup> mass at four or five of the clock in the morning, neither at high mass there. Shall all such in a term or parliament time, when great resort is, be denied that spiritual comfort? And if they be, shall they<sup>4</sup> not seem rejected, and put from their devotion? Which inconvenience that it might not happen, Leo willetth not only two, but three, four, or more masses to be done on a day; for his words report no less: *Cum plenum pietatis atque rationis sit, ut quoties basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia novæ plebis impleverit, toties sacrificium subsequens offeratur<sup>5</sup>: "Let there be no sticking at the iterating of the mass; forasmuch as," saith he, "it is a thing full of godliness and reason, that how often the church, where the service is done, is filled with a new company of people, so often the sacrifice there eftsoons be offered." Here he willetth plainly that mass be done toties quoties, at every new resort of the well-disposed**

[<sup>1</sup> Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad. Diosc. Epist. lxxx. 2. col. 436.]

[<sup>2</sup> Most certainly, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>3</sup> Postles': apostles'.]

[<sup>4</sup> Shall not they, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>5</sup> See above, note 1.]

\* To the communion.

The people offer the sacrifice.

A blind commentary, contrary to the text.

A guileful fallax, a non causa ut causa.

The church filled.

people, and that for these weighty causes, lest part of the people should seem not received, and that they be not defrauded of their devotion.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I marvel with what honest countenance M. Harding could allege this godly father so unadvisedly to prove his mass. For he knoweth well, and being learned cannot choose but know, that Leo both elsewhere in all other places, and also specially in this same place, beareth witness directly against his mass. But as alchymists profess a skill to turn all manner metals into gold, so these men seem to have learned a skill to transubstantiate and to turn all things whatsoever into their mass. It is evident by St Augustine<sup>6</sup> and St Hierome<sup>7</sup>, that lived not long before Leo, that then in Rome, where Leo was bishop, the whole people received the holy communion every day; which communion Leo calleth *missa*, by a Latin word then newly received in the Latin church: in which church, like as also in the church of Græcia and Asia, there was only one such mass or communion said upon one day, unless it had otherwise been thought necessary upon occasion of the multitude of communicants, until the time of pope Deusdedit, which was in the year of our Lord six hundred and fifteen; as it shall appear in the next division of this article.

Verily in these words of Leo there appeareth no manner token, neither of private mass, nor of sole receiving, nor of single communion, nor of sundry altars, nor of more priests than one in one church. And, notwithstanding these words of Leo be plain enough of themselves<sup>8</sup>, yet by conference and sight of other places we may the better be assured of his meaning. In the council holden at Agatha in the time of Cœlestinus the first, which was about the year of our Lord four hundred and forty, it was decreed thus: *In Paschate, natali Domini, Epiphania, Ascensione, Pentecoste, natali S. Johannis Baptistæ, et si qui maximi dies in festivitibus habentur, non nisi in civitatibus aut parochiis missas teneant*<sup>9</sup>: "Upon Easter-day, the day of our Lord's birth, the Epiphany, the Ascension, Whit-Sunday, the nativity of St John Baptist, and likewise upon other great solemn feasts, let the country people hold their masses or communions no where else, but only either in great parishes or in the cities." The like decree was made in the council of Arverne, that "all country priests, and all wealthy and chief citizens, should upon solemn feasts resort to the cities, and communicate together with their bishops<sup>10</sup>." Upon such solemn days the resort oftentimes was so great, that the church was not able to receive the whole company. Therefore order was taken, and that agreeable to natural courtesy, to the intent no part should be excluded from the holy mysteries, that the whole people should come in parts, in such wise as the church might easily receive them; and that to that end it should be lawful for the priest to minister the communion twice or oftener upon one day. Upon like occasion, to increase the number of M. Harding's witnesses, St Augustine saith, the communion in some places was twice said in his time. Thus he writeth: *In quibusdam locis, ubi major et frequentior est populus Dei, quinta sabbati hebdomadæ ultimæ quadragesimæ bis offertur, et mane et ad vesperam: aliis autem in locis ad finem tantum diei mos est offerri*<sup>11</sup>: "In certain places, where as the resort

August. de Verb. Dom. secundum Luc. Serm. 28.  
Hieron. in Apol. adv. Jovin.  
August. de Bon. Persev. Lib. ii. cap. iv.

Concil. Agath. can. 91, anno 440.

Concil. Arvern. can. 14, anno 557.

August. Epist. 118. ad Januar.

<sup>6</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. cols. 152, 3. See before, page 168.

Id. Lib. de Don. Persev. cap. iv. 7. Tom. X. col. 825. Conf. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 147.]

<sup>7</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. xxx. pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Apol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 239. See before, p. 156.]

<sup>8</sup> Themselves, 1565.]

<sup>9</sup> Concil. Agath. can. 21. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 1386. See before, page 180, note 6.]

<sup>10</sup> Si quis ex presbyteris aut diaconis...in villulis habitans &c.... Quicumque etiam sunt cives natu

maiores, pari modo in urbibus ad pontifices suos in prædictis festivitibus veniant.—Concil. Arvern. in eod. can. 15. Tom. IV. col. 1806. Different authorities assign different dates to the councils here referred to.]

<sup>11</sup> Si vero etiam in aliena patria cum peregrinaretur, ubi major et frequentior et ferventior est populus Dei, vidit, verbi gratia, bis offerri quinta sabbati hebdomadæ ultimæ quadragesimæ, et mane et ad vesperam, veniensque in patriam suam, ubi in fine diei mos est offerri, male atque illicite fieri contendat, &c.—August. Op. Ad Inquis. Januar. Lib. I. seu Epist. liv. 5. Tom. II. col. 126.]

of people is greater, upon Shire-Thursday the oblation is twice made, first in the morning, and after towards night; but in other places (where as the people is not so great) the same oblation is made only before night." And this M. Harding cannot deny, St Augustine speaketh of the communion, and not of the mass. To the same end St Gregory ministered the holy communion at three sundry times upon Christmas-day<sup>1</sup>. Thus upon occasion of great resort the mass or communion that day was twice, or thrice, or oftener said; not that the people should hear mass, as M. Harding wittingly mistaketh it, but that the whole people might communicate. Which thing of late years, because through disuse they knew not what it meant, they turned it only to a fantastical mystery, that the first mass signified the time of ignorance before the law; the second, the time in the law; the third, the time of grace<sup>2</sup>.

Thus hast thou, good christian reader, this learned father's undoubted meaning, confirmed plainly both by the known story and circumstance of that time, as may appear by the two councils of Arverne and Agatha, and also by the evident witness of St Augustine and St Gregory.

Now let us see what large commentaries and conjectural guesses M. Harding hath here devised to transform the holy communion into his private mass. First he saith: The great universal council of Chalcedon offered the title of universal bishop unto this Leo, being then the bishop of Rome. This note is both impertinent to the cause, and also worthily suspected of great untruth. For that great council is extant whole and perfite; and yet in the same no such canon or title to be found. Only Gregory reporteth it; but the same Gregory reporteth further withal, that Leo would never suffer himself to be called the universal bishop, and saith it was a proud and glorious<sup>3</sup> title, and meet for antichrist<sup>4</sup>.

Whereas Leo saith, "The after-comers should seem rejected," he meaneth, from the receiving of the holy communion, and not, as M. Harding imagineth, from the hearing of mass. And here we have by the way specially to note these words of Leo: *Sacrificium offerre non possunt*. By which words Leo teacheth us plainly that the sacrifice, whereof M. Harding maketh so great account, is offered no less by the people than by the priest.

And whereas M. Harding noteth further, that this Latin word *iteretur* may stand as well with three, or four, or more masses, as with two, which thing is not denied; he might also as well have noted, that the same word *iteretur* importeth likewise one and the self-same minister, and none other. For if the second communion be ministered by another priest, and not by the same, it cannot rightly be said *iteratur*. And further, the same word necessarily signifieth that one communion was then in such cases ministered successively, and in order after another; and not two masses, or three, or four, or six, or ten together, all at once, as the manner is now in the church of Rome.

Hereof M. Harding frameth us this formal syllogism<sup>5</sup>: "The cause that moved Leo to take this order was, that all and every of the devout people might hear mass: but it is likely the people resorted to the church at sundry times, some rather<sup>6</sup>, some later, and not all at once; ergo, it is likely that, to satisfy the people's devotion, there were sundry masses said in one day."

It is likely that M. Harding never examined the parts and likelihood of this argument. For first, the major or head proposition is apparent false, grounded, as it is termed in logic, a *non causa ut causa*, presuming that thing to be the cause which indeed is no cause. For the cause that moved Leo was not the hearing of mass, as it is already proved, but the receiving of the holy communion.

[<sup>1</sup> Quia, largiente Domino, missarum solemnita ter hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui diu de evangelica lectione non possumus.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. I. Hom. viii. (hab. in die Natal. Dom.) Tom. I. col. 1460.]

[<sup>2</sup> Tres missæ in die natalis Domini celebrantur. Una ante diem: quæ significat tempus ante legem... Secunda....significat tempus in lege....Et tertia...

significat tempus gratiæ.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1902.]

[<sup>3</sup> A glorious, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>4</sup> See before, pages 47, 344, 5.]

[<sup>5</sup> Syllogismus, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>6</sup> Rather: earlier.]

Gregor. in  
Evang. Hom.  
8.

De Consecr.  
Dist. I. Nocte  
sancta.

Superbum,  
arrogans,  
antichristia-  
num.

Iteretur.



The minor or second proposition, notwithstanding in some part it may seem true, yet it is nothing agreeable to Leo's meaning. For Leo speaketh not of one man, or two, nor of the ordinary course of every day, but only of great solemn feasts, and of such resort of people as might fill up the whole church. His words be plain: *Cum solennior festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit*; and, *Quoties basilicam... presentia novæ plebis impleverit*<sup>7</sup>: therefore, to bear us thus in hand, that Leo had such a special care either for the term-time in London, or for the people about Paul's, or for hearing the postles' mass, it is a very vain and a childish fantasy; like as this also is that he addeth: The people should be denied that spiritual comfort. For, alas! what comfort can the people receive, where as they can neither see, nor hear, nor understand, nor know, nor learn; but stand only as men amazed, utterly bereft of all their senses? Let M. Harding once lay apart dissimulation, and tell us by what ways or means the people at his mass can possibly receive this spiritual comfort. If he would speak truly, and that he knoweth, as he seldom doth, he should rather call it spiritual blindness.

And whereas he pleadeth his *toties quoties*, and thereby would erect a whole *totquot* of masses sans number, if he had advisedly considered out the whole sentence, he should better have espied out his own folly, and have had less occasion to deceive the people. For Leo saith not, as M. Harding would force him to say, As often as any devout people cometh to church, but, as it is said before, *Quoties basilicam... presentia novæ plebis impleverit*: "As often as the presence of a new company shall have filled up the whole church." In such cases it was lawful to begin again the whole communion, and not otherwise. By these words M. Harding's *totquot* is much abridged.

In the end he concludeth, not only against Leo his author, but also against the very express order of his own church, that one priest (for Leo speaketh only of one, and of no more) may say mass boldly without sticking or staggering, as often as any people resorteth to him. For now it is thought sufficient for one priest to say one mass upon one day, and no more. So it is determined by pope Alexander: *Sufficit sacerdoti unam missam in uno die celebrare*<sup>8</sup>: "It is sufficient for a priest to say one mass upon a day." Unless it be in case of great necessity, which the gloss, as it is before alleged, well expoundeth *causa honestatis, vel utilitatis*<sup>9</sup>, "in case of honesty or of profit;" as if some great personage happen upon the sudden to come to church. Likewise the council of Salesgunstadium hath straitly charged, that no priest presume to say more than three masses upon one day, the one in course of the day present, the other for the dead, the third to pleasure some noble personage<sup>10</sup>: which also is a great stopple to M. Harding's *totquot*. In these provisos there is no manner consideration had to the devotion of the people; but, contrary to M. Harding's new canon, they are utterly left without their spiritual comfort. And therefore pope Clement the seventh caused one friar Stuppino in Rome to be whipped naked through the streets, for that he had said five or six or more masses in one day to satisfy the devotion of the people.

Thus, good reader, thou mayest see both the parts and the force of M. Harding's *sylogismus*: the major is false, the minor far from Leo's purpose, the conclusion contrary to himself. Certainly, if it had then been thought lawful to say so many corner-masses as sithence that time have been used in the church of Rome, it had been great folly either for Dioscorus to move this question, or for Leo to take this order.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

Wherefore they that reprove the plurality of masses in one church in one day, after the judgment of this worthy father, be rejecters of the faithful people, and

[<sup>7</sup> See before, page 629.]

[<sup>8</sup> Alex. II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 53. col. 1904; where in *die una*.]

[<sup>9</sup> Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. 111. Tit. xli. Gloss. in cap. 3. See before, page 626.]

[<sup>10</sup> Concil. Salegunst. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 800.]

robbers of their devotion. But they that have utterly abrogated the mass, which is the outward and ever-enduring<sup>1</sup> sacrifice of the new testament, (199) by verdict of scripture be no less than the forerunners of antichrist.

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The former part of this conclusion is already answered. But for the second part, if they that have reformed the horrible abuses of the mass be the forerunners of antichrist, what then may we think of them that have wilfully and of purpose invented and erected all those abuses? that have taken from the people of God, not only the holy communion, but also the understanding, and sweetness, and comfort of the same? that have spoiled God's children of the bread of life, and have fed them with the bread of confusion, that is, with ignorance, superstition, and idolatry? that have mangled and corrupted Christ's blessed mysteries, and have wickedly defiled the camp of the Lord? and having thus done, yet, notwithstanding, have faces to maintain and uphold all their wilful doings? What may God's people think of them? And before whom do they run? Verily Gerardus Lorichius, M. Harding's own doctor, saith thus: *Missæ . . . privatae, quæ absente populo catholico fiunt, abominatio verius quam oblatio dicendæ [sunt]*<sup>2</sup>: "Private masses, which are said without presence of the people, are rather an abomination than a sacrifice." And St Augustine saith: *Si . . . [Johannes] ita diceret, . . . Si quis peccaverit, me habetis Mediatorem apud Patrem, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, . . . quis eum ferret bonorum et fidelium christianorum? Quis sicut apostolum Christi, et non sicut antichristum intueretur*<sup>3</sup>? "If St John would say thus, If any man sin, ye have me your Mediator with the Father, and I obtain pardon for your sins; what good and faithful christian man could abide him? who would look upon him as upon the apostle of Christ, and not rather as upon antichrist?"

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

Here, that I may add somewhat more for proof of this article, if the plurality of masses in one church in one day had been utterly unlawful, the fathers of the council of Antisiodorum would not have decreed, that it should not be lawful to celebrate two masses upon one altar in one day; neither, where the bishop had said mass, that a priest might not say the same day at the same altar<sup>4</sup>. For, beside that the prohibition pre-supposeth the thing prohibited to have been before used (else prohibition had been superfluous, and so far forth it appeareth that before the making of that decree more masses were said at one altar in one day), the argument of this decree serveth very well for proof that by force of this council it was then lawful to say more masses in one church in one day. For this prohibition of the council is not general, but special, restricted to a particular place of the church, in uno altario, "at one altar," which includeth not of any reason a more general and larger matter than itself, as, neither at any other altar in the same church the same day it shall be lawful to say mass; but of consequent this being but one special case forbidden inferreth a permission and good leave in the rest ejusdem generis et subjecti, "that be of the same kind, and about the same matter," and not included by words of reason in that prohibition. So that we may not argue by reason in this sort: It is forbidden to say more masses at one altar in one day; ergo, it is forbidden to say many masses at all in one church in one day upon divers altars: but the contrary reason followeth; ergo, ye may say many masses upon divers altars in one day. And likewise, ye may not say mass that day on the altar where the bishop hath said; ergo, ye may lawfully say at<sup>5</sup> another altar: for otherwise the law would have forbidden generally, ye shall not say mass in the church where the bishop hath

*Non licet super uno altario in una die duas missas celebrare: nec in altario ubi episcopus missas dixerit presbyter . . . illa die missas dicat.*  
Concil. Antisiodoren. can. 10. Anno Dom. 613.

[<sup>1</sup> The ever-enduring, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>2</sup> Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 280. See before, page 513.]

[<sup>3</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. viii. 15. Tom. IX. col. 34;

where *mediatorem me habetis ad Patrem*, and *atque fidelium.*]

[<sup>4</sup> Concil. Antis. can. 10. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 185; where *missas dicere.*]

[<sup>5</sup> That day at, H. A. 1564.]

The hundred and ninety-ninth untruth, without any honest shame. For M. Harding knoweth there is no such commendation given to his mass in the whole body of the scriptures.

Ger. Lorich. de Miss. Pub. Prorogand. Lib. iii.

August. contr. Parmen. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

M. Harding groundeth his guess without his compass. For this council was holden anno 613.

said that day; and then ye had been forbidden that altar, and all altars there at one word. But, in forbidding the one altar, the law granteth you the use of the rest there.

And this kind of reasoning and arguing, of the law that forbiddeth one case specially to affirm the rest that is not mentioned in the prohibition, the lawyers will defend by their principles against M. Jewel, who, I think, will not wade far to stand against them in this match. For they say, an edict prohibitory in such things which are not wholly in their kind unlawful, forbidding special cases, granteth the rest, and doth permit all that which is not specially forbidden. And by that all may be witnesses which are not specially forbidden: all may make their proctors to answer for them in judgment, which are not forbidden in the special prohibition; for that the edicts of proctors and witnesses are prohibitory. And because lex Julia did forbid a woman condemned for adultery to bear witness in judgment, thereof the text of the civil law concludeth, that women may bear witness in judgment<sup>6</sup>.

And they say further, that exception in one case confirmeth the general rule, and maketh the rest, that is not excepted, more sure and stable, and to be in force in contrary sense to the exception.

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This long discourse may well be granted without great prejudice. For this council was holden at Antisiodorum, as M. Harding hath also noted in the margin, in the year of our Lord six hundred and thirteen; and therefore neither furthereth him, nor hindereth me, as standing without the compass of the first six hundred years. And whoso listeth to peruse the acts of that council shall soon find that many great disorders and horrible abuses, and, as they are termed there, *incestæ consuetudines*, "wicked and abominable customs," were by that time grown into the church of Rome: as *strenæ diabolica*, "devilish new-year's gifts; heathenish vows; to pray in groves and at the water-sides, as the heathens had used to pray; to consecrate and minister the Lord's cup in metheglin; to put the sacrament into dead men's mouths;" and such other like. And that, among these and other like disorders, the plurality of masses first began at that time, and not before, it may appear by the pontifical itself, in the life of pope Deusdedit, where it is written thus: *Deusdedit constituit secundam missam in clero*<sup>8</sup>. And Petrus Urbevetanus, in his scholies upon the same place, writeth thus: *Quia tunc, ad instar Græcorum, non cantabatur in una ecclesia, nisi forsan una missa: quod magis ædificabat, secundum antiquos*<sup>9</sup>: "For then there was but one mass (or communion) said, after the manner of the Greeks; which thing, as the ancient writers think, was more profitable to the people." Likewise Thomas Valdensis saith: *Græci adhuc unicum tantum missam in die celebrant*<sup>10</sup>: "The Greeks hitherto say but one mass (or communion) in one day." So likewise Francis the friar writeth unto his brethren: *Moneo . . . et exhortor [vos] in Domino, ut in locis, in quibus morantur fratres, una tantum celebretur missa in die, secundum formam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ*<sup>11</sup>: "I warn you and exhort you in the Lord, that in the places where our brethren dwell there be only one mass a day said, according to the order of the holy church of Rome." So St Ambrose declareth the order of the church of Milan in his time: *Omni . . . hebdomada offerendum est; etiam si non quotidie peregrinis, incolis*

Canon 1.  
Canon 3.  
Canon 8.  
Mellitum vel  
mulsum.  
Canon 12.

In 2 Tom.  
Concil. in  
vita Deusd.  
anno 614.  
Petr. Urb.

Thom. Vald.  
Lib. vi. cap.  
xxxiv.

Francisc. in  
Epist. ad  
Fratr.

Ambros.  
1 Tim. cap. ii.

[<sup>6</sup> Ex eo, quod prohibet lex Julia de adulteriis testimonium dicere condemnatam mulierem, colligitur, etiam mulieres testimonii in judicio dicendi jus habere.—Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. xxxii. Tit. v. 18. Tom. I. p. 326.]

[<sup>7</sup> Concil. Antis. cans. 1, 3, 8 (where *mellitum quod mulsum appellatur*), 12, in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 184, 5. The date of this council is 578 as given by Labbe and Cossart.]

[<sup>8</sup> Decret. Deusd. in eod. Tom. II. p. 184; where for *Deusdedit* we find *hic*.]

[<sup>9</sup> The editor has not been able to meet with these scholies. But see Bonæ Op. Venet. 1764. Rer. Liturg. Lib. i. cap. xiv. 4. p. 206; where, after a reference to Deusdedit, this passage is quoted with a very slight verbal difference.]

[<sup>10</sup> ... Græci, quantum recolo, unicum missam die celebrant.—Wald. Doctrin. Fid. Par. 1521-32. Lib. vi. Tit. iv. cap. xxxiv. Tom. III. fol. 83.]

[<sup>11</sup> Francisc. Lit. ad Sacerd. Ord. Sui, in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XIII. p. 351.]

Only altar<sup>1</sup>.

*tamen, vel bis in hebdomada*<sup>2</sup>: "Every week the oblation must be made, although not every day for comers and strangers, yet at least twice in the week for the citizens." St Ambrose saith, the communion in his time was ministered once or twice in the week, and at the furthest upon great occasion once a day; but not twenty or thirty times in one day.

And, whereas M. Harding seemeth to warrant his multitude of masses by that in this council of Antisiodorum there is mention made of sundry altars; it may like him to understand, that before the time of that council there appeareth no such multiplication or increase of altars. One altar was thought sufficient for the whole church<sup>3</sup>, and the same altar placed in the midst of the congregation, that all the people might come round about it. So saith Eusebius: *Absoluto templo, . . . et altari in medio constituto*<sup>4</sup>: "The church being finished, and the altar (or communion-table) placed in the midst." St Augustine likewise saith thus: *Mensa Domini est illa in medio constituta*<sup>5</sup>: "That is the Lord's table that standeth here in the midst." In like manner it is written in the council of Constantinople: *Tempore diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circum altare, et audiebant*<sup>6</sup>: "When the lesson or chapter was in reading, all the people drew together with silence round about the altar, and gave attendance." If M. Harding will contend for that hitherto there is no mention made of one altar alone, and therefore will say there might be many, he may also remember that Eusebius saith in the place before alleged: *Augustum, et magnum, et unicum altare*<sup>7</sup>: "The reverend, the great, and the one only altar." So Ignatius: *Unum est altare toti ecclesie*<sup>8</sup>: "There is but one altar for the whole church." So St Chrysostom: *Baptismus unus est, et mensa una*<sup>9</sup>: "There is one baptism, and one table." So likewise Gentianus Hervettus, describing the manner of the Greek church as it is used at this day, saith thus: *In Græcorum templis unum tantum est altare, idque in medio choro aut presbyterio*<sup>10</sup>: "In the Greek church there is but one altar, and the same standing in the midst of the quire." And the quire also was in the midst of all the people. By these it may appear that M. Harding is not able to find his plurality of masses before the council of Antisiodorum, which was without the lists of the first six hundred years, and therefore can stand him in little stead.

As for these principles of the law, that are here brought in as a surcharge unto the rest, they may be safely received without danger. I grant, the law, that forbiddeth in special case, generally granteth all that is not specially forbidden. This, I say, may well be granted. It is commonly called in schools *argumentum a contrario sensu*. Notwithstanding, this rule, being so general, may receive exception, although perhaps not in law, yet in some cases of divinity. For example, God saith: "Thou shalt not commit usury to thy brother;" "Let there be no harlot of the daughters of Israel;" "Thou shalt not marry thy wife's sister, whiles thy wife liveth;" "Thou shalt not commit advoury;" St Paul saith: "Be ye not drunken with wine."

Of these special prohibitions, by M. Harding's rule or principle, we may reason thus: These cases are specially forbidden; and whatsoever is not excepted in special prohibition as unlawful is permitted as lawful; *ergo, ex contrario sensu*, "by the contrary sense," it is left as lawful to commit usury to

[<sup>1</sup> One altar, 1535.]

[<sup>2</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in 1. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Tom. II. Append. col. 295.]

[<sup>3</sup> Ignat. ad Philadelph. cap. iv. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 378. Conf. Interp. Epist. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Tom. II. p. 77.]

[<sup>4</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. x. cap. iv. p. 312.]

[<sup>5</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cxxxii. 1. Tom. V. col. 645; where *ipsius* for *Domini*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 185.]

[<sup>7</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. x. cap. iv. p. 316.]

[<sup>8</sup> See above, note 3.]

[<sup>9</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 569.]

[<sup>10</sup> This author seems to state the contrary: Porro autem in ea duo sunt altaria, quorum majus in medio illius partis ædis situm est: alterum minus, ad sinistram majoris.—Gent. Hervet. ad calc. Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. fol. 35. 2. But then he explains that this smaller altar was but a kind of credence-table: . . . panis qui est a sacerdote consecrandus, in eo primo ponitur. Conf. Bonæ Op. Venet. 1764. Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. xiv. 3. p. 206. Græcorum est alia consuetudo; unicum enim altare in singulis ecclesiis habent.]

Ignat. ad  
Philadelph.  
Euseb. Lib. x.  
cap. iv.  
In Encænisi.

August. de  
Verb. Domini.  
secund. Joh.  
Serm. 47.  
Concil. Con-  
stant. v.  
Act. 1.

Euseb. Lib. x.  
cap. iv.

Ignat. ad  
Philadelph.  
Chrysost. in  
2 Cor. Hom.  
18.  
Gent. Hervet.

Deut. xxiii.  
Ibid.  
Lev. xviii.  
Exod. xx.  
Eph. v.

a stranger; it is left as lawful to have a harlot, so that she be not of the daughters of Israel; it is left as lawful to marry thy wife's sister, if thy wife be dead; it is left as lawful to commit fornication, for fornication in this special prohibition is not forbidden, but only advoury; it is left as lawful to be drunken with ale or beer, for only wine is excepted. And why so? for M. Harding's principle must needs stand, that a prohibition forbidding special cases permitteth all the rest, and generally leaveth all that as lawful that is not specially forbidden. I speak not this to the intent to reprove the principle of the law, that here is alleged, but only to shew that general rules must sometimes and in some cases be taken with exception.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

*But I will not bring M. Jewel out of his professed study too far to seek laws. For indeed we need not go to law for these matters, wherein the church hath given sentence for us, but that our adversaries refuse the judge after sentence. Which if they had done when order permitteth it, at the beginning, and had plainly (as I fear me some of them think) denied themselves to be Christians, or at least of Christ's court in his catholic church; we should not have strived so long about these matters. We would have embraced the truth of God in his church quietly, whiles they sought another judge according to their appetites and fantasies, as Turks and infidels do.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It were more for M. Harding's purpose, for proof of these matters, to go rather to divinity than to law. Howbeit, the state of his case being so feeble and so deadly diseased, it were good counsel for him to leave both professions, and to go to physic.

But here once again in his impatient heats he uttereth his inordinate and unadvised choler, and thinketh to prove himself a good catholic man, only by comparing others with Turks and infidels. Notwithstanding herein we shall need no long defence. For, God's holy name be blessed, it is now open to the hearts and consciences of all men, that both in life and doctrine we profess the same gospel of Jesus Christ that they of M. Harding's side have of long time oppressed and burnt for heresy.

Neither do we refuse the judge, either after sentence or before. Him only we refuse, as no competent judge in these cases, that teacheth the commandments and doctrines of men, and hath infected the world with the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees; and we appeal unto Christ, the only Judge of all judges, unto whom God the Father straitly bade us to give ear: *Ipsam audite: "Hearken unto him:" Unus est Magister noster Christus: "Christ is our only Master and only Judge."*

And<sup>11</sup> for the determinations of the church, they are sundry, and variable, and uncertain, and therefore sometimes untrue; and for that cause may not always stand of necessity as matter of judgment. The Greek church never used the private mass, but only the communion: the Latin church hath utterly abolished the holy communion, saving only at one time in the year, when also she useth it with foul disorder, and, as Gelasius saith, with open sacrilege<sup>12</sup>, and useth only the private mass. The same Latin church for the space of six hundred years and more from the beginning, unless it had been upon great occasion of many communicants, used only one communion, or, as M. Harding rather delighteth to call it, one mass in one day; but the Latin church, that now is, hath in every corner of the temple erected altars, and therefore now is full of corner-masses. In the old Latin church it was not lawful to say the second communion, but only when the church was full of people: in M. Harding's new Latin church there be oftentimes more masses said together than there be hearers of the people to gaze upon them. Thus the judgment of the Latin church disagreeeth from the Greek; and the new Latin church

[<sup>11</sup> As, 1565.]

[<sup>12</sup> Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624.]

Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918.]

likewise disagreeeth in judgment from the old. Touching this new Latin church, St Bernard mourneth and complaineth thus: *Nunc... ipsi Christum persecuntur, qui ab eo... Christiani dicuntur. Amici tui, Deus, et proximi [tui] adversus te appropinquaverunt et steterunt. Conjurasse videtur contra te universitas populi christiani, a minimo usque ad maximum. A planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas ulla. Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus iudicibus vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum... Arcem Sion occupaverunt, apprehenderunt munitiones, et universam deinceps libere et potestative tradiderunt incendio civitatem*<sup>1</sup>: "They are now become the persecutors of Christ, that of his name are called Christians. O God, thy friends that are nearest about thee approach near and stand against thee. The whole universal body of christian people seemeth to have conspired against thee, even from the lowest unto the highest. Wickedness proceedeth forth from thy vicars, the elder judges that seem to govern thy people. (Like heathens and infidels) they have invaded thy castle of Sion (which is thy holy church), and have taken all her holds, and freely and by authority have thrown thy whole city into the fire." Again he saith: "There remaineth now nothing but that antichrist, the man of sin, the child of perdition, be revealed<sup>2</sup>."

Seeing therefore the resolution of these judges is oftentimes uncertain and doubtful (I will not say, as St Bernard seemeth to say, ungodly and wicked), we may the more indifferently and the better say now to M. Harding, as St Augustine sometimes said to the heretic Maximinus: *Nec ego Nicenam synodum tibi, nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes, tanquam præjudicaturus, objicere. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius teneris. Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, sed quæ utriusque sint communes, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione decertet*<sup>3</sup>: "Neither will I prescribe against thee by the council of Nice: nor mayest thou prescribe against me by the council of Ariminum. Neither am I bound to this council, nor thou to that. By the authority of the scriptures, which are neither thine nor mine, but indifferent and common to us both, let us compare matter with matter, cause with cause, and reason with reason." Again he saith in like sort to the heretic Cresconius: *Non... debet se ecclesia Christo præponere, &c. Cum ille semper veraciter judicet; ecclesiastici autem iudices, sicut homines, plerunque fallantur*<sup>4</sup>: "The church," saith St Augustine, "may not set herself above Christ, &c. For Christ evermore judgeth truly; but the ecclesiastical judges, as being men, are often deceived." Therefore we appeal from the church to Christ; from the party to the judge; from the church deformed to the church reformed; from a church particular to the church catholic; from the false to the true; from the new to the old; from a doubtful, variable, uncertain, unadvised sentence, to a sentence most firm, most stable, most certain, most constant, that shall stand for ever.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now, if M. Jewel be not so precise in his judgment of allowing the first six hundred years after Christ, as to condemn the church that followed in the next generation; then we may allege unto him the twelfth council of Toledo in Spain, holden in the year of our Lord six hundred and eighty, for proof that many masses were celebrated in one church in one day. For the same appeareth plainly by this decree of the fathers there: *Relatum nobis est, quosdam de sacerdotibus non tot vicibus communionis sanctæ gratiam sumere, quot sacrificia in una die videntur offerre; sed in uno die, si plurima per se Deo offerant sacrificia, in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendunt, et*

[<sup>1</sup> Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956; where *adversum* and *tradunt*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Superest jam ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis, &c.—Id. in Psalm. Qui habitat, Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 838.]

[<sup>3</sup> Sed nunc nec ego Nicænum, nec tu debes Ariminense tamquam præjudicaturus proferre con-

cilium. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumque propriis, sed utriusque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704.]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. II. cap. XXI. 26. Tom. IX. cols. 422, 3; where *ecclesia se*.]

D. Bernard.  
in Convers.  
Paul.

Bernard. in  
Psalm. Qui  
habitat.  
Serm. 6.

August. adv.  
Maxim.  
Lib. III.

August.  
contr. Cres-  
con. Gram.  
Lib. II. cap.  
XXI.

Can. 5.

in sola tantum extrema sacrificii oblatione communionis sanctæ gratiam sumunt. Quasi non sit toties illis vero et singulari sacrificio participandum, quoties corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi immolatio facta constiterit. Nam

<sup>1</sup> *Cor. x.* ecce apostolus dicit: Nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris? Certum est, quod hi qui sacrificantes non edunt rei sunt dominici sacramenti. Quicumque ergo sacerdotum deinceps divino altario sacrificium oblaturus accesserit, et se a communione suspenderit, ab ipsa, qua se indecenter privavit, gratia communionis anno uno repulsum se noverit. Nam quale erit illud sacrificium, cui nec ipse sacrificans particeps esse cognoscitur? Ergo modis omnibus est tenendum, ut quotiescunque sacrificans corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi<sup>5</sup> in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi se participem præbeat<sup>6</sup>: “It is shewed unto us, that there be certain priests who do not receive the grace of the holy communion so many times, how many sacrifices they seem to offer in one day. But, if they offer up to God many sacrifices by themselves in one day, in all those oblations they suspend themselves from the communion, and receive the grace of the holy communion only at the last oblation of the sacrifice; as though they ought not so oftentimes to be partakers of that true and singular sacrifice, as the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath been done. For behold the apostle saith: ‘Be not they which eat sacrifices partakers of the altar?’ It is certain, that they, who doing sacrifice do not eat, be guilty of our

<sup>1</sup> *Cor. x.* Lord’s sacrament. Wherefore what priest soever hereafter shall come unto the holy altar to offer sacrifice and suspend himself from the communion, be it known unto him, that he is repelled and thrust away from the grace of the communion, whereof he hath unseemly bereaved himself (whereby is meant, that he standeth excommunicate) for the space of one year. For what a sacrifice shall that be, whereof neither he himself that sacrificeth is known to be partaker? Wherefore by all means this is to be kept, that, how oftentimes soever the priest doth sacrifice the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord on the altar, so oftentimes he receive, and make himself partaker of the body and blood of Christ.”

Here by the word “sacrifice,” and “offering of the sacrifice,” the fathers understand the daily sacrifice of the church which we call the mass. For though the word missa be of great antiquity, and many times found in the fathers, yet they use more commonly the word sacrifice. Neither can the enemies of this sacrifice expound this canon of the inward sacrifices of a man’s heart, but of that sacrifice which the priest cometh to the holy altar to offer, of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ our Lord offered on the altar (for so be their words), where he receiveth the grace of the holy communion, which is the participation of the body and blood of our Lord. Thus<sup>7</sup> much granted, as by any reasonable understanding it cannot be drawn, nor by racking can be stretched to any other sense; we have here good authority for the having of many masses in one church in one day. And whereas the fathers of that council allowed many masses in one day said by one priest, there is no reason why they should not allow the same said by sundry priests in one day. If our adversaries say this might have been done in sundry places, whereby they may seem to frustrate our purpose touching this article; we answer that, beside the approving of the mass by them so confessed, it were vain and frivolous to imagine such gadding of the priests from church to church for saying many masses in one day. Doubtless the fathers of that Toletane council meant of many masses said in one place in a day, as Leo did, for serving the faithful people’s devotion that resorted to church at sundry hours, as we see the people do now, that so all might be satisfied; which should not have been, if one mass only had been said.

This word “missa” is found sometimes in the fathers. But it is used evermore for the communion.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We condemn not the church of God in any generation, be the abuses thereof never so great. God resembleth it unto a vine, unto a corn-field, and unto a flock

<sup>5</sup> Jesu Christi Domini nostri, H. A. 1564.]

<sup>6</sup> Concil. Tolet. xii. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 421; where dominicus

sacramentis in the text, and Jesu Christi Domini nostri in altario.]

[<sup>7</sup> This, H. A. 1564.]

Missa.  
Isai. l.

of sheep. Notwithstanding the vine be spoiled and torn down, yet is it the vine of the God of Sabaoth. Notwithstanding the field lie waste and be overgrown with weeds, yet is it still the Lord's field. Notwithstanding the flock be forsaken of the shepherds, and run astray and perish in the wilderness, yet is it still the flock of Christ. And herein we have great cause to glorify the name of God, that, when he seeth it good in his sight, sendeth forth labourers to rear up and to dress his vine, to labour and to weed his ground, to gather in and to feed his flock.

De Consecr.  
Dist. 2.  
Relatum est.  
In Glossa.

This allegation of the council of Toledo serveth M. Harding only to bewray<sup>1</sup> his want. For, if he could have found any other council of antiquity, I trow he would not have alleged this. It was holden well near seven hundred years after Christ; by which time many great disorders and deformities were privily copen into the church, as may appear both otherwise, and also by this same example, that one priest used then to say many masses in one day, and yet himself not to communicate, contrary both to the institution of Christ and also to the laws and canons of the church; and therefore the gloss upon the decrees calleth it a most naughty custom<sup>2</sup>; and this council itself saith: "Whosoever so doth is guilty of the Lord's sacrament." Thus, both the computation of the time and also the disorder and abuse of the thing itself considered, this authority needeth no further answer.

Heb. x.

It was impertinent in this place for M. Harding to move matter of the sacrifice. Howbeit, for short answer thereto, the sacrifice, that in the old writers is called "daily," is that everlasting and only sacrifice that Christ once offered upon the cross, being there a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech: and whosoever thinketh not that sacrifice sufficient, but imagineth some other sacrifice for sins to be made by man, is an enemy of the cross of Christ, and of his sacrifice, and treadeth down the Son of God under his feet, and counteth the blood of the testament to be unholy. In what sense the mystery of the holy communion is of the old fathers called a sacrifice, it shall be shewed at large in the seventeenth article hereof, serving wholly to that purpose.

Phil. iii.

Heb. x.

Touching this word *missa*, neither is the name nor the meaning thereof of such antiquity as it is here supposed by M. Harding. It grew first in use about four hundred years after Christ, and is very seldom used of the old Latin writers; of St Augustine, St Hierome, Tertullian, St Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and others of that age, never; unto St Chrysostom, St Basil, Nazianzene, Gregory Nyssene, and all other Greek writers, utterly unknown. It is found in two sundry places under the name of St Augustine<sup>3</sup>, and once under the name of St Hierome<sup>4</sup>. But it is certain that these books were neither St Augustine's nor St Hierome's.

August. in  
Serm. de  
Tempore.  
Hieron. in  
Prov.

Howbeit, we make no great account of the name. The natural sense and meaning thereof, contrary to M. Harding's surmises, necessarily importeth a communion, and not a private mass. For this Latin word *missa* is as much as *missio*, that is, a commanding away, or licence to depart. So St Cyprian saith *remissa peccatorum*<sup>5</sup>, instead of *remissio*; and the order of the church then was this, that novices that were not yet christened, and were called *catechumeni*, and others that were called *pœnitentes*, that for some offence were enjoined to do penance, notwithstanding they might lawfully hear the sermons, and pray together with the rest, yet might they neither be present at the baptism, nor receive the holy mysteries. And therefore, after the gospel was read, and the sermon ended, the deacon said unto them: *Ite, missa est*: "Go ye hence: ye may depart." Likewise in St Gregory's time the deacon used thus to say: *Qui non communicat, det*

Cypr. Lib. iii.  
Epist.

Gregor. Dial.  
Lib. ii. cap.  
xxiii.

[<sup>1</sup> Betray, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>2</sup> Hanc pessimam consuetudinem concilium red-  
arguebat.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret.  
Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii.  
Gloss. in can. 11. col. 1917.]

[<sup>3</sup> The word is repeatedly found in works falsely  
ascribed to Augustine. See also August. Op. Par.  
1679-1700. Serm. xlix. 8. Tom. V. 275....post ser-  
monem fit missa catechumenis. Conf. Du Cange,

Gloss. in Voc.]

[<sup>4</sup> ... sunt tamen qui de levioribus peccatis...  
post mortem possunt absolvi, vel pœnis...vel suorum  
precibus et eleemosynis, missarumque celebrationi-  
bus.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Comm. Lib. 11.  
in Proverb. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 545. This com-  
mentary is spurious.]

[<sup>5</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist. lxxiii.  
p. 204; where *remissam*.]



*locum*<sup>6</sup>: "Whoso doth not communicate, let him give place." Thus all they that either would not or might not communicate with the rest of their brethren, were willed to depart; whereof it necessarily followeth, that all they that remained did communicate.

Of this departure away and proclamation of the deacon, the action itself, which was the holy communion, was called *missa*. Afterward, when either through negligence of the people, or through avarice of the priests, the whole order hereof was quite altered, and the thing that had been common was become private, yet, as it happeneth often in other the like things, the former name remained still. For example, the vigils or night-watches were turned into fastings; altars, that served for offering up of calves and goats, were turned into the Lord's table; the sabbath-day was turned into the Sunday. Yet, the things being thus altered, the names notwithstanding of vigils, altars, and sabbath-days remain still in use, as they did before. Therefore M. Harding herein, as commonly elsewhere, thought it best to deceive his reader by the mistaking and error of the name.

Last of all, if the fathers in the council of Toledo and Leo meant all one thing, as here it is constantly avouched, then is M. Harding by the same fathers but poorly relieved. For it is most evident by that is already said, that Leo meant the holy communion, and not M. Harding's private mass.

#### M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

If M. Jewel agnise and accept for good the authority of this council, as the church doth, then must he allow these many things which he and the sacramentaries to the uttermost of their power and cunning labour to disprove and deface. First, the blessed sacrifice of the mass, which the fathers of this council call the true and singular sacrifice, the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ [*the sacrifice of the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord*]<sup>7</sup>, which the priest offereth on the altar. Next, the truth and real presence of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrifice offered. Then altars, which this council calleth divine or holy, for the divine and holy things on them offered, the body and blood of Christ. Furthermore, the (200) multitude of masses in one day: for they speak of many sacrifices, that is, many masses, plurima sacrificia. Lastly, private masses. For the words *nec ipse sacrificans*, rightly construed and weighed, import no less. For whereas no word in this decree is uttered whereby it may appear the people to be of necessity required to receive, if the priests had received themselves at every mass, no fault had been found. And if the people had received without the priests, in this case it had been reason this decree should otherwise have been expressed. And so it is clear that at that time private masses were said and done.

The two hundredth untruth. For M. Harding understandeth not his own book, as it shall appear.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The authority and credit of this council of Toledo is no part of our question. It was holden almost seven hundred years after Christ; and of greater antiquity M. Harding is able to allege none. Which thing, I trust, the indifferent and discreet reader will well remember.

Concerning these five notes, whereof one only toucheth this purpose. As this council saith the priest offereth the sacrifice at the altar or holy table, even so 1. Leo saith every of the whole faithful people likewise offereth up the same sacrifice<sup>8</sup>. I say not any other, but the very self-same sacrifice, and that in as ample manner as it is offered by the priest.

Leo ad Diosc. Epist. 81.

Touching real presence, M. Harding seemeth to do as children sometimes 2. use to do, that imagine horsemen, and banners, and other strange miracles in the clouds. It is only his own fantasy; for there is no such word or mention in the council. The matter of altars is already answered. Private masses, and 3. also multitudes of the same, consideration evermore had to the computation of 4.

<sup>6</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Dial. lib. II. cap. xxiii. Tom. II. col. 253. See before, page 19, note 17.]

in H. A. 1564, and H. A. 1565.]

<sup>8</sup> Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxxii. cap. ii. col. 436. See before, page 630.]

[<sup>7</sup> The words between brackets are found only

5. the years, might easily be granted without hinderance. Yet hath not M. Harding, in the space well near of seven hundred years, hitherto found in one church more than two masses in one day; all this his great study and travail therein taken notwithstanding.

Anno 680.  
De Consecr.  
Dist. 2.  
Relatum est  
In Glossa.

But the words of the council be plain: *Plurima sacrificia*: that is, "Many sacrifices;" and therefore, saith M. Harding, "many masses." Hereby it may appear that M. Harding either considereth not his book, or else hath no great regard to that he writeth. His own books will reprove his oversight, and shew how much he is deceived. For *plurima* in this place signifieth not many, that is, neither six, nor five, nor four, nor three, but only two. And for trial hereof I report me to the gloss itself upon the decrees. The words be these: *Nota hic, plurima dici de duobus; quia plura non licet*<sup>1</sup>: "Mark here, that this word *plurima* is spoken only of two. For to say more masses than two, it is not lawful."

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

Now, if M. Jewel refuse and reject the authority of the church represented in that council, then he giveth us a manifest notice what mark we ought to take him to be of. Then may we say unto him the words of St Paul: *Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, nec ecclesia Dei*: "We have no such custom,<sup>1 Cor. xi.</sup> neither the church of God hath not," to condemn the church. And in this case he must pardon us, if according to the precept of Christ, for that he will not hear the church, we take him for no better than a heathen and a publican.<sup>Matt. xviii.</sup>

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To these simple premises M. Harding hath laid a large conclusion. If we hear not him and his church, then are we heathens and publicans. God knoweth, this is a very poor bravery. In the schools it is called *petitio principii*, and *fallacia accidentis*, a deceitful kind of reasoning, without either ground or good order. I need not to open it; it is known unto children.

Matt. xxi.  
Jer. xii.  
Isai. i.  
Bernard. in  
Concil.  
Remens.  
Bernard. in  
Conv. Paul.  
Nicol. de  
Claveng.  
Alb. Pigh.  
de Priv. Miss.  
Latom. contr.  
Bucer.

But doth M. Harding think that every man is an heathen that reproveth error, that discloseth the man of sin, and wisheth the reformation of God's church? Christ said unto the scribes and Pharisees: "You have made the house of God a den of thieves." Hieremy saith: "The labourers themselves have trodden down and torn the vine of the Lord." The prophet Esay saith: "Your silver is turned into dross." St Bernard saith of the bishops in his time: *Pro mercenariis habemus diabolos, &c.*<sup>2</sup>: "Instead of hirelings we have devils:" "From the top to the toe there is no part left whole in the church of Rome<sup>3</sup>." Nicolaus de Clavengiis saith: *Calamitosa desolatio est in domo Dei*<sup>4</sup>: "There is a miserable desolation in the house of the Lord." Pighius confesseth there be abuses in the private mass<sup>5</sup>. Latomus confesseth there is an error in the administration in one kind<sup>6</sup>. And will M. Harding know all these by his own privy mark? Or must Christ, Hieremy, Esay, St Bernard, Pighius, and Latomus, be taken for no better than heathens and publicans? Certainly, touching these pluralities of masses, and this shameful profanation and waste of God's holy mysteries, both Christ and his apostles, and all the old catholic fathers of the primitive church, will say: *Nos hujusmodi consuetudinem non habemus, nec ecclesia Dei*:

1 Cor. xi.

[<sup>1</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 1917.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... sic facit Jesus hodie, eligens sibi multos diabolos episcopos.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Remens. Serm. 3. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 736.]

[<sup>3</sup> Id. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[<sup>4</sup> A fearful picture of the corruptions of the church is drawn by N. de Clameng. De Corrupt. Eccles. Stat. Lib. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond.

1690. Tom. II. pp. 555, &c.; but the precise words used by Jewel do not appear in this treatise.]

[<sup>5</sup> Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. De Miss. Priv. Controv. vi. fol. 123. 2.]

[<sup>6</sup> B. Latom. adv. M. Bucer. Defens. Col. 1545. De Disp. Euch. foll. D. &c. See especially G. ii. ... dico optandum esse, votisque omnibus expetendum, ut nulla res unquam impediatur, quo minus sacramenta ipsa, quo ritu quave ceremonia a Domino instituta sunt, ita possimus integre sine omni detrimento accipere.]

“We have no such custom, neither the church of God.” And to the wilful maintainers of the same Christ will say: *Frustra colitis me, docentes doctrinas præcepta hominum*: “Ye worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men.” Matt. xv.  
Isai. xxix.

And whereas, M. Harding, ye countenance and furnish your errors by the name of the church, remember St John saith: “Make no vaunts that ye be the children of Abraham. For God is able even of the stones to raise up children unto Abraham.” And the angel saith in the book of Revelations: *Dicunt se esse Judæos, et non sunt; sed sunt synagoga Satanæ*: “They name themselves Jews,” that is, the people of God, “but they are not: they are the synagogue of the devil.” Matt. iii.  
Rev. ii.

Now, good christian reader, that thou mayest see how vainly M. Harding hath wandered throughout this whole treaty, it may please thee to remember my first negative proposition touching the same, which in effect is this: They are not able to shew that, within six hundred years after Christ, there were five masses said any where, in any one church, in one day, throughout the world. In which proposition two points are specially touched; the number of masses, and the number of years. To prove the affirmative hereof, M. Harding hath alleged the council of Antisiodorum and the council of Toledo, either of them being without the compass of six hundred years. He hath also alleged Leo, an ancient bishop of Rome, speaking only of the holy communion, and not one word of the private mass<sup>8</sup>. All these three authorities touch only one priest, and, as it appeareth by the gloss, only two ministrations at the uttermost<sup>9</sup>. Thus hath M. Harding failed, both in the computation of the years, and also in the number of his masses. Anno 613.<sup>7</sup>  
Anno 680.  
Leo, Epist. 81.  
De Consecr. Dist. 2.  
Relatum est. In Glossa.

Yet must this be defended among the rest, be the profanation thereof never so horrible; and whosoever dare wish a reformation herein must be no better than a heathen and a publican. O how much better had it been for M. Harding, either to have passed the matter over in silence, or plainly and simply to have confessed his error!

[<sup>7</sup> 614, 1565.]

[<sup>8</sup> Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxi. cap. ii. col. 436.]

[<sup>9</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 1917.]