

Oh read over Doctor Bridges,<sup>1</sup> for it is a  
worthy work.<sup>2</sup>

Or, an epitome<sup>3</sup> of the  
first book of that right worshipful<sup>4</sup> volume written  
against the Puritans in the defence of the noble<sup>5</sup>  
clergy by as worshipful<sup>6</sup> a priest,<sup>7</sup> John Bridges,  
presbyter,<sup>8</sup> priest or elder, Doctor of Divinity<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Bridges (d.1618). He was appointed Dean of Salisbury in 1577, a position he held at the time of the Marprelate controversy in 1588-9. His most important contribution to polemical literature is A Defence of the Government Established etc. (1587). As the full title of the Defence indicates, it was directed in particular against two treatises, The Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government, and The Judgment of a Most Reverend and Learned Man From Beyond The Seas. When the Defence was published in 1587, it was immediately answered in several Puritan tracts. A few months later, Martin Marprelate's two-part response, his Epistle and Epitome, appeared in print.

<sup>2</sup> Martin's opening words "Oh read over Doctor Bridges" allude to the injunction "Take it up and Read" in the title of Bridges' Defence. (HIMT, p.140)

<sup>3</sup> Epitome: A brief statement of the chief points in a literary work; an abridgment, abstract. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Bridges' Defence is a quarto 1412 pages in length, consisting of sixteen books. Martin deals chiefly with the first book (pp.53-161 of the Defence) in a two-part response, his Epistle printed circa October 15, 1588, and his Epitome, printed in November as a separate tract. The Epistle was printed by Robert Waldegrave at East Molesey Priory, a manor house just across the Thames from Hampton Court Palace belonging to Elizabeth Crane, widow of Queen Elizabeth's Master of the Household, Anthony Crane, second son of Robert Crane of Chilton Court, Suffolk. The connection between Mistress Crane and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, is of considerable significance in relation to the question of the authorship of the Marprelate tracts. Katherine Willoughby, mother-in-law of Oxford's sister Mary, was the only child of the second marriage of William, Lord Willoughby. Lord Willoughby's first wife was Mary Hussey, daughter of William Hussey, Attorney-General and Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Edward IV. Elizabeth Crane (nee Hussey) was Sir William Hussey's grand-daughter. Oxford's sister-in-law, Susan Bertie, also married into a family with Hussey connections. In addition, Oxford was linked to the Hussey family through his mother-in-law, Lady Burghley, whose sister was married to the son of Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford; Bedford's second wife was Mistress Crane's cousin, Bridget Hussey. (MT, pp.1, 122; Collinson, p.138; Hervy, Visitation of Suffolk 1561, pp.6-8; pedigree of the Cranes of Chilton in Appleton; Goff, pp.2, 290; McCorkle, pp.276-83; DNB, v.17, pp.431-33)

<sup>4</sup> Worshipful: Of things: Notable or outstanding in respect of some (good) quality or property; distinguished, imposing, reputable, honourable. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>5</sup> Used satirically; throughout the tracts, Martin is critical of the bishops' "lordly" places.

<sup>6</sup> Worshipful: Of persons: Distinguished in respect of character or rank; entitled to honour or respect on this account. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>7</sup> An allusion to Archbishop Whitgift's view that ministers of the Church of England could be called priests.

<sup>8</sup> Presbyter: In the early church, one of a number of officers who had the oversight and management of the affairs of a local church or congregation, some of them also having the function of teaching. Elder has a similar meaning. (OED, pp.636, 1658) The reference to Bridges as a "presbyter" is apparently a play on "Prester John", from medieval Latin *presbyter Johannes*, 'Priest John', the name given in the Middle Ages to an alleged Christian priest and king, originally supposed to reign in the extreme Orient, but generally identified later with the king of Ethiopia or Abyssinia. (OED, p.1663) Martin calls Bridges "Presbyter John" several times in the Epistle.

<sup>9</sup> Bridges received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1575. (HIMT, p.140). In Hay Any Work For Cooper, Martin claims that Bridges, on page 140 of the Defence, has proven the bishops to be "bishops of the devil"; Bridges is thus a "Doctor of Divility".

and Dean of Sarum,<sup>10</sup> wherein the arguments  
of the Puritans are wisely prevented<sup>11</sup> [in] that,  
when they come to answer Master  
Doctor, they must needs say some-  
thing that hath been spoken.<sup>12</sup>

Compiled<sup>13</sup> for the behoof<sup>14</sup> and overthrow of the parsons,<sup>15</sup> vicars<sup>16</sup>  
and currats<sup>17</sup> that have learnt their catechisms and are  
past grace<sup>18</sup> by the reverend and worthy Martin  
Marprelate,<sup>19</sup> gentleman,<sup>20</sup> and dedicated<sup>21</sup>  
to the Convocation House.<sup>22</sup>

The epitome is not yet published,<sup>23</sup> but it shall be when the bishops  
are at convenient leisure to view the same. In the mean-  
time, let them be content with this learned epistle.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Dean: From ecclesiastical Latin *decanus*, head of ten monks in a monastery; hence, the head of the chapter in a collegiate or cathedral church. (OED, pp.495, 1887; HMT, p.140) Martin refers several times in the tracts to Dean Bridges' "monastery" or "cloister" of Sarum (the ecclesiastical name of Salisbury).

<sup>11</sup> Prevent: To meet beforehand (an objection, question, etc.); also, in theological uses, to go before with spiritual guidance and help. (OED, p.1666) Probably a pun.

<sup>12</sup> A criticism of Bridges' diffuse style and failure to argue syllogistically.

<sup>13</sup> Compile: To construct a written or printed work out of materials collected from various sources. (OED, p.382) Martin later suggests that Andrew Perne and others wrote parts of Bridges' Defence.

<sup>14</sup> Behoof: Use, benefit. (OED, p.176)

<sup>15</sup> Parson: A holder of a parochial benefice in full possession of its rights and dues; a rector. (OED, p.1516)

<sup>16</sup> Vicar: A person acting as priest in a parish in place of the parson or rector. (OED, p.2472) According to Wilson, "a Welshman . . . would naturally pronounce an English 'f' as 'v' [since] in Welsh the letter 'f' represents the consonantal 'v' sound, while the 'f' sound is written 'ff' or 'ph'. Wilson thus concludes that a Welshman and an Englishman would pronounce 'vicar' in the same way, although the orthography would differ. (Wilson, pp.29-30) Martin also humorously hints that he is a Welshman in the conclusion to the Epistle ("Given at my castle between two Wales").

<sup>17</sup> Curate: One who has a cure or charge of a parish. (OED, p.473) Martin's pun "currats" perhaps derives from the fact that the term "dumb dogs", an epithet for unpreaching ministers, was in current use in the 1580's. (Hunt, p.95; Strype, Aylmer, p. 54)

<sup>18</sup> Pierce suggests that this pun should be interpreted as "past the section of the Catechism which treats of Grace". (MT, p.13)

<sup>19</sup> Martin's name is indicative of his purpose in writing the tracts, i.e., to "mar prelates". Prelate: An ecclesiastical dignitary of exalted rank, as a bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch. (OED, p.1655)

<sup>20</sup> This is an important clue to Martin's identity.

<sup>21</sup> Dedicate: To inscribe or address (a book, engraving, piece of music, etc.) to a patron or friend, as a compliment, mark of honour, regard, or affection. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin ironically dedicates his book to the bishops themselves.

<sup>22</sup> Convocation: A provincial synod, constituted by statute and called together to deliberate on ecclesiastical matters. (OED, p.420)

<sup>23</sup> The Epitome was not printed until November 27-30, 1588. (MT, p.103)

<sup>24</sup> "Learned epistle" is perhaps an allusion to the title of The Learned Discourse, against which Bridges' Defence was written. Many other usages of the word "learned" throughout the Epistle also seem to be similarly motivated.

Printed overseas in Europe<sup>25</sup> within two furlongs<sup>26</sup> of a bouncing<sup>27</sup> priest at the cost and charges<sup>28</sup> of M. Marprelate, gentleman.

To the right puissant<sup>29</sup> and terrible<sup>30</sup> priests, my clergy-masters<sup>31</sup> of the Confocation House, whether ficars-general,<sup>32</sup> worshipful paltripolitans,<sup>33</sup> or any other of the Holy League<sup>34</sup> of Subscription.<sup>35</sup> This work I recommend unto them with all my heart, with a desire to see them all so provided for one day as I would wish, which I promise them shall not be at all to their hurt.

Right poisoned,<sup>36</sup> persecuting<sup>37</sup> and terrible priests, the theme of mine epistle unto your venerable<sup>38</sup> masterdoms<sup>39</sup> is of two parts (and the epitome of our brother Bridges' book shall come

<sup>25</sup> Martin shields the location of the secret press by claiming that the Epistle was printed on the continent.

<sup>26</sup> Furlong: The eighth part of an English mile. (OED, p.819)

<sup>27</sup> Bouncing: In various senses of the verb relating alike to loudness, brag, and vigorous or ungainly movement. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>28</sup> Martin's claim that the Epistle was published "at his cost and charges" indicates that he has independent means. This is confirmed in the Protestation, where he says, "I have, thank God, of mine own, wherewith I am better content than they are with all their spoil and robbery. And if I wanted, I could tell how to live in an honest calling, with better credit in the church of God than all the lord bishops of England do."

<sup>29</sup> Puissant: Possessed of or wielding power; having great authority or influence; mighty, potent, powerful. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>30</sup> Terrible: Exciting or fitted to excite terror; such as to inspire great fear or dread; frightful, dreadful. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The adjectives "puissant" and "terrible" convey the power of the Elizabethan bishops sitting in the Court of High Commission.

<sup>31</sup> Martin's use of "clergy-masters" is not noticed in the OED. The word is perhaps formed on the same principle as choir-master, and is intended to underline Martin's point that the bishops have no right to be "masters" over the rest of the clergy.

<sup>32</sup> Vicar-General: An ecclesiastical officer, usually a cleric, appointed by a bishop as his representative in matters of jurisdiction or administration. (OED, p.2472)

<sup>33</sup> Metropolitan: A bishop having the oversight of the bishops of a province, in the West equivalent to archbishop. (OED, p. 1318) Martin's epithet is a combination of "metropolitan" and "paltry".

<sup>34</sup> French leagues, religious and political organizations designed to combat the Protestant Huguenots, were taken over by the nobility in 1576 with the formation of the Sainte Ligue. Under the leadership of Henry, Duke of Guise, it became the League's aim to depose the ruling House of Valois. Eventually, Henri III broke with the League and had the Duke of Guise murdered on December 23, 1588. (NCE, v.VIII, pp.586-7) Martin refers to the murder of the Duke of Guise in the Just Censure. Here, in the phrase "Holy League of Subscription", he associates Whitgift's Articles of Subscription with the anti-Reformation purposes of the Catholic League.

<sup>35</sup> Subscription: A declaration of one's assent to articles of religion by signing one's name; specifically, in the Church of England, assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles. (OED, p.2171) In the Marprelate tracts, "subscription" usually refers to assent to Whitgift's Articles of 1584 which included assent to the contents of The Book of Common Prayer.

<sup>36</sup> Poison: To corrupt, pervert morally, to influence perversely. (OED, p.1617) Martin's use of "poisoned" affords an example of his craftsmanship in the use of language: the word is not only a pun on "puissant" but a characterization of the bishops' moral character.

<sup>37</sup> The historical records of the period justify this charge against the Elizabethan bishops. Martin's use of "persecuting" precedes by more than a century the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>38</sup> Venerable: An epithet of ecclesiastics. (OED, p.2459)

<sup>39</sup> Masterdom: = mastership. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's use is the first example cited in the OED. The second is from the anti-Marprelate tract, The Return of Pasquil: "May it please your Masterdom."

out speedily). First, most pitifully complaining Martin Marprelate, etc. Secondly, may it please your good worshippers, etc.<sup>40</sup>

Most pitifully complaining, therefore, you are to understand that Doctor Bridges hath written in your defence a most senseless book, and I cannot very often at one breath come to a full point<sup>41</sup> when I read the same.<sup>42</sup>

Again, may it please you to give me leave to play<sup>43</sup> the dunce<sup>44</sup> for the nonce<sup>45</sup> as well as he; otherwise, dealing with Master Doctor's book, I cannot keep *decorum personae*.<sup>46</sup> And may it please you, if I be too absurd in any place<sup>47</sup> (either in this epistle or that epitome), to ride to Sarum and thank his deanship<sup>48</sup> for it, because I could not deal with his book commendably according to order unless I should be sometimes tediously dunstical<sup>49</sup> and absurd. For I have heard some clergymen say that Master Bridges was a very patch<sup>50</sup> and a dunce when he was in Cambridge.<sup>51</sup> And some say - saving your reverence that are bishops - that he is as very a knave and enemy unto the sincerity of religion as any popish<sup>52</sup> prelate in Rome. But the patch can do the cause of sincerity no hurt. Nay, he hath in this book wonderfully graced<sup>53</sup> the same by writing against it. For I have heard some say that whosoever will read his book shall as evidently see the goodness of the cause of reformation and the poor, poor, poor nakedness of your government<sup>54</sup> as almost in

<sup>40</sup> According to Pierce, these two phrases were the conventional opening words of petitions presented to those in authority, praying for relief or redress. (MT, p.17)

<sup>41</sup> Full point: A period. (OED, p.2137)

<sup>42</sup> A reference to Bridges' lengthy sentences.

<sup>43</sup> Play (the dunce, etc.): *Fig.* To sustain the character of; to perform the duties or characteristic actions of; to act as if one were, act or behave as or like, act the part of. Esp. in various phrases, as to play the fool, the man, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) There are many such phrases in the tracts (play the fool, the thief, the worthy workman, etc.), suggesting that the idea of people playing parts was second nature with Martin.

<sup>44</sup> Dunce: An adherent of Duns Scotus, a hair-splitting reasoner, a cavilling sophist; a pedant; one who shows no capacity for learning, a dullard, a blockhead. From John Duns Scotus, the scholastic theologian, called the Subtle Doctor, who died in 1308. The *Dunsmen* or *Dunses* were a predominating sect until the 16th century, when the system was discredited by the humanists and reformers. (OED, p.617; MT, p.17) In the *Epitome*, Martin says of himself, "I have been a great Schoolman in my days."

<sup>45</sup> For the nonce: For the occasion; temporarily. (OED, p.1410)

<sup>46</sup> *Decorum*: In dramatic, literary or artistic composition: That which is proper to a personage, place, time or subject in question, or to the nature, unity or harmony of the composition; fitness, congruity, keeping. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>47</sup> Place: A (short) passage in a book or writing, separately considered, or bearing upon some particular subject; a text, extract. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>48</sup> Deanship: The personality of a dean: used humorously as a title. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's is the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>49</sup> Dunstical: Variant of duncical (of or pertaining to a dunce; dull-witted, stupid, blockheaded). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>50</sup> Patch: A domestic fool; a fool or foolish person generally; a clown, dolt, booby. According to T. Wilson 1553, and Heywood 1562, orig. the name or rather nickname of Cardinal Wolsey's domestic 'fool' or jester, his real name being Sexton. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Dexter suggests that "patch" is derived from the Italian *pazzo*. (MT, p.18) In John Florio's *Queen Anna's New World Of Words* (1611), *pazzo* is defined as "a fool, a patch, a mad-man". (p.362)

<sup>51</sup> Bridges was educated at Pembroke Hall, taking his B.A. in 1556 and his M.A. in 1560. (HIMT, p.140)

<sup>52</sup> Popish: Of or belonging to the Church of Rome; papistical. (In hostile use.) (OED, p.1629)

<sup>53</sup> Grace: To lend or add grace to, to adorn, embellish, set off. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) A pun?

<sup>54</sup> I.e., the ecclesiastical government of the bishops of the Church of England.

reading all Master Cartwright's works.<sup>55</sup> This was a very great oversight<sup>56</sup> in his Grace of Cant.<sup>57</sup> to suffer such a book to come out. For, besides that an archbishop is very weakly defended by Mass<sup>58</sup> Dean, he hath also by this means provoked many to write against his Gracious Fatherhood who perhaps never meant to take pen in hand. And, brother Bridges, mark what Martin tells you. You will shortly, I hope, have twenty fists about your ears more than your own.<sup>59</sup> Take heed of writing against Puritans while you live. Yet they say that his Grace would not have the book to be published and - if you mark - you shall not find "Seen And Allowed"<sup>60</sup> in the title of the book. Well fare old Mother Experience yet! The burnt child dreads the fire.<sup>61</sup> His Grace will carry to his grave, I warrant you,<sup>62</sup> the blows which Master Cartwright gave him in this cause.<sup>63</sup> And therefore no marvel though he was loath to have any other so banged<sup>64</sup> as he himself was, to his woe. Others say that John Cant. oversaw<sup>65</sup> every proof.<sup>66</sup> If he did, then he oversaw many a foul salecism,<sup>67</sup> many a senseless period,<sup>68</sup> and far more slanders. Slanders, my friends? I think so. For what will you say if our brother Bridges and our cousin Cosins,<sup>69</sup> with many others, have had

<sup>55</sup> Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) was one of the foremost exponents of the Puritan cause. The principal works to which Martin refers would include A Reply to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitgift (1573), A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline (1574), The Second replie (1575), and The rest of the second replie (1577). (RCEA, pp.30-32).

<sup>56</sup> The sense in which Martin uses "oversight" appears to be unnoticed in the OED. Martin's meaning seems to derive from the verb "oversee" (to fail to perceive what is fitting or right for one to do, or what is the truth of a fact or matter; to forget oneself, act unbecomingly; to fall into error, make a mistake, err, blunder, act imprudently). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) See also the participial adjective "overseen".

<sup>57</sup> One of several satiric titles bestowed by Martin on John Whitgift (1530?-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury. The term "cant" was applied contemptuously as early as the 12th century to the singing in church services. (OED, p. 278)

<sup>58</sup> Martin associates the bishops and their supporters with aspects of Roman Catholicism (in this case the Mass, the Catholic celebration of the Eucharist), to drive home his point that the episcopacy is a vestige of Catholicism which has no place in a reformed Church.

<sup>59</sup> Martin complains in Hay Any Work For Cooper that the bishops have taken this figurative language seriously.

<sup>60</sup> By a Star Chamber edict of June 23, 1586, Whitgift and Aylmer were authorized to censor all printed books. (HIMT, p.23; Carlson, p.5).

<sup>61</sup> *Paroemia*, the use of proverbs or adages, was a form of inartificial argument favoured by rhetoricians from Aristotle to the Renaissance. (Joseph, p.309-10)

<sup>62</sup> A favourite expression of Martin's; he uses "I warrant you" eight times in the Epistle alone.

<sup>63</sup> An allusion to the controversy in print between Cartwright and Whitgift during the years 1572-1577. Whitgift's final tract was published in 1574. Cartwright published his A Full and Plain Declaration in 1574 and the two parts of his Replie to Whitgift in 1575 and 1577, and was thus thought to be justified in claiming the victory.

<sup>64</sup> Bang: To knock about; to drub, defeat. (OED, p.153)

<sup>65</sup> The bishops, through Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, responded to many of Martin's charges in An Admonition to the People of England, published in January, 1589. In the Admonition, Whitgift admits that he perused Bridges' book before it went to press. (p.32)

<sup>66</sup> Proof: In typography, a trial impression taken from composed type. (OED, p.1686) Martin was knowledgeable about the printing trade, as evidenced by his many references to printing and the Stationers' Company.

<sup>67</sup> A pun on the French word "sale" (foul).

<sup>68</sup> Period: In grammar, rhetoric, etc., a complete sentence, especially one of several clauses grammatically connected and rhetorically constructed. (OED, p.1555)

<sup>69</sup> Cosin, Richard (1549?-1597), Dean of the Arches and Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury. (DNB, v.4, p.1196) Although the preferred modern spelling is "Cosin", Martin refers throughout the tracts to Dr. "Cosins". "Our cousin Cosins" is perhaps a pun on "cozen", to cheat, defraud by deceit. (OED, p.446)

their grace of the bishops *ad practicandum*<sup>70</sup> in Flanders? How could their government stand unless they should slander their brethren and make her Majesty believe that the church government prescribed in the Word would overthrow her regiment<sup>71</sup> if it were received in our church, and that the seekers of reformation are a sort<sup>72</sup> of malcontents and enemies unto the state?<sup>73</sup>

Item,<sup>74</sup> may it please your worthy worships to receive this courteously to favour at my hand without choler or laughing. For my Lord of Winchester<sup>75</sup> is very choleric<sup>76</sup> and peevish.<sup>77</sup> So are his betters at Lambeth.<sup>78</sup> And Doctor Cosins hath a very good grace in jesting, and I would he had a little more grace and a handful or two more of learning against<sup>79</sup> he answer the *Abstract*<sup>80</sup> next. Nay, believe me, it is enough for him to answer the *Counterpoison*.<sup>81</sup> And I am none of the malicious sectaries<sup>82</sup> whereof John of London<sup>83</sup> spake the last Lent, 1588 in his letters written to the Archdeacon of Essex<sup>84</sup> to forbid public fasts.<sup>85</sup> Ha! ha! Doctor Copcot!<sup>86</sup> Are ye there?<sup>87</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Pierce discounts Martin's implication that Bridges and Cosins were ordained in Flanders. (MT, pp.19-20)

<sup>71</sup> Regiment: Rule or government over a person, people, or country; *esp.* royal or magisterial authority. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>72</sup> Sort: A number of persons associated together in some way. (OED, p.2053)

<sup>73</sup> Martin is at pains throughout the tracts to refute this damaging allegation by the bishops against the Puritans.

<sup>74</sup> Item: Formerly used to mark the beginning of a new paragraph or division after the first. (BLD, p.966) In this paragraph Martin directs barbs at several of his major adversaries - Cooper, Whitgift, Cosin, Aylmer, and Copcot.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester from 1584-1594. (DNB, v.4, pp.1074-1076)

<sup>76</sup> Choleric: Having choler as the predominant humour; bilious. (OED, p.329)

<sup>77</sup> Peevish: Morose, querulous, irritable, ill-tempered, childishly fretful. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's references to Cooper's and Whitgift's "choleric and peevish" dispositions suggest that he was personally acquainted with these two men.

<sup>78</sup> I.e., John Whitgift (1530?-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury, whose London residence was at Lambeth Palace.

<sup>79</sup> Against: By the time that, before. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *Hamlet* I i 158: "Ever 'gainst that season comes".

<sup>80</sup> Martin refers to the anonymous *An Abstract of Certain Acts of parliament* of 1584, and to Cosin's *Answer To the two first and principall treatises of a certeine factious libell*, also published in 1584. In view of his erudition, evident legal training and mastery of literary style, it is possible that the author of the *Abstract* was Martin himself.

<sup>81</sup> The Puritan divine Dudley Fenner (1558?-1587) replied to Cosin's *Answer in A Counter-Poyson* (1584). Martin suggests that Cosin should answer the *Counterpoison*, which had not yet been refuted in print although Dr. John Copcot had responded to it in a sermon at Paul's Cross in 1584. (RCEA, p.78)

<sup>82</sup> Sectary: An adherent of a schismatical or heretical sect. In 17th-18th c. commonly applied to the English Protestant Dissenters. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *Henry VIII* V iii 70: "My Lord, my lord, you are a Sectary."

<sup>83</sup> John Aylmer (1521-1594), Bishop of London from 1577-1594. His tenure as bishop was "characterized by exceptional severity, fines and sentences of imprisonment being frequently imposed on those who differed from him on doctrinal questions, whether Puritans or Catholics". (DNB, v.1, pp.753-5)

<sup>84</sup> Unidentified. Dr. John Walker (d.1588) resigned the archdeaconry of Essex about August, 1585. (Strype, *Aylmer*, p.33; DNB, v.20, p.529)

<sup>85</sup> Collinson notes that public fasting "was the practice in all the reformed churches", and that "by the early 'eighties, the fasting movement, if we may call it that, was at its peak". (pp.214, 218)

<sup>86</sup> John Copcot (d.1590), Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge. (DNB, v.4, p.1089)

<sup>87</sup> Martin's dramatic flair is evident throughout the tracts, as here where he engages in direct questioning of the bishops and their associates as though they were present and could actually hear and respond to him.

Why do not you answer the confutation<sup>88</sup> of your sermon<sup>89</sup> at Paul's Cross?<sup>90</sup> It is a shame for your Grace John of Cant. that Cartwright's books have been now a dozen years almost unanswered.<sup>91</sup> You first provoked him to write<sup>92</sup> and you first have received the foil.<sup>93</sup> If you can answer those books, why do you suffer the Puritans to insult<sup>94</sup> and rejoice at your silence? If you cannot, why are you an archbishop? He hath proved the calling<sup>95</sup> to be unlawful and antichristian. You dare not stand to the defence of it. Now most pitifully complaineth M. Marprelate, desireth you either to answer what hath been written against the gracelessness<sup>96</sup> of your archbishopric or to give over<sup>97</sup> the same and to be a means that no bishop in the land be a lord any more.<sup>98</sup> I hope one day her Majesty will either see that the lord bishops prove their calling lawful by the Word or, as

<sup>88</sup> Copcot's sermon at Paul's Cross was replied to in the anonymous A Defence of the reasons of the Counter-Poyson (1586). (RCEA, p.78)

<sup>89</sup> According to Pierce, Copcot's sermon was at once published under the title A Sermon Preached at Powles crosse in 1584. (MT, p.21) However, the full title cited by Pierce contains a reference to A Defence of the reasons of the Counter-Poyson, which was not published until 1586. In addition, there is the testimony of the author of A Defence of the reasons of the Counter-Poyson, who says that Fenner himself had not replied to Copcot's sermon because Fenner "never could get the answeres in writing as now I have got them", and that the author has now "falne upon the whole Sermon in writing", which indicates that the sermon had not been published by 1586. Copcot's sermon is in manuscript at Lambeth. (MT, p.21; DNB, p.1089; RCEA, p.78)

<sup>90</sup> Paul's Cross was situated at the former priory and hospital of St. Mary Spital in Bishopsgate Ward. According to Stow, "a part of the large churchyard pertaining to this hospital, and severed from the rest with a brick wall, yet remaineth as of old time, with a pulpit cross therein, somewhat like to that in Paules churchyard. And against the said pulpit on the south side . . . remaineth also one fair built house, of two stories in height, for the mayor and other honourable persons with the aldermen and sheriffs to sit in, there to hear the sermons preached in the Easter holidays. In the loft over them stood the Bishop of London, and other prelates; now the ladies and aldermen's wives do there stand at a fair window, or sit at their pleasure. And here is to be noted, that, time out of mind, it hath been a laudable custom, that on Good Friday, in the afternoon, some especial learned man, by appointment of the prelates, hath preached a sermon at Paules crosse, treating of Christ's Passion; and upon the three next Easter holidays, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appointment, have used to preach on the forenoons at the said Spittle; and then on Low Sunday, one other learned man at Paules cross, to make rehearsal of those four former sermons, either commending or reproving them, as to him by judgment of the learned divines was thought convenient. And that done, he was to make a sermon of his own study, which in all were five sermons in one." There was also a cross in the churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral where a sermon was preached every Sunday in the forenoon. (Stow's Survey of London, pp.150-1, 296)

<sup>91</sup> Cartwright published his Second replie in 1575 and The rest of the second replie in 1577.

<sup>92</sup> Martin asserts that Whitgift's An answer to a certain libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament (1572) "provoked" Cartwright's A Replye to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitgifte (1573). The statement that Whitgift was the "first" to write appears to offer a negative answer to modern speculation that Cartwright was the author of A Second Admonition to the Parliament (1572).

<sup>93</sup> Foil: A term used in wrestling (overthrow, defeat). (OED, p.779) As You Like It, II ii 12: "Your daughter and her cousin much commend/ The parts and graces of the wrestler/ That did but lately foil the sinewy Charles."

<sup>94</sup> Insult: To manifest arrogant or scornful delight by speech or behaviour; to exult proudly or contemptuously; to boast, brag, vaunt, glory, triumph, esp. in an insolent or scornful way. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>95</sup> Calling: A divine call (the sense here includes the *vocatio* or calling of the Bishop, etc.; summons, vocation. (OED, p.270)

<sup>96</sup> Martin's use of "gracelessness" is the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>97</sup> Give over: To give up, resign, surrender. (OED, p.853)

<sup>98</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift's response to this point is that "hee never thought them so necessarie to be answered as the factious authors of the Libel pretend." (p.32)

John of London prophesied, saying, *Come down, you bishops, from your thousands and content you with your hundreds. Let your diet be priestlike and not princelike, etc.*, quoth John Elmar<sup>99</sup> in his *Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects*. But, I pray you, bishop John, dissolve<sup>100</sup> this one question to your brother Martin. If this prophecy of yours come to pass in your days,<sup>101</sup> who shall be Bishop of London? And will you not swear (as commonly you do, like a lewd swag)<sup>102</sup> and say, *By my faith, by my faith, my masters! This gear<sup>103</sup> goeth hard with us.*<sup>104</sup> Now, may it please your Grace (with the rest of your worships) to procure that the Puritans may one day have a free disputation<sup>105</sup> with you about the controversies of the church and, if you be not set at a flat<sup>106</sup> nonplus<sup>107</sup> and quite overthrown, I'll be a lord bishop myself! Look to yourselves. I think you have not long to reign. Amen. And take heed, brethren, of your reverend and learned brother Martin Marprelate. For he meaneth in these reasons following, I can tell you, to prove that you ought not to be maintained by the authority of the magistrate<sup>108</sup> in any Christian commonwealth. Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasoneth thus. Those that are petty popes and petty Antichrists<sup>109</sup> ought not to

<sup>99</sup> Aylmer wrote his An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects in 1559, many years before he was appointed Bishop of London; his statements in the Harbour proved a source of embarrassment to him while he held that office. (DNB, v.1, p.755) Aylmer's phrase is echoed in Thomas of Woodstock: "Upstarts, come down, you have no places there/ Here's better men to grace King Richard's chair." (Armstrong, p.182) There is much in Thomas of Woodstock to suggest that the play was written circa 1588, and that it deals allusively with some of the same topics as the Marprelate controversy.

<sup>100</sup> Dissolve: To solve (a question, etc.). (OED, P.578)

<sup>101</sup> Probably a satiric reference to Bridges' claim in the Defence that "some among us have not been destitute of the gifts of prophesying".

<sup>102</sup> Swag: A big blustering fellow. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Cooper expresses puzzlement at this term in the Admonition: "What he meaneth by [swag] I will not divine; but as all the rest is lewd, so surely herein he hath a lewde meaning." (p.48)

<sup>103</sup> Gear: Matter, stuff (various figurative uses). (OED, p.838)

<sup>104</sup> In the Admonition, Aylmer claims that swearing by one's faith is the same as saying "Amen". (p.48)

<sup>105</sup> Disputation: An exercise in which parties formally sustain, attack, and defend a question or thesis, as in the mediaeval schools and universities. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) As Pierce notes, "it was one long complaint of the Puritans that they could never get a conference with their ecclesiastical opponents." (MT, p.19) In the Admonition, Whitgift evades the challenge by claiming that the Puritans "have bene disputed and conferred with oftner then either the worthines of their persons or cause did require". (pp.32-3)

<sup>106</sup> Flat: Unrelieved by conditions or qualifications; absolute, downright, unqualified, plain, peremptory. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) A favourite word of Martin's.

<sup>107</sup> Nonplus: A state in which no more can be said or done; inability to proceed; a state of perplexity or puzzle. (OED, p.1412)

<sup>108</sup> Magistrate: A civil officer charged with the administration of the laws, a member of the executive government. (OED, p.1257) Martin's position throughout the tracts is that the bishops are maintained in their places only by the authority of the magistrate (ultimately, Queen Elizabeth); they do not derive their places from any spiritual authority.

<sup>109</sup> Antichrist: The title of a great personal opponent of Christ and His kingdom, expected to appear before the end of the world. (OED, p.80) The Protestant reformers generally equated Antichrist with the Pope. This identification of the Pope with Antichrist stemmed from the Protestant churches' need to legitimize themselves. In order to meet the criticism that theirs was a breakaway religion of a few years' standing, the reformers turned to the Book of Revelation; their various interpretations of the seven seals enabled the Protestant reformers to show that theirs was the true church, the Church of Rome having fallen under the dominion of Antichrist. John Bale, following for the most part the interpretation of Franz Lambert (1486-1530), provided this exegesis of Revelation for the Church of England. Bale's friend John Foxe, in the Acts and Monuments, carried the process further by recounting in vivid detail the stories of the martyrs who had given their lives in the attempt to restore the true church. (Fairfield, pp.74-5, 151-6) In connection with Martin's frequent gibe that the bishops are "petty popes and petty Antichrists", Pierce

**What malapert<sup>17</sup>  
knaves are these, that  
cannot be content to stand  
by and hear, but they  
must teach a gentleman  
how to speak?**

**Look the Doctor's book,  
page 107, line 20, and  
page 113, line 13.**

be maintained in any Christian commonwealth. But every lord bishop in England (as, for illsample,<sup>110</sup> John of Cant., John of London, John Exeter,<sup>111</sup> John Rochester,<sup>112</sup> Thomas of Winchester,<sup>113</sup> the Bishop of Lincoln,<sup>114</sup> of Worcester,<sup>115</sup> of Peterborough<sup>116</sup> and, to be brief, all the bishops in England, Wales, and Ireland) are petty popes<sup>118</sup> and petty Antichrists. Therefore no lord bishop (*Now, I pray thee, good Martin, speak out if ever thou didst speak out, that her Majesty and the Council<sup>119</sup> may hear thee!*) is to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth. What say you now, brother Bridges? Is it good writing against Puritans? Can you deny any part of your learned brother Martin's syllogism?<sup>120</sup> *We deny your minor,*<sup>121</sup> *Master Marprelate,* say the bishops and their associates.

Yea, my learned masters, are you good at that? What do you, brethren? Say me that again? Do you deny my minor? And that be all you can say to deny lord bishops to be petty popes, turn me loose to the priests in that point, for I am old suresby<sup>122</sup> at the proof of such matters. I'll presently mar the fashion of their lordships.

They are petty popes and petty Antichrists whosoever usurp the authority of pastors<sup>123</sup> over them who, by the ordinance<sup>124</sup> of God, are to be under no pastors. For none but antichristian popes and

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notes that "Whitgift, in entering for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, took for his thesis 'That the Pope is Antichrist.'" (MT, p.xxiii) Martin's comment may thus be aimed ironically at Whitgift's thesis topic.

<sup>110</sup> Ilsample: A perversion of ensample, to suggest *ill sample, ill example*. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

Martin's use of "illsample" may be a play on a passage in the Harbour in which Aylmer speaks of the "welfare or ilfare of the realm".

<sup>111</sup> John Wolton (1535?-1594), Bishop of Exeter from 1579-1594. (DNB, v.21, pp.910-11)

<sup>112</sup> John Young (1534?-1605), Bishop of Rochester from 1578-1605. (DNB, v.21, pp.1294-5)

<sup>113</sup> Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester from 1584-1594. (DNB, v.4, pp.1074-6)

<sup>114</sup> William Wickham (1539-1595), Bishop of Lincoln from 1584-1595. (DNB, v.21, pp.1146-7)

<sup>115</sup> Edmund Freake (1516?-1591), Bishop of Worcester from 1584-1591. (DNB, v.7, pp.670-1)

<sup>116</sup> Richard Howland (1540-1600), Bishop of Peterborough from 1585-1600. (DNB, v.10, pp.125-6)

<sup>117</sup> Malapert: Of persons, their qualities, actions, etc.: Presumptuous, impudent, 'saucy'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin responds to the imaginary by-standers who have encouraged him by saying "Now, I pray thee, good Martin, speak out".

<sup>118</sup> Throughout the tracts, Martin contends that the office of bishop in the Church of England is, in essence, no different from that of the Pope of Rome.

<sup>119</sup> Privy Council: The private councillors of the sovereign. (OED, p.1674)

<sup>120</sup> Syllogism: In logic, an argument expressed or claimed to be expressible in the form of two propositions called the premises, containing a common or middle term, with a third proposition called the conclusion resulting necessarily from the other two. (OED, p.2219) Throughout the tracts, Martin argues according to the rules of formal logic, and criticizes his opponents for failing to do so.

<sup>121</sup> Minor term: The subject of the conclusion of a syllogism. (OED, p.1329)

<sup>122</sup> "Suersvie" in the text. Pierce adopts Petheram's suggestion of "suresby", and notes that Sym Suresby is a character in Ralph Roister Doister. (MT, pp.23-4; Creeth, p.219) Suresby: An appellation for a person that is 'sure' or may be depended upon. (OED, p.2200) Compare with Shakespeare's use of "rudesby" in Taming of the Shrew III ii 10 and Twelfth Night IV i 55. Rudesby: An insolent, unmannerly, or disorderly fellow. (OED, p.1858)

<sup>123</sup> Pastor: A shepherd of souls; one who has the spiritual oversight over a company or body of Christians, as bishop, priest, minister, etc.; *spec.* the minister in charge of a church or congregation, with particular reference to the spiritual care of his 'flock'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's point is that God Himself has ordained that ministers (pastors) are to have no-one in authority over them; the bishops' positions are, therefore, unlawful.

<sup>124</sup> Ordinance: That which is ordained or decreed by the Deity or by Fate; a dispensation, decree, or appointment of Providence or of Destiny. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

**M. Marprelate, you put more than the question<sup>129</sup> in the conclusion of your syllogism.**

popelings<sup>125</sup> ever claimed this authority unto themselves, especially when it was gainsaid<sup>126</sup> and accounted antichristian generally by the most churches in the world for the most part. Therefore, our lord bishops (*What sayest thou, man?*) our lord bishops, I say - as John of Canterbury, Thomas of Winchester (I will spare John of London for this time, for it may be he is at bowls,<sup>127</sup> and it is pity to trouble my good brother lest he should swear too bad), my reverend prelate of Lichfield<sup>128</sup> with the rest of that swinish<sup>130</sup> rabble<sup>131</sup> - are petty Antichrists, petty popes, proud prelates, intolerable withstanders<sup>132</sup> of reformation, enemies of the Gospel, and most covetous<sup>133</sup> wretched priests. This is a pretty matter, that standers-by must be so busy<sup>134</sup> in other men's games! Why, sauceboxes,<sup>135</sup> must you be prattling?<sup>136</sup> You are as mannerly as bishops (in meddling with that you have nothing to do) as they do in taking upon them civil offices!<sup>137</sup> I think for any manners either they or you have, that you were brought up in Bridewell.<sup>138</sup> But it is well that since you last interrupted me (for now this is the second time) you seem to have learnt your *Cato De Moribus*<sup>139</sup> in that you keep yourselves on the margent.<sup>140</sup> Would you be answered? Then you must know that I have set down nothing but the truth in the conclusion, and the syllogisms are mine own. I

<sup>125</sup> Popeling: An adherent of the pope, a papist; a little or petty pope. (OED, p.1629)

<sup>126</sup> Gainsay: To contradict. (OED, p.824)

<sup>127</sup> Martin frequently draws attention to Aylmer's bowling and swearing.

<sup>128</sup> William Overton (1525?-1609), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1579-1609. Pierce cites an occasion in 1585 when Lord Burghley accused Overton of "making lxx ministers in one day for Money, some Taylors, some shoemakers and others Craftsmen . . . I am sure the greatest part of them are not worthy to keep horses". (MT, p.157; DNB, v.14, p.1283-4)

<sup>129</sup> The question: The precise matter receiving or requiring deliberation or discussion. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>130</sup> Swinish: Having the character or disposition of a swine; hoggish, piggish, sensual, gluttonous; coarse, gross, or degraded in nature. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>131</sup> Rabble: Applied contemptuously to a class or body of persons, imagined as collected in a mob. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>132</sup> Withstander: One who withstands; a resister, opponent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>133</sup> Covetous: Culpably or inordinately desirous of gaining wealth or possessions; *esp.* of that which belongs to another or to which one has no right; greedy, grasping, avaricious. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>134</sup> Busy: In bad sense: Active in what does not concern one; prying, inquisitive, meddling, officious; restless, fussy, importunate. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>135</sup> Saucebox: A person addicted to making saucy remarks. (OED, p.1890) Martin refers to the imaginary bystanders commenting from the margin.

<sup>136</sup> Prattle: To talk or chatter in a childish or artless fashion; to be loquacious about trifles. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>137</sup> One of Martin's strongest convictions is that bishops should not hold civil offices. At the time of the Marprelate controversy, Archbishop Whitgift was both a member, and President, of the Privy Council.

<sup>138</sup> Formerly a royal residence; given by Edward VI to the City of London in 1553 as a house of correction ("a workhouse for the poor and idle persons of the city"). (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.351-2)

<sup>139</sup> Dionysius Cato's *Disticha de Moribus ad Filium*. The work "commences with a preface addressed by the author to his son, pointing out how prone men are to go astray for want of proper counsel, and inviting his earnest attention to the instructive lessons about to be inculcated. Next come fifty-six proverb-like injunctions . . . which are followed by the main body of the work, consisting of a series of sententious moral precepts, one hundred and forty-four in number, each apophthegm being enunciated in two dactylic hexameters." (MT, p.25; Smith, p.634)

<sup>140</sup> Margent: The margin of a book as being the place for a commentary or summary. (OED, p.1278)

Martin comments on the fact that the imaginary by-standers have now moved their remarks from the text itself to the margin of the tract.

may do what I will with them, and thus hold you content. But what say you, my horned<sup>141</sup> masters of the Confocation House? You deny my minor again, I know. And thus I prove it. First:

*That our prelates usurp their authority.*

They usurp their authority who violently and unlawfully retain those under their government that both would and ought (if they might) to shake off that yoke wherewith they are kept under.<sup>142</sup> But our lord bishops retain such (namely other pastors) - and unlawfully - under their yoke who both would, and ought, to reject the same. For all the pastors in the land that deserve the names of pastors are against their will under the bishops' jurisdictions. And they are unlawfully detained by them because no pastor can be lawfully kept under the pastoral (I mean not the civil) authority of any one man. Therefore our bishops and proud, popish, presumptuous,<sup>143</sup> profane,<sup>144</sup> paltry,<sup>145</sup> pestilent<sup>146</sup> and pernicious<sup>147</sup> prelates<sup>148</sup> (Bishop of Hereford,<sup>149</sup> and all) are first usurpers,<sup>150</sup> to begin the matter withal. Secondly:

*Our prelates claim this authority over those who, by the ordinance of God, are to be under no pastors.*

That is, they claim pastoral authority over other ministers and pastors who, by the ordinance of God, are appointed to be pastors and shepherds to feed others, and not sheep or such as are to have shepherds by whom they are to be fed and overseen, which authority the bishops claim unto themselves. For they say that they are pastors of all the pastors within their dioceses. And take this of M. Marprelate's word, that there is no pastor of pastors but he is a pope.<sup>151</sup> For who but a pope will claim this authority? Thirdly:

*This authority of our lord bishops in England is accounted antichristian of the most churches in the world.*

<sup>141</sup> According to Pierce, an allusion to the bishop's mitre. Mitre: A bishop's tall cap, deeply cleft at the top, the front and back having the shape of a pointed arch. (OED, p.1339)

<sup>142</sup> This example is typical of Martin's method of proving his syllogisms. He begins by defining his terms ("usurp authority"), and then goes on to apply the definition to the subject under consideration (whether prelates can be considered to "usurp authority").

<sup>143</sup> Presumptuous: Characterized by presumption in opinion or conduct; unduly confident or bold; arrogant, presuming; forward, impertinent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>144</sup> Profane: Applied to persons or things regarded as unholy or as desecrating what is holy or sacred: unhallowed; ritually unclean or polluted. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>145</sup> Paltry: Rubbishy, trashy, worthless; petty, insignificant, trifling; contemptible, despicable; of worthless nature. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>146</sup> Pestilent: Injurious or dangerous to religion, morals, or public peace. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>147</sup> Pernicious: Having the quality of destroying; tending to destroy, kill, or injure; destructive, ruinous; fatal. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>148</sup> Martin's extraordinary use of alliteration here is worthy of remark.

<sup>149</sup> Herbert Westfaling (1532?-1602), Bishop of Hereford from 1585-1602, "almost the only honest and incorruptible of the Elizabethan bishops". (MT, p.25; DNB, v.20, pp.1263-4)

<sup>150</sup> Usurper: One who illegally or unjustly seizes, appropriates, or intrudes into any office, property, rights, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>151</sup> Pope: *Fig.* One who assumes, or is considered to have, a position or authority like that of the pope. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED cites the Marprelate tract Hay Any Work For Cooper as the first usage.

As of the Helvetian,<sup>152</sup> the Scottish, French, Bohemian,<sup>153</sup> and the churches of the Low Countries, the churches of Polonia,<sup>154</sup> Denmark, within the dominions of the Count Palatine,<sup>155</sup> of the churches in Saxony<sup>156</sup> and Swevia,<sup>157</sup> etc., which you shall see evidently proved in the *Harmony Of The Confessions*<sup>158</sup> of all those churches (section the eleventh), which *Harmony* was translated and printed by that Puritan Cambridge printer, Thomas Thomas.<sup>159</sup> And although the book came out by public authority, yet (by your leave) the bishops have called them in<sup>160</sup> as things against their state. And trust me, his Grace will owe that Puritan printer as good a turn as he paid unto Robert Waldegrave<sup>161</sup> for his sauciness in printing my friend and dear brother Diotrephes' *Dialogue*.<sup>162</sup> Well, friend Thomas, I warn you beforehand. Look to yourself.

<sup>152</sup> The churches of Geneva and Zurich.

<sup>153</sup> Bohemia, a historic province of Czechoslovakia, was the home of the 15th century religious reformer John Huss. (Seltzer, p.237)

<sup>154</sup> Poland.

<sup>155</sup> The German Palatinate.

<sup>156</sup> An electorate in East Central Germany. Wittenberg in Saxony was the home of the reformer Martin Luther. (Seltzer, p.1713)

<sup>157</sup> A former German duchy, now a province including Württemberg and part of Bavaria. (OED, p.2206)

<sup>158</sup> Harmony: A collation of passages on the same subject from different writings, arranged so as to exhibit their consistency. (OED, p.928) Carlson identifies this book as Harmony of the Confessions of Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, and has the following note (p.394): "The Harmony of the Confessions was first printed in Latin at Geneva in 1581; the English edition was published at Cambridge in 1586. It is listed in the S.T.C., 5155; in the British Museum General Catalogue, it is difficult to find, since it is catalogued under 'Europe, Christian and Reformed Churches' (see v.69, p.664)".

<sup>159</sup> Thomas Thomas (1553-1588), fellow of King's College, Cambridge and author of a dictionary dedicated to Lord Burghley. Thomas was licenced as printer to Cambridge University on May 3, 1582. (MT, p.26; DNB, v.19, p.673)

<sup>160</sup> Pierce quotes a note from Petheram confirming Martin's claim that the Harmony was first issued by public authority and then called in by the bishops. (MT, p.26; DNB, v.19, pp.672-3)

<sup>161</sup> Robert Waldegrave (1554?-1604) was the printer for the secret press from at least the early summer of 1588, when he printed John Penry's Defence of That Which Hath Been Written, until late March, 1589. Between October 15, 1588 and March 23, 1589, Waldegrave printed the first four of the Marprelate tracts (the Epistle, the Epitome, the Minerals, and Hay Any Work For Cooper) as well as another book of John Penry's, A viewe of some part of such publike wants & disorders (1589). The secret press was in operation several months before the first of the Marprelate tracts was printed, and was not utilized exclusively for the printing of the tracts even after that time; it is thus highly doubtful that it came into being solely for the purpose of printing the writings of Martin Marprelate. The secret press also operated on a somewhat larger scale than is commonly realized. There were at least two (and perhaps three) presses available to the printers. When the printer Hodgkins and his assistants left Wolston Priory on July 29, 1589, they left the press they had been using behind. On reaching Newton Lane near Manchester, they found another press ready for them, and it was this press that was captured on August 14, 1589 by the Earl of Derby's men. Martin's Protestation was printed about the middle of September, 1589, on the press the printers had left behind at Wolston Priory. Wilson speculates that there may have been a third press, which Waldegrave took with him to Devonshire and Rochelle. (HIMT, pp.312-319; RCEA, pp.84-6; Wilson, p.61; Arber, Introductory Sketch, pp.79-80, 136)

<sup>162</sup> Waldegrave printed the anonymous The State of the Church of England Laid Open, commonly referred to as Diotrephes' Dialogue, in London during the first two weeks of April, 1588. His house in Paul's Churchyard was searched on April 16, 1588, and his press seized, along with copies of the book. On May 13, 1588, the Court of the Stationers' Company ordered Waldegrave's press destroyed and the books burned. It is to this "good turn" that Martin refers in his warning to Thomas Thomas, and on which he expands later in the Epistle. Carlson suggests, on grounds of style, that Martin Marprelate was the author of Diotrephes' Dialogue. If so, the Marprelate controversy takes on a different dimension in that Martin's

At a dead lift,<sup>165</sup> well  
fare a good gloze!<sup>166</sup>

Put the case<sup>172</sup> that my  
Lord of Canterbury is  
such a one.

And now, brethren bishops, if you will not believe me, I will set down the very words of the French *Confession* contained page 359 of the *Harmony*. *We believe* (saith the *Confession*, article 30) *that all true pastors, in what place*<sup>163</sup> *soever they be placed, have the same and equal authority among themselves given unto them under Jesus Christ, the only Head and the chief alone universal Bishop, and that therefore it is not lawful for any church to challenge unto itself dominion or sovereignty over any other.* What an horrible heresy is this, will some say. Why gentle Martin, is it possible that these words of the French *Confession* should be true? Is it possible that there ought to be an equality between his Grace and the Dean of Sarum, or some other hedge-priest?<sup>164</sup> Martin saith it ought be so. *Why then, Martin, if it should be so, how will the bishops satisfy the reader in this point?* Alas, simple fellow, whatsoever thou art, I perceive thou dost not mark the words of the *Confession*. My good brethren have long since taken order<sup>167</sup> for this gear. For the *Confession* doth not say that *all pastors* but that *all true pastors* and *all pastors that are under Jesus Christ* are of equal authority. So that all men see that my brethren - that are neither true pastors nor, I fear me, under Jesus Christ - are not to be of equal authority. And because this doth not touch them, I will end this whole learned discourse<sup>168</sup> with the words of Pope Gregory<sup>169</sup> unto John, Bishop of Constantinople<sup>170</sup> (for I have read something in my days),<sup>171</sup> which words you shall find in our own English *Confession* written by a bishop, page 361 of the *Harmony*. The Pope's words be these: *He is also the king of pride, he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren. He hath forsaken the faith and is the forerunner of Antichrist.* And have not I quitted<sup>173</sup> myself like a man, and dealt very valiantly in proving that my learned brethren the lord bishops ought not to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth because they are petty popes and petty Antichrists? But what do you say if, by this lusty<sup>174</sup> syllogism of mine own making, I prove them popes once more for recreation's sake?

Whosoever therefore claim unto themselves pastoral authority over those Christians with whom they cannot possibly at any time, all together in the same congregation, sanctify the Sabbath, they

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decision to write the tracts may have been motivated in part by the bishops' burning of his book. (HIMT, pp.311-2; Carlson, pp.7, 332-4)

<sup>163</sup> Place: An office, employment, situation; sometimes *spec.* a government appointment, an office in the service of the crown or state. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>164</sup> Hedge-priest: An illiterate or uneducated priest of inferior status (*contemptuous*). (OED, p.945)

<sup>165</sup> At a dead lift: *Fig.* A position or juncture in which one can do no more, an extremity, 'a hopeless exigence'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>166</sup> Gloze: A comment or marginal note; an exposition; = gloss. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>167</sup> To take order: To take measures or steps, to make arrangements. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>168</sup> A play on the title of the Learned Discourse, against which Bridges' Defence was written.

<sup>169</sup> Gregory I (ca.540-604), known as Gregory the Great. According to Strayer, the 854 letters of Gregory's Register are the primary historical source for the 6th century. (pp.668-9)

<sup>170</sup> John IV, the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople from 582-595. John's assumption of the title "ecumenical patriarch" elicited the papal comment to which Martin refers. (Strayer, pp.668-9) In the Acts and Monuments, Foxe gives a different version of the sentence quoted by Martin: "[Gregory] addeth further and saith, 'that whosoever goeth about to extol himself above other bishops, in so doing followeth the example of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal or like unto other angels.'" (v.1, p.39)

<sup>171</sup> Martin's modest statement is not to be taken at face value. His erudition is evident throughout the tracts.

<sup>172</sup> To put case: To propound a hypothetical instance or illustration, to suppose. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>173</sup> Quit: To do one's part, behave, bear oneself (usually in a specified way). (OED, p.1733)

<sup>174</sup> Lusty: Of language, eloquence, etc.: Pleasing, agreeable. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

**Why Martin, what meanest thou? Certainly an thou takest that course<sup>176</sup> but a while, thou wilt set thy good brethren at their wits' end.**

are usurping prelates, popes and petty Antichrists. For did you ever hear of any but of popes and dumb ministers<sup>175</sup> that would challenge the authority of pastors over those Christians unto whom they could not possibly on the Sabbath discharge the duty of pastors? But our lord bishops challenge unto themselves pastoral authority over them unto whom they cannot possibly on the Sabbath discharge the duty of pastors, viz., over people inhabiting divers shires<sup>177</sup> distant asunder with whom, gathered together on the Sabbath, they cannot by order of nature perform any duty of pastors. Therefore all the lord bishops in England, Ireland and Wales - and for the goodwill I bear to the reverend brethren I will speak as loud as ever I can - all our lord bishops, I say, are petty popes and petty usurping Antichrists, and I think if they will still continue to be so that they will breed young popes and Antichrists. *Per consequens*, neither they nor their brood<sup>178</sup> are to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth, quoth Martin Marprelate. There is my judgment of you, brethren. Make the most of it. I hope it will never be worth a bishopric unto you. Reply when you dare; you shall have as good as you bring. And if you durst but dispute with my worship in these points, I doubt not but you should be sent home by Weeping Cross.<sup>179</sup> I would wish you, my venerable masters, for all that to answer my reasons or, out of doubt, you will prove petty Antichrists. Your corner-caps<sup>180</sup> and tippets<sup>181</sup> will do nothing in this point.

Most pitifully complaineth Martin Marprelate unto your honourable masterships<sup>182</sup> that certain thieves, having stolen from dyers in Thames Street as much cloth as came to 30 pounds, did hide the said cloth in Fulham,<sup>183</sup> which is a place within the territories<sup>184</sup> of the Lord dumb John<sup>185</sup> who by occupation is Lord Bishop of London. The thieves were apprehended. The cloth came within your clutches,<sup>186</sup> Don John of London,<sup>187</sup> and all is fish that comes to the net with your good Honour. The thieves being taken, the dyers came to challenge<sup>188</sup> their cloth. John London, the bishop, said it was his own because it was taken within his own lordship. *But*, saith he, *if the cloth*

<sup>175</sup> A reference to [Isaiah 56:10](#): "Their watchmen are all blinde; they have no knowledge; thei are all domme doggs; thei can not barke; thei lie & slepe and delite in sleping." (GB, p.303)

<sup>176</sup> Course: A line of personal action. (OED, p.442)

<sup>177</sup> Shire: In Old English times, an administrative district, consisting of a number of smaller districts ('hundreds' or 'wapentakes'), united for purposes of local government, and ruled jointly by an ealdorman and a sheriff, who presided in the shire-moot. Under Norman rule, the division of England into shires was continued, the AF *counté*, Anglo-Latin *comitatus*, being adopted as the equivalent of the English term. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>178</sup> Brood: A race, a kind. (OED, p.242)

<sup>179</sup> To come home by Weeping Cross: A proverbial phrase meaning to suffer grievous disappointment or failure. (OED, p.2523)

<sup>180</sup> Corner-cap: A cap with four (or three) corners, worn by divines. (OED, p.427) Martin plays on this symbol of ecclesiastical office throughout the tracts in the use of terms such as "catercap", "catercorner divinity", etc.

<sup>181</sup> Tippet: A band of silk or other material worn round the neck, with the two ends pendent from the shoulders in front. (OED, p.2312)

<sup>182</sup> Mastership: With possessive pronoun: The personality of a master. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) [Two Gentlemen of Verona](#): "How now Signior Launce? what newes with your Mastership?"

<sup>183</sup> Aylmer had a palace at Fulham, a few miles up-river from London. (Strype, [Aylmer](#), p.112)

<sup>184</sup> Territory: The land or country belonging to or under the dominion of a ruler or state. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) [I Henry VI](#) V 3 146: "Welcome brave Earle into our Territories."

<sup>185</sup> In the [Admonition](#), Aylmer calls the appellation "dumb John" a "lewde lying Epithete", and points out that he has sometimes preached three sermons in a year at Paul's Cross "being an olde man, to supply some yonger mens negligence". (pp.46-8)

<sup>186</sup> Clutches: The hands in a sense of rapacity and cruelty. (OED, p.355)

<sup>187</sup> An allusion to Don John of Austria (1547-1578), Spanish General and Governor-General of the Netherlands. (WBD, P.786)

<sup>188</sup> Challenge: To lay claim to, demand as a right. (OED, p.311)

*be yours, let the law go upon the thieves and then I'll talk further with you.* Well, one or two of the thieves were executed, and at their deaths confessed that to be the cloth which the bishop had, but the dyers could not get their cloth nor cannot unto this day. No, though one of their Honours<sup>189</sup> wrote unto him to restore the cloth unto the poor men. What reason were it he should give them their own, as though he could not tell how to put it unto good uses as well as the right owners? It is very good blue, and so would serve well for the liveries<sup>190</sup> of his men, and it was good green, fit to make cushions and coverings for tables. Brother London, you were best to make restitution. It is plain theft<sup>191</sup> and horrible oppression. Bonner<sup>192</sup> would have blushed to have been taken with the like fact.<sup>193</sup> The popish sort, your brethren, will commend this unto posterity<sup>194</sup> by writing, assure yourself. The dyers' names are Baughin, Swan and Price. They dwell at the Old Swan<sup>195</sup> in Thames Street.<sup>196</sup> I warrant you, Martin will be found no liar. He bringeth in nothing without testimony.<sup>198</sup> And therefore I have set down the men's names and the places of their abode, that you of this Conspiracy House<sup>199</sup> may find out this slander of truth against the Lord of good London. It was not, therefore, for nothing, John of London (I perceive), that Mistress Lawson, the shrew<sup>200</sup> at Paul's Gate<sup>201</sup> and enemy to all dumb dogs and tyrannical prelates in the land, bade you

**My book shall come with a witness before the High Commission.<sup>197</sup>**

<sup>189</sup> From the tenor of Martin's comment, an individual of high rank.

<sup>190</sup> Livery: A suit of clothes, formerly sometimes a badge or cognizance (e.g. a collar or hood) bestowed by a person upon his retainers or servants and serving as a token by which they may be recognized. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) In the Just Censure, Martin refers to the large train of liveried servants with which Whitgift travels on his visitations.

<sup>191</sup> As Pierce notices, Aylmer's reply to this charge is a "tissue of legal quiddities and of damaging admissions". (MT, p.31; Admonition, pp.41-2)

<sup>192</sup> Edmund Bonner (1500?-1569), Catholic Bishop of London under Queen Mary; reprehended by both sides in the current controversy for his persecution of the Marian martyrs.

<sup>193</sup> Fact: An evil deed, a crime. (OED, p.717)

<sup>194</sup> Posterity: All succeeding generations (collectively). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>195</sup> According to Stow, the Old Swan was another name for Ebgate Lane: "On the west side of this ward, at the north end of London bridge, is a part of Thames street, which is also of this ward, to wit, so much as of old time was called Stocke Fishmonger row, of the stock fishmongers dwelling there, down west to a watergate, of old time called Ebgate, since Ebgate lane, and now the Old Swan, which is a common stair on the Thames, but the passage is very narrow by means of encroachments. On the south side of Thames street, about the midway betwixt the bridge foot and Ebgate lane, standeth the Fishmongers' hall, and divers other fair houses for merchants." The Dyers' Hall was nearby. (Stow's Survey of London, pp.191, 212) In connection with the hypothesis that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, is the author of the Marprelate tracts, it is of interest that the former London residence of the Earls of Oxford at Walbrook near London Stone was very near the Old Swan and Dyers' Hall.

<sup>196</sup> Martin's use of London place names throughout the tracts makes it clear that he is a Londoner writing to other Londoners.

<sup>197</sup> In the statute 1 Elizabeth, chapter 1 of 1559, provision was made for the Queen to assign commissioners by letters patent under the Great Seal to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered redressed, corrected, restrained or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the conservation of the peace and unity of this realm". The abuses of which Martin complains relate to the manner in which the High Commission went beyond these statutory powers.

<sup>198</sup> Testimony: Personal or documentary evidence or attestation in support of a fact or statement; hence, any form of evidence or proof. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>199</sup> In the Protestation, Martin makes specific reference to the secret examinations of the High Commission as a possible source of conspiracy against the Crown.

<sup>200</sup> Shrew: A person, *esp.* a woman given to railing or scolding or other perverse or malignant behaviour. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>201</sup> Paul's Gate was situated on the east side of the church of St. Michael *ad Bladum* beside "the little conduit in West Cheape". (Stow's Survey of London, pp.305-6)

throw down yourself at her Majesty's feet, acknowledging yourself to be unsavoury salt,<sup>202</sup> and to crave pardon of her Highness because you had so long deceived her and her people. You might well enough crave pardon for your theft, for Martin will stand to it that the detaining of the men's cloth is plain theft.

Riddle me a riddle. What is that? His Grace threatened to send Mistress Lawson to Bridewell because she showed the good father Doctor Perne<sup>203</sup> a way how to get his name out of the *Book of Martyrs*,<sup>204</sup> where the turncoat<sup>205</sup> is canonized<sup>206</sup> for burning Bucer's bones.<sup>207</sup> Dame Lawson answered that she was an honest citizen's wife, a man well known, and therefore bade his Grace, and he would, send his uncle Shory<sup>208</sup> thither.<sup>209</sup> Ha! ha! ha! Now, good your Grace, you shall have small gains in meddling with Margaret Lawson, I can tell you. For if she be cited<sup>210</sup> before *Tarquinius Superbus*,<sup>211</sup> Doctor Stanhope,<sup>212</sup> she will desire him to deal as favourably with her in that cause as he would with Mistress Blackwell. Tsk, tsk, tsk! Will it never be better with you, Mistress Lawson?

<sup>202</sup> Matthew 5:13: "Ye are the salte of the earth: but if the salte have lost his savour, wherewith shal it be salted. It is thenceforthe good for nothing, but to be cast out, & to be troden under fote of men." (GB, p.4)

<sup>203</sup> Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (DNB, v.15, pp.896-7)

<sup>204</sup> John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, popularly referred to as the Book of Martyrs, a copy of which was required to be kept in all cathedral churches. The first edition in English was published in 1563, the second in 1570. (Williamson, G.A., p.xxv)

<sup>205</sup> Turncoat: One who changes his principles or party; a renegade; an apostate. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Perne was notorious for his changes of religion during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. In A Dialogue. Wherein is plainly laide open, the tyrannical dealing of L. Bishoppes (1589), the author records that if students at Cambridge "have a coate or cloake that is turned they say [it] is Pearnd." (HIMT, p.243) It is also recorded that students at Cambridge translated *perno* as 'I turn, I rat, I change often', and that the letters A.P.A.P. on the weathercock of St. Peter's Church in Cambridge were satirically interpreted as either 'Andrew Perne a papist', or 'Andrew Perne a protestant', or 'Andrew Perne a puritan'. (DNB, v.15, pp.896-7)

<sup>206</sup> Canonize: To place in the canon or calendar of the saints, according to the rules and with the ceremonies observed by the Church. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>207</sup> Martin alludes to a sermon Perne preached during Queen Mary's visit to Cambridge in 1556, at which time the chest containing the body of the German Protestant reformer, Martin Bucer, was taken up and set against a stake in the Market Place and burnt. (Goff, p.191; DNB, v.15, p.897) The part played by Perne in this incident was perhaps the nadir of his career insofar as the Protestants were concerned.

Regrettably, Martin does not reveal Mistress Lawson's stratagem for getting Perne's name out of the Book of Martyrs.

<sup>208</sup> According to Pierce, Shaller (alias Shory) was a verger at St. Paul's; his wife was Whitgift's aunt. (MT, p.32) In the Admonition, Whitgift denies that Mistress Lawson made either of the remarks in question, but asserts emphatically that he would have sent her to Bridewell if she had made the remark about Master Shory. (p.33)

<sup>209</sup> I.e., to Bridewell.

<sup>210</sup> Cite: To summon officially to appear in a court of (usually ecclesiastical) law. (OED, p.341)

<sup>211</sup> One of the semi-legendary kings of Rome, so named on account of his tyrannical character. (Harvey, p.414)

<sup>212</sup> Sir Edward Stanhope (1546?-1608), Chancellor of the Diocese of London. (DNB, v.18, pp.894-5)

Soho,<sup>213</sup> bother Bridges! When will you answer the book entitled *An Answer To Bridges' Slanders?*<sup>214</sup> Nay, I think you had more need to gather a benevolence<sup>215</sup> among the clergy to pay Chard<sup>216</sup> toward the printing of your book (or else labour to his Grace to get him another protection),<sup>217</sup> for men will give no money for your book unless it be to stop mustard pots<sup>218</sup> as your brother Cosins' *Answer* to the *Abstract* did. You have been a worthy writer, as they say, of a long time. Your first book was a proper interlude<sup>219</sup> called *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.<sup>220</sup> But I think that this trifle<sup>221</sup> (which showeth the author to have had some wit and invention<sup>222</sup> in him) was none of your doing because your books seem to proceed from the brains of a woodcock,<sup>223</sup> as having neither wit nor learning. Secondly, you have, to your mediocrity,<sup>224</sup> written against the papists. And, since that time, you have written a sheet in rime of all the names attributed unto the Lord in the Bible - a worthy monument! What hath the hedge-priest, my brother, written any more?

<sup>213</sup> Martin has been criticized for using a carter's cry in addressing Bridges; however, Pierce points out that it is Bridges himself who uses this technique on p.76 of the *Defence*, and Martin's use of "soho" and "wohoho" merely parodies Bridges. (MT, p.32)

<sup>214</sup> Dudley Fenner's *A Defence of the godlie Ministers, against the slaunders of D. Bridges* (1587).

<sup>215</sup> Benevolence: A gift of money, a charitable contribution. (OED, p.181)

<sup>216</sup> Bridges' *Defence* was printed by John Windet for Thomas Chard. (MT, p.33)

<sup>217</sup> Protection: A writing or document that guarantees protection, exemption, or immunity to the person specified in it. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Quare what was the precise nature of the document given to Chard; from the context, it appears that Chard may have been guaranteed a certain amount of money for printing the *Defence*. Whitgift replies to Martin's allegation by shifting the responsibility for Chard's protection onto the Privy Council. (*Admonition*, p.33)

<sup>218</sup> The covering of mustard pots with waste paper is referred to in Nashe's *Pierce Penillesse*. (MT, p.33)

<sup>219</sup> Interlude: A dramatic or mimetic representation, usually light or humorous, such as was commonly introduced between the acts of the long mystery-plays or moralities, etc.; hence, a stage-play, a comedy, a farce. (OED, p.1096)

<sup>220</sup> Martin's conjecture that the ponderous Bridges was the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* is clearly made tongue-in-cheek. The climax of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* is the finding of the missing needle in Hodge's breeches, and the allusion perhaps suggested itself to Martin because of the similarity in pronunciation between "Bridges" and "breeches". There may also be a rather pointed analogy between Bridges and Doctor Rat, the vicar in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*: in the play, Doctor Rat earns a beating for his well-intentioned meddling ("And whiles I sought a quietnes, creping upon my knees/ I found the weight of your dore bar, for my reward and fees/ Such is the luck that some men gets, while they being to me!"). Martin may intend his *Epistle* to be the equivalent of a "dore bar". The title of the 1575 edition of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* states that it was written by "Master S., Master of Art." There may also have been an earlier edition, since Colwell was licenced to print *Dycon of Bedlam* (probably the same play) in 1563. (Creeth, p.xxxiii) With respect to the question of authorship, it appears not improbable that Martin Marprelate himself wrote this "trifle" in his student days. The same sense of humour underlies both the tracts and the play, and there are striking similarities in vocabulary and in the use of West Country dialect.

<sup>221</sup> Trifle: A literary work, piece of music, etc., light or trivial in style; a bagatelle. (OED, p.2362)

<sup>222</sup> According to Sister Miriam Joseph, in the Tudor period "educated men amplified a subject by drawing it as a matter of course through the topics of invention" which, in the categories identified by Cicero, were sixteen in number: definition, division, genus, species, contraries, contradictories, comparison, similarity, dissimilarity, adjuncts, cause, effect, antecedent, consequent, notation, and conjugates. (p.308)

<sup>223</sup> Woodcock: Connotes a fool or simpleton, from the ease with which the woodcock is taken in a snare or net. (OED, p.2567) In the *Epitome*, Martin alleges that Bridges has "lighted upon William Woodcock's divinity".

<sup>224</sup> Bridges uses the word "mediocrity" against himself in the preface to the *Defence*, where he says that the Puritans are his "brethren" and that he would much gladlier write against the papists, "as before to my mediocritie I have endeavoured". (MT, p.34)

**Sosthenes, and not  
Crispus, was one of the  
72 disciples.**

O yes! I cry him mercy!<sup>225</sup> He hath written this great volume, which now I have in hand, against his brethren. The qualities of this book are many. Master Doctor showeth himself to be very skilful in the learning of *ob* and *sol*,<sup>226</sup> if ever you read old Fa' Bricot<sup>227</sup> upon Aristotle. Master Dean's manner of writing and his are not much unlike. Doctor Terence<sup>228</sup> of Oxford<sup>229</sup> and this Doctor may be near or kindred for their learning. There be periods in this learned book of great reason, though altogether without sense. I will give you a proof or two. Page 441: *And although*, saith the Doctor, *Paul afterward, I Corinthians 1:14,*<sup>230</sup> *mentioning this Crispus,*<sup>231</sup> *term him not there the arch-governor of the Jews' Synagogue, yet as it farther appeareth, Acts 18:17, by Sosthenes, who was long before a faithful Christian and, as some allege out of Eusebius*<sup>232</sup> *lib. 1 cap. 13, he was also one of the 72 disciples chosen by Christ.*<sup>233</sup>

Fleering,<sup>234</sup> jeering,<sup>235</sup> leering!<sup>236</sup> There is at all no sense in this period. For [sic?] the words *yet afterward* unto the end, Master Doctor's mind was so set upon a bishopric that he brought nothing concerning Crispus to answer the word *yet*. Therefore I will help my reverend brother to make the sentence in this sort. *And although etc.*, yet afterward my learned brother Doctor Young, Bishop of Rochester, having the presentation of a benefice<sup>237</sup> in his hand, presented himself<sup>238</sup> thereunto even of mere goodwill. *I, John of Rochester, present John Young*, quoth the bishop. Now, judge you, good readers, whether Martin saith not true that there is too much cozenage<sup>239</sup> now-a-days among the clergymen.

This sentence following of Master Dean's hath as good sense as the former. Page 655, the Doctor citeth these words out of the *Learned Discourse*:<sup>240</sup> *God grant that, instead of ordinary forms of*

<sup>225</sup> To cry (one) mercy: To beg for pardon or forgiveness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>226</sup> *Ob* and *sol*: Abbreviation for "objection and solution" found in old books of divinity; scholastic or subtle disputation. (OED, p.1425)

<sup>227</sup> Pierce identifies Thomas Bricot as the author of *Cursus Optimarum Questionem Super Philosophiam Aristotelis* (1490?), and points out that one Bricot is referred to in an incident involving Henry VIII and John Colet ca.1518-1521. (MT, p.34; Pratt, v.4, pp.248-9)

<sup>228</sup> The significance of the allusion to Bricot as "Dr. Terence" is unclear. Terence (190?-159 B.C.), author of six plays, was accused in his day of plagiarism, and it is perhaps to this that Martin refers. (Grant, pp.420-2)

<sup>229</sup> This reference connects Martin with Oxford University.

<sup>230</sup> Martin's Biblical references throughout the tracts are to the Geneva Bible of 1560, sometimes called the "Breeches Bible" because of its translation of Genesis 3:7: "They sewed fig leaves together and made themselves breeches". (*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, v.4, p.764)

<sup>231</sup> Acts 18:8.

<sup>232</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260-c.340), theologian and church historian. (WBD, p.495)

<sup>233</sup> See *Defence*, p.441: "And although Paule after warde I. Cor. I.14, mentioning this Crispus, tearme him not there, the Arch-governour of the Jewes sinagogue: yet as it further appeareth Act. 18, ver.17. by Sosthenes, who was long before a faithfull Christian, and as divers alleage out of Eusebius lib. I. cap.13. he was also one of the 72 Disciples chosen of Christe."

<sup>234</sup> Fleeer: To make a wry face, distort the countenance; to grin, grimace. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>235</sup> Jeering: The utterance of derisive mockery; scoffing. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>236</sup> Leer: To look obliquely or askance; to cast side glances. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's use of "leering" precedes the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>237</sup> Benefice: An ecclesiastical living. (OED, p.181)

<sup>238</sup> Cooper equivocates in his discussion of this matter in the *Admonition*, but does not deny Martin's accusation.

<sup>239</sup> Cozenage: The practice or habit of cozening; cheating, deception, fraud; the fact of being cheated. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>240</sup> William Fulke (1538-1589), Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, is considered to be the author of *A Briefe and plaine declaration*. Although the manuscript was finished by 1573, it was not published until

**These be the Doctor's own words.**

*prayers, we may have preaching in all places. And (instead of Amen) God forbid, say I, quoth the Doctor, with another prayer to the contrary now (now mark, my masters, whether you can find any sense in this contrary prayer for, I assure you, reverend Martin can find none) if it be His good will not so much (good Lord) to punish us, that this our brethren's prayer should be granted.<sup>241</sup> If this be a senseless kind of writing, I would there were never a lord bishop in England!*

**Whoa, whoa, Dean! Take thy breath, and then to it again!**

And, learned brother Bridges, a man might almost run himself out of breath before he could come to a full point in many places in your book. Page 69, line 3, speaking of the extraordinary gifts in the apostles' time, you have this sweet learning: *Yea, some of them have for a great part of the time, continued even till our times, and yet continue, as the operation of great works, or if they mean miracles, which were not ordinary, no, not in that extraordinary time, and as the hypocrites had them, so might and had divers of the papists, and yet their cause never the better, and the like may we say of the gift of speaking with tongues which have not been with study before learned, as Anthony, etc., and divers also among the ancient fathers, and some among the papists, and some among us, have not been destitute of the gifts of prophesying, and much more may I say this of the gift of healing, for none of those gifts or graces given then or since or yet to men infer the grace of God's election to be of necessity to salvation.*

**Both these points are set down page 448, line 3.**

Here is a good matter delivered in as good grammatical words! But what say you if Master Doctor can prove that Peter was prince of the apostles? That is popery<sup>242</sup> (quoth Martin) to begin withal. Nay, but what say you if he proveth that one priest among the residue<sup>243</sup> may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church?<sup>244</sup> Is not this plain treason? Is, forsooth,

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1584, at which time it was given the running title The Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government.

The printer was Robert Waldegrave, who later printed the first four of the Marprelate tracts. (RCEA, p.79; DNB, v.7, pp.745-8) Fulke's A Briefe and plaine declaration (1584) should not be confused with Walter Travers' Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae (1574), which was translated into English by Thomas Cartwright and published in 1574 under the title A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline.

<sup>241</sup> See Defence, p.655: "Our Brethren nowe, to close up all this part, against our Divine Service and publike prayer, conclude it also with a prayer of their making and say: God graunt therefore, that in steede of ordinary formes of prayers, we may have preaching in all places. And in place of Amen, God forbid say I, with an other prayer to the contrarie: (if it be his good will) not so muche (good Lorde) to punishe us, that this our brethrens prayer should be graunted. For then, not onely this that nowe we have, but simply all other formes of prayers, should be quite and cleane abolished and taken from us."

<sup>242</sup> Popery: The Roman Catholic religion, or adherence to it. (A hostile term.) (OED, p.1629)

<sup>243</sup> Residue: The remainder, rest. (OED, p.1806)

<sup>244</sup> See Defence, pp.447-8: "[T]he things indeede that S. Peter heere expresly forbiddeth, is to exercise Lordship. So that Saint Peters forbidding, is not for any name or tearme but for exercise of Lordship. Neither do we deny, but that which the Apostle Saint Peter forbiddeth the Elders, should be still forbidden them. And with our brethren, allowing Calvines & Bezaes interpretation, (sith from Calvine they seeme to have taken all these their observations, on the foresaid place of Peter, though some what altering both Calvines words & sense herein) that the word Cleargie signifieth not the whole order of the Ministers, but the particular Churches, and the universal body of the Ch. (that is, al the congregation, being the L. inheritance & allotment), as well as the Ministers: Doth S. Peter then forbid, that any one elder should have & exercise any superior government over the cleargy, understanding the cleargy in this sense? If he doth not, but alloweth it, & his self practised it, then, howsoever the name both of governing, & of clergy may be abused, that matter is cleare, that one Priest or Elder, among the residue, may have a lawfull superior auth. & government over the cleargy; (that is) over all the universal body of the Church, in every particular or several congregation: & so not only over the people, but also over the whole order of Minist." In the immediately preceding pages of the Defence, Bridges replies to the citation of Peter 2:25 in the Learned Discourse, and to the statement on page 27 therein: "And that the name of Archipresbyter or chiefe of Elders, pertayneth to no mortall man, may bee seene by this place, where Saint Peter that excellent and high Apostle, who if anye man coulde, might as well as anye, have challenged that name,

if a Puritan had written it. But Mass Dean of Sarum that wrote these things is a man that favoureth bishops, a non-resident,<sup>245</sup> one that will not stick<sup>246</sup> to play a game at cards and swear by his troth,<sup>247</sup> and therefore he may write against the Puritans what he will. His Grace of Canterbury will give a very Catholic exposition thereof. This gear maintaineth the crown of Canterbury, and what matter is it though he write for the maintenance thereof all the treason in the world? It will never come unto her Majesty's ear, as my friend Tertullus<sup>248</sup> in the poor *Dialogue* that the bishops lately burned hath set down.<sup>249</sup> His Grace is able to salve<sup>250</sup> the matter well enough. Yea, my brother Bridges himself can answer this point, for he hath written otherwise page 288, line 26 in these words: *Neither is all government taken away from all, though a moderate superior government be given of all to some, and not yet of all in all the church to one, but to one over some in severall<sup>251</sup> and particular churches.*<sup>252</sup> The Dean will say that, concerning the superiority of bishops, this is the meaning. As concerning the treason written page 448, it may be the fox<sup>253</sup> Doctor Perne, who helped him, as they say, to make this worthy volume, was the author of it.

**I commend thee yet, good Doctor, for thy good English tongue.**

**Clear, quoth he. Yea, who will make any question thereof?**

Now, brethren, if any of you that are of the Confocation House would know how I can prove Master Dean to have written flat treason page 448 as I have before set down, draw near<sup>254</sup> and, with your patience, I will prove it so that Master Dean will stand to his own words, which I care not if they be set down. Page 448, line 3, thus you shall read: *Doth St. Peter then forbid that any one elder should have and exercise any superior government over the clergy (understanding the clergy in this sense); if he doth not, but alloweth it, and his self<sup>255</sup> practiced it, then, howsoever both the name, both of governing and clergy may be abused, the matter is clear that one priest or elder among the residue may have a superior authority over the clergy, that is, over all the universal body of the church in*

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durste not call him selfe other then Simpresbyteros, a fellowe Elder, no not when hee sought authoritie to him selfe, by that name to be bold, to exhort the elders of the Church." (Learned Discourse, p.27)

<sup>245</sup> Non-resident: Of a clergyman, not residing where his official duties require him to reside; culpably absent from his benefice or charge. (OED, p.1412)

<sup>246</sup> Stick: To hesitate, scruple, be reluctant or unwilling. (OED, p.2126)

<sup>247</sup> By my troth: A form of solemn affirmation. (OED, pp.118, 2370)

<sup>248</sup> "Tertullus a Papist", a character in the anonymous The State of the Church of England Laid Open (Diotrephes' Dialogue). (RCEA, p.86)

<sup>249</sup> Martin here lays direct responsibility on the bishops for the burning of Diotrephes' Dialogue. As Leland Carlson has suggested, Martin himself may have been the anonymous author of Diotrephes' Dialogue, which could account in part for his decision to write the Marprelate tracts. (pp.332-4)

<sup>250</sup> Salve: *Fig.* To heal, remedy, mend, make good, make up, smooth over (something amiss, a troubled state of affairs, a defect, offence, disgrace, dispute, etc.). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>251</sup> Several: Having a position, existence, or status apart; separate, distinct. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>252</sup> See Defence, p.288: "But all this runnes on this supposal, that the whole administration of the Church, together with the name, is heereby translated unto one. If this sequele did consequently followe; then indeed we might wel conclude, that hereupon the Divell laid his firste foundation of his tyrannie in the Church of God. But when Beza coms in with a byowse presupposall, as though it were so: who seeth not, hee dareth not, nor indeede can saye, it did or doeth so? may not everyone still for all this order, reteyne all the administration of his office, both in preaching Gods worde, and administring his Sacraments? neither is all government taken away from al, though a moderate superiour government be given of all to some: and not yet of al in al the church to one; but to one over some in severall particular Churches." In the preceding pages, Bridges discusses the arguments found on pages 23-4 of the Learned Discourse to the effect that bishops in the primitive church are to be equated with elders, having no superiority over their fellow pastors.

<sup>253</sup> Fox: A man likened for craftiness to a fox. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>254</sup> Martin's invitation to the bishops to "draw near" is one of many indications in the tracts of his natural flair for drama and story-telling.

<sup>255</sup> Bridges' use of "his self" is mocked by Martin later in the Epistle.

*every particular or several congregation, and so not only over the people but also over the whole order of ministers.*

**Look statute 13  
Elizabeth.**

Would your worships know how I can show and convince<sup>256</sup> my brother Bridges to have set down flat treason in the former words? Then, have at you, Dean. (1) It is treason to affirm her Majesty to be an infidel, or not to be contained in the Body of the church. (2) It is treason to say that one priest or elder may have a lawful superior authority over her Majesty. Take your spectacles, then, and spell<sup>257</sup> your own words, and you shall find that you have affirmed either of these 2 points. For you affirm that a priest may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church, and you dare not deny her Majesty to be contained within the universal body of the church. Therefore, to help you to spell<sup>258</sup> your conclusion, you have written treason, if you will be as good as your writing. Your learned friend Martin (for no brother, Master Dean, if you be a traitor) would not mistake you, and therefore say what you can for yourself. You mean not that this priest shall be over all the church? Do you? But how shall we know that? Forsooth, because you say that this superiority must be in every particular or several congregation? Is this your answer, brother John? Why, what sense is there in these words? One priest may have a superior authority over the universal body of the church in every particular and several congregation? The universal body of the church is now become a particular or several congregation with you? And in good earnest, Dean John, tell me how many orders<sup>259</sup> of ministers be there in a particular congregation? For there must be orders of ministers in the congregation where you mean this bouncing priest should have his superiority, and because this cannot be in several and particular congregations, therefore you cannot mean by these words *over the universal body of the church* any other thing than the whole church militant.<sup>260</sup>

**A good ilsample.**

**Sir Peter never allowed  
this.**

But you would mend your answer, and say that this superior priest must be an English priest, and no foreigner? As, for ilsample, his Grace of Canterbury is an English priest. Do you mean, then, that his Grace should be this superior priest who, by Sir<sup>261</sup> Peter's allowance,<sup>262</sup> may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church? Truly, I do not mean so. And good now,<sup>263</sup> do not abuse his Grace's worship in this sort by making him a pope. Be it you mean this high priest<sup>264</sup> should be no stranger,<sup>265</sup> yet your treason is as great or greater, for you will have her Majesty to be subject unto her own subject and servant. And if it be treason to say that the Pope - who hath princes and cardinals for his servants, being far better than were John with his Canterburiness<sup>266</sup> - may have a lawful superior authority over her Majesty, as one being contained

<sup>256</sup> Convince: To convict, prove, demonstrate a person *to be* or *to have done* something. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>257</sup> Spell: To read (a book etc.) letter by letter; to peruse, or make out, slowly or with difficulty. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>258</sup> Spell: To find out, to guess or suspect, by close study or observation. (OED, p.2071)

<sup>259</sup> Order: A grade or rank in the Christian ministry, or in an ecclesiastical hierarchy. (OED, p.1460)

<sup>260</sup> Church militant: The Church on earth as warring against the powers of evil. (OED, p.334)

<sup>261</sup> In Hay Any Work For Cooper, Martin explains this as follows: "Sir Peter was the oversight of the printer, who omitted this marginal note, viz., *He was not Saint Peter which had a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church*. And therefore the priest whereof Dean John speaketh was Sir Peter."

<sup>262</sup> Allowance: Approbation, approval; sanction, voluntary acceptance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>263</sup> Good now: An interjectional expression denoting acquiescence, entreaty, expostulation, or surprise. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Winter's Tale V 1 19: "Now, good now, say so but seldom."

<sup>264</sup> High priest: A chief priest. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>265</sup> Stranger: Foreigner. (OED, p.2144)

<sup>266</sup> Canterburiness: Mock designation of the Archbishop of Canterbury or his dignity. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin presumably coined the word as a play on "his Holiness", a title given to the pope and, originally, to all bishops. (OED, p.974)

within the universal body of the church, is it not much more traitorous to say that an English vassal<sup>267</sup> may have this authority over his sovereign?

**Here be those that can be barbarous<sup>268</sup> as well as Mass Dean.**

**His Grace shall never get me to swear against my conscience.**

And, brother John, did Sir Peter his self<sup>269</sup> indeed practice this authority? Why, what a priest was he? Did he allow others to have this authority? Truly, this is more than ever I knew till now. Yet, notwithstanding, I think he never wore corner-cap and tippet in all his life, nor yet ever subscribed to my Lord of Canterbury's *Articles*.<sup>270</sup> Now the question is whom Sir Peter his self now alloweth to be this bouncing priest? The Pope of Rome, yea or no? No, in no case, for that is against the statute.<sup>271</sup> For will my brother Bridges say that the Pope may have a lawful superior authority over his Grace of Canterbury? I'll never believe him though he say so. Neither will I say that his Grace is an infidel<sup>272</sup> (nor yet swear that he is much better), and therefore Master Dean meaneth not that the Pope should be this high priest. *No, brother Martin, quoth Master Dean, you say true. I mean not that the Pope is this priest of Sir Peter. And I have many reasons why I should deny him this authority. First he is a mass-monger,<sup>273</sup> that is, a professed idolater; (2) he weareth a triple crown,<sup>274</sup> so doth not my Lord of Canterbury; (3) he hath his seat in Romish Babylon, in Rome within Italy. You know the number 666<sup>275</sup> in the Revelation signifieth Lateinos,<sup>276</sup> that is 'the man of Rome', or Ecclesia Italica, 'the Italian church'. Lastly, he must have men to kiss his toes, and must be carried upon men's shoulders, and must have princes and kings to attend upon him, which showeth his horrible<sup>277</sup> pride. Sir Peter's universal priest and mine shall be no such priest, I*

<sup>267</sup> Vassal: In the feudal system, one holding lands from a superior on conditions of homage and allegiance; a feudatory, a tenant in fee. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>268</sup> Barbarous: Of language: Unpolished, without literary culture. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>269</sup> Martin mocks Bridges' earlier use of "his self" three times in the text of the Epistle, as well as in the marginal comment "Here be those that can be barbarous as well as Mass Dean".

<sup>270</sup> Whitgift's Articuli per Archiepiscopum were approved by Convocation in November, 1584, and published in the same year. Ministers who refused to subscribe were deprived. The most controversial of the Articles required the minister to swear that The Book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the Word of God:

That none be permitted to preach, read or catechise, to minister the Sacraments, or exercise any ecclesiastical function, unless he first subscribe to the following articles - in the meantime all licences to preach being suspended.

1. That the Queen has supreme authority - ecclesiastical and temporal;
2. That the Book of Common Prayer and of Ordering contains nothing contrary to the word of God; that it may be lawfully used; and that he will use it in public prayer, and none other;
3. That he allows the Articles agreed on in the Convocation of 1562, and believes them to be agreeable to the word of God.

The first printed response to Whitgift's Articles was the Abstract. (RCEA, pp.77-78)

<sup>271</sup> Martin presumably refers to the statute 1 Elizabeth, chapter 1, which provided for the submission of the clergy in England to the Crown.

<sup>272</sup> Whitgift's response in the Admonition reads: "He seemeth to charge the Archbishop with infidelitie, &c. This needeth no answer, it showeth of what spirit they are." (p.33)

<sup>273</sup> Mass-monger: A contemptuous term for a Roman Catholic. (OED, p.1286).

<sup>274</sup> Triple crown: The papal tiara. (OED, p.2365)

<sup>275</sup> Revelation 13:18. Pierce notes that this interpretation was adopted by the Protestant reformers, including Foxe. (MT, p.41; Pratt, p.106)

<sup>276</sup> In the text, this is "Latenios". (MT, p.41)

<sup>277</sup> Horrible: Excessive, immoderate. (OED, p.985)

*trow*,<sup>278</sup> *ka*<sup>279</sup> Mass Doctor. No, shall not, Doctor John, I con<sup>280</sup> thee thank. Then thy universal priest (1) must be no idolater; (2) must be no proud priest, and have never a triple crown (and yet I hope he may wear as brave<sup>281</sup> a satin gown as my Lord of Winchester<sup>282</sup> weareth, and be as choleric as he); (3) he must have his seat out of Italy as, for fashion's sake, at Lambeth Hippo,<sup>283</sup> etc., but at Rome in no case. If I should examine these properties,<sup>284</sup> I think some of them (if not all) have been accidents<sup>285</sup> unto English priests. For how many bishops are there in England which have not either said Mass, or helped the priest to say Mass, or been present at it?<sup>286</sup> As for the triple crown, Pope Joan<sup>287</sup> the English harlot<sup>288</sup> hath worn it. So did Urban V,<sup>289</sup> an Englishman.<sup>290</sup> And, concerning pride, I hope that our bishops now living have, to their mediocrity, taken order that some popes may be inferior unto them as, for ilsample, his Canterburiness, etc. And I cannot see how the planting<sup>291</sup> of the chair<sup>292</sup> in Rome any more than Canterbury can make a pope, seeing that Clement V,<sup>293</sup> John XXII,<sup>294</sup> Benedict XII<sup>295</sup> and all other popes from the year 1306 unto 1375 sat not in Rome but, for the most part, at Avignon in France.

But notwithstanding all this, out of your meaning, Mass Doctor (such a simple ingram<sup>296</sup> man as I am in these points of universal superior priests) I find three differences between my Lord of Peterborough<sup>297</sup> - or any other our high priests in England - and the Pope's Holiness, and 3 impediments to hinder the Pope from being Sir Peter's high priest and yours, viz., his idolatry, (2)

<sup>278</sup> *Trow*: Parenthetically, or at the end of a sentence (often merely expletive), as *I trow* (in assertions) = 'I suppose', 'I ween'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) This expression is a favourite of Martin's.

<sup>279</sup> Martin makes occasional use of West Country dialect forms (the same West Country dialect found in Gammer Gurton's Needle). Wilson, writing in 1912, noted that the dialect used in the tracts is "West English, very much as it is still spoken in Monmouth and Somerset today." (p.29)

<sup>280</sup> Con thank(s): To acknowledge one's gratitude; to thank. (OED, P.387)

<sup>281</sup> Brave: Finely-dressed; splendid, showy, grand, fine, handsome. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>282</sup> Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester from 1584-1594.

<sup>283</sup> St. Augustine (354-430) was Bishop of Hippo in proconsular Africa. (WBD, p.77) Whitgift's archiepiscopal palace in London was at Lambeth. (HIMT, p.317)

<sup>284</sup> Property: In logic, reckoned as one of the predicables (things capable of being affirmed). (OED, p.1687)

<sup>285</sup> Accident: In logic, an attribute which is not part of the essence; hence, any non-essential accompaniment. (OED, p.11)

<sup>286</sup> Martin's assumption that virtually all the bishops of his day had at some time assisted at the Mass is probably accurate. Edmund Freake, for example, was ordained a priest by Archbishop Bonner in 1545. (DNB, v.7, p.670)

<sup>287</sup> A card game current in 1590 was named "after the fabulous female pope Joan". (OED, p.1629)

<sup>288</sup> Harlot: An unchaste woman; a prostitute; a strumpet. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>289</sup> Urban V (1310-1370), pope from 1362-70. (WBD, p.1502)

<sup>290</sup> Pierce notes that Urban V's "mythical nationality" is probably taken from John Bale's Pageant of Popes. (MT, p.42)

<sup>291</sup> Plant: To found, establish, institute a community, etc. especially a colony, city, or church. (OED, p.1599)

<sup>292</sup> Chair: The seat of a bishop in his church; hence, episcopal dignity or authority. (OED, p.310)

<sup>293</sup> Clement V (1264-1314). Pierce notes that Martin gives the names of the first three popes of the Avignon papacy. (WBD, p.310; MT, p.42)

<sup>294</sup> Pope from 1316-1334. (WBD, p.1686)

<sup>295</sup> Pope from 1334-1342. (WBD, p.1686)

<sup>296</sup> Ingram: A perverted form of ignorant. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Nashe uses the word in Have With You To Saffron Walden: "Who but an ingram cosset would keepe such a courting of a Curtezan?"

<sup>297</sup> Richard Howland (1540-1600), Bishop of Peterborough from 1585-1600.

his triple crown, (3) his seat at Rome. But if Hildebrand,<sup>298</sup> Pope of Rome, had been a professor of the truth - as his Grace, Doctor Turncoat's (Perne, I should say) scholar,<sup>299</sup> is - had worn no triple crown, had been Archbishop of Canterbury (and I think we have had Hildebrands there ere now), then he might, by the judgment of the learned Bridges and the allowance of that Peter which his self practiced that authority, have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church. And what a worthy Canterbury pope had this been, to be called my Lord's Grease?<sup>300</sup> Thus you see, brother Bridges, M. Marprelate, an please him, is able to make a younger<sup>301</sup> brother<sup>302</sup> of you. He hath before proved that if ever you be Archbishop of Canterbury - for you wrote this foul heap against the holy discipline<sup>303</sup> of Christ (as Whitgift did the like)<sup>304</sup> in hope to be the next pope of Lambeth - that then you shall be a petty pope and a petty Antichrist. Nay, he hath proved you to have deserved a caudel<sup>305</sup> of hempseed<sup>306</sup> and a plaster<sup>307</sup> of neckweed<sup>308</sup> as well as some of your brethren, the papists.

And now, brother Bridges, once again - is it good writing against the Puritans? Take me at my word: unless you answer the former point of antichristianism and this of treason, I will never write again to my brethren the bishops but as to usurpers and Antichrists, and I shall take you for no better than an enemy to her Majesty's supremacy. And because you have taken upon you to defend lord bishops - though you be as very a sot<sup>309</sup> as ever lived (outcept<sup>310</sup> dumb John of London, again) - yet you shall answer my reasons, or else I will so course<sup>311</sup> you as you were never coursed since you were a simoniacal<sup>312</sup> Dean. You shall not deal with my worship as John with his Canterburiness did with Thomas Cartwright, which John left the cause you defend in the plain

<sup>298</sup> Gregory VII (1020?-1085), real name Hildebrand. As Pope, Gregory aimed to establish the supremacy of the papacy within the church and of the church over the state. (WBD, p.627)

<sup>299</sup> Martin refers to the fact that Perne was Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge when Whitgift was a student; later in the Epistle, Martin alleges that Whitgift carried Perne's cloak-bag while at Cambridge. In A Dialogue Wherein Is Plainly Laid Open The Tyrannical Dealing Of Lord Bishops, Perne is referred to in similar terms as Whitgift's "master". (Collinson, Grindal, p.57)

<sup>300</sup> A pun on "grace".

<sup>301</sup> Younger: Less advanced in practice or experience. (OED, p.2592)

<sup>302</sup> Brother: A fellow-Christian; a co-religionist generally. (OED, p.243) Martin alludes to the manner in which he has used Bridges' own proof to establish the validity of his (Martin's) point.

<sup>303</sup> Discipline: *Eccles.* The system or method by which order is maintained in a church, and control exercised over the conduct of its members; the procedure whereby this is carried out; the exercise of the power of censure, admonition, excommunication, or other penal measures, by a Christian Church. Hence, generally, the system by which the practice of a church, as distinguished from its doctrine, is regulated, *spec.*, in *Eng. Ch. Hist.*, the ecclesiastical polity of the Puritan or Presbyterian party in the 16th and 17th c. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>304</sup> A reference to Whitgift's An answer to a certain Libel of 1572 and his The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition of 1574.

<sup>305</sup> Caudle: A warm drink consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale, sweetened or spiced, given chiefly to sick people. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>306</sup> Caudle of hempseed, 'hempen caudle' (ironically) = hanging. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) 2 Henry VI IV vii 95: "Ye shall have a hempen caudle then."

<sup>307</sup> Plaster: An external curative application. (OED, p.1601)

<sup>308</sup> Neckweed: The plant hemp (with ref. to the use of hempen rope for hanging persons). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>309</sup> Sot: A foolish or stupid person; a fool, blockhead, dolt. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>310</sup> Outcept: = except. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>311</sup> Course: To hunt game with hounds; specifically, to hunt hares with greyhounds by sight. (OED, p.442)

<sup>312</sup> Simoniacal: Guilty of or practising simony. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin gives details of Bridges' simony later in the Epistle.

**Ha, priests! I'll bang  
you, or else never trust  
me!**

field<sup>313</sup> and for shame threw down his weapons with a desperate<sup>314</sup> purpose to run away and leave the cause as he, like a coward, hath done. For this dozen years we never saw anything of his in print for the defence of his cause,<sup>315</sup> and poor Master Cartwright doth content himself with the victory, which the other will not (though indeed he hath by his silence) seem to grant. But I will not be thus used at your hands for, unless you answer me or confess (and that in print) that all lord bishops in England, Wales, Ireland - yea and Scotland, too - are petty popes and plain usurpers and petty Antichrists, I'll kindle such a fire in the holes of these foxes<sup>316</sup> as shall never be quenched as long as there is a lord bishop in England. And who but the worthy Martin can do so valiantly? Page 560, Master Dean bringeth in Aretius'<sup>317</sup> views on communion to prove that kneeling at the communion<sup>318</sup> is not offensive. And how is the argument concluded, think you?<sup>319</sup> Forsooth, even thus. Aretius saith that in Berne they receive the communion sitting or standing.<sup>320</sup> *Therefore*, saith my brother Bridges, *kneeling at the communion is not unlawful*. I marvel whether he was not hatched in a goose-nest that would thus conclude.

**My brother Bridges now  
reasoneth in good earnest  
for non-residents.**

In another place (page 226 or thereabouts), he proveth that one man may have two spiritual livings because the Puritans themselves<sup>321</sup> say that one charge<sup>322</sup> may have two ministers, to wit a pastor and a doctor. And these be some of the good proofs whereby our established government is upheld!

**What a crafty knave is  
Mass Dean.**

It would make a man laugh to see how many tricks the Doctor hath to cozen<sup>323</sup> the silly<sup>324</sup> Puritans in his book. He can now and then, without any noise, allege an author clean<sup>325</sup> against himself and, I warrant you, wipe his mouth cleanly and look another way, as though it had not been he. I have laughed as though I had been tickled to see with what sleight he can throw in a popish reason, and who saw him? And with what art he can convey himself from the question and go to another matter, it is wonderful to think. And what would not a Dean do to get a bishopric? In this one point - for sparing labour - he is to be admired that he hath set down under his own name those things which (to speak as I think) he never wrote himself. So, let the Puritans answer when they

<sup>313</sup> Field: The ground on which a battle is fought. (OED, p.746)

<sup>314</sup> Desperate: Of actions, etc.: Expressing or indicating despair, despairing. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>315</sup> Whitgift's last publication in the controversy with Cartwright was his Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T.C., published in 1574 (i.e., fourteen years before Martin's Epistle). This comment suggests that Martin has been following the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy since 1574, which would make him at least 35 years of age.

<sup>316</sup> Martin's reference to the bishops as foxes probably derives from the titles of two anti-papist tracts of 1543, William Turner's Hunting of the Romysh Fox and John Bale's Yet a course at the Romysh foxe. (Harris, p.31)

<sup>317</sup> Benedictus Aretius, Swiss theologian. (Carlson, p.216)

<sup>318</sup> The sacrament of communion was a source of controversy throughout the Reformation.

<sup>319</sup> A characteristic expression of Martin's. He uses "think you" six times in the Epistle alone.

<sup>320</sup> See Defence, p.560: "They approch (he speketh of the order in his countrie at Bernes) and it is receaved of them standing, for the Paschall Lambe was eaten of them that stooode: howbeit neither makes it any matter, whether the communicantes stande or sitte. (nor yet if they kneele, as is the order of our Church.)"

<sup>321</sup> It is clear from this statement that Martin does not consider himself a Puritan. Many similar remarks, in which Martin speaks of the Puritans as a group distinct from himself, are found throughout the tracts.

<sup>322</sup> Charge: A thing or person entrusted to the care or management of anyone. *spec.* The people or district committed to the care of a minister of religion. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>323</sup> Cozen: To deceive, dupe, beguile, impose upon. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>324</sup> Silly: Unsophisticated, simple, ignorant. (OED, p.1996)

<sup>325</sup> Clean: Without anything omitted or left; without any exception that may vitiate the statement, without qualification; wholly, entirely, quite, absolutely. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) One of Martin's favourite adverbs, used three times in the Epistle alone.

will, he hath so much of other men's helps and such contrarities<sup>326</sup> in this book that, when they bring one thing against him out of his own writing, he will bring another place out of the said book flat contrary to that, and say that the latter is his and not the former. For the former, it may be, was some other friend's not so fully seen<sup>327</sup> in the cause as Presbyter John Bridges was. The reason of these contrarities was very expedient: because many had a hand in the work, every man wrote his own mind and Mass Doctor joined the whole together.

Now forasmuch as he hath played the worthy workman, I will bestow an epitaph upon his grave when he dieth, which is thus:

*Here lies John Bridges, a worthy presbyter he was.*

But what if he be a bishop before he die?<sup>328</sup> What, brethren? Do you not think that I have two strings to my bow?<sup>329</sup> Is us<sup>330</sup> have I, and thus I sing<sup>331</sup> if he chance to be a bishop:

*Here lies John Bridges, late bishop, friend to the Papa.<sup>332</sup>*

I care not an I now leave Mass Dean's worship, and be eloquent once in my days. Yet, brother Bridges, a word or two more with you ere we depart. I pray you, where may a man buy such another gelding<sup>333</sup> and borrow such another hundred pounds as you bestowed upon your good patron<sup>334</sup> Sir Edward Horsey<sup>335</sup> for his good word in helping you to your deanery?<sup>336</sup> Go to, go to! I perceive you will prove a goose. Deal closelier<sup>337</sup> for shame the next time. Must I needs come to the knowledge of these things? What, I? I should report abroad that clergymen come unto their promotions<sup>338</sup> by simony?<sup>339</sup> Have not you given me just cause? I think simony be the bishops' lackey.<sup>340</sup> Tarleton<sup>341</sup> took<sup>342</sup> him not long since in Don John of London's cellar.<sup>343</sup>

<sup>326</sup> Contrariety: Opposition between things of the same class or parts of the same thing; disagreement, discordance, discrepancy, inconsistency. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>327</sup> Seen: To be well-versed in some art or science. (OED, p.1930)

<sup>328</sup> Bridges did eventually receive a bishopric, but not until the accession of King James. On February 12, 1604, he was consecrated Bishop of Oxford by Whitgift. (DNB, v.2, p.1229)

<sup>329</sup> To have two strings to one's bow: To have two resources or alternatives. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>330</sup> Dialect.

<sup>331</sup> Sing: To tell *of* in song or in verse. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>332</sup> *Papa*: Old English and ecclesiastical Latin word for "Pope". (OED, p.1629)

<sup>333</sup> Gelding: A gelded or castrated animal, esp. a horse. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>334</sup> Patron: In the sense arising in medieval Latin, one who holds the right of presentation to an ecclesiastical benefice. (OED, p.1529)

<sup>335</sup> Sir Edward Horsey (d.1583), follower of the Earl of Leicester, and Captain of the Isle of Wight. (Peck, p.205; DNB, v.9, pp.1271-2)

<sup>336</sup> Deanery: The office or position of a dean. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's sources of information were excellent. Here, he knows the precise details of the bribe by which Bridges secured Sir Edward Horsey's assistance in obtaining the position of Dean of Salisbury.

<sup>337</sup> Closely: Secretly, covertly, privately. (OED, p.352)

<sup>338</sup> Promotion: Advancement in position; preferment. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>339</sup> Simony: The act or practice of buying or selling ecclesiastical preferments, benefices, or emoluments; traffic in sacred things. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) In the *Admonition*, Cooper does not deny Martin's charge of simony against Bridges.

<sup>340</sup> Lackey: A camp follower. (OED, p.1167)

<sup>341</sup> The celebrated comedian Richard Tarleton died in September, 1588. (MT, p.280)

<sup>342</sup> Take: To come upon suddenly, overtake, catch. (OED, p.2235)

<sup>343</sup> Pierce notes that the cellar of London Palace was a prison. In referring to Aylmer as "Don John", Martin may intend a pun on "donjon" (dungeon) as well as an allusion to Don John of Austria. (MT, p.46; OED, p.595)

**I'll make you weary of it,  
dumb John, except you  
leave persecuting.**

Well, now to mine eloquence - for I can do it, I tell you.<sup>344</sup> Who made the porter<sup>345</sup> of his gate a dumb minister? Dumb John of London.<sup>346</sup> Who abuseth her Majesty's subjects in urging them to subscribe contrary to law? John of London. Who abuseth the High Commission as much as any? John London (and Doctor Stanhope,<sup>347</sup> too). Who bound<sup>348</sup> an Essex minister in £220 to wear the surplice<sup>349</sup> on Easter Day last? John London. Who hath cut down the elms at Fulham?<sup>350</sup> John London. Who is a carnal<sup>351</sup> defender of the breach of the Sabbath<sup>352</sup> in all the places of his abode? John London. Who forbiddeth men to humble themselves in fasting and prayer before the Lord, and then can say unto the preachers, *Now you were best to tell the people that we forbid fasts?* John London. Who goeth to bowls upon the Sabbath? Dumb, dunstical John of good London hath done all this. I will for this time leave this figure,<sup>353</sup> and tell your venerable masterdoms a tale worth the hearing. I had it at the second hand.<sup>354</sup> If he that told it me added anything, I do not commend him but I forgive him. The matter is this. A man, dying in Fulham, made one of the Bishop of London's men his executor. The man had bequeathed certain legacies unto a poor shepherd in the town. The shepherd could get nothing of the bishop's man, and therefore made his moan<sup>355</sup> unto a

<sup>344</sup> Martin's confidence in his literary abilities suggests that he is an experienced writer.

<sup>345</sup> Porter: One who has charge of a door or gate, esp. at the entrance of a fortified town or of a castle or other large building. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>346</sup> In the Admonition, Aylmer does not deny the fact that he made his porter a minister, but excuses it on the ground that qualified ministers are not attracted to livings where the stipend is small because the benefice is inappropriate. (pp.42-3) Inappropriate: To annex an ecclesiastical benefice to a corporation or person as corporate or private property. (OED, p.1037)

<sup>347</sup> Sir Edward Stanhope (1546?-1608), Chancellor of the Diocese of London.

<sup>348</sup> Bind: To tie (a person, oneself) up in respect to action; to oblige by a covenant, oath, promise or vow. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>349</sup> Surplice: A loose vestment of white linen having wide sleeves and, in its amplest form, reaching to the feet, worn (usually over a cassock) by clerics, choristers, and others taking part in church services. (OED, p.2201) The vestiarian controversy became an issue on the publication of Archbishop Matthew Parker's Advertisements of 1565, which made provision for "the apparrell of all persons ecclesiasticall", and the penalty of deprivation was provided for all ministers who did not conform by wearing the surplice, etc. (HIMT, p.12)

<sup>350</sup> In the Admonition, Aylmer side-steps this issue. (p.44). However, the historical records show that he was in trouble with the authorities in 1579 and 1585 for cutting down his woods, and Richard Bancroft, his successor in the See of London, alleged that Aylmer "made £6000 of his woods, and left scarce enough to find the present Bishop yearly fuel". (MT, p.47; Strype, Annals, II, pt. 2, pp.693-5)

<sup>351</sup> Carnal: Not spiritual, in a privative sense; unregenerate, unsanctified, worldly. Martin also taxes Aylmer with this fault in the Epitome, where he says of Aylmer's Harbour For Faithful and True Subjects that "a mere lump of flesh writ it."

<sup>352</sup> In reply, Aylmer quotes Christ's words that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27). (Admonition, p.45)

<sup>353</sup> Figure: In rhetoric, any form of expression which deviates from the normal, e.g. aposiopesis, hyperbole, metaphor, etc. (OED, p.749) According to Sister Miriam Joseph, the Tudor rhetoricians recognized approximately 200 figures of speech. Martin here uses *symploce*: "In a series of clauses or sentences, the repetition of a word at the beginning of each is *anaphora*; at the end, *epistrophe*; the combination of these is *symploce*." (pp.4, 305)

<sup>354</sup> Martin's remark that he had this particular tale "at the second hand" is evidence of his first-hand knowledge of other matters discussed in the tracts. He tells the reader later in the Epistle, "I speak not of things by hearsay, as of reports, but I bring my witnesses to prove my matters."

<sup>355</sup> Moan: Complaint, lamentation; an instance of this, a complaint, lament. Chiefly in phr. to make (one's) moan. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

gentleman of Fulham that belongeth<sup>356</sup> to the Court of Requests.<sup>357</sup> The gentleman's name is Master Madox. The poor man's case came to be tried in the Court of Requests. The bishop's man desired his master's help. Dumb John wrote to the Masters of Requests to this effect, and I think these were his words:

*My Masters of the Requests, the bearer<sup>358</sup> hereof, being my man, hath a cause before you. Inasmuch as I understand how the matter standeth, I pray you, let my man be discharged the court and I will see an agreement made. Fare you well.* The letter came to Master Doctor Dale.<sup>359</sup> He answered it in this sort:

*My Lord of London, this man delivered your letter. I pray you, give him his dinner on Christmas Day for his labour, and fare you well.*<sup>360</sup>

Dumb John, not speeding<sup>361</sup> this way, sent for the said Master Madox. He came. Some rough words passed on both sides. Presbyter John said Master Madox was very saucy, especially seeing he knew before whom he spake, namely the Lord of Fulham. Whereunto the gentleman answered that he had been a poor freeholder<sup>362</sup> in Fulham before Don John came to be lord there, hoping also to be so when he and all his brood (my Lady, his daughter,<sup>363</sup> and all) should be gone. At the hearing of this speech, the wasp<sup>364</sup> got my brother by the nose, which made him in his rage to affirm that he would be Lord of Fulham as long as he lived in despite of all England. 'Nay, soft there,' quoth Master Madox, 'except her Majesty, I pray you.' 'That is my meaning,' ka dumb John, 'and I tell thee, Madox, that thou art but a Jack to use me so.' Master Madox, replying, said that indeed his name was John, and if every John were a Jack he was content to be a Jack (there he hit my Lord over the thumbs!). The bishop, growing in choler, said that Master Madox's name did show what he

<sup>356</sup> *Belong*: To be connected with in various relations. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's words suggest that Madox was an official connected in some capacity with the Court of Requests, although not a Master of the Court.

<sup>357</sup> *Court of Requests*: A former court of record, technically forming part of the king's council, held by the Lord Privy Seal and the Masters of Requests for the relief of persons petitioning the king. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>358</sup> *Bearer*: One who brings a letter, a verbal message, tidings, rumours, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>359</sup> Valentine Dale (d.1589). In connection with the hypothesis that the Marprelate tracts were written by the Earl of Oxford, it is interesting to note that Dale and Oxford were well known to one another. It was Valentine Dale, as English ambassador, who presented Oxford to the King of France on March 7, 1575. (DNB, v.5, pp.387-8; Ogburn, p.540)

<sup>360</sup> In the *Admonition*, Aylmer is evasive about the case of the Fulham shepherd in the Court of Requests. He admits that he wrote Dale on behalf of someone (although not, he says, his servant), but denies that Dale sent him any letter written "so jestinglie as the Libeller reporteth". He then says disingenuously that Whitgift had looked into the controversy between himself and Madox and that Madox, being found in the wrong, had asked both Aylmer and Whitgift's forgiveness. However, Madox and Aylmer had a number of disagreements, and the issue looked into by Whitgift perhaps related to another controversy between the two, since Whitgift would presumably have had no jurisdiction to look into a case which was before the Court of Requests. (*Admonition*, pp.43-4; MT, p.50; Strype, *Aylmer*, pp.97-100)

<sup>361</sup> *Speed*: Of persons: To succeed or prosper; to meet with success or good fortune; to attain one's purpose or desire. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>362</sup> *Freeholder*: One who possesses a freehold estate. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *Freehold*: A tenure by which an estate is held in fee-simple, fee-tail, or for term of life. (OED, p.804)

<sup>363</sup> According to Strype, Aylmer's daughters were "Judith, who married William Linch, of Kent"; "Elizabeth, married to Sir John Foliot"; and "a third daughter (or one of the former by a second marriage) matched with Dr. Squire, a Divine and Preacher." (*Aylmer*, p.122)

<sup>364</sup> *Wasp*: Applied to persons characterized by irascibility and persistent and petty malignity. (OED, p.2509)

was. 'For,' saith he, 'thy name is Madox, which declareth thee to be an unruly and mad beast.' Master Madox answered again that the bishop's name, if it were descanted<sup>365</sup> upon, did most significantly show his qualities. 'For,' said he, 'you are called Elmar, but you may be better called Mar-Elm, for you have marred all the elms in Fulham, having cut them all down.'<sup>366</sup> This far is my worthy story, as worthy to be printed as any part of Dean John's book, I am sure.

Item, may it please you that are lord bishops to show your brother Martin how you can escape the danger of a *praemunire*,<sup>367</sup> seeing you urge her Majesty's subjects to subscribe clean contrary to the statute 13 Elizabeth.<sup>368</sup> What have you to show for yourselves? For I tell you, I heard some say that for urging subscription you were all within the *praemunire*, insomuch that you have been driven closely to buy your pardons.<sup>369</sup> You have forfeited all that you have unto her Majesty, and your persons are void of her Majesty's protection.<sup>370</sup> You know the danger of a *praemunire*, I trow? Well, but tell me what you have to show for yourselves? Her Majesty's prerogative?<sup>371</sup> Have you? Then I hope you have it under seal.<sup>372</sup> No, I warrant you, her Majesty is too wise for that.<sup>373</sup> For it shall never be said that she ever authorized such ungodly<sup>374</sup> proceedings to the dishonour of God and the wounding of the consciences of her best subjects. Seeing you have nothing to show that it is her Majesty's will, why should any man believe such honest creatures as you are on your words? Must they? As though you would not lie! Yes, yes. Bishops will lie like dogs. They were never yet well beaten for their lying.

<sup>365</sup> Descant: A melodious accompaniment to the plainsong sung or played above it; the earliest form of counterpoint; also, to comment, enlarge upon. (OED, p.526) Martin's knowledge of music is indicated in the Just Censure when he addresses to Martin Junior the question, "Hast any skill in music?"

<sup>366</sup> In the Admonition, Aylmer denies that Madox called him Mar-Elm, but does not deny that he called Madox "mad ox". (p.44)

<sup>367</sup> *Praemunire facias*: In English law, an offense against the king and his government, though not subject to capital punishment, so called from the words of the writ which issued preparatory to the prosecution: *Praemunire facias A.B. quod sit coram nobis, etc.* The statutes establishing this offense were framed to encounter the papal usurpations in England, the original meaning of the offense called *praemunire* being the introduction of a foreign power into the kingdom and creating *imperium in imperio* by paying that obedience to papal process which constitutionally belonged to the king alone. (BLD, p.1337) In the Admonition, Whitgift responds, "Touching the Premunire &c., the Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they can". (p.33)

<sup>368</sup> The subscription required under the statute 13 Elizabeth is set out in the following terms: That every person under the degree of bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments shall . . . declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book inprinted, intituled, Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our lord God [1562].

<sup>369</sup> Whitgift responds: "That which he speaketh of buying a Pardon &c. as it is most untrue, so it is slaunderous to the State". (Admonition, p.33)

<sup>370</sup> Under the statute 16 Richard II, it is provided that those found to be within the *premunire* "shall be put out of the King's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels forfeit to our lord the King".

<sup>371</sup> Martin refers to the Queen's prerogative writ, and asks the bishops whether they can produce such a writ to justify their actions. Prerogative writ: A writ issued on extraordinary occasions in the exercise of the royal prerogative. (OED, p.1658)

<sup>372</sup> Great Seal: The seal used for the authentication of documents of the highest importance issued in the name of the sovereign. (OED, p.1919)

<sup>373</sup> Martin may be hinting here at the misfortunes of Secretary of State William Davison, who was heavily fined and imprisoned for a year and a half for carrying out Queen Elizabeth's verbal instructions with respect to the warrant for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. (Hume, pp.417-22)

<sup>374</sup> Ungodly: Of actions, etc.: Not in accordance with the will or law of God. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

May it please your honourable worships to let worthy Martin understand why your Canterbusiness and the rest of the lord bishops favour papists and recusants<sup>375</sup> rather than Puritans. For if a Puritan preacher, having a recusant in his parish, and shall go about<sup>376</sup> to deal with the recusant for not coming to church: *Sir*, will the recusant say, *you and I will answer the matter before his Grace*<sup>377</sup> or other High Commissioners as lord bishops *Seevillains*<sup>378</sup> (*I mean, popish doctors of the bawdy*<sup>379</sup> courts). And as soon as the matter is made known unto my Lord, the preacher is sure to go by the worst and the recusant to carry all the honesty. Yea, the preacher shall be a busy, envious<sup>380</sup> fellow, one that doth not observe the *Book*<sup>381</sup> and conform himself according unto order,<sup>382</sup> and perhaps go home by Beggar's Bush<sup>383</sup> for any benefice he hath to live upon. For it may be the bishops will be so good unto him as to deprive<sup>384</sup> him for not subscribing. As for the recusant, he is known to be a man that must have the liberty of his conscience. Is this good dealing,<sup>385</sup> brethren? And is it good dealing that poor men should be so troubled<sup>386</sup> to the Chancellor's<sup>387</sup> court that they are even weary for their lives for such horrible oppression as there reigns? I tell you, Doctor Stanhope<sup>388</sup> (for all you are so proud), a *praemunire* will take you by the back one day for oppressing and tyrannizing over her Majesty's subjects as you do.

Doth your Grace remember what the Jesuit<sup>389</sup> at Newgate said of you, namely that my Lord of Canterbury would surely be a cardinal if ever popery did come again into England? (Yea, and that a

<sup>375</sup> Recusant: One, especially a Roman Catholic, who refused to attend the services of the Church of England. (OED, p.1770) In the Admonition, Whitgift says: "Here he doeth notoriously abuse us: though the Recusant for the most part, behaveth himself more civilly before the Magistrate than doth the Puritane: who is commonly more insolent, and thereby deserveth more sharpe wordes and reproofes then the other". (p.34)

<sup>376</sup> Go about: To busy oneself about; to set to work upon, take in hand. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>377</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift evades this point by asking how the recusant could accuse the Puritan since he never goes to hear the Puritan's sermons. (p.34)

<sup>378</sup> See: The seat, chair, or throne of a bishop in his church, as well as the position of being bishop of a particular diocese. (OED, p.1928) Villain: A low-born, base-minded rustic; a man of ignoble ideas or instincts. (OED, p.2476) Martin's pun plays on the word "Civilians", i.e. Doctors of the Civil Law.

<sup>379</sup> Martin appears to intend a pun, but its meaning is unclear. Cooper makes reference to the term "bawdy courts" in the Admonition: "An other crime laide against Bishoppes, is, that they maintayn pilling and pouling, and (as some in despite terme them) bawdie courtes". (p.101)

<sup>380</sup> Envious: Full of ill-will; malicious. (OED, p.667)

<sup>381</sup> I.e., The Book of Common Prayer.

<sup>382</sup> Order: Liturgically, a stated form of divine service, etc. prescribed by ecclesiastical authority or custom. (OED, p.1460) Martin presumably refers to the "Ordering" mentioned in Whitgift's Articles.

<sup>383</sup> A tree notoriously known, on the left hand of the London road from Huntington to Caxton. (McKerrow, Nashe, v.3, p.478) Beggar's Bush is also mentioned in the anonymous A Wonderfull, strange and miraculous Astrologicall Prognostication for this yeer of our Lord God 1591, which bears distinctive marks of Martin's style.

<sup>384</sup> Deprive: To divest of office; to inflict (especially ecclesiastical) deprivation upon. (OED, p.524)

<sup>385</sup> Dealing: Acting (in some specified way) towards others; way of acting, conduct, behaviour. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>386</sup> Trouble: To injure, molest, oppress. (OED, p.2370)

<sup>387</sup> Chancellor of a bishop or of a diocese: A law officer, who acts as vicar-general for the bishop, and holds courts for him, to decide on cases tried by ecclesiastical law. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>388</sup> Sir Edward Stanhope (1546?-1608), Chancellor of the Diocese of London. This reference suggests that Martin was personally acquainted with Stanhope.

<sup>389</sup> Pierce identifies the Jesuit as Charles Ballard of Rheims, and quotes a letter written by Sir Francis Knollys on October 15, 1586 while Ballard was his prisoner in the Tower, reporting remarks of Ballard's very similar to those given by Martin. (MT, p.52) In the Admonition, Whitgift denies ever having heard "of any such matter". (p.34)

brave<sup>390</sup> Cardinal, too.) What a knave was this Jesuit? Believe me, I would not say thus much of my Lord of Canterbury for a thousand pound,<sup>391</sup> lest a *scandalum magnatum*<sup>392</sup> should be had against me. But well fare him that said thought is free.

Pitifully complaining, is there any reason (my Lord's Grace) why knave Thackwell the printer,<sup>393</sup> which printed popish and traitorous Welsh books in Wales, should have more favour at your Graceless hands than poor Waldegrave, who never printed book against you that containeth either treason or impiety? Thackwell is at liberty to walk where he will, and permitted to make the most he could of his press and letters,<sup>394</sup> whereas Robert Waldegrave dares not show his face<sup>395</sup> for the bloodthirsty<sup>396</sup> desire you have for his life, only for printing of books which toucheth the bishops' mitres.<sup>397</sup> You know that Waldegrave's printing-press and letters were taken away. His press, being timber, was sawn and hewed in pieces, the iron work battered and made unserviceable, his letters melted, with cases<sup>398</sup> and other tools defaced (by John Wolfe,<sup>399</sup> alias Machiavel,<sup>400</sup> beadle<sup>401</sup> of the Stationers,<sup>402</sup> and most tormenting executioner of Waldegrave's goods), and he himself utterly deprived forever [of] printing again,<sup>403</sup> having a wife and six small children.<sup>404</sup> Will this monstrous<sup>405</sup> cruelty never be revenged, think you? When Waldegrave's goods was to be spoiled and defaced, there were some printers that, rather than all the goods should be spoiled, offered money for it towards the relief of the man's wife and children. But this could not be obtained, and yet popish Thackwell, though he printed popish and traitorous books, may have the favour to make

<sup>390</sup> Brave: *Loosely*, as a general epithet of admiration or praise: Worthy, excellent, good, 'capital', 'fine', 'famous', etc.; 'an indeterminate word used to express the superabundance of any valuable quality in men or things'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>391</sup> Compare *Hamlet* III ii 298: "I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound."

<sup>392</sup> *Scandalum magnatum*: In law, the utterance or publication of a malicious report against any person holding a position of dignity. (OED, p.1896)

<sup>393</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>394</sup> Letter: *Pl.* Types. (OED, p.1202)

<sup>395</sup> There is a certain daring in Martin's mention of Waldegrave, in that Waldegrave was at this time the printer for the secret press.

<sup>396</sup> Bloodthirsty: Thirsting for blood, eager for bloodshed. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin uses several similar words and expressions in connection with the Elizabethan bishops.

<sup>397</sup> Martin probably refers in particular to the anonymous *State of the Church of England Laid Open* (Diotrephes' Dialogue), copies of which were seized along with Waldegrave's press and type.

<sup>398</sup> Case: In printing, the frame in which the compositor has his types, divided into compartments. Ordinarily, there are two, the upper case for capitals, etc. and the lower case for small letters, etc. (OED, p.291)

<sup>399</sup> Pierce notes that John Wolfe (d.1601) was involved in later stages of the Marprelate controversy as the printer of *A Friendly Admonition to Martine Marprelate* (1590) and *A Myrror for Martinists* (1590). (MT, p.53)

<sup>400</sup> Machiavelli, Niccolo (1469-1527), author of *The Prince*.

<sup>401</sup> Beadle: The apparitor (herald, pursuivant) of a trades guild. (OED, pp.90, 168)

<sup>402</sup> Stationers' Company: One of the Livery Companies of the City of London, founded in 1556, comprising booksellers, bookbinders and dealers in writing materials, etc. (OED, p.2114)

<sup>403</sup> In the *Admonition*, Whitgift has harsh words for Waldegrave: "Waldegrave received justly according to his deserts, having founde before that time, greater favour than he deserved, being a notorious disobedient and godlesse person, an unthriftie spender, and consumer of the fruits of his owne labours, one that hath violated his faith to his best and dearest friends, and wittingly brought them into danger, to their undoing. (p.34)

<sup>404</sup> Whitgift retorts: "His wife and children have cause to curse all wicked and ungodly Libellers". (*Admonition*, p.34)

<sup>405</sup> Monstrous: Atrocious, horrible. (OED, p.1351)

**A firebrand<sup>408</sup> indeed.**

**More knavery.**

money of his press and letters.<sup>406</sup> And reason, too. For Waldegrave's profession overthroweth the popedom of Lambeth but Thackwell's popery maintaineth the same. And now that Waldegrave hath neither press nor letters, his Grace may dine and sup the quieter.<sup>407</sup> But look to it, brother Canterbury. Certainly, without your repentance, I fear me you shall be Hildebrand<sup>409</sup> indeed. Waldegrave hath left house and home by reason of your unnatural tyranny, having left behind him a poor wife and six orphans without anything to relieve them, for the husband you have bereaved both of his trade and goods. Be you assured that the cry of these will one day prevail against you unless you desist from persecuting. And good your Grace, I do now remember myself of another printer that had press<sup>410</sup> and letter<sup>411</sup> in a place called Charterhouse<sup>412</sup> in anno 1587, near about the time of the Scottish Queen's death.<sup>413</sup> Intelligence was given unto your good Grace of the same by some of the Stationers of London. It was made known unto you what work was in hand, what letter the book was on,<sup>414</sup> what volume,<sup>415</sup> viz., in octavo<sup>416</sup> in half-sheets,<sup>417</sup> what workmen wrought on the same (namely I.C.,<sup>418</sup> the Earl of Arundel's<sup>419</sup> man, and three of his servants) with

<sup>406</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift shifts the responsibility for the Thackwell matter onto one Richard Young, "the dealer therein without his privity". (p.34) In a letter from the Jesuit Robert Southwell to Claudius Aquaviva of December 21, 1586, Richard Young is referred to as "the chief magistrate of London", and is mentioned as leading a house search for Southwell "in person". According to Levi, "in the 1580's the persons commissioned to question prisoners under torture were Richard Topcliffe . . . Richard Young and the young Francis Bacon". (Miller, p.235; Levi, p.4)

<sup>407</sup> One of the features of Martin Marprelate's prose style is the effortlessness with which he creates visual images, in this case Whitgift dining and supping quietly now that Waldegrave no longer has a press and type.

<sup>408</sup> Firebrand: One who kindles strife or mischief. (OED, p.755)

<sup>409</sup> Gregory VII (1020?-1085). As Pope, his policy was distinguished by his unbending assertion of the power of the papacy and hierarchy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>410</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift counter-charges that Waldegrave himself sold the press in question to "one of the Earl of Arundel's men". (pp.34-5)

<sup>411</sup> Letter: *Sing.* Types, collectively. Also, a fount of type; a particular style of printed characters. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage is the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>412</sup> The Charterhouse, formerly a Carthusian monastery founded by Sir Walter Manny, was purchased by Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, from Edmund, Lord North, in 1565, and extensively rebuilt. After Howard acquired it, the Charterhouse became known as Howard House. (Williams, pp.384-6) Martin's mention of Howard House by its earlier name thus affords a clue to his age. Martin's knowledge of the secret press at the Charterhouse is also instructive in connection with the question of his identity: the Earl of Arundel mentioned in connection with this incident was Philip Howard (1557-1595), the eldest son of Oxford's first cousin, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>413</sup> Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587) was executed February 8, 1587. (DNB, v.12, p.1258)

<sup>414</sup> "What letter the book was on" appears to be a technical phrase meaning "what fount of type was being used in printing the book".

<sup>415</sup> Volume: Size, bulk, or dimensions of a book. (OED, p.2489)

<sup>416</sup> Octavo: The size of a book, or page, when the sheets are so folded that each leaf is one-eighth of a whole sheet. (OED, p.1434)

<sup>417</sup> Imposition by half-sheets is described by McKerrow on pp.66-9 of his Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students. Martin's mention of this particular method of printing demonstrates that he was knowledgeable about the technicalities of the printing trade.

<sup>418</sup> Pierce identifies "I.C." as John Charlwood (d.1592) of the Stationers' Company. (MT, p.54; DNB, v.4, p.120)

<sup>419</sup> Philip Howard (1557-1595), 13th Earl of Arundel. In Arundel's youth, one of his tutors was Gregory Martin who later translated the New Testament of Jesus Christ (Rhemish Testament). Arundel was received into the Roman Catholic faith in 1584. In April, 1585, he attempted to flee England, but was prevented and imprisoned in the Tower where he remained for the final ten years of his life. (DNB, v.10,

**Is not he a very pope,  
indeed, that thus hideth  
popery and knavery?**

**It may be you hindered  
her Majesty of many  
thousands of pounds.**

their several names, what liberality<sup>420</sup> was bestowed on those workmen, and by whom, etc.<sup>421</sup> Your Grace gave the Stationers the hearing<sup>422</sup> of this matter, but to this day the parties were never called *in coram*<sup>423</sup> for it.<sup>424</sup> But yet, by your leave, my Lord, upon this information unto your honourable worship, the Stationers had news that it was made known unto the printers what was done unto your good Grace and, presently, instead of the work which was in hand, there was other appointed (as they say) authorized by your Lordship. I will not say it was your own doing but, by your sleeve, thought is free.<sup>425</sup> And, my good Lord (nay, you shall be none of my Lord, but Master Whitgift, and you will) are you partial<sup>426</sup> or no in all your actions, tell me? Yes, you are; I will stand to it. Did you get a decree in the High Court of Star Chamber<sup>427</sup> only for Waldegrave?<sup>428</sup> If it be in general (and you not partial), why fet you not that printing-press and letters out of the Charterhouse and destroy them as you did Waldegrave's? Why did you not apprehend the parties? Why? Because it was popery at the least that was printed in Charterhouse, and that maintaineth the crown of Canterbury? And what is more tolerable than popery? Did not your Grace of late erect<sup>429</sup> a new printer,<sup>430</sup> contrary to the foresaid decree - one Thomas Orwin

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pp.52-54) When the incident involving the press at the Charterhouse occurred, Arundel had been a prisoner in the Tower for almost two years.

<sup>420</sup> Liberality: A liberal gift or bounty; a largess. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>421</sup> It is unlikely that the details Martin mentions would have been widely known.

<sup>422</sup> The Stationers' Court had the hearing of matters relating to the Company.

<sup>423</sup> To call in coram: To call to account, bring to book. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>424</sup> Martin's knowledge of printing and of the proceedings of the Stationers' Company and Stationers' Court strongly suggest that his usual place of residence was London.

<sup>425</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift shifts responsibility for this matter onto Richard Young and "some other of greater authority". (pp.34-5)

<sup>426</sup> Partial: Inclined antecedently to favour one party in a cause or one side of a question more than another; biased. (OED, p.1518)

<sup>427</sup> Court of Star Chamber: A court, chiefly of criminal jurisdiction, developed in the 15th century from the judicial sittings of the King's council in the Star Chamber at Westminster. (OED, p.2110)

<sup>428</sup> Martin refers to the Star Chamber decree on printing of 1586 which established Whitgift and Aylmer as the censors of all printed material and enacted penalties "for what they deemed objectionable, [the penalties being] the destruction of the press and the defacement of the type, the disablement of the printer and six months' imprisonment". (Collinson, p.274) Martin suggests that Whitgift had the Star Chamber decree issued solely for the purpose of putting a stop to Waldegrave's printing activities, which could well be true since Waldegrave was a key figure in the printing of Puritan tracts and it would have been in Whitgift's interests to silence him. According to Collinson, "to list the books which Waldegrave printed [from 1584-87] is to give an almost complete indication of the range and character of the publications which enjoyed the imprimatur of the presbyterian movement". (p.274) In the Admonition, Whitgift evades Martin's allegation by shifting primary responsibility for the Star Chamber decree onto the Privy Council, limiting his own part to "furtherance": "The decree there mentioned, being first perused by the Queenes learned counsell, and allowed by the Lords of her Majesties most honorable privie Counsell, had his furtherance in deede, and should have, if it were to doe againe. It is but for the maintenance of good orders among the printers, approved and allowed by the most, the best, and the wisest of that company, and for the suppression of inordinate persons, such as Waldegrave is". (p.35)

<sup>429</sup> Erect: To set up, establish. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>430</sup> At this time, printing was strictly controlled. From 1586 on, Whitgift and the High Commission confined the possession of printing presses to London and the two universities, each of the universities being allowed a single press. (HIMT, pp.22-23)

**This is no knavery, my Lord.**

(who sometimes wrought popish books in corners, namely *Jesus' Psalter*,<sup>431</sup> *Our Lady's Psalter*, etc.), with condition he should print no such seditious books as Waldegrave hath done?<sup>432</sup> Why, my Lord? Waldegrave never printed anything against the state,<sup>433</sup> but only against the usurped state of your paltripolitanship,<sup>434</sup> and your pope-holy<sup>435</sup> brethren the lord bishops, and your antichristian swinish rabble, being intolerable withstanders of reformation, enemies of the Gospel, and most covetous, wretched and popish priests.

Now, most pitifully complaining Martin Marprelate, that the papists will needs make us believe that our good John of Canterbury and they are at no great jar<sup>436</sup> in religion.<sup>437</sup> For Reynolds, the papist at Rheims,<sup>438</sup> in his book<sup>439</sup> against Master Whitaker's,<sup>440</sup> commendeth the works written by his Grace for the defence of the corruption<sup>441</sup> in our church against Thomas Cartwright, and saith that the said John Cant. hath many things in him which evidently show a Catholic persuasion.<sup>442</sup> Alas, my masters, shall we lose our metropolitan in this sort? Yet the note<sup>443</sup> is a good note, that we may take heed the Spaniards steal him not away.<sup>444</sup> It were not amiss if her Majesty knew of it. We need not fear (if we can keep him) the Spaniards and our other popish enemies, because our metropolitan's religion and theirs differ not much. In the article of Christ's

<sup>431</sup> Psalter: A translation or particular version (prose or metrical) of the Book of Psalms. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>432</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift shifts the responsibility for the erection of Orwin as a printer onto "such as have interest therein", and states that Orwin "upon his booke oath" denied having printed the two Psalters in question. (p.35)

<sup>433</sup> Whitgift replies: "Whether Waldegrave have printed any thing against the state, or no, let the bookes by him printed, be judges". (Admonition, p.35)

<sup>434</sup> According to the OED, Martin is the first to use this word.

<sup>435</sup> Pope-holy: Pretending to great holiness; (of actions, words, etc.) characterized by a show or pretence of piety; sanctimonious, hypocritical. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>436</sup> Jar: To be out of harmony or at discord in character or effect; to disagree, to conflict. (OED, p.1127)

<sup>437</sup> Whitgift replies: "I thinke Martin him selfe doubteth not of the Archbishops soundnesse in such matters of Religion, as are in controversie betwixt the Papists and us". (Admonition, p.35)

<sup>438</sup> The English College, founded at Douai by William Allen in 1568, moved to Rheims in 1578. (DNB, v.1, p.317)

<sup>439</sup> William Reynolds (1544?-1594). Reynolds' book against Whitaker is entitled A Refutation of Sundry Reprehensions (1583). (RCEA, p.48)

<sup>440</sup> William Whitaker (1548-1595). Reynolds wrote against Whitaker's Ad Nicolai Sanderi (1583). (DNB, v.21, pp.21-3; RCEA, p.48)

<sup>441</sup> Corruption: The perversion of anything from an original state of purity. (OED, p.432)

<sup>442</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift replies to Reynolds' praise of his book by remarking that "it is no disparagement to receive testimonie of a mans adversarie". In responding to the charge that he is of a "Catholic persuasion", Whitgift deliberately misinterprets Martin's meaning: "My Lorde of Canterburie would be sorie from the bottome of his heart, if his persuasion, and the grounds thereof, were not Catholike: hee detesteth and abhorreth schismaticall grounds and perswasions". (p.36)

<sup>443</sup> Note: An observation deserving of notice or remembrance; an interesting or noteworthy remark. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>444</sup> Pierce notes that Whitgift took this facetious remark seriously, and responded in the Admonition that it was "foolish and ridiculous". (MT, p.56; Admonition, p.36) Martin's words seems to echo Matthew 26:64: "Lest his disciples come by night, & steale him away." (GB, p.17)

descending into Hell they jump<sup>445</sup> in one right pat,<sup>446</sup> and in the maintenance of the hierarchy of bishops, and ascribing the name of priest unto them that are ministers of the Gospel.<sup>447</sup>

I know not whether my next tale will be acceptable to his Grace or not. But have it among you, my masters. Master Wigginton,<sup>448</sup> the pastor of Sedbergh,<sup>449</sup> is a man not altogether unknown unto you. And I think his worshipful Grace got little or nothing by meddling with him, although he hath deprived him. My tale is of his deprivation, which was after this sort.<sup>450</sup> The good quiet people of Sedbergh, being troubled for certain years with the said Wigginton, and many of them being infected<sup>451</sup> by him with the true knowledge of the Gospel by the Word preached (which is an heresy that his Grace doth mortally abhor and persecute), at length grew in disliking<sup>452</sup> with their pastor because the severe man did urge nothing but obedience unto the Gospel. Well, they came to his Grace to find a remedy hereof, desiring him that Wigginton might be deprived. His Grace could find no law to deprive him - no, although the pastor defied the Archbishop to his face, and would give him no better title than John Whitgift (such bugs<sup>453</sup> words being in these days accounted no less than high treason against a paltripolitan, though since that time I think his Grace hath been well enured<sup>454</sup> to bear the name of Pope of Lambeth, John Cant. the Prelate of Lambeth, with divers other titles agreeable to his function). Well, Sedbergh men proceeded against their pastor. His Grace would not deprive him because he could find no law to warrant him therein, and he will do little contrary to law for fear of a *praemunire* unless it be at a dead lift to deprive a Puritan preacher.

445 Jump: To act or come exactly *together*; to agree completely, to coincide, tally. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

446 Pat: In a way that hits, and does not miss its object or aim; in a manner that fits or agrees to a nicety with the purpose or occasion; so as exactly to suit the purpose; appositely, aptly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

447 Martin again lays these three points to Whitgift's charge in the *Minerals*. In the *Admonition*, Whitgift replies that "Hee firmly believeth that Christ in soule descended into Hell . . . hee is likewise perswaded that there ought to be by the worde of God a superioritie among the Ministers of the Church . . . [and that] hee hath shewed sufficient reason in his book against T.C. why Ministers of the Gospel, may be called Priests". (p.36)

448 Giles Wigginton (fl.1564-1597) was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge when Whitgift was Master. In 1584, for his refusal to take the oath *ex officio mero*, Wigginton spent nine weeks in the Gatehouse. In 1585, he was deprived by Sandys, Archbishop of York, on Whitgift's instructions, and imprisoned in Lancaster Gaol. In 1586, Wigginton again refused the oath *ex officio*, and was imprisoned in the White Lion in Southwark. During this period of imprisonment, he wrote to Sir Walter Mildmay that the keeper "by the archbishop's strict charge so loaded me with irons, confined me in close prison, and deprived me of necessary food, that in about five weeks I was nearly dead". On December 6, 1588, Wigginton was again summoned before Whitgift, and appears to have spent the next four years imprisoned in the Gatehouse, being finally restored to the vicarage of Sedbergh through the intervention of Lord Burghley. (MT, pp.59-60; DNB, v.21, pp.193-4)

449 In Yorkshire.

450 Sort: Manner, method, or way. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

451 Infect: To imbue with an opinion or belief, especially heresy or seditious views. (OED, p.1066)

452 Disliking: Aversion, disapproval; dislike. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

453 Bug: An imaginary object of terror; a bugbear, bogey. (OED, p.248) Wigginton's demeanour must have angered Whitgift; in the *Admonition*, he berates Wigginton like a schoolboy: "That which he speaketh of Wigginton, is like the rest, saving for his saucie and malapert behaviour towarde the Archbishoppe: wherein in trueth, hee did beare with him too much. Wigginton is a man well knowen unto him, and if hee knew himselfe, hee would confesse that hee had great cause to thanke the Archbishoppe. As hee was a foolish, proude, and vaine boy, a laughing stocke for his follie to all the societie with whom hee lived: so doeth hee retaine the same qualities being a man, saving that his follie, pride, and vanitie is much increased: so that nowe hee is become ridiculous even to his owne faction". (p.37)

454 Enure: Of persons: To bring by use, habit, or continual exercise to a certain condition or state of mind, to the endurance of a certain condition, to the following of a certain kind of life, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

Then, indeed, he will do against law, against God, and against his own conscience, rather than that heresy of preaching should prevail. One man of Sedbergh, whose name is Atkinson, was very eager among the rest to have his pastor deprived. And because his Grace would not hear them, but departed away, this Atkinson desired his Grace to resolve him and his neighbours of one point which something<sup>455</sup> troubled them. And that was whether his Grace or Wigginton were of the Devil. *For, quoth he, you are so contrary the one from the other that both of you cannot possibly be of God. If he be of God, it is certain you are of the Devil, and so cannot long stand, for he will be your overthrow. Amen. If you are of God, then he is of the Devil, as we think him to be. And so, he being of the Devil, will not you deprive him? Why should you suffer such a one to trouble the church? Now if he be of God, why is your course so contrary to his? And, rather, why do not you follow him that we may do so, too? Truly, if you do not deprive him, we will think him to be of God and go home with him with gentler goodwill towards him than we came hither with hatred, and look you for a fall.* His Grace, hearing this northern<sup>456</sup> logic, was moved on the sudden you must think, promised to deprive Wigginton, and so he did.<sup>457</sup> This Atkinson this winter 1587 came up to London (being, as it seemed, afflicted in conscience for this fact), desired Wigginton to pardon him, and offered to kneel before her Majesty that Wigginton might be restored again to his place, and to stand to the truth hereof to his Grace's teeth.<sup>458</sup> The man is alive; he may be sent for if you think that Master Martin hath reported an untruth. No, I warrant you, you shall not take me to have fraught<sup>459</sup> my book with lies and slanders, as John Whitgift and the Dean of Sarum did theirs. I speak not of things by hearsay, as of reports, but I bring my witnesses to prove my matters.<sup>460</sup>

May it please you to yield unto a suit that I have to your worships. I pray you, send Wigginton home unto his charge again. I can tell you, it was a foul oversight in his Grace to send for him out of the North to London that he might outface<sup>461</sup> him at his own door. He would do his Canterbusiness less hurt if he were at his charge than now he doth. Let the Templars<sup>462</sup> have Master Travers, their preacher, restored again unto them.<sup>463</sup> He is now at leisure to work your

<sup>455</sup> Something: In some degree; to some extent; somewhat; rather, a little. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>456</sup> This wry reference to "northern logic" suggests that Martin is not a northern man.

<sup>457</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift says that this charge against him is "rather to be pitied than answered", although he admits that he bridles "factious and unlearned Preachers", the Church being "too full of such talkers". Whitgift says that it was "the honestest, the most, and the best of his parish" who complained against Wigginton; however, he flatly denies that Atkinson spoke the words reported by Martin ("The tale of Atkinson is a lowde, notorious and knowen lie"). Whitgift alleges that "enormities" were proved against Wigginton before the High Commission, but gives no details. (pp.37-8)

<sup>458</sup> To one's teeth: Intensive of "to one's face"; directly and openly; defiantly. (OED, p.2325)

<sup>459</sup> Fraught: Stuffed, furnished, filled. (OED, p.802)

<sup>460</sup> This is an important assertion in view of the often-repeated statement that most of the material in the tracts is taken from notes collected by John Field. (Collinson, p.394) This story was given out by John Penry to deflect the curiosity of the bookbinder Henry Sharpe of Northampton. (Arber, Introductory Sketch, p.94) Martin here expressly contradicts Penry's statement (and in fact does so several months before Penry made the statement), and asserts his independent knowledge of the incidents referred to in the tracts.

<sup>461</sup> Outface: To outdo or overcome in facing or confronting; to look (a person) out of countenance; to face or stare down; hence, to put out of countenance, put to shame or to silence, generally; esp. by boldness, assurance, impudence, or arrogance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) In Hay any Work For Cooper, Martin calls Whitgift "his Face".

<sup>462</sup> Templar: A barrister or other person who occupies chambers in the Inner or Middle Temple. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>463</sup> Walter Travers (1548?-1635) was appointed afternoon lecturer at the Temple in 1581. When the Master of the Temple died in May 1583, he recommended Travers as his successor. Although Travers was chosen for the mastership of the Temple by the benchers and was recommended by Lord Burghley, Whitgift "represented to the Queen that Travers, among other things, 'contemned the Book of Common Prayer'." Moreover, Whitgift insisted that Travers, who had been ordained at Antwerp, must be reordained

priesthood a woe, I hope. If such another book as the *Ecclesiastical Discipline*<sup>464</sup> was dropped out of his budget,<sup>465</sup> it were as good for the bishops to lie<sup>466</sup> a day and a night in Little Ease<sup>467</sup> in the Counter.<sup>468</sup> He is an odd<sup>469</sup> fellow in following an argument, and you know he hath a smooth tongue either in Latin or English. And if my Lord of Winchester<sup>470</sup> understood either Greek or Hebrew (as they say he hath no great skill<sup>471</sup> in neither), I would pray your priestdoms<sup>472</sup> to tell me which is the better scholar - Walter Travers or Thomas Cooper?<sup>473</sup> Will you not send Master Wiburn<sup>474</sup> to Northampton, that he may see some fruits of the seed he sowed there 16 or 18 years ago?<sup>475</sup> That old man Wiburn<sup>476</sup> hath more good learning in him, and more fit gifts for the ministry in his little toe, than many braces<sup>477</sup> of our lord bishops. Restore him to preaching again,

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in England. Travers refused to be reordained, and in 1586 was put to silence when a prohibition was served upon him as he was ascending the pulpit stairs at the Temple. (DNB, v.19, pp.1089-91; MT, p.19)

<sup>464</sup> *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae* (1574). The Latin text of this work is attributed to Travers, the English translation to Thomas Cartwright. (RCEA, p.32)

<sup>465</sup> Budget: A pouch, bag, wallet, usually of leather. (OED, p.247)

<sup>466</sup> Lie: To dwell or sojourn; *esp.* to sleep or pass the night (in a place); to lodge temporarily. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>467</sup> A famous prison cell in which the prisoner could neither stand upright nor lie down at full length.

<sup>468</sup> Compter: The name of certain city prisons for debtors, etc. There were two prisons by that name in Elizabethan London, one in Wood Street and the other in the Poultry. (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.235, 265)

<sup>469</sup> Odd: Singular in valour, worth, merit or eminence. (OED, p.1436)

<sup>470</sup> Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester from 1584-1594.

<sup>471</sup> Skill: Knowledge or understanding of something. (OED, p.2009)

<sup>472</sup> Priestdom: With possessive, as a mock title. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>473</sup> Martin refers to the Lambeth Conference of December 10 and 12, 1584, in which the necessity of revising *The Book of Common Prayer* was the stated subject of controversy between Whitgift and Cooper, on the one hand, and Travers and Thomas Spark on the other. (MT, p.19)

<sup>474</sup> Percival Wiburn (1533?-1606?) was a Marian exile in Geneva in 1557. He took a vigorous part in the vestiarian controversy, and was deprived of his London benefice for nonconformity in 1566. According to Collinson, it was probably the Puritan MP George Carleton of Overston (later the husband of Mistress Crane) who brought Wiburn to Northampton, where he was "soon preaching drastic reformation". In 1572, despite representations by the Earl of Leicester on his behalf, Wiburn was silenced. He spent the latter years of his life at the home of Lady Anne Bacon, mother of Sir Francis Bacon and aunt of Anne Cecil, first wife of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. (Collinson, pp.48, 64, 79-83, 118, 439; DNB, v.21, p.175)

<sup>475</sup> According to Collinson, "Wiburn's ministry in Northampton began in 1570 and was cut short early in 1572". (p.141) Martin's reference to a time "16 or 18 years ago" is thus extremely accurate.

<sup>476</sup> Martin's reference to "that old man Wiburn" indicates some degree of personal knowledge of Wiburn. It also affords a clue to Martin's age since, according to the DNB, Wiburn, whom Martin considers old, was about 55 in 1588. In fact, Wiburn may have been somewhat older than 55 in 1588, since he was admitted to Cambridge in November, 1546 which, if he was born in 1533, would make him only 13 years of age at the time of his admission to university.

<sup>477</sup> Brace: Two things taken together; a pair, a couple (used of persons chiefly with a touch of humour and contempt). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's use of "brace" in connection with persons precedes the first usage cited in the OED.

**Except persecuting  
Greenfield.<sup>478</sup>**

for shame. Master Paget<sup>479</sup> shall be welcome to Devonshire; he is more fit to teach men than boys. I marvel with what face a man that had done so much good in the church as he did among a rude<sup>480</sup> people could be deprived. Briefly, may it please you to let the Gospel have a free course, and restore unto their former liberty in preaching all the preachers that you have put to silence. And this far is my first suit.

My 2nd suit is a most earnest request unto you that are the hinderers of the publishing of the confutation of the *Rhemish Testament*<sup>481</sup> by Master Cartwright<sup>482</sup> [that it] may be published. A reasonable request, the granting whereof, I dare assure you, would be most acceptable unto all that fear God, and news of woeful sequel<sup>483</sup> unto the papists. For shall I tell you what I heard once from the mouth of a man of great learning and deep judgment, who saw some part of Master Cartwright's answer to the said Rhemish and traitorous raffody?<sup>484</sup> His judgment was this: that Master Cartwright had dealt so soundly against the papists that, for the answering and confuting of the adversary, that one work would be sufficient alone. He farther added that the adversary was confuted by strange and unknown reasons that would set them at their wits' end when they see themselves assailed with such weapons whereof they never once dreamt that they should be stroken at. And will your Grace, or any else that are the hinderers of the publishing of this work, still bereave<sup>485</sup> the church of so worthy a Jewell<sup>486</sup> - nay, so strong an armour against the enemy? If you deny me this request, I will not threaten you, but my brother Bridges' and John Whitgift's books shall smoke<sup>487</sup> for this gear. I'll have my pennyworths of them for it.

Now, may it please you to examine my worthiness your brother Martin, and see whether I said not true in the story of Giles Wigginton, where I have set down that the preaching of the Word is an

<sup>478</sup> Unidentified. Pierce notes that Strype mentions a Master Greenfield of Devon. (MT, p.63; *Annals*, v.2, pt.2, p.617)

<sup>479</sup> Eusebius Paget (1547?-1617) was deprived for nonconformity in 1574. He obtained a living in Devon, and was again deprived. After this, he started a school, but was forced to give up this occupation because of an order requiring subscription from schoolmasters. (MT, p.63; DNB, v.15, pp.65-6)

<sup>480</sup> Rude: Uneducated, unlearned, ignorant. (OED, p.1859)

<sup>481</sup> Gregory Martin's translation of the New Testament (popularly called the *Rhemish Testament*) was published in 1582 under the title *The New Testament of Jesus Christ*. Pierce notes that Queen Elizabeth had asked Theodore Beza to refute the *Rhemish Testament*; Beza recommended that Cartwright undertake the task. In 1590, according to Cartwright, he "received commaundment from the Archbishop [Whitgift] to deal no further in it". Cartwright's first answer to the Rhemists was not published until 1602, when it was printed by Waldegrave in Edinburgh under the title *With God in Christ; The Answer to the Preface of the Rhemish Testament*; his second reply was published posthumously at Leyden in 1618 under the title *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translations*. (Carlson, pp.91, 356-7; MT, p.64; RCEA, pp.46, 50)

<sup>482</sup> When Waldegrave left the Marprelate press in early April of 1589, his intention was to go to Devonshire to publish Cartwright's answer to Gregory Martin's translation of the New Testament. However, his plans must have altered rather suddenly, as he was in Rochelle by mid-May where, during the next few months, he printed *Master Some laid open in his coulours*, *'Th' Appellation of John Penri* and, probably, *A Dialogue. Wherein is plainly laid open, the tyrannical dealing of L. Bishoppes*. (Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.99, 100; Wilson, p.2; RCEA, p.85; HIMT, p.183) Although they were published anonymously, Carlson suggests that *Master Some* and *A Dialogue* were probably written by Martin Marprelate. (pp.112, 242)

<sup>483</sup> Sequel: Consequence, importance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's use is the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>484</sup> In the text, this is "Raffodie". The word is not noticed in the OED.

<sup>485</sup> Bereave: To deprive, rob, strip, dispossess (a person, etc., of a possession. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>486</sup> This pun compliments both Cartwright, and John Jewell (1522-1571), Archbishop of Canterbury, and author of *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562).

<sup>487</sup> Smoke: To smart, suffer severely. (OED, p.2029)

heresy which his Grace doth mortally abhor and persecute. I can prove it without doubt. And, first, that he persecuteth the preaching of the Word (whether it be an heresy or not) both in the preacher and the hearer, the Articles of Subscription [and] the silencing of so many learned and worthy preachers do evidently show, and if you doubt hereof let my worship understand thereof, and in my next treatise I shall prove the matter to be clear with a witness<sup>488</sup> (and, I hope, to your small commendations that will deny such a clear point). On the other side, that he accounteth preaching to be an heresy, I am now to insist<sup>489</sup> on the proof of that point. But first you must know that he did not account simple preaching to be an heresy - but to hold that preaching is the only ordinary means to salvation, this he accounteth as an heresy, this he mortally condemned. The case thus stood. John Penry,<sup>490</sup> the Welshman (I think his Grace and my brother London would be better acquainted with him, and they could tell how),<sup>491</sup> about the beginning of Lent, 1587<sup>492</sup> offered a supplication<sup>493</sup> and a book<sup>494</sup> to the Parliament<sup>495</sup> entreating that some order might be taken for calling his country unto the knowledge of God. For his bold attempt, he was called before his Grace with others<sup>496</sup> of the High Commission (as Thomas of Winchester, John London, etc.). After that his Grace had eased his stomach<sup>497</sup> in calling him 'boy', 'knave', 'varlet',<sup>498</sup> 'slanderer', 'libeller', 'lewd boy', 'lewd slanderer', etc. (this is true, for I have seen the notes of their conference),<sup>499</sup> at the length a point of his book began to be examined where non-residents are thought intolerable. Here the Lord of good London asked Master Penry what he could say against that kind of cattle.<sup>500</sup>

<sup>488</sup> With a witness: With clear evidence, without a doubt, 'with a vengeance', 'and no mistake'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>489</sup> Insist: To dwell with emphasis or at length on or upon a matter. (OED, p.1082)

<sup>490</sup> John Penry (1563-1593). Although his birth-date is usually given as 1559, Peel says Penry was born in 1563, which would make him 25 years of age at the time of the publication of Martin's *Epistle*. (p.ix) Penry was suspected by Whitgift to be the author of the Marprelate tracts; Penry himself denied this, and Wilson notes that "most students of the tracts and of Penry's acknowledged work have long ago put him out of court for reasons of style". (p.4) H.M. Dexter considered the question thoroughly, and decided firmly against Penry's authorship; his cogent arguments are reprinted in Arber (*Introductory Sketch*, pp.187-189). Although Penry was not Martin, the available evidence shows that he managed the secret press from its inception shortly after the seizure of Waldegrave's press in April, 1588 until the capture of one of the presses near Manchester on August 14, 1589. (DNB, v.15, pp.791-5)

<sup>491</sup> A provocative reference, since Penry was at this time involved with the secret press.

<sup>492</sup> In 1587, Lent began on March 1. (Cheney, p.134) The Parliament referred to was dissolved on March 23, 1587. (Peel, p.xi)

<sup>493</sup> Supplication: A written or formal petition. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>494</sup> *A Treatise containing the Aequity of an Humble Supplication* (1587). (RCEA, p.84)

<sup>495</sup> Both Penry's petition and the *Treatise* were presented to the Parliament of 1587 by Edward Dunn Lee (d.1598), the member for Carmarthen. (Peel, pp.xi-xii) In connection with the hypothesis that the author of the Marprelate tracts was Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, it is of interest that Edward Dunn Lee was a distant relative of Oxford's, both men being great-great-grandsons of Sir John Don (d.1503). (Newton Dunn, pp.14-7; Chambers, v.10, p.247)

<sup>496</sup> In *Th' Appellation of John Penri* (1590), Penry gives the names of the members of the High Commission who sat at Lambeth Palace at his examination: "the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishops of London, Winchester and Lincoln; Dr. Lewin and Dr. Cosin". Penry's account in the *Appellation* indicates that his examination before the High Commission took place in March, 1587; he was then imprisoned for a month and, at the end of that time, released without further examination. (Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.68-9, 72)

<sup>497</sup> Stomach: Used (like 'heart', 'bosom', 'breast') to indicate the inward seat of passion, emotion, secret thoughts, affections, or feelings. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>498</sup> Varlet: A person of a low, mean, or knavish disposition; a knave, rogue, rascal. (OED, CD-ROM)

<sup>499</sup> It would be interesting to know how these notes came into Martin's hands.

<sup>500</sup> Cattle: In various extended uses; mostly contemptuous. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *As You Like It* III ii 435: "Boyes and women are . . . cattle of this colour."

Answer was made that they were odious in the sight of God and man because, as much as in them lie, they bereave the people over whom they thrust themselves of the ordinary means of salvation, which was the Word preached. John London demanded whether preaching was the only means to salvation.<sup>501</sup> Penry answered that it was the only ordinary means, although the Lord was not so tied unto it but that He could extraordinarily use other means. That preaching was the only ordinary means, he confirmed it by those places of Scripture, Romans 10:14, I Corinthians 1:21, Ephesians 1:13.<sup>502</sup> This point being a long time canvassed, at the length his worship of Winchester rose up and, mildly after his manner, brast<sup>503</sup> forth into these words, *'I assure you, my Lords, it is an execrable heresy.'*<sup>504</sup> *'An heresy,'* quoth John Penry, *'I thank God that ever I knew that heresy. It is such an heresy that I will, by the grace of God, sooner leave my life than I will leave it.'* *'What, sir,'* quoth the Archbishop, *'I tell thee, it is an heresy, and thou shalt recant it as an heresy.'* *'Nay,'* quoth Penry, *'never so long as I live, God willing!'* I will leave this story for shame. I am weary to hear your Grace so absurd. What say you to this gear, my masters of the Confocation House? We shall have shortly a good religion in England among the bishops if Paul<sup>505</sup> be said of them to write an heresy.

I have heard some say that his Grace will speak against his own conscience. It is true, the proof whereof shall be his dealing with another Welshman, one Master Evans.<sup>506</sup> An honourable personage, Ambrose Dudley,<sup>507</sup> now Earl of Warwick<sup>508</sup> (and long may he be so, to the glory of

<sup>501</sup> An example of the abuse of process in the High Commission. Examinees were forced to answer questions, and thereby "incriminated" themselves since the members of the High Commission were the judges of what constituted heresy.

<sup>502</sup> Pierce gives the texts from the Geneva Bible: Romans 10:14: "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?"; 1 Cor. 1:21: "It was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."; Ephes. 1:13: "In whom ye also, having heard the word of truth . . . having believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise."

<sup>503</sup> Brast: Burst. (OED, p.231)

<sup>504</sup> In the Admonition, Cooper says that he did not rise up out of his seat, nor speak cholericly, "but quietly said, My Lord, this is not far from Heresie." (pp.58-9)

<sup>505</sup> I.e., St. Paul, in the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians and Ephesians cited earlier.

<sup>506</sup> It is possible that the Master Evans referred to is the Welshman Lewis Evans who in 1574 dedicated a dictionary to the Earl of Leicester. (DNB, v.6, p.933) Nicholas Tomkins, servant to Mistress Crane, in his deposition of February 15, 1589 before Dr. Cosin, mentions one Evans, his wife's brother. (Arber, Introductory Sketch, pp.84-6)

<sup>507</sup> Ambrose Dudley (1528?-1590), a "staunch but unfanatical adherent of the reformed religion", was an elder brother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. (Pulman, p.29) Although Leicester died on September 4, 1588, a month before the publication of Martin's Epistle, it seems likely that he was instrumental in setting up the secret press, which began printing in the late spring or early summer of 1588. The information that a nobleman, now deceased, had urged Penry to write against the bishops was in the hands of the government in September, 1589 ("It is confesed that Penrie hath sayde before any of these Libells came forthe, that a Noble man deceased did encourage him to write bitterlye against ye Bishops and that he should not be imprisoned by the Commissioners but by some others for a fashion, and so shortly after delyvered."). (Wilson, p.25; Arber, Introductory Sketch, p.117) If Leicester encouraged Penry to write against the bishops, it seems reasonable to infer that he played a part in the setting up and funding of a secret press on which Penry's tracts could be printed, particularly after the destruction of Waldegrave's press on May 13, 1588 and the burning of Diotrephes' Dialogue. The following passage from Collinson demonstrates that Leicester, whose political power was crumbling in the 1580's as Whitgift's increased, had a strong motive for encouraging the printing activities of the Puritans, particularly after Whitgift had succeeded in obtaining the Star Chamber decree which allowed him to silence Waldegrave. According to Collinson, "Leicester's death had been preceded by the slow attrition of his political influence, to the advantage of enemies who were diametrically opposed to Elizabeth's old favourite in their religious

God, the good of His church, and the comfort of all his), in the singular love he bare to the town of Warwick, would have placed Master Evans there. To the end that Master Evans might be received with a favourable subscription, etc., he offered the subscription which the statute<sup>509</sup> requireth (whereunto men may subscribe with a good conscience). The Earl sent him with his letter to his Gracelessness of Cant., thinking to obtain so small a courtesy at his hands. And I am sure if he be Ambrose Dudley, the noble Earl of Warwick (whose famous exploits, both in peace and war, this whole land hath cause to remember with thankfulness), that he is able to requite<sup>510</sup> your kindness, Master John Cant. O, said his Grace to Master Evans, *I know you to be worthy a better place than Warwick is, and I would very gladly gratify my Lord, but surely there is a Lord in Heaven whom I fear, and therefore I cannot admit you without subscription.* Thus the man, with his poor patron the Earl of Warwick, were rejected by your Grace, and the poor Earl to this day knoweth not how to find the favour at your hands that the man may be placed there.<sup>511</sup> I tell you true, John Canter., if I

policy. The evidence of his church patronage suggests that in his prime Leicester lent his support with some consistency to those best described as Grindalians: zealous preaching protestants who were moderate puritans in their attitude to current controversies and not disposed to stand on their ecclesiastical dignity. But in his later years he moved closer to the more extreme, presbyterian fringe. He was friendly to John Field, installed Cartwright as master of his hospital at Warwick, and took Humfrey Fen and John Knewstub as chaplains to the Netherlands during his captaincy-general. A young Oxford puritan left his preaching to become his secretary and both he and Fen sought the approval of the London *classis* for their appointments. That Leicester now made friends of this kind is itself a token that he had lost the effective patronage of major ecclesiastical appointments of which he had once boasted. That was a direct consequence of the rise of Whitgift, which he had not opposed but which he must have lived to regret. The earl and the archbishop confronted each other over church policy in the House of Lords and, if we are to believe a story told by Izaak Walton, in the presence of the Queen herself. During Leicester's absence in the Netherlands, Whitgift was made a privy councillor, apparently by Burghley's means. He was the first prelate to sit on the Council since the death of Cardinal Pole, 'whereat', the archbishop's secretary and biographer tells us, 'the earl was not a little displeas'd'. Lords Buckhurst and Cobham, both adversaries of Leicester and 'joined in like affection to the archbishop', were preferred at the same time. Thereafter, according to Sir George Paule, 'the archbishop's courses . . . were not so much crossed nor impeded as heretofore; but by reason of his daily attendance and access, he thus oftentimes gave impediment to the earl's designments in clergy causes.'" (Collinson, pp.386-7)

<sup>508</sup> All the Marprelate tracts with the exception of the Epistle were printed within a few miles of Ambrose Dudley's seat of Warwick Castle and Leicester's seat of Kenilworth. Although Leicester had died by the time the press was moved north from East Molesey, plans were afoot to move it into Northamptonshire at least as early as "St. Jamestide" (i.e., July 25, 1588), at which time Penry spoke to Sir Richard Knightley about the possibility of housing the press at Fawsley. (HIMT, p.313) The printing at East Molesey also had a connection with Northamptonshire, in that the widowed Mistress Crane, whose manor was used for the printing of the Epistle, married the Northamptonshire MP George Carleton circa 1588. Moreover, Carleton's grand-father, John Carleton, was of Kingston Upon Thames (a few miles from East Molesey) in the time of Henry VII. (McCorkle, p.281)

<sup>509</sup> Statute 13 Elizabeth, chapter 12. The anonymous author of A petition directed to her most excellent Majestie (1592) makes Martin's point very clearly: "The lawe requireth a subscription to the Articles of religion onely, that concerne the confession of trewe faith and doctrine of Sacramentes, 13. Eliz. cap.12. The Bishops urge a subscription to the bookes of Homilies, and divers ceremoniall and transitorie matters, neither concerninge faith nor Sacrament." (p.61) (RCEA, p.100)

<sup>510</sup> Requite: To repay, make return for, reward (a kindness, service, etc.). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>511</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift admits this accusation while seeming to deny it: "That of Evans concerning the Vicarage of Warwicke, is maliciously reported. He rejected him for lacke of conformitie to the orders of the Church". (p.38)

were a nobleman,<sup>512</sup> and a Councillor<sup>513</sup> too, I should be sick of the spleen.<sup>514</sup> Nay, I could not bear this at your hands, to be used of a priest thus, contrary to the law of God and this land.<sup>515</sup>

It is no marvel, though, his Honour could not obtain this small suit at your Graceless hands, for I have heard your own men say that you will not be beholding to never a nobleman in this land, for you were the 2nd person, etc.<sup>516</sup> Nay, your own self spake proudly - yea, and that like a pope - whenas a worthy knight was a suitor unto your Holiness for one of God's dear children<sup>517</sup> (whom you have kept, and do keep, in prison) for his liberty. You answered him he should lie there still unless he would put in sureties<sup>518</sup> upon such bonds<sup>519</sup> as never the like were heard of, and said further that you are the 2nd person in the land, and never a nobleman nor councillor in this land should release him.<sup>520</sup> Only her Majesty may release him, and that you were sure she would not. Do you think this to be he (I pray you) that was sometime Doctor Perne's boy,<sup>521</sup> and carried his cloak-bag<sup>522</sup> after him? Believe me, he hath leapt lustily.<sup>523</sup> And do not you know that after it is full sea there followeth any 'b'?<sup>524</sup> Remember your brother Haman.<sup>525</sup> Do you think there is never a Mordecai<sup>526</sup> to step to our gracious Hester<sup>527</sup> for preserving the lives of her faithfulest and best subjects, whom you so mortally hate and bitterly persecute? I hope you have not long to reign. Amen.

**Is not this ambitious  
wretch at the highest,  
think you?**

And you, Master Bishop of Worcester,<sup>528</sup> how dealt you with Master Evans in the same case?<sup>529</sup> Do you think that I do not know your knavery? You could by law require no other subscription of

<sup>512</sup> It is worth remarking Martin's indignation at this slight offered to a member of the nobility.

<sup>513</sup> Ambrose Dudley was appointed to the Privy Council in 1573. (Pulman, p.29)

<sup>514</sup> Spleen: Regarded as the seat of melancholy or morose feelings. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>515</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift replies: "That honourable person mentioned by the libeller, I am sure, accepted of his answer". (p.38)

<sup>516</sup> Whitgift flatly denies this charge. (Admonition, p.38)

<sup>517</sup> Presumably, one of the Puritan preachers.

<sup>518</sup> Surety: A formal engagement entered into, a pledge, bond, or security given for the fulfilment of an undertaking. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>519</sup> Bond: *Law*. A deed, by which A (known as the *obligor*) binds himself, his heirs, executors, or assigns to pay a certain sum of money to B (known as the *obligee*), or his heirs, etc.

<sup>520</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift recollects the conversation with the knight, but "that he ever spake any such wordes unto him, as the Libeller woulde make the worlde beleeve, is most false: the Knight liveth and can testifie the same". (p.39) Compare Whitgift's words with those of King Richard's favourite, Greene, in Thomas of Woodstock: "Let me have Richard's love/ And like a rock unmoved my state shall stand/ Scorning the proudest peer that rules the land." (Armstrong, p.187)

<sup>521</sup> Boy: A servant, especially one in a humble position. (OED, p.226)

<sup>522</sup> Cloak-bag: A bag in which to carry a cloak or other clothes. (OED, p.351) In the Admonition, Whitgift replied that he "was never D. Perns boy, nor under him at any time, but as felow of the house where he was master. Neither did he ever cary his, or any other mans cloake bagge". (p.39) However, in Hay Any Work For Cooper, Martin responded to Whitgift's denial with such assurance that it is clear that he was certain of his facts.

<sup>523</sup> Lustily: With vigour or energy; vigorously, energetically. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>524</sup> I.e., "after it is full sea, there followeth an ebb".

<sup>525</sup> In the Book of Esther (chapters iii-vii), a Persian courtier whose scheme to destroy the Jews was frustrated by Esther and Mordecai, and who was hanged on the gallows he had built for Mordecai. (Rollins, p.975)

<sup>526</sup> I.e., the role of those who oppose Whitgift is seen as analogous to that of Mordecai.

<sup>527</sup> I.e., Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>528</sup> Edmund Freake (1516?-1591), Bishop of Worcester from 1584-1591.

<sup>529</sup> The fact that both Freake and Whitgift were involved in the Evans case suggests that this incident took place circa 1584. Whitgift was named to the archbishopric of Canterbury on August 14, 1583;

Master Evans than he offered and yet, forsooth, you would not receive it at his hands unless he would also enter into a bond to observe the *Book Of Common Prayer* in every point. Will law permit you to play the tyrant in this sort, Bishop? I shall see the *praemunire* on the bones<sup>530</sup> of you one day for these pranks.<sup>531</sup> And the mass-monger, your neighbour the Bishop of Gloucester,<sup>532</sup> thinks to go free because, in his sermon at Paul's Cross preached 1586 in the Parliament time, he affirmed that beef and brewis<sup>533</sup> had made him a papist.<sup>534</sup> But this will not serve his turn. Would you know what he did? Why, he convented<sup>535</sup> an honest draper of Gloucester - one Singleton - and urged him, being a layman, to subscribe unto the *Book*. The man, affirming that no such thing could be required of him by law, denied to subscribe. Upon his denial, the Bishop sent him to prison.<sup>536</sup> Is it even so, you old popish priest? Dare you imprison laymen for not subscribing? It were not good for your corner-cap that her Majesty knew her subjects to be thus dealt with. And if this be ever made known unto her,<sup>537</sup> I hope to see you in for a bird.<sup>538</sup>

**O blasphemous wretch!**

But, brother Winchester, you of all other men are most wretched, for you openly in the audience of many hundreds at Sir Mary Overies church the last Lent, 1587 pronounced that men might find fault, if they were disposed to quarrel, as well with the Scripture as with *The Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>539</sup> Who could hear this comparison without trembling? But lest you should think that he hath not as good a gift in speaking against his conscience as my Lord of Cant. is endued<sup>540</sup> with, you are to understand that both in that sermon of his and in another which he preached at the court<sup>541</sup> the same Lent, he protested before God and the congregation where he stood that there was not in the world at this day - nay, there had not been since the apostles' time - such a flourishing

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however, his former see of Worcester was not filled until Freake's appointment on October 26, 1584.

This transition period is the most likely time at which Freake and Whitgift would both have been involved with the question of Master Evans' placement at the vicarage of Warwick. (Brook, p.671)

<sup>530</sup> Use with pathetically humorous force for the whole bones of the body collectively, the skeleton; also, by extension, the bodily frame, body, person. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The expression seems to mean "I will see you charged with treason one day for these pranks".

<sup>531</sup> Prank: In early use, a trick of malicious or mischievous nature; a trick or action deserving of reprobation; a deed of wickedness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>532</sup> John Bullingham (d.1598), Bishop of Gloucester from 1581-1598. (DNB, v.3, p.251)

<sup>533</sup> Brewis: Bread soaked in boiling fat pottage made of salted meat. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>534</sup> Bullingham presumably referred in his sermon to his voluntary exile during the reign of Edward VI, and his return to England during the reign of Queen Mary when he "was duly furnished with a number of benefices". (MT, p.70)

<sup>535</sup> Convent: To summon before a tribunal. (OED, p.417)

<sup>536</sup> This charge is passed over in silence in the Admonition.

<sup>537</sup> Martin's comments may have had some effect on Queen Elizabeth's attitude to Bullingham. In addition to his see of Gloucester, Bullingham had held the bishopric of Bristol *in commendam*. However, on December 14, 1589, a year after the publication of the Epistle, Richard Fletcher was consecrated Bishop of Bristol. (DNB, v.3, pp.250-1) In commendam: Used of the tenure of a benefice 'commended' or given in charge to a qualified clerk or layman, to hold until a proper incumbent was provided for it. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>538</sup> The phrase "in for a bird" is noticed in the OED, but its meaning is not explained. It may mean "caught like a bird in a snare". See the phrase "in by the week" (to be ensnared, to be caught) in the OED.

<sup>539</sup> Cooper's defence in the Admonition essentially confirms Martin's allegation that he spoke the words in question. (pp.57-8)

<sup>540</sup> To be endued with: To be possessed of (a certain quality). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>541</sup> It is worth noticing that Martin is aware of the content of sermons preached at court. In the Admonition, Cooper confirms that this sermon was preached "in the Queens Chappell". (p.49)

**A flattering hypocrite.**

estate of a church as we have now in England.<sup>542</sup> Is it any marvel that we have so many swine, dumb dogs, non-residents with their journeymen<sup>543</sup> the hedge-priests, so many lewd livers<sup>544</sup> (as thieves, murderers,<sup>545</sup> adulterers, drunkards, cormorants,<sup>546</sup> rascals), so many ignorant and atheistical<sup>547</sup> dolts, so many covetous popish bishops in our ministry, and so many and so monstrous corruptions in our church - and yet likely to have no redress<sup>548</sup> - seeing our impudent, shameless and wainscot-faced<sup>549</sup> bishops, like beasts, contrary to the knowledge of all men and against their own consciences, dare in the ears of her Majesty affirm all to be well where there is nothing but sores and blisters - yea, where the grief<sup>550</sup> is even deadly at the heart? *Nay*, says my Lord of Winchester (like a monstrous hypocrite - for he is a very dunce, not able to defend an argument, but till he come to the pinch<sup>551</sup> he will cog<sup>552</sup> and face<sup>553</sup> it out, for his face is made of seasoned<sup>554</sup> wainscot<sup>555</sup> - and will lie as fast as a dog can trot), *I have said it, I do say it, and I have said it*. And, say I, you shall one day answer it (without repentance), for abusing the church of God and her Majesty in this sort. I would wish you to leave this villainy and the rest of your devilish practices against God's saints,<sup>556</sup> lest you answer it where your peevish and choleric simplicity<sup>557</sup> will not excuse you. I am ashamed to think that the church of England should have these wretches for the eyes thereof, that would have the people content themselves with bare reading<sup>558</sup> only, and hold that they may be saved thereby ordinarily. But this is true of our bishops, and they are afraid that anything should be published abroad whereby the common people should learn that the only way to salvation is by the Word preached. There was the last summer a little catechism made by Master Davidson<sup>559</sup> and printed by Waldegrave. But before he could print it, it

<sup>542</sup> In the Admonition, Cooper defends himself against this charge for some seven pages. The gist of his defence is that he was speaking of "trueth of doctrine" of the Church of England, not of the "private faultes and vices of some men". (pp.49-57)

<sup>543</sup> Journeyman: *Fig.* One who drudges for another; a hireling, one hired to do work for another. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>544</sup> Liver: Qualified by adjs. having adv. force: One who lives (in a specified way, for a long time, etc.) (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>545</sup> In the text, this is "murtherer".

<sup>546</sup> Cormorant: An insatiably greedy person. (OED, p.426)

<sup>547</sup> Atheistical: = atheistic. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's is the first usage cited in the OED.

<sup>548</sup> Redress: Remedy for, or relief from, some trouble; assistance, aid, help. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>549</sup> Wainscot: Resembling wainscot, hardened or coloured like old wainscot. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

Martin's use of "wainscot-faced" is the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>550</sup> Grief: A bodily injury or ailment; a morbid affection of any part of the body; a sore, wound; a disease, sickness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>551</sup> Pinch: A case, occasion, or time of special stress or need; a critical juncture; a strait, exigency, extremity. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>552</sup> Cog: To employ fraud or deceit, to cheat. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>553</sup> To face out (a matter, etc.): To carry through by effrontery, brazen out. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>554</sup> Seasoned: Of timber: Dried and hardened by keeping. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>555</sup> Wainscot: A superior quality of foreign oak imported from Russia, Germany, and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel-work; logs or planks of this oak; oak boarding for panel-work. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) It seems likely that the use of wainscot was restricted to the well-to-do. Martin's familiarity with wainscot suggests that he was among that class.

<sup>556</sup> Saint: In the New Testament, one of the elect under the New Covenant; a member of the Christian church; hence, used as their own designation by some puritanical sects in the 16th and 17th centuries. (OED, p.1875)

<sup>557</sup> Simplicity: Want of acuteness or sagacity; lack of ordinary knowledge or judgment; ignorance; rusticity. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>558</sup> As opposed to preaching.

<sup>559</sup> In the text, this is "Davison". The reference appears to be to the Scotsman, John Davidson (1549?-1603); in his reply to this allegation in the Admonition, Whitgift says: "How Davisons Catechisme was

must be authorized by the bishops, either Cant. or London. He went to Cant. to have it licenced. His Grace committed it to Doctor Neverbegood (Wood).<sup>560</sup> He read it over in half a year (the book is a great one of two sheets of paper). In one place of the book, the means of salvation was attributed to the Word preached. And what did he, think you? He blotted out the word *preached* and would not have that word printed, so ascribing the way to work men's salvation to the Word read. Thus they do, to suppress the truth and to keep men in ignorance. John Cant. was the first father of this horrible error in our church, for he hath defended it in print and now, as you have heard, accounteth the contrary to be heresy. And popish Goodman,<sup>561</sup> Abbot<sup>562</sup> of Westminster, preaching upon 12 Romans 1 said that so much preaching as in some places we have is an unreasonable service of God. Scribes,<sup>563</sup> Pharisees<sup>564</sup> and hypocrites,<sup>565</sup> that will neither enter in yourselves, nor suffer those that will to enter Heaven!

May it please your priestdoms to understand that Doctor Cottington,<sup>566</sup> Archdeacon of Surrey, being belike<sup>567</sup> bankrupt in his own country,<sup>568</sup> cometh to Kingston Upon Thames of mere goodwill that he beareth to the town (I should say, to usurer Harvey's<sup>569</sup> good cheer<sup>570</sup> and money-bags),<sup>571</sup> being out at the heels<sup>572</sup> with all other usurers, and knowing him to be a professed adversary to Master Udall<sup>573</sup> (a notable preacher of the Gospel and vehement<sup>574</sup> reprovor of sin),

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allowed, or how long in perusing, I know not: some paultrie pamphlet belike it is, like to that busie and unlearned Scot, now termed to be the author thereof. D. Wood is better able to judge of such matters, then either Davison, or any Martinist, that dare be knowen". (Admonition, p.39; DNB, v. 5, pp.575-7)

<sup>560</sup> Dr. William Wood (fl.1577-1590) of Anglesea. Wood was made a fellow of All Souls, Oxford in 1577, and was a doctor of Civil Law. (MT, pp.73, 412; Carlson, pp.295, 403)

<sup>561</sup> Gabriel Goodman (1529?-1601), Dean of Westminster. Goodman was at some point in his career chaplain to Lord Burghley, and served on the High Commission. (MT, p.73) An interesting note in Machyn's Diary indicates that Goodman preached on October 31, 1562 at the funeral of Mistress Agnes Lewen, widow of Thomas Lewen, alderman, sheriff, and member of the Ironmongers Company. One of the persons present at this funeral service was "John Dune," Mistress Lewen's servant and executor and, in all likelihood, the John Donne who was a Warden of the Ironmongers' Company and father of the poet John Donne. (DNB, v.8, pp.130-1; MT, p.73; Nichols, pp.294, 344,392-3; Newton Dunn, p.50)

<sup>562</sup> Abbot: The head or superior of an abbey. (OED, p.3) Used satirically.

<sup>563</sup> Scribe: *Jewish Hist.* A member of the class of professional interpreters of the Law after the return from the Captivity; in the Gospels often coupled with the Pharisees as the upholders of ceremonial tradition. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>564</sup> Pharisee: One of an ancient Jewish sect distinguished by their strict observance of the traditional and written law, and by their pretensions to superior sanctity. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>565</sup> The phrase "scribes, Pharisees and hypocrites" is found in Luke 11: 44. See also Matthew 5:20: "For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."

<sup>566</sup> Dr. John Cottington of Trinity College, Oxford, chancellor of Wells Cathedral and archdeacon of Surrey. (MT, p.74)

<sup>567</sup> Belike: To appearance, likely, in all likelihood, probably; not unlikely, perhaps, possibly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The word is a favourite of Martin's.

<sup>568</sup> I.e., Surrey.

<sup>569</sup> In view of the Harvey-Nashe quarrel which grew out of the Marprelate tracts, it is possible that Master Harvey, the usurer of Kingston Upon Thames, was related to Richard and Gabriel Harvey.

<sup>570</sup> Cheer: What is provided in the way of entertainment: fare, provisions, viands, food. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>571</sup> Money-bag: A bag for holding money. Often used jocularly in pl. to denote 'wealth'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Merchant of Venice II v 18: "I did dream of money bags tonight."

<sup>572</sup> Out at heels: With stockings or shoes worn through at the heel; also, of persons wearing such; *fig.* in unfortunate or decayed circumstances; in trouble or distress. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>573</sup> John Udall (1560?-1593) was at Cambridge at the same time as John Penry (Udall entered in 1578, Penry in 1580). After taking holy orders, Udall preached at Kingston Upon Thames. In his examinations

taketh the advantage of their controversy and, hoping to borrow some of the usurer's money, setteth himself most vehemently against Master Udall to do whatsoever Harvey, the usurer, will have him, and taketh the help of his journeyman, Doctor Hone,<sup>575</sup> the veriest coxcomb<sup>576</sup> that ever wore velvet cap, and an ancient foe to Master Udall because (indeed) he is [a] popish dolt, and (to make up a mess)<sup>577</sup> Steven Chatfield,<sup>578</sup> the Vicar of Kingston, as very a bankrupt and dunce as Doctor Cottington, although he have consumed all the money he gathered to build a college<sup>579</sup> at Kingston,<sup>580</sup> must come and be resident there, that Master Udall may have his mouth stopped. And why? Forsooth, because your friend Master Harvey would have it so. *For*, saith Harvey, *he railleth*<sup>581</sup> *in his sermons*. Is that true? Doth he rail when he reproveth thee (and such notorious varlets as thou art) for thy usury, for thy oppressing of the poor, for buying the houses over their heads that love the Gospel and the Lord's faithful minister, Master Udall? And art not thou a monstrous atheist, a belly-god,<sup>582</sup> a carnal wicked wretch, and what not? Master Chatfield, you think I see not your knavery? Is us,<sup>583</sup> do I! You cannot dance so cunningly in a net but I can spy you out. Shall I tell you why you sow pillows<sup>584</sup> under Harvey's elbows? Why, man, is it because you would borrow an 100 pound of him? Go to, you ass, and take in Master Udall again (for Harvey, I can tell, is as crafty a knave as you; he will not lend his money to such bankrupts as Dunce Cottington and you are). And you do not restore Master Udall again to preach, I will so lay

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of January 13 and July 13, 1590, Udall admitted that he had committed the details of his difficulties at Kingston to writing but denied that he had anything to do with their publication ("the generall historie of the thinges conteyned in the [Epistle] he thinketh to have proceeded from his own reportes, touching Master Hone, Master Cottington, and Master Harvey", but he "knoweth not how it came in writing"). (HIMT, p.53; Peel, p.ix; Arber, Introductory Sketch, pp.90-92)

<sup>574</sup> Vehement: Of persons, their character, etc.: Acting, or tending to act, in a manner displaying passion or excitement. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) This adjective accords with Harvey's accusation that Udall "raileth in his sermons".

<sup>575</sup> John Hone. (Carlson, p.295)

<sup>576</sup> Coxcomb: A fool, simpleton. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Quare whether the coxcombs of fools employed by the upper classes were of velvet.

<sup>577</sup> Mess: Company of persons eating together. Originally, each group of four persons, sitting together and helped from the same dishes, into which the company at a banquet was commonly divided. (OED, p.1313)

<sup>578</sup> Pierce concludes from Martin's words that Stephen Chatfield, Vicar of Kingston from 1574 to 1598, was a non-resident, and that Udall was his substitute; as a result, Udall was silenced when Chatfield came to reside at Kingston to take up his parochial duties. In his examination of July 13, 1590, Udall says that Chatfield "signified to him that hee was commaunded to retourne and remayne at Kingston especially for thie removing of [Udall] from thence, by authoritie from the Bishoppes". (MT, p.74; Arber, Introductory Sketch, p.93)

<sup>579</sup> College: An independent self-governing corporation or society (usually founded for the maintenance of poor students) in a University; a foundation of the same kind, outside a University (usually combining, in its original character, the functions of a local charity for the aged and of eleemosynary education for the young). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>580</sup> The accusation that Chatfield had "consumed" all the money he had gathered to build a college at Kingston is another of the charges passed over in silence in the Admonition.

<sup>581</sup> Rail: To utter abusive language. (OED, p.1740)

<sup>582</sup> Belly-god: One who makes his belly his god; a glutton. (OED, p.179)

<sup>583</sup> Dialect.

<sup>584</sup> Pierce identifies this as a reference to Ezekial 13:18. (MT, p.75) It was also proverbial. (Tilley, 245)

open your vileness<sup>585</sup> that I will make the very stones in Kingston streets shall smell<sup>586</sup> of your knaveries. Now if a man ask Master Cottington why Master Udall is put to silence,<sup>587</sup> *Forsooth*, saith he, *for not favouring the church government present*. Doctor Hone (Cottington's journeyman, a popish Doctor of the bawdy court) saith, by his troth, *For making such variance*<sup>588</sup> *in the town*. Master Chatfield seemeth to sorry<sup>589</sup> for it, etc. But what cause was alleged why Master Udall must preach no longer?<sup>590</sup> Surely this only? That he had not my Lord of Winchester's licence<sup>591</sup> under seal to show. And because this was thought not to be sufficient to satisfy the people, Hone, the bawdy Doctor, charged him to be a sectary, a schismatic<sup>592</sup> - yea, he affirmed plainly that the Gospel out of his mouth was blasphemy. Popish Hone, do you say so? Do ye? You are a knave, I tell you, by the same token<sup>593</sup> your friend Chatfield spent thirteen score pounds<sup>594</sup> in distributing briefs<sup>595</sup> for a gathering<sup>596</sup> towards the erecting of a college at Kingston Upon Thames.

Wohoho,<sup>597</sup> brother London! Do you remember Thomas Allen<sup>598</sup> and Richard Alworth,<sup>599</sup> merchants of London, being executors to George Allen, sometimes your grocer but now deceased, who came unto you on Easter Wednesday last, being at your Masterdom's palace in London, having been often to speak with you before and could not, yet now they met with you. Who told you they were executors unto one George Allen, sometimes your grocer, *'and, among other his debts, we find you indebted unto him in the sum of 19 pound and upward,'* desiring you to let them have the money for that they were to dispose of it according to that trust he reposed in them. You answered them sweetly (after you had paused awhile) in this manner, *'You are rascals, you are villains, you are*

<sup>585</sup> Vileness: The quality or character of being morally vile; moral depravity; baseness of character. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>586</sup> Smell: To perceive as if by smell; *esp.* to detect, discern, or discover by natural shrewdness, sagacity, or instinct; to suspect, to have an inkling of, to divine. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>587</sup> In addition to Udall's de facto silencing, brought about by Chatfield's return to Kingston Upon Thames, there were proceedings before the High Commission which resulted in Udall's deprivation on June 10, 1588. (McGinn, p.95; HMT, p.314)

<sup>588</sup> Variance: Discord, dissension, contention, debate. (OED, p.2453)

<sup>589</sup> Sorry: To grieve, to sorrow. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>590</sup> Cottington's letter through Hone to the parson of Kingston Upon Thames mentions "contemptuous disorders in church matters," as well as "new ceremonies, new forms of prayer, new feasting and fasting days, private meetings, singing of psalms and lectures, reading and interpreting of Scriptures in private houses". (MT, p.74)

<sup>591</sup> Whitgift's Articles provided that no-one be given a licence "to preach, read or catechise, to minister the Sacraments, or exercise any ecclesiastical function" without subscription.

<sup>592</sup> Schismatic: One who promotes or countenances schism or breach of external unity in the Church; one who is guilty of the sin of schism; a member or adherent of a schismatical body. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The Puritans resented this accusation since they desired the further reformation of the Church of England, not separation from it.

<sup>593</sup> By the same token: On the same ground; for the same reason; in the same way. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>594</sup> Martin's ironic words imply that Chatfield's defence to the claim that he had "consumed" all the money was that it had cost him £260 to distribute the briefs authorizing the collection of the money.

<sup>595</sup> Brief: A letter patent issued by the sovereign as Head of the Church, licensing a collection in the churches throughout England for a specified object of charity. (OED, p.237)

<sup>596</sup> Gathering: A collection in money. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>597</sup> Martin again parodies Bridges' style in the *Defence*. (MT, p.76)

<sup>598</sup> Members of various branches of the Allen family were prominent London merchants. Sir William Allen was Lord Mayor of London in 1571. (*Remembrancia*, p.567)

<sup>599</sup> Unidentified.

**Can bishops face, cog, lie  
and cozen or no, think  
you?**

**Dumb John of London's  
blessing.**

*arrant*<sup>600</sup> *knaves. I owe you nought. I have a general quittance*<sup>601</sup> *to show.' 'Sir,' said they, 'show us your discharge,*<sup>602</sup> *and we are satisfied.'* 'No,' quoth he, 'I will show you none. Go sue me. Go sue me.' 'Then,' said one of the merchants, 'do you thus use us for asking our due? We would you should know we are no such vile persons.' Don John of London, hearing their answer, cried out, saying, 'Hence, away! Citizens? Nay, you are rascals. You are worse than wicked Mammon.'<sup>603</sup> So, lifting up both his hands and flinging them down again, said, 'You are thieves. You are cozeners.'<sup>604</sup> Take that for a bishop's blessing, and so get you hence.' But when they would have answered, his men thrust them out of the doors. But shortly after he perceived they went about to bring the matter to farther trial, he sent a messenger unto them confessing the debt, but they cannot get their money to this day.<sup>605</sup> What reason is it they should have their money? Hath he not bestowed his liberality already on them? Can they not be satisfied with the blessing of this brave bouncing priest? But brethren bishops, I pray you, tell me, hath not your brother London a notable brazen face,<sup>606</sup> to use these men so for their own? I told you Martin will be proved no liar in that he saith that bishops are cogging<sup>607</sup> and cozening<sup>608</sup> knaves. This priest went to buffets<sup>609</sup> with his son-in-law<sup>610</sup> for a bloody nose - well fare all good tokens! The last Lent there came a commandment from his Grace into Paul's Churchyard<sup>611</sup> that no Bible should be bound<sup>612</sup> without the Apocrypha.<sup>613</sup> Monstrous and ungodly<sup>614</sup> wretches, that to maintain their own outrageous proceedings thus mingle Heaven and earth together, and would make the spirit of God to

<sup>600</sup> Arrant: Notorious, manifest, downright, thorough-paced, unmitigated. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>601</sup> Quittance: A release or discharge from a debt or obligation. (OED, p.1733)

<sup>602</sup> Discharge: A document conveying release from obligation; a receipt for the payment of money due, an acquittance; a certificate of freedom from liability. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>603</sup> Mammon: The Aramaic word for 'riches', occurring in the Greek text of Matthew 6:24 and Luke 16:9-13, and retained in the Vulgate. Owing to the quasi-personification in these passages, the word was taken by Mediaeval writers as the proper name for the devil of covetousness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>604</sup> Cozener: A deceiver, cheat, impostor. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>605</sup> In the *Admonition*, Aylmer admits the debt and "some sharpe words" to the executors, and claims that "very shortly after, the debt was discharged . . . ten pound excepted, which the sayde executors for a time respited". (pp.45-6) Since the entire debt was only £19, Aylmer thus admits that more than half was still unpaid. Pierce comments that "Aylmer's defence is a deadlier indictment than the accusation of Martin." (MT, p.78)

<sup>606</sup> Brazen face: An unabashed or hardened countenance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>607</sup> Cogging: That cogs at dice; cheating, wheedling. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>608</sup> Cozening: That cozens; cheating, deceitful, fraudulent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>609</sup> Buffets: *Pl.* Fisticuffs. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>610</sup> Dr. Adam Squire. In Waugh's *Edmund Campion*, he is referred to as the "chief pursuivant". (pp.106-7) In Strype's *Life of Aylmer*, the cause of the fisticuffs between Aylmer and Squire is given as a trumped-up accusation of infidelity by Squire against his wife. Strype says Aylmer "soundly cudgelled [Squire] for his baseness." (MT, p.77; Strype, *Aylmer*, p.123) In the *Admonition*, the matter is passed over in silence.

<sup>611</sup> I.e., the churchyard surrounding St. Paul's Cathedral. Stationers' Hall was situated on the north-west side of St. Paul's, and appears to have been within the Churchyard; Stow uses the phrase "stationers of Paule's churchyard". (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.75, 331)

<sup>612</sup> Bind: To fasten together the sheets of (a book), and put it into a stiff cover. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>613</sup> Apocrypha: A writing of doubtful authorship or authenticity; specifically, those books included in the Septuagint and Vulgate which were not originally written in Hebrew and not counted genuine by the Jews, and which, at the reformation, were excluded from the Sacred Canon by the Protestant party. (OED, p.87) In the *Admonition*, Whitgift retorts that he not only gave the commandment in question but that "he meaneth to see it observed", since the Apocrypha have never been separated from the rest of the Bible "from the beginning of Christianity to this day". (p.39)

<sup>614</sup> Ungodly: Of persons: Not fearing or reverencing God; irreligious, impious, wicked. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

be the author of profane<sup>615</sup> books. I am hardly<sup>616</sup> drawn to a merry vein<sup>617</sup> from such weighty matters.

But you see, my worshipful priests of this crew<sup>618</sup> to whom I write, what a perilous<sup>619</sup> fellow M. Marprelate is. He understands of all your knavery, and it may be he keeps a register<sup>620</sup> of them. Unless you amend, they shall all come into the light one day. If you do not leave your persecuting of godly Christians and good subjects that seek to live uprightly in the fear of God and the obedience of her Majesty, all your dealing shall be made known unto the world. And Ise<sup>621</sup> be sure to make you an example to all posterities. You see I have taken some pains with you already, and I will owe you a better turn and pay it you with advantage<sup>622</sup> - at the least thirteen to the dozen - unless you observe these conditions of peace which I draw between me and you. For, I assure you, I make not your doings known for any malice that I bear unto you, but the hurt that you do unto God's church. Leave you your wickedness, and I'll leave the revealing of your knaveries.

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<sup>615</sup> Profane: Not pertaining or devoted to what is sacred or biblical; secular, lay, common. (OED, p.1679)

<sup>616</sup> Hardly: Not easily. (OED, p.926)

<sup>617</sup> Vein: A special or characteristic style of language or expression in writing or speech. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's comment suggests that he is a practised writer.

<sup>618</sup> Crew: A number of persons associated together; a company. (OED, p.455)

<sup>619</sup> Perilous: Parlous; dangerously cunning, clever, etc.; keen, shrewd. (OED, p.1514)

<sup>620</sup> Register: A book in which regular entry is made of details of any kind sufficiently important to be exactly recorded. (OED, p.1782)

<sup>621</sup> Dialect.

<sup>622</sup> Advantage: Pecuniary profit, gain; interest on money lent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Merchant of Venice

I iii 71: "You neither lend nor borrow/ Upon advantage."

Conditions of peace to be inviolably<sup>623</sup> kept forever between the reverend and worthy Master Martin Marprelate, gentleman, on the one party,<sup>624</sup> and the reverend fathers, his brethren the lord bishops of this land.

1. *In primis*,<sup>625</sup> the said lord bishops must promise and observe, without fraud or collusion and that as much as in them lieth, they labour to promote the preaching of the Word in every part of this land.

2. That hereafter they admit none unto the ministry but such as shall be known both for their godliness and learning to be fit for the ministry, and not these neither without cure<sup>626</sup> unless they be college ministers<sup>627</sup> of either of the universities, and in no case they suffer any to be non-residents. And that they suffer Master Cartwright's answer to the *Rhemish Testament* to be published.

3. That neither they nor their servants, viz., their archdeacons, chancellors, nor any other of the High Commission which serve their vile affections,<sup>628</sup> urge any to subscribe contrary to the statute 13 Elizabeth, and that they suspend or silence none but such as either for their false doctrine or evil life shall show themselves to be unworthy the places of ministers, so that none be suspended or silenced either for speaking (when their text giveth them occasion) against the corruptions of the church,<sup>629</sup> for refusing to wear the surplice, cap, tippet, etc. or omitting the corruptions of the *Book Of Common Prayer*, as churching<sup>630</sup> of women, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, etc.

4. That none be molested by them or any their aforesaid servants for this my book, for not kneeling at the communion, or for resorting on the Sabbath (if they have not preachers of their own) to hear the Word preached and to receive the sacraments.

5. Lastly, that never hereafter they profane<sup>631</sup> excommunication<sup>632</sup> as they have done by excommunicating alone in their chambers<sup>633</sup> (and that for trifles - yea, before men's causes be heard). That they never forbid public fasts [or] molest either preacher or hearer for being present at such assemblies. Briefly, that they never slander the cause of reformation or the furtherers thereof in

<sup>623</sup> Inviolably: In an inviolable manner; in a way reverently free from violation, profanation, or infringement; sacredly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>624</sup> Party: Each of two or more persons that constitute the two sides in an action at law, a contract, etc. (OED, p.1520)

<sup>625</sup> In primis: In the first place. (BLD, p.899)

<sup>626</sup> Cure: The spiritual charge of parishioners, the office or function of a curate; hence, a parish, a 'charge'. (OED, p.473)

<sup>627</sup> Martin's use of "college minister" is unnoticed in the OED. The term appears to refer to a minister to one of the colleges at Cambridge or Oxford. Martin is of the view that these are the only ministers who should be exempted from care of a specific parish or "cure".

<sup>628</sup> Affection: State of mind generally, mental tendency; disposition. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>629</sup> In *A Plesaunte Dialogue*, Anthony Gilby lists "An hundred pointes of Poperie, yet remayning, which deforme the Englishe reformation"; included are the cross in baptism, organs in churches, the ring in marriage, the churching of women, etc. (Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.28-34)

<sup>630</sup> Churching: The public appearance of a woman at church to return thanks after childbirth, *esp.* in accordance with the Anglican ritual. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>631</sup> Profane: To misuse, abuse what ought to be revered or respected. (OED, p.1680)

<sup>632</sup> Excommunication: *Eccl.* The action of excluding an offending Christian from the communion of the Church. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>633</sup> Chamber: A room or apartment in a house; usually one appropriated to the use of one person; a private room. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

terming the cause by the name of Anabaptistry,<sup>634</sup> schism, etc., and the men Puritans and enemies to the state.

These be the conditions which you, brethren bishops, shall be bound to keep inviolably on your behalf. And your brother Martin, on the other side, do faithfully promise, upon the performance of the premises<sup>635</sup> by you, never to make any more of your knavery known unto the world. And howbeit that I have before threatened my brother Bridges in the cause of his superior priest and your antichristian callings, notwithstanding I will write no more of your dealings unless you violate the former conditions. The conditions you see are so reasonable. I might bind you to give over your places, which are antichristian, but I do not lest men should think me to quarrel and seek occasions<sup>636</sup> for the nonce<sup>637</sup> to fall out with my brethren. Therefore I require no more but such things as all the world will think you unworthy to live if you grant them not. And this I do the rather because you should not, according to your old fashion, say that my worship doth for malice lay open your infirmities.<sup>638</sup> Nay, I have published not one of your secret faults,<sup>639</sup> what you have not blushed to commit in the face of the sun and in the justifying whereof you yet stand. These things only have I published. The best servants of God, I know, have their infirmities, but none of them will stand in the maintenance of their corruptions as you do, and that to the dishonour of God and the ruin of His church. You must either amend, or shortly you will bring our church to ruin;<sup>640</sup> therefore it is time that your dealings were better looked unto.

You will go about, I know, to prove my book to be a libel,<sup>641</sup> but I have prevented you of that advantage in law, both in bringing in nothing but matters of fact which may easily be proved if you dare deny them, and also in setting my name to my book.<sup>642</sup> Well, I offer you peace upon the former conditions if you will keep them, but if you violate them either in whole or in part (for why should you break any one of them?) then your learned brother Martin doth proclaim open war against you and intendeth to work your woe 2 manner of ways as followeth. First, I will watch you at every half-turn,<sup>643</sup> and whatsoever you do amiss I will presently publish it. You shall not call one honest man before you, but I will get his examination<sup>644</sup> (and you think I shall know nothing of the oppression of your tenants by your bribery,<sup>645</sup> etc.) and publish it if you deal not according to

<sup>634</sup> Anabaptistry: The doctrine or system of Anabaptists (a sect which arose in Germany in 1521). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>635</sup> In [legal] pleading, the expression "in consideration of the premises" means in consideration of the matters hereinbefore stated. (BLD, p.1343)

<sup>636</sup> Occasion: A pretext, excuse: (OED, p.1432)

<sup>637</sup> For the nonce: For the particular purpose, expressly. (OED, p.1410)

<sup>638</sup> Infirmity: Weakness of character; moral weakness or frailty. (OED, p.1068)

<sup>639</sup> Martin's restraint in not publishing these matters is to be noted.

<sup>640</sup> Martin's prophecy was to some extent fulfilled by the abolition of the episcopacy along with the monarchy in the civil war which broke out in 1642.

<sup>641</sup> The title page of the Admonition refers to Martin as "Martin the Libeller", and the term is repeated frequently throughout the book.

<sup>642</sup> In citing these defences, Martin may have in mind the statute of 37 Henry VIII, chapter 10, which deals with written accusations of treason: "If any person shall devise or make any writing, comprising that another hath spoken or committed high treason, and the said writing shall cast or leave in an open place whereby it may be found, and shall not subscribe his name to the same, and within twelve days after personally appear before the King and his council, and affirm the contents of the same to be true; then he shall be adjudged a felon."

<sup>643</sup> At every turn: *Fig.* On every occasion, constantly, continually. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin adds a twist to the phrase by making it "at every half-turn".

<sup>644</sup> It is instructive to notice the confidence with which Martin asserts his ability to obtain this information.

<sup>645</sup> Bribery: Robbery with violence or force; extortion. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

the former conditions. To this purpose I will place a young Martin in every diocese which may take notice of your practices. Do you think that you shall be suffered any longer to break the law of God and to tyrannize over His people, her Majesty's subjects, and no man tell you of it? No, I warrant you. And rather than I will be disappointed of my purpose, I will place a Martin in every parish.<sup>646</sup> In part of Suffolk and Essex, I think I were best to have 2 in a parish.<sup>647</sup> I hope in time they shall be as worthy Martins as their father is, every one of them able to mar a prelate.<sup>648</sup> Mark what will be the issue of these things if you still keep your old bias.<sup>649</sup> I know you would not have your dealings so known unto the world as I and my sons will blaze<sup>650</sup> them. Secondly, all the books that I have in store already of your doings shall be published upon the breach<sup>651</sup> of the former covenants,<sup>652</sup> or any of them. Here, I know, some will demand what these books are because, saith one, *I warrant you, there will be old sport.*<sup>653</sup> *I hope old Father Palinode,*<sup>654</sup> *Doctor Perne shall be in there by the weeks.*<sup>655</sup> Why, my masters of the clergy, did you never hear of my books indeed? Foh! then you never heard of good sport in your life! The catalogue of their names and the arguments<sup>656</sup> of some are as followeth. As for my book named *Epitomastix*,<sup>657</sup> I make no mention thereof at this time. First, my *Paradoxes*, (2) my *Dialogues*, (3) my *Miscellanea*, (4) my *Variae Lectiones*,<sup>658</sup> (5) *Martin's Dream*, (6) *Of the Lives and Doings of English Popes*, (7) my *Itinerarium*, (8) my *Lambethisms*. In my *Paradoxes* shall be handled some points which the common sort have not greatly considered of, as (1) that our prelates, if they professed popery, could not do so much hurt unto God's church as now they do; (2) that the Devil is not better practiced in bowling and swearing than John of London is, with other like points. What shall be handled in my 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th books, you shall know when you read them.

**Mine Epitome is ready.**

Mine *Itinerarium* shall be a book of no great profit either to the church or commonwealth, and yet had need to be in folio,<sup>659</sup> or else judge you by this that followeth. I mean to make a survey into all the dioceses in this land, that I may keep a visitation<sup>660</sup> among my clergymen. I would wish

<sup>646</sup> This is Martin's first mention of his followers or "sons".

<sup>647</sup> In connection with the hypothesis that Oxford was Martin Marprelate, it is interesting to note that the ancestral home of the de Veres was at Castle Hedingham in Essex, and that Oxford inherited substantial properties in both Essex and Suffolk.

<sup>648</sup> The obvious origin of Martin's name.

<sup>649</sup> Bias: An inclination, leaning, bent. (OED, p.188)

<sup>650</sup> Blaze: To proclaim (as with a trumpet), to make known. (OED, p.201)

<sup>651</sup> Breach: The breaking of any legal or moral bond or obligation. (OED, p.232)

<sup>652</sup> Covenant: In English law, a promise or contract under seal; a particular clause of such a contract. (OED, p.444)

<sup>653</sup> Sport: Pleasant pastime; entertainment or amusement; recreation, diversion. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>654</sup> Palinode: An ode or song in which the author retracts something said in a former poem; hence, generally, a recantation. (OED, p.1497) Martin's reference is to the Palinode of the Greek lyric poet Stesichorus who wrote during the first half of the sixth century B.C. According to legend, Stesichorus was stricken with blindness after writing the poem Helen, in which, following Homer's story, he gave Helen's seduction by Paris as the cause of the Trojan War; his sight was restored after he recanted in his famous Palinode in which he claimed that Helen had never gone to Troy. (Howatson, pp.538-9; Grant, pp.406-7) Perne's pliancy in religious matters is the basis for Martin's epithet "Father Palinode".

<sup>655</sup> To be in by the weeks: To be ensnared, caught. (OED, p.2522)

<sup>656</sup> Argument: The summary of the subject-matter of a book. (OED, p.103)

<sup>657</sup> Mastix: Scourge. (OED, p.1288) Presumably, Martin refers to his Epitome; in the margin, there is the note "Mine epitome is ready". In the Admonition, Cooper plays on this by referring to Martin as "Episcomastix". (p.48)

<sup>658</sup> In the text, this is "leicionis". (MT, p.82)

<sup>659</sup> In folio: In the form of a full-size sheet folded once. (OED, p.780)

<sup>660</sup> Visitation: A visit by an ecclesiastical person to examine into the state of a diocese, parish, religious institution, etc.; specifically, in English use, such a visit paid by a bishop or archdeacon. (OED, p.2482)

them to keep good rule,<sup>661</sup> and to amend their manners against I come. For I shall paint<sup>662</sup> them in their colours if I find anything amiss. In this book I will note all their pranks. As, for example, if I find any priest to have done as Sir Geoffrey Jones of Warwickshire did, that must be set down in my visitations, and I think I had need to have many scribes and many reams<sup>663</sup> of paper for this purpose. The said Sir Geoffrey Jones committed a part<sup>664</sup> very well beseeming his priesthood, which was after this manner. Sir Geoffrey once, in an alehouse, (I do desire the reader to bear with me though, according to Master Bridges' fashion, I write false<sup>665</sup> English in this sentence) whereunto he resorted for his morning draught,<sup>666</sup> either because his hostess would have him pay the old score<sup>667</sup> before he should run any further, or the new, or else because the gamesters his companions won all his money at trey-trip,<sup>668</sup> took such unkindness at the alehouse that he swore he would never go again into it. Although this rash vow of the good priest was made to the great loss of the alewife who, by means of Sir Geoffrey was wont to have good utterance<sup>669</sup> for her ale, yet I think the tap had great quietness and ease thereby, which could not be quiet so much as an hour in the day as long as Sir Geoffrey resorted unto the house. How sweet it was! Poor Sir<sup>670</sup> Jones felt the discommodity<sup>671</sup> of his rash vow. Then, alas, he was in a woe<sup>672</sup> case, as you know, for his stomach could not be at all strengthened with the drink he got abroad. But better were a man not to feel his discommodity than not to be able to redress the same. Therefore, at length, Sir Geoffrey bethought him of a feat whereby he might both visit the ale-stand<sup>673</sup> and also keep his oath. And so he hired a man to carry him upon his back to the alehouse; by this means he did not go, but was carried thither whereunto he made a vow never to go. I doubt not in my visitation but to get a hundred of these stratagems,<sup>674</sup> especially if I travel near where any of the Vicars of Hell are, as in Surrey, Northampton, and Oxford shires. And I would wish the pursuivants<sup>675</sup> and the Stationers - with the Wolfe,<sup>676</sup> their beadle - not to be so ready to molest honest men. And, Stationers, I would wish you not to be so frank<sup>677</sup> with your bribes as you were to Thomas Draper.<sup>678</sup> I can tell you,

<sup>661</sup> Good rule: Good order and discipline. (OED, p.1861)

<sup>662</sup> Paint: To depict or describe in words; to set forth as in a picture; to present vividly to the mind's eye, call up a picture of. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>663</sup> Ream: A quantity of paper, properly 20 quires or 480 sheets, but frequently 500 or more, to allow for waste. (OED, p.1756)

<sup>664</sup> Part: A piece of conduct, an act. (OED, p.1517)

<sup>665</sup> False: Defective. (OED, p.722)

<sup>666</sup> Draught: The drawing of liquid into the mouth or down the throat; an act of drinking; a drink; the quantity of drink swallowed at one 'pull'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>667</sup> Score: A record or account of items of uniform amount to be charged or credited kept by means of tallies or, in later use, by means of marks made on a board with chalk, on a slate, or the like. (OED, p.1907)

<sup>668</sup> Trey-trip: A game at dice, or with dice, at which success probably depended on the casting of a trey or three. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>669</sup> Utterance: The disposal of goods by sale or barter. (OED, p.2445)

<sup>670</sup> Sir John: A familiar or contemptuous designation for a priest; from "Sir" as a rendering of the Latin *dominus* at the universities. (OED, p.1135)

<sup>671</sup> Discommodity: Disadvantage, inconvenience. (OED, p.561)

<sup>672</sup> Woe: Of an event, situation, etc.: Woeful, miserable, 'sorry'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's is the first usage cited in the OED.

<sup>673</sup> Ale-stand: The bar of an ale-house. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's is the first and only usage cited in the OED.

<sup>674</sup> Stratagem: Any artifice or trick; a device or scheme for obtaining an advantage. (OED, p.2145)

<sup>675</sup> Pursuivant: A royal or state messenger with power to execute warrants. (OED, p. 1714)

<sup>676</sup> I.e., the printer John Wolfe (d.1601).

<sup>677</sup> Frank: Liberal, bounteous, generous, lavish. (OED, p.801)

<sup>678</sup> Unidentified.

his Grace had need to provide a bag full of items<sup>679</sup> for you if you be so liberal. Were you so foolish (or so malicious against Waldegrave) to give that knave Draper five pounds<sup>680</sup> to betray him into your wretched hands? He brought you to Kingston Upon Thames with pursuivants to take him where he should be a-printing books in a tinker's<sup>681</sup> house (yourselves being disguised so that Waldegrave might not know you, for of citizens you were become ruffians).<sup>682</sup> There you were to seek that could not be found, and many such journeys may you make.<sup>683</sup> But when you came to London, you laid Thomas Draper in the Counter for cozenage. O, well bowled! When John of London throws his bowl, he will run after it and cry, *Rub*,<sup>684</sup> *rub, rub!* and say, *The Devil go with thee!* But what think you shall be handled in my *Lambethisms*? Truly this. I will there make a comparison of John Whitgift's Canterburishness with John Bridges' Lambethisms. To speak in plain English, I will there set down the flowers<sup>685</sup> of errors - popish and others - wherewith those two worthy men have stuffed the books which they have written against the cause of reformation in the defence of the government of the bishops. I have in this book, as you shall see, gathered some flowers out of John of London's book, but my *Lambethisms* shall be done otherwise, I trow.

And now, if it may please you of the Confocation House to hear of any of the former books, then break the league which I offer to make with you, but if you would have my friendship (as I seek yours),<sup>686</sup> then let me see that you persecute no more and, especially, that you trouble none for this book of mine. For this must be an especial article of our agreement, as you know. And Dean John, for your part, you must play the fool no more in the pulpit.<sup>687</sup> We will end this matter with a pretty story of a certain mischance that befell a bishop corner-cap as followeth. Old Doctor Turner<sup>688</sup> (I mean not Doctor Perne, the old turner)<sup>689</sup> had a dog full of good qualities. Doctor Turner, having invited a bishop to his table, in dinner while<sup>690</sup> called his dog, and told him that the bishop did sweat (you must think he laboured hard over his trencher).<sup>691</sup> The dog flies at the

<sup>679</sup> Item: An article or unit of any kind included in an enumeration, computation, or sum total; an entry or thing included in an account or register, a clause of a document, a detail of expenditure or income, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's comment connects Whitgift with the Stationers' bribery.

<sup>680</sup> The fact that Martin knows the precise amount of the bribe given to Draper is another indication of his excellent sources.

<sup>681</sup> Tinker: A craftsman (usually itinerant) who mends pots, kettles, and other metal household utensils. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>682</sup> Ruffian: A man of a low and brutal character; one habitually given to acts of violence or crime; a cut-throat villain. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>683</sup> The unsuccessful search at Kingston Upon Thames for Waldegrave's press took place on June 10, 1588. (MT, p.85)

<sup>684</sup> Rub: Of a bowl: To encounter some impediment which retards or diverts its course. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's is the first usage cited in the OED.

<sup>685</sup> Flower: The brightest example of any quality. (OED, p.773)

<sup>686</sup> Martin makes the point more than once that he has no desire to harm the bishops, merely to reform them.

<sup>687</sup> Martin later returns to this incident, which occurred at St. Mary's Church in Cambridge.

<sup>688</sup> William Turner (d.1568), naturalist, Dean of Wells, and author of the anti-papist tract The Hunting of the Romyshe Fox (1543). Turner appears to have been a correspondent of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, over a 20-year period. (DNB, v.19, pp.1290-3) Martin's familiar reference to "old Dr. Turner" (who died in 1568) is suggestive of personal acquaintance, indicating that Martin was probably at least 35 years of age at the time of publication of the Epistle.

<sup>689</sup> I.e., Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, notorious for his changes in religion.

<sup>690</sup> Martin's use of "dinner while" precedes the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>691</sup> Trencher: A flat piece of wood, square or circular, on which meat was served and cut up. (OED, p.2357)

bishop and took off his corner-cap (he thought belike it had been a cheese-cake)<sup>692</sup> and so away goes the dog with it to his master. Truly, my masters of the clergy, I would never wear corner-cap again, seeing dogs run away with them.<sup>693</sup> And here endeth the story.

May it please you that are of this House to tell me the cause (when you have leisure) why so many opinions and errors are risen in our church concerning the ministry and the joining with preaching and unpreaching<sup>694</sup> ministers. To tell you my opinion in your ear, I think it to be want<sup>695</sup> of preaching, and I think your worships to have been the cause of all this stir.<sup>696</sup> Some Puritans hold readers for no ministers; some hold you, our worthy bishops, for little better than fair parchment<sup>697</sup> readers, and say that you have no learning. Now whether readers be ministers or no, and whether our bishops be learned or no, I would wish you, brethren bishops, and you brethren Puritans, to make no great controversy, but rather labour that all evil ministers may be turned out of the church, and so I hope there should be a speedy end of all those questions between you. For then I doubt not but that lord bishops, wherewith the Puritans so repine,<sup>698</sup> should be in a fair reckoning within short space, even the next to the door save the dog.<sup>699</sup> And I see that you bishops are well towards this promotion already. And, truly, though the Puritans should never so much repine at the matter, yet I tell you true I am glad that you are so esteemed among men. And, for mine own part, I think, my masters, that many of you our lord bishops and clergymen are men very notorious for their learning and preaching. And hereof, under *Benedicite*<sup>700</sup> between you and me (the Puritans may stand aside now),<sup>701</sup> I will bring you some instances. First, his Grace and my Lord of Winchester have been very notable clerks ever since Master Doctor Spark<sup>702</sup> set them at a nonplus (some of their Honours being present)<sup>703</sup> in the conference between him and Master Travers on the Puritan side, and the two

<sup>692</sup> Cheese-cake: A cake or tart of light pastry, orig. containing cheese. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>693</sup> The point of this story may be its similarity to an incident connected with Aylmer's 1586 visitation of Essex. According to Aylmer's report to Lord Burghley, a man had been hired to burst into the church at Maldon during the bishop's visitation, snatch off the bishop's cap, and toss it to the crowd. The plan was not actually carried out, but Aylmer used the incident as a ground for complaining in his report of "the sour fruits of these new reformers". (Hunt, p.99; Strype, *Aylmer*, pp.82-3)

<sup>694</sup> Unpreaching: Not undertaking the duty of preaching; merely reading the services of the church. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>695</sup> Want: Deficiency, shortage, lack (of something desirable or necessary). (OED, p.2502)

<sup>696</sup> Stir: Commotion, disturbance, tumult; general excitement; fuss. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>697</sup> Parchment: A skin, piece, scroll, or roll of parchment; a manuscript or document on parchment.

(OED, CD-ROM ed.) Quare whether, by calling the bishops "fair parchment readers", Martin implies that there is nothing to distinguish the bishops from other reading ministers apart from the better quality of the material ("fair parchment") from which they read.

<sup>698</sup> Repine: To regard with discontent or dissatisfaction; to fret or murmur at. (OED, p.1798)

<sup>699</sup> I.e., the result would be that the bishops would soon find themselves in this position if, as Martin suggests, both the bishops and the Puritans laboured "that all evil ministers be turned out of the church".

<sup>700</sup> *Benedicite*: A blessing, deliverance from evil. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The sense in which Martin uses "under *Benedicite*" is not noticed in the OED, and appears to be similar to the usage of the phrase in a letter of August 27, 1549 from Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, to Lord Burghley: "First, I will, as it were under *Benedicite*, and in high secrecy, declare unto you that all the world knoweth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very beggar I am." (Goff, p.175)

<sup>701</sup> Another instance of Martin's flair for drama.

<sup>702</sup> Thomas Spark (1548-1616), Puritan divine. (DNB, v.18, pp.720-1)

<sup>703</sup> Those present were the Earl of Leicester, Lord Grey, Sir Francis Walsingham, the Archbishop of York, and Lord Burghley. (MT, p.19)

Archbishops<sup>704</sup> and the Bishop of Winchester on the other side.<sup>705</sup> Doctor Spark's argument was drawn from the corruption of the translation of the 28th verse of the 105th psalm in *The Book Of Common Prayer*, and the contrariety of the translations allowed by the bishops themselves.<sup>706</sup> For in *The Book Of Common Prayer* you shall read thus: *And they were not obedient unto His Word* (which is a plain corruption of the text); in other privileged<sup>707</sup> English translations it is: *And they were not disobedient unto His Word*, which is according to the verity of the original.<sup>708</sup> By the way, ere I go any further, I would know with what conscience either my brother Cant. or any else of our bishops can urge men to allow such palpable<sup>709</sup> corruptions by subscribing unto things mere<sup>710</sup> contrary to the Word. Here also I would show, by the way (and I would have all my sons to note) that their Uncle Canterbury's drift<sup>711</sup> in urging subscription is not the unity of the church (as he would pretend) but the maintenance of his own pride and corruption, which should soon come to the ground if the Word had free passage, and therefore he proveth the same by stopping the mouths of the sincere preachers thereof. For if the unity of the church had been his end, why hath not he amended this fault in all the books that have been printed since that time, which now is not so little as 3 years, in which time many thousand of *Books Of Common Prayer* have been printed? If he had other business in hand than the amending of *The Book Of Common Prayer*, why had<sup>712</sup> he not - nay, why doth he not - leave urging of subscription until that be amended? Can he and his hirelings<sup>713</sup> have time to imprison and deprive men because they will not sin by approving lies upon the Holy Ghost (which things they cannot nor could not choose but commit whosoever will or have subscribed unto the *Book* and Articles), and can he have no time in 3 or 4 years to correct most gross and ungodly faults in the print, whereof the putting out of one syllable, even three letters (*dis*), would have amended this place? But it lieth not in his Grace to amend the corruptions of the *Book*. Belike it lieth in him to do nothing but sin, and to compel men against their consciences to sin, or else to bring extreme misery upon them. If it lay not in him, yet he might have acquainted the Parliament (for there was a Parliament<sup>714</sup> since the time he knew this fault) with the corruptions of the *Book*. And I will come nearer home to him than so, in the article concerning the government whereunto men are urged to subscribe. You must (say the Articles) protest that there is nothing in the ministry of the church of England that is not according to the Word, or to suchlike effect they speak. I say that I cannot subscribe unto this article because, contrary to the express commandment of Our Saviour Christ and the examples of His apostles, there be lords in that ministry. Or, such as

<sup>704</sup> I.e., Whitgift and Edwin Sandys (1516?-1588), Archbishop of York from 1577-1588. (Kinney, p.19; DNB, v.17, pp.772-5)

<sup>705</sup> Martin alludes to the Lambeth Conference of 1584 earlier in the Epistle in connection with the relative merits of Travers' and Cooper's scholarship. According to Pierce, this conference was the only opportunity for disputation ever afforded by Whitgift to the Puritan controversialists. On December 10, Whitgift and Cooper disputed with Walter Travers and Thomas Spark; on December 12, Edwin Sandys was also present on the episcopal side. (MT, p.19)

<sup>706</sup> In the Admonition, Whitgift says that the words "they were not obedient unto his word" in The Book of Common Prayer do not contradict the words "they were not disobedient unto his word" in the Septuagint because the word "they" is ambiguous. (p.40)

<sup>707</sup> I.e., other translations of the Bible published *cum privilegio*.

<sup>708</sup> Martin's reference to "the verity of the original" suggests that he knew Hebrew.

<sup>709</sup> Palpable: Easily perceived, plain, evident, apparent, obvious. (OED, p.1499)

<sup>710</sup> Mere: That is what it is in the full sense of the term; nothing less than; absolute, entire, sheer. (OED, p.1309)

<sup>711</sup> Drift: The conscious direction of action or speech to some end; the end itself; purpose, object, aim. (OED, p.607)

<sup>712</sup> Quare whether this is a misprint for "did".

<sup>713</sup> Hireling: One who makes reward or material remuneration the motive of his actions; a mercenary. (opprobrious). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>714</sup> The Parliament of 1586-87.

would be accounted ministers will also be called and accounted lord, and bear civil offices.<sup>715</sup> The words of Christ are those: *The kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords, but you shall not be so.* (Luke 22:25-6). I say that out of this place it is manifest that it is utterly unlawful for a minister to be a lord - that is for any lord bishop to be in the ministry - and therefore I cannot subscribe unto that article which would have me justify this to be lawful. Now I will cease this point because I doubt not but the Articles of Subscription will be shortly so made out of fashion that the bishops will be ashamed of them themselves. And if no other will take them in hand, I'll turn one of mine own breed unto them, either Martin Senior<sup>716</sup> or some of his brethren.

To go forward. His Lordship of Winchester<sup>717</sup> is a great clerk,<sup>718</sup> for he hath translated his dictionary called *Cooper's Dictionary*<sup>719</sup> verbatim<sup>720</sup> out of Robert Stephanus' thesaurus<sup>721</sup> (and ill-favoured,<sup>722</sup> too, they say).<sup>723</sup> But what<sup>724</sup> do I speak of our bishops' learning as long as Bishop Overton,<sup>725</sup> Bishop Bickley,<sup>726</sup> Bishop Middleton,<sup>727</sup> the Dean of Westminster,<sup>728</sup> Doctor Cole,<sup>729</sup> Doctor Bell,<sup>730</sup> with many others, are living? I doubt me whether all the famous dunces be dead. And if you would have an ilsample of an excellent pulpit-man<sup>731</sup> indeed, go no further than the Bishop of Gloucester<sup>732</sup> now living, and in him you shall find a plain instance of

<sup>715</sup> That bishops are permitted to bear civil offices is clearly Martin's bête noire. This is the only mention by Martin in the tracts of a reason why he himself would not be able to swear to Whitgift's Articles.

<sup>716</sup> This is the first mention of Martin Senior.

<sup>717</sup> Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester from 1584-1594.

<sup>718</sup> Clerk: In early times, when writing was not an ordinary accomplishment of the laity, the offices of writer, scribe, secretary, keeper of accounts, and the transaction of all business involving writing, were discharged by clerks (clerics). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin considers Cooper a clerk rather than a scholar because Cooper translated his dictionary from Estienne's.

<sup>719</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae*, published in 1565.

<sup>720</sup> Verbatim: Word for word; in the exact words. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>721</sup> Robert Estienne (1503-1559), member of a family of scholar-printers who worked in Paris and Geneva from 1502-1674. (Bergin, p.152) The introductory note to the Scholar Press edition of the *Dictionary* states that Cooper "used as a model and a main source Robert Stephanus' *Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum*" of 1552.

<sup>722</sup> Martin uses "ill-favoured" as an adverb, a usage not noticed in the OED. Ill-favouredly: In a bad or unpleasing way or style. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>723</sup> In connection with the hypothesis that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, is the author of the Marprelate tracts, it is of interest that Edward de Vere may have studied at Oxford in 1565 when Cooper's *Dictionary* was published. At the time, Cooper was Master of Magdalen College School, a post he held from 1549-1568. (Cooper, intro.; DNB, v.4, pp.1074-6)

<sup>724</sup> What: For what cause or reason? for what end or purpose? why? (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>725</sup> William Overton (1525?-1609), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1579-1609.

<sup>726</sup> Thomas Bickley (1518-1596), Bishop of Chichester from 1586-1596. (DNB, v.2, pp.470-1)

<sup>727</sup> Marmaduke Middleton (d.1593), Bishop of St. David's from 1582-1590. Deprived in 1590 for publishing a forged will. (DNB, v.13, pp.355-6)

<sup>728</sup> Gabriel Goodman (1529?-1601).

<sup>729</sup> Dr. William Cole (d.1600), president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford from 1568-1598, is credited with having assisted with the Geneva Bible; however, he left no other writings. (DNB, v.4, pp.730-2; Carlson, p.294)

<sup>730</sup> John Bell, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. (Carlson, p.294)

<sup>731</sup> Pulpit-man: A preacher. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's criticism of the preaching abilities of the Elizabethan bishops suggests that he himself was a good orator.

<sup>732</sup> John Bullingham (d.1598), Bishop of Gloucester from 1581-1598.

such a one as I mean. On a time, he preaching at Worcester before he was bishop<sup>733</sup> upon Sir John's Day,<sup>734</sup> as he traversed<sup>735</sup> his matter and discoursed upon many points,<sup>736</sup> he came at the length unto the very pith<sup>737</sup> of his whole sermon, contained in the distinction of the name of John which he then, showing all his learning at once, full learnedly handled after this manner, '*John, John, the grace of God, the grace of God, the grace of God. Gracious John, not graceless John, but gracious John. John, holy John, holy John, not John full of holes, but holy John*'. If he showed not himself learned in this sermon, then hath he been a dunce all his life. In the same sermon two several Johns, the father and the son, that had been both recusants, being brought publicly to confess their faults, this worthy Doctor by reason that the young man having been poisoned beyond the seas with popery was more obstinate than his father and by all likelihood he was the cause of his father's perverseness,<sup>738</sup> with a vehement exclamation (able to pierce a cobweb) called on the father aloud in this pathetic<sup>739</sup> and persuading<sup>740</sup> sort, *Old John, old John, be not led away by the siren sounds and enticements of young John. If young John will go to the Devil, the Devil go with him*. The Puritans, it may be, will here object that this worthy man was endued with these famous gifts before he was a bishop, whereas since that time, say they, he is not able to say boo to a goose. You weigh this man, belike, my masters, according to the rest of our bishops. But I assure you it is not so with him. For the last Lent, in a sermon he made in Gloucester<sup>741</sup> town, he showed himself to be the man that he was before. For he did in open pulpit confirm the truth of his text to be authentical<sup>742</sup> - being the prophecy of Isaiah - out of *The Book Of Common Prayer*, which otherwise would (it is to be feared) have proved Apocrypha. His text was *A child is born unto us*<sup>743</sup> which, after he sweetly repeated very often as before, to the great destruction<sup>744</sup> and admiration<sup>745</sup> of the hearers, saying, *A child is born, a child is born, a child is born unto us. This, saith he, is proved, you know. Where? In that worthy verse of The Book Of Common Prayer: 'Thy*

<sup>733</sup> John Bullingham seems to have held no clerical appointment at Worcester. However, his kinsman Nicholas Bullingham was Bishop of Worcester from 1571-1576, and Bullingham may have given the sermon referred to by Martin at some time during that period. Martin's comment dates this sermon prior to September 3, 1581, the date on which Bullingham was consecrated bishop.

<sup>734</sup> Several feasts of St. John occur in the Church calendar, including the feast of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist on December 27, and that of St. John the Baptist on August 29. (Cheney, p.53)

<sup>735</sup> Traverse: *Fig.* To read through or consider thoroughly (a subject, treatise, etc.). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

Bullingham's speaking ability was not formidable. In a letter of February 2, 1571 to Sir William Cecil, Archbishop Parker said that he had once appointed Bullingham to preach before the Queen, but that he would not do so again as Bullingham was "unmeet for the court". (DNB, v.3, p.251)

<sup>736</sup> Martin's detailed description of Bullingham's sermon suggests that he was present at it. This gives some indication of Martin's age, in that the sermon was preached at least seven years prior to the publication of Martin's *Epistle* in 1588. Quare whether the sermon was given at Worcester during one of the Queen's progresses.

<sup>737</sup> Pith: *Fig.* The central or inward part; hence, the essential or vital part (*of* anything); spirit, essence, substance, quintessence. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>738</sup> Perverseness: The quality of being perverse; the disposition or tendency to act in a manner contrary to what is right or reasonable; obstinate wrongheadedness; refractoriness; corruption, wickedness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>739</sup> Pathetical: = pathetic. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *Love's Labours Lost* I ii 103: "Sweet invocation of a child, most pretty and pathetic."

<sup>740</sup> Persuading: That persuades, persuasive. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *Henry VIII* IV ii 52: "He was . . . Exceeding wise, faire spoken, and persuading."

<sup>741</sup> This reference appears to place Martin in Gloucester in Lent, 1587.

<sup>742</sup> Authentical: = authentic. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>743</sup> Isaiah 9:6.

<sup>744</sup> Pierce suggests that Martin here substitutes "destruction" for "instruction". (MT, p.91)

<sup>745</sup> Admiration: The action of wondering or marvelling; wonder, astonishment, surprise. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

*honourable true and only Son'. Afterward, repeating the same words again, A child is born unto us, a child is born unto us. Here, saith he, I might take occasion to commend that worthy verse in our Litany<sup>746</sup> where this is made very manifest that the prophet here speaketh: 'By thy Nativity and circumcision'.<sup>747</sup> What should I prosecute<sup>748</sup> the condemnation of this man, as though other our bishops and pulpit-men have not as commendable gifts as he?*

And once again to you, brother Bridges. You have set down a flaunting<sup>749</sup> reason in the 75th page<sup>750</sup> of your book against the continuance of the government which the Puritans labour for, and I find the same syllogism concluded in no mood.<sup>751</sup> Therefore, what if I was ashamed to put it down? But seeing it is your will to lay<sup>752</sup> on the Puritans with it as it is, put your corner-cap a little near a to-side,<sup>753</sup> that we may see your parti-coloured<sup>754</sup> beard and with what a manly countenance you give your brethren this scouring.<sup>755</sup> And I hope this will please you, my clergy masters, as well as if I told you how our brother Bridges played my Lord of Winchester's fool in Sir Mary's pulpit in Cambridge - but no word of that.<sup>756</sup> Now to my reason.

<sup>746</sup> Litany: That form of general supplication appointed for use in The Book of Common Prayer. (OED, p1222)

<sup>747</sup> Circumcision: The action of circumcising; practised as a religious rite by Jews and Muslims, and by various other nations. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>748</sup> Prosecute: To follow up, pursue; to persevere or persist in, follow out, go on with (some action, undertaking or purpose) with a view to completing or attaining it. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>749</sup> Flaunting: Making an obtrusive display; showy, gaudy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>750</sup> See Defence, pp.75-6: "So were all the offices and kindes of ministerie of the Mosaicall and Templarie Priesthoode: and yet they were but temporall, and are ceased. Yea, so were the offices and kindes of ministerie of the Apostles, Prophetes, Evangelistes, men indued with the graces of powers, of healings, and of diverse tongues: and yet your selves confesse that all these are ceased, expired, determined, and have no place. And therefore, if ye can shewe this warrant of Gods worde, for the Tetrarchie perpetually remaying of these eccl. offices instituted of God: namely, Pastors, Doctors, Governours, and Deacons: by which the Church of God, may (according to his word) be directed in all matters, which are commonly called eccl. shewe howe God appointed and approved it, be-it by himselve, or by his Apostles, to be perpetually exercised in his Church: and then foorth with we yeelde. And if ye can not doe this: then see (good brethren) how this your owne conclusion here, reboundeth on your owne selves."

<sup>751</sup> Mood: In logic, any one of the classes into which each of the four figures of valid categorical syllogisms is subdivided with reference to the quality and quantity of the constituent propositions. (OED, p.1352)

<sup>752</sup> Lay on: To attack vigorously, to beat soundly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>753</sup> A to-side: On one side. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>754</sup> Parti-coloured: Partly of one colour and partly of another. (OED, p.1518) This detail indicates some degree of personal acquaintance with Bridges.

<sup>755</sup> Scouring: The action of beating, drubbing, or chastising. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>756</sup> It seems likely that Martin's reference is to Robert Horne, Thomas Cooper's predecessor in the See of Winchester, since Cooper took his degrees at Magdalene College, Oxford, and appears to have had no ties to Cambridge. Horne was Bishop of Winchester from 1561 to 1580 at a time when Bridges was associated with Cambridge, and it was he who gave Bridges his first preferments. According to Pierce, "Bishop Horne collated [Bridges] in 1565 to the third prebendal stall in Winchester Cathedral, besides bestowing upon him 'three rich parsonages', the rectories of Cheriton and Crowley in Hants and Brightwell in Berks". (HIMT, p.140) The sermon at St. Mary's, Cambridge thus seems to have been given circa 1565, and to have served as the impetus for Horne's advancement of Bridges.

*Some kind of ministry ordained<sup>757</sup> by the Lord was temporary, saith he, as, for example, the Mosaical<sup>758</sup> priesthood and the ministry of the apostles, prophets, etc. But the ministry of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons was ordained by the Lord. Therefore, it was temporary.*

Alack, alack, Dean John! What have you done now? The Puritans will be o' the bones of you too bad for this kind of arguing,<sup>759</sup> and they will reason after this sort:

1. *Some man in the land, say they, weareth a wooden dagger<sup>760</sup> and a coxcomb<sup>761</sup> as, for example, his Grace of Canterbury's fool,<sup>762</sup> Doctor Perne's<sup>763</sup> cousin and yours. You, Presbyter John Catercap,<sup>764</sup> are some man in the land. Therefore, by this reason, you wear a wooden dagger and a coxcomb.*

2. *Some presbyter, priest or elder in the English ministry is called the Vicar of Hell as, for example, one about Oxford, another near Northampton, and the Parson of Mickleham in Surrey. But the Dean of Sarum, John Catercap, is some priest in the English ministry. Ergo,<sup>765</sup> he is the Vicar of Hell.*

3. *Some presbyter, priest or elder, preaching at Paul's Cross, 1587, told a tale of a leaden shoeing-horn<sup>766</sup> and spake of cate<sup>767</sup> kissing. And, preaching at the court on another time, thrust his hand into his pocket and drew out a piece of sarsenet<sup>768</sup> saying, Behold a relic of Mary's smock, and, thrusting his hand into the other pocket, drew out either a linen or a woollen rag saying, Behold a relic of Joseph's breeches. But, quoth he, there is no reason why Mary's smock should be of sarsenet, seeing Joseph's breeches were not of silk.<sup>769</sup> This priest, being lately demanded whether he should be Bishop of Ely<sup>770</sup> answered that he had now no great hope to B. of Ely.<sup>771</sup> And,*

<sup>757</sup> Ordain: To set up (something) to continue in a certain order; to institute. (OED, p.1459)

<sup>758</sup> Mosaical: = Mosaic. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>759</sup> Bridges' argument lacks a universal premise which, according to Aristotle, is one of the necessary conditions of syllogistic validity. (Engelbretsen, p.25) In the succeeding fourteen paragraphs, Martin has constructed syllogisms using Bridges' flawed reasoning.

<sup>760</sup> Dagger of lath: The weapon worn by the Vice in the old Moralities. (OED, p.484)

<sup>761</sup> Coxcomb: A cap worn by a professional fool, like a cock's comb in shape and colour. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>762</sup> This appears to be a reference to a fool employed by Whitgift. Bridges and Perne are characterized as his "cousins".

<sup>763</sup> Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

<sup>764</sup> Catercap: The square cap worn by academics. Hence, a wearer of a catercap, a university man. (OED, p.297)

<sup>765</sup> Ergo: In logic, a word used to introduce the conclusion of a syllogism. (OED, p.677)

<sup>766</sup> Shoeing-horn: = shoe-horn. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>767</sup> Cate: *Sing.* A viand, dainty. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin use of "cate" in the singular precedes the earliest example cited in the OED. *Taming of the Shrew*, II i 189-90, 318: "My super-dainty Kate/ For dainties are all cates . . . And, kiss me Kate, we will be married o' Sunday".

<sup>768</sup> Sarsenet: A very fine and soft silk material made both plain and twilled, in various colours. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>769</sup> Martin's description suggests that he was present at this sermon at court.

<sup>770</sup> Queen Elizabeth kept the See of Ely vacant from 1581 to 1600. According to the DNB, Aylmer's unpopularity as Bishop of London caused him to make more than one unsuccessful attempt to obtain his removal to a less laborious see, either Ely or Winchester. (v.1, p.754)

<sup>771</sup> Throughout the tracts, Martin uses the abbreviations "B." or "Bb." for "bishop" or "bishops". In this particular case, he turns the abbreviation into a pun.

therefore, quoth he, *I may say well enough 'Eli, Eli, Lamma sabachthani'*<sup>772</sup> - *Ely, Ely why hast thou forsaken me* - alluding very blasphemously unto the words which Our Saviour Christ spake in His greatest agony upon the Cross. The same priest, calling before him one Master Benison,<sup>773</sup> a preacher, and would have urged him to take his oath to answer to such articles as he would propound<sup>774</sup> against him, who answered, saying, *Brother bishop, I will not swear except I know to what*. With that, the priest fell sick of the spleen, and began to swear by his faith. Quoth Benison, *A bishop should preach faith, and not swear by it*. This priest, being in his melancholic<sup>775</sup> mood, sent him to the Clink,<sup>776</sup> where he lay till her Majesty was made privy<sup>777</sup> of his tyranny and then released, to the priest's woe. As, for example, the Bishop of London did all those things and more, too. For, lying at his house at Haddam in Essex upon the Sabbath Day, (wanting<sup>778</sup> his bowling mates) took his servants and went a-haymaking, the godly ministers round about being exercised<sup>779</sup> (though against his commandment) in fasting and prayer. But you, John Catercap, are some presbyter, priest or elder. Therefore, you profaned the Word and ministry in this sort.

4. Some presbyter, priest or elder in the land is accused (and even now the matter is in trial before his Grace and his brethren)<sup>780</sup> to have two wives and to marry his brother unto a woman upon her death-bed, she being past recovery. As, for example the Bishop of Sir Davies in Wales is this priest, as they say. But you, Presbyter John, are some priest. Therefore, you have committed all these unnatural parts.

5. Some priest,<sup>781</sup> preaching at the funerals of one<sup>782</sup> who died - not only being condemned by the law of God and of the land for attempting matters against her Majesty's person and the state, but also died an obstinate and professed<sup>783</sup> papist and without any repentance for her enterprises against her Majesty and the state - prayed that his soul and the souls of all the rest there present might be with

<sup>772</sup> Matthew 27:46: "And about the ninth houre Jesus cryed with a loude voyce, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (GB, p.17)

<sup>773</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>774</sup> Propound: Put forth, set forth, or offer for consideration, discussion, acceptance, or adoption; to put forward as a question for solution. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>775</sup> Melancholic: Pertaining to or containing 'melancholy' or 'black bile'; atrabilious. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>776</sup> According to Pierce, Barnaby Benison was imprisoned from 1579 to 1584. In a letter of November 14, 1584, Lord Burghley and ten other members of the Privy Council directed a letter to Aylmer advising him that Benison could obtain damages against him for false imprisonment, and urging him to pay Benison a reasonable sum in compensation for the injury done him. (MT, pp.93-5) In the Admonition, Aylmer calls the Benison case "that wonderful tragedie" and "another mountaine that [Martin] maketh of molehils". (p.46)

<sup>777</sup> Privy: Participating in the knowledge of something secret or private. (OED, p.1674)

<sup>778</sup> Want: To lack. (OED, p.2502)

<sup>779</sup> Exercise: To conduct or take part in a religious service; to expound Scripture. (OED, p.700)

<sup>780</sup> Marmaduke Middleton (d.1593), Bishop of St. David's from 1582-1590. Middleton's bigamy is passed over in silence in the Admonition; however, Martin refers to it again in the Minerals, where he states that bigamy was "proved against him before the High Commission".

<sup>781</sup> William Wickham (1539-1595), Bishop of Lincoln from 1584-1595.

<sup>782</sup> Mary, Queen on Scots was executed on February 8, 1587; however, the funeral did not take place until August 1st. Pierce points out that Martin's date of August 2nd is incorrect. (MT, pp.95-6) If so, the error is uncharacteristic of Martin.

<sup>783</sup> Professed: Self-acknowledged; openly declared or avowed by oneself. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

the soul of the unrepentant papist departed.<sup>784</sup> As for example, the Bishop of Lincoln did this at Peterborough August 2nd, 1587. But you are some priest. Ergo, you made such a prayer.

6. Some priest in the land lately made, or very shortly meaneth to make, as they say, an old acquaintance of his own, Richard Patrick, clothier<sup>785</sup> of Worcester, of the reading ministry.<sup>786</sup> As, for example, his Grace of Canter. is this priest. But you, brother Sarum, are some priest as well as he. Ergo, you have thrust a bankrupt clothier in the ministry.

7. Some priest, having given a man (whose wife had played the harlot) leave to marry another, desiring the man long after he had been married to another woman to show him his letters of divorcement<sup>787</sup> with promise to deliver them again, but having received them, they are retained of him most injuriously unto this day, and he troubleth the man for having two wives. As, for example, the Bishop of Sir Asse<sup>788</sup> is this priest. But you, Dean Catercap, are some priest. Ergo, you do men such open injury.

8. Some men that break the law of God are traitors to her Majesty as, for example, the Jesuits. But all our bishops are some men that break the law of God because they continue in unlawful callings. Ergo, by your reason they are traitors to her Majesty. But I deny your argument, for there may be many breaches of the law of God whereof they may be guilty, and yet no traitors.

9. Some men that will not have their lordships and their callings examined by the Word are limbs of Antichrist<sup>789</sup> as, for example, the Pope and his cardinals. But our lord bishops are some men which will not have their lordships and their callings tried by the Word. Therefore, they are limbs of Antichrist.

10. Some men would play the turncoats with the Bishop of Gloucester,<sup>790</sup> Doctor Kenold,<sup>791</sup> Doctor Perne<sup>792</sup> (I will let Doctor Goodman,<sup>793</sup> Abbot of Westminster alone now). But all the lord bishops and you, brother catercap, are some men. Ergo, you would become papists again.

<sup>784</sup> In the Admonition, Cooper is evasive in responding to this charge on behalf of Wickham: "What his wordes were I have forgotten, and yet I heard them delivered by a learned man that was present . . . but they were nothing sounding to that which the Libell layeth downe." (pp.48-9)

<sup>785</sup> Clothier: One engaged in the cloth trade. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>786</sup> Reading ministry: One who merely reads the lessons or service, without preaching. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Whitgift flatly denies this charge in the Admonition: "He never made Patrike Minister, neither intended to make him, neither was he of his acquaintance at all in Worcester." (p.40) Martin's reply in Hay Any Work For Cooper is that he has "marred Richard Patrick's market; for otherwise he was in good hope to have had a benefice at his Grace's hand". It is interesting to note Martin's long-term connections with Worcester, as evidenced by his knowledge of Richard Patrick and his report of Bullingham's sermon at Worcester "before he was Bishop".

<sup>787</sup> Divorcement: = divorce. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>788</sup> William Hughes (d.1600), Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales from 1573-1600. In Pierce's view, Hughes, who held sixteen benefices *in commendam*, was "probably the greatest pluralist the Protestant Church has ever known". His maladministration of his diocese was the subject of a special inquiry. (MT, p.97; DNB, v.10, pp.189-90; Strype, Annals, v.II, pt. 2, pp.525-8)

<sup>789</sup> Limb of the devil, etc.: An agent or scion of the evil one; an imp of Satan; hence, a mischievous wicked person. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>790</sup> John Bullingham (d.1598), Bishop of Gloucester from 1581-1598. Bullingham was an exile in the reign of Edward VI, returned to England on the accession of Queen Mary, and retained the Roman faith for the first years of Elizabeth's reign. (DNB, v.3, pp.250-1)

<sup>791</sup> John Kennall, archdeacon of Oxford and vice-chancellor of the university. (Carlson, p.430)

<sup>792</sup> Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

<sup>793</sup> Gabriel Goodman (1529?-1601), Dean of Westminster.

11. Some men dare not dispute with their adversaries, lest their ungodly callings should be overthrown and they compelled to walk more orderly.<sup>794</sup> But our bishops are some men. Ergo, they dare not dispute lest their ungodly callings and places should be overthrown.

12. Some men are thieves and soul-murderers before God as, for example, all non-residents. Every lord bishop is a non-resident. Ergo, he is a thief and a soul-murderer before God.

13. Some men are become apostates<sup>795</sup> from their ministry, sinners against their own consciences, persecutors of their brethren, sacrilegious church-robbers,<sup>796</sup> withstanders of the known truth for their own filthy lucre's<sup>797</sup> sake, and are afraid lest the Gospel and the holy discipline thereof should be received in every place. But our bishops are some men. Therefore, (by your reason, Master Doctor) they are become apostates from their ministry, sinners against their own consciences, persecutors of their brethren, sacrilegious church-robbers, and withstanders of the known truth, etc.

14. Some priest is a pope as, for example, that priest which is Bishop of Rome is a pope. But his Grace of Cant. is some priest. Therefore, Master Bridges, by your manner of reasoning, he is a pope.

You may see what harm you have done by dealing so loosely.<sup>798</sup> I know not what I shall say to these Puritans' reasons. They must needs be good if yours be sound. Admit their syllogisms offended in form as yours doth; yet the common people - and especially Dame Lawson and the gentlewoman whose man demanded of her when she sat at the Bishop of London's fire, *Why Mistress, will you sit by Caiaphas' fire?*<sup>799</sup> - will find an unhappy truth in many of those conclusions, whenas yours is most false. And many of their propositions are tried<sup>800</sup> truths, having many eye- and-ear-witnesses<sup>801</sup> living.

Men, when commonly they dedicate books unto any, enter into commendations of those unto whom they write. But I care not an I owe you, my clergy masters, a commendations, and pay you when you better deserve it. Instead thereof, I will give you some good counsel and advice which, if you follow, I assure you it will be the better for you.

First, I would advise you, as before I have said, to set at liberty all the preachers that you have restrained from preaching; otherwise, it shall be the worse for you. My reason is this. The people are altogether discontented for want of teachers. Some of them already run into corners, and more are like<sup>802</sup> because you keep the means of knowledge from them. Running into corners will breed

<sup>794</sup> Orderly: According to an established order or rule; regularly, properly, duly; in conformity with good order or discipline; in a well-conducted or well-behaved manner. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>795</sup> Apostate: A turncoat, a renegade. (OED, p.88)

<sup>796</sup> Church-robber: One who robs or plunders the or a church. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>797</sup> Filthy lucre: Dishonourable gain. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>798</sup> Loosely: Without care, strictness or rigour; not strictly; carelessly, negligently, laxly. Said esp. of thought or its expression. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>799</sup> John 18:18: "And the servants and officers stode there, which had made a fyre of coles: for it was colde, and they warmed themselves. And Peter also stode among them & warmed him self." (GB, p.52) In the Acts and Monuments, Foxe uses the same epithet: "Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas' room". (Pratt, v.3, p.326)

<sup>800</sup> Tried: Proved or tested by experience or examination. (OED, p.2361)

<sup>801</sup> Ear-witness: A person who testifies, or is able to testify, to something on the evidence of his own hearing. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's use of "ear-witness" precedes the earliest example cited in the OED; his use of the combination "eye- and ear-witnesses" precedes by three hundred years the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>802</sup> Apparently an ellipsis for "like to do so".

Anabaptistry. Anabaptistry will alienate the hearts of the subjects from their lawful governor. And you are the cause hereof. And will not her Majesty then, think you, require<sup>803</sup> the hearts of her subjects at your hands when she shall understand that they are alienated (as God forbid they should) from her by your means? Yes, I warrant you. And if they should put up a supplication unto her Highness that their preachers might be restored unto them, I doubt not but they should be heard. I can tell you, she tendreth<sup>804</sup> the estate of her people and will not discourage their hearts in casting off their suits to maintain your pride and covetousness.<sup>805</sup> You were then better to set the preachers at liberty than to suffer your cruelty and evil dealing to be made known unto her. For so they shall be sure, I doubt not, to prevail in their suit,<sup>806</sup> and you to go by the worse.<sup>807</sup> And try if her Majesty be not shortly moved<sup>808</sup> in this suit. To it, my masters, roundly,<sup>809</sup> you that mean to deal herein, and on my life you set the prelates in such a quandary as they shall not know where to stand. Now, master prelates, I will give you some more counsel. Follow it. Repent, clergymen, and especially bishops. Preach faith, bishops, and swear no more by it. Give over your lordly callings. Reform your families and your children; they are the pattern of looseness.<sup>810</sup> Withstand not the known truth no longer; you have seduced her Majesty and her people. Pray her Majesty to forgive you, and the Lord first to put away your sins. Your government is antichristian; deceive the Lord no longer thereby. You will grow from evil to worse unless betimes<sup>811</sup> you return. You are now worse than you were 29 years ago. Write no more against the cause of reformation; your ungodliness is made more manifest by your writings. And because you cannot answer what hath been written against you, yield unto the truth. If you should write, deal syllogistically,<sup>812</sup> for you shame yourselves when you use any continued<sup>813</sup> speech because your style is so rude and barbarous. Rail no more in the pulpit against good men. You do more hurt to yourselves and your own desperate cause in one of your railing sermons than you could in speaking for reformation. For every man that hath any light of religion in him will examine your grounds which, being found ridiculous (as they are), will be decided, and your cause made odious. Abuse not the High Commission. Itself was ordained for very good purposes, but it is most horribly abused by you and turned clean contrary to the end wherefore it was ordained. Help the poor people to the means of their salvation that perish in their ignorance. Make restitution unto your tenants, and such as from whom you have wrongfully extorted anything. Usurp no longer the authority of making of ministers and excommunication. Let poor men be no more molested in your ungodly courts. Study more than you do, and preach oftener. Favour non-residents and papists no longer. Labour to

<sup>803</sup> Require: To ask for some thing or person authoritatively or imperatively, or as a right. (OED, p.1803)

<sup>804</sup> Tender: To be careful of the welfare of. (OED, p.2261)

<sup>805</sup> Covetousness: Inordinate and culpable desire of possessing that which belongs to another or to which one has no right. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>806</sup> Suit: The action or an act of suing, supplicating, or petitioning, especially a petition made to a prince or other high personage. (OED, p.2183)

<sup>807</sup> Martin undoubtedly knew that the Queen was aware of the bishops' conduct; however, by portraying her as one who had been kept in ignorance, he offered her a way of saving face while helping to resolve the conflict if she chose to do so.

<sup>808</sup> Move: To prompt, actuate or incline to an action. (OED, p.1366)

<sup>809</sup> Roundly: Plainly, outspokenly, without mincing the matter, bluntly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>810</sup> Looseness: Moral laxity; licentiousness or lewdness in conduct, speech, or thought. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>811</sup> Betimes: In a short time, soon, speedily, anon, forthwith. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>812</sup> Syllogistically: In a syllogistic manner; by means of a syllogism or syllogisms; by the method of syllogisms. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin insists on this point throughout the tracts.

<sup>813</sup> Continued: Carried on in a series or sequence; connected or linked together in succession; continuous. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first example cited in the OED.

cleanse the ministry of the swarms<sup>814</sup> of ignorant guides<sup>815</sup> wherewith it hath been defiled. Make conscience<sup>816</sup> of breaking the Sabbath by bowling and tabling.<sup>817</sup> Be ringleaders<sup>818</sup> of profaneness<sup>819</sup> no longer unto the people. Take no more bribes. Leave your simony. Favour learning more than you do, and especially godly learning. Stretch your credit<sup>820</sup> - if you have any - to the furtherance of the Gospel. You have joined the profanation of the magistracy to the corruption of the ministry; leave this sin. All in a word, become good Christians, and so you shall become good subjects and leave your tyranny. And, I would advise you, let me here no more of your evil dealing.

Given at my castle between two Wales<sup>821</sup> neither four days from Penniless Bench<sup>822</sup> nor yet at the west end of Shrovetide,<sup>823</sup> but the fourteenth year at the least of the age of Charing Cross, within a year of midsummer between twelve and twelve of the clock. *Anno pontificatus vestri quinto*,<sup>824</sup> and, I hope, *ultimo*,<sup>825</sup> of all English popes. By your learned and worthy brother, Martin Marprelate.

<sup>814</sup> Swarm: A very large or dense body or collection; a crowd, throng, multitude (often contemptuous). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>815</sup> Probably used here in a Biblical sense, as in Matthew 23:24: "Ye blind guides, which straine out a gnatte, and swallow a camel." (GB, p.14)

<sup>816</sup> To make conscience: To make it a matter of conscience, to have scruples about. (OED, p.403)

<sup>817</sup> Tabling: Playing at 'tables' or backgammon. (OED, p.2230)

<sup>818</sup> Ringleader: One who takes a leading place or part among a body or number of persons whose character or conduct is reprehensible. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>819</sup> Profaneness: The quality or fact of being profane or unholy, or of openly violating what is sacred; profanity; profane conduct or speech. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>820</sup> Credit: The estimate in which the character of a person is held; reputation, repute. (OED, p.453)

<sup>821</sup> Wales is mentioned several times in the Epistle. Wilson concludes that the words "between two Wales" are "a clear reference to Monmouth, the county that lies on the borders of Devon and Wales proper." (Wilson, p.28) Martin's occasional use of Welsh orthography in the tracts, and his specific mention of Wales several times in the Epistle, support Wilson's interpretation. With reference to the hypothesis of the Earl of Oxford's authorship of the Marprelate tracts, it should be noted that he was a direct descendant of a famous Welsh soldier and supporter of Edward IV, Sir John Don. (Chambers, v.10, p.247)

<sup>822</sup> The name of a covered bench which formerly stood beside Carfax Church, Oxford, and apparently of similar open-air seats elsewhere, probably as being the resort of destitute wayfarers. (McKerrow, Nashe, v.4, p.477)

<sup>823</sup> Shrovetide: The period comprising Quinquagesima Sunday and the two following days. (OED, p.1987)

<sup>824</sup> Whitgift was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on October 23, 1583; Martin's Epistle was thus published in the fifth year of Whitgift's "pontificate". (Brook, p.78)

<sup>825</sup> *Ultimo*: Last.

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