
Hay Any Work For Cooper.¹

Or a brief pistle directed by way of an hublication² to the reverend bishops, counselling them if they will needs be barrell'd up³ for fear of smelling in the nostrils of her Majesty and the state, that they would use the advice of reverend Martin for the providing of their cooper. Because the reverend T.C.⁴ (by which mystical⁵ letters is understood either the bouncing parson of East Meon,⁶ or Tom Cook's chaplain)⁷ hath showed himself in his late *Admonition To The People Of England* to be an unskilful and beceitful⁸ tub-trimmer.⁹

Wherein worthy Martin quits himself like a man, I warrant you, in the modest defence of his self and his learned pistles, and makes the Cooper's hoops¹⁰ to fly off and the bishops' tubs¹¹ to leak out of all cry.¹²

Penned and compiled by Martin the metropolitan.

Printed in Europe¹³ not far from some of the bouncing priests.

¹ Cooper: A craftsman who makes and repairs wooden vessels formed of staves and hoops, as casks, buckets, tubs. (OED, p.421) The London street cry 'Hay any work for cooper' provided Martin with a pun on Thomas Cooper's surname, which Martin expands on in the next two paragraphs with references to hubs', 'barrelling up', 'tub-trimmer', 'hoops', 'leaking tubs', etc.

² Hub: The central solid part of a wheel; the nave. (OED, p.993)

³ A commodity commonly 'barrell'd-up' in Elizabethan England was herring, which probably explains Martin's reference to 'smelling in the nostrils of her Majesty and the state'.

⁴ Thomas Cartwright's *Reply* to Whitgift of 1573 was signed with the initials 'T.C.'. In signing the preface to the *Admonition* with these well-known initials, Cooper could not have been unaware that readers might be misled as to the authorship of his book.

⁵ Mystical: Of dark import, obscure meaning. (OED, p.1380)

⁶ Martin's reference to Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, as 'the bouncing parson of East Meon' derives from the fact that the vicarage of East Meon had been under the patronage of the Bishops of Winchester, the largest landowners in southern England, 'from time immemorial', as one source states, and, in any event, as far back in recorded history as the Domesday Book. The 14th century Court House (the administrative centre of the Manor of East Meon, and the residence of the Bishops of Winchester) still stands opposite All Saints Church in East Meon. (*All Saints Church: East Meon* (pamphlet); *Where to go & what to see in East Meon* (pamphlet); *Gentlemen's Magazine*, October 1819, pp.297-301).

⁷ Unidentified, although Pierce notes that a Thomas Cook was among the deacons ordained by the Bishop of London on April 25, 1560. (MT, p.216) Martin presumably alludes to another of Cooper's benefices.

⁸ Quare whether this is a printing error for 'deceitful', or a reference to a speech peculiarity of John Whitgift, with the concomitant suggestion that the *Admonition* was written at Whitgift's behest.

⁹ Tub-trimmer: A cooper. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's point is that if the bishops require a cooper to 'barrel up' their faults, Martin can advise them of craftsmen more skilful than Thomas Cooper.

¹⁰ Hoop: A circle of wood or flattened metal for binding together the staves of casks, tubs, etc. (OED, p.982)

¹¹ Tub: Applied contemptuously or jocularly to a pulpit. (OED, p.2376) The earliest date given in OED for the use of 'tub' in this sense is 1643, but Henry Barrow, writing in 1590, says that the clergy of the Church of England preach in a 'a prescript place like a tubbe called their pulpyt'. (Arber, *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy 1588-1590*, p.191)

¹² Out of all cry: Out of all measure. (MT, p.210)

¹³ A similar fiction was suggested in the *Epitome*, where Martin hints that the bishops should put Richard Schilders of Middelburg to his oath to determine whether he printed the *Epistle*.

A man of worship to the men of worship - that is, Martin Marprelate, gentleman, primate and metropolitan of all the Martins wheresoever,¹⁴ to the John of all the Sir Johns,¹⁵ and to the rest of the terrible priests¹⁶ - saith, *Have among you once again, my clergy masters.*

O, brethren, there is such a deal of love¹⁷ grown of late, I perceive, between you and me that, although I would be negligent in sending my pistles unto you, yet I see you cannot forget me. I thought you to be very kind when you sent your pursuivants about the country to seek for me. But now that you yourselves have taken the pains to write, this is out of all cry.¹⁸ Why it passes¹⁹ to think what loving and careful²⁰ brethren I have who - although I cannot be gotten to tell them where I am because I love not the air of the Clink²¹ or Gatehouse²² in this cold time of winter,²³ and by reason of my business in pistle-making - will notwithstanding make it known unto the world that they have a month's mind²⁴ towards me. Now, truly, brethren I find you kind. Why, ye do not know what a pleasure you have done me. My worship's books were unknown to many before you allowed T.C. to admonish the people of England to take heed that if they loved you they would make much of their prelates and the chief of the clergy. Now many seek after my books, more than ever they did. Again, some knew not that our brother John of Fulham²⁵ was so good unto the porter of his gate as to make the poor, blind, honest soul to be a dumb minister.²⁶ Many did not know either that 'Amen' is as much as 'By my faith', and so that our Saviour Christ ever sware by his faith;²⁷ or that bowling and eating of²⁸ the Sabbath are of the same nature;²⁹ that bishops may

¹⁴ Metropolitan: A bishop having the oversight of the bishops in a province; in the West, equivalent to archbishop. (OED, p.1318) In the *Epistle*, Martin alludes to Whitgift as 'our metropolitan'.

¹⁵ I.e., John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. 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)

¹⁶ As in the *Epistle*, Martin here uses the word in its original sense of 'exciting terror', in reference to the practices of the High Commission.

¹⁷ Deal: An undefined but large quantity. (OED, p.494) The phrase is characteristically Shakespearean: 'such a deal of wonder' (*Winter's Tale* V ii 26), 'such a deal of spleen' (*Henry IV Part 1* II iii 81), 'such a deal of skumble-skamble stuff' (*Henry IV, Part 1* III i 154), 'such a deal of stinking breath' (*Julius Caesar* I ii 247). (Schmidt, p.281)

¹⁸ Out of all cry: Beyond measure; to excess. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁹ Pass: To be too great for, transcend (any faculty of expression). (OED, p.1522)

²⁰ Careful: Full of care for, taking good care of. (OED, p.286)

²¹ The Clink was a prison on the Bankside next to the Bishop of Winchester's house. (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.360-2)

²² According to Stow the 'gatehouse [of Westminster Palace] is so called of two gates, the one out of the College court towards the north, on the east side whereof was the bishop of London's prison for clerks convict; and the other gate, adjoining to the first, but towards the west, is a gaol or prison for offenders thither committed'. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.420)

²³ *Hay Any Work For Cooper* was printed at the White Friars in Coventry during the first three weeks of March, 1589; according to Pierce, it was put into circulation about March 22, 1589. (MT, p.199) It was thus written, as Martin indicates, during the 'cold time of winter'.

²⁴ Month's mind: An inclination, a fancy, a liking. (OED, p.1352)

²⁵ John Aylmer (1521-1594), Bishop of London from 1577-1594.

²⁶ See *Admonition*, p.42: *The Libeller objecteth against the Bishop as a great heinous fault, that of his Porter he made a Minister. . . . when the Bishop founde him by good and long experience to be one that feared God, to be conversant in the scriptures, and of very honest life and conversation; he allowed of him, to serve in a small congregation at Paddington. . . . And how this poore man behaved himselfe there, time and tryall proved him: for he continued in that place with good liking of the people 8. or 9. yeres, till he grew dull of sight for age, and thereby unable for to serve any longer.*

²⁷ See *Admonition*, p.48: *[F]or in the phrase of our speech, by my faith signifieth no more, but, in very trueth, bona fide, in trueth, assuredly, id est, Amen.*

²⁸ A misprint for 'on'?

²⁹ See *Admonition*, p.45: *And for your jesting at the Bishop for bowling upon the Sabboth, you must understand that the best expositor of the Sabboth, which is Christ, hath saide, that the Sabboth was made*

as lawfully make blind guides³⁰ as David might eat of the shewbread;³¹ or that Father Thomas Tub-trimmer of Winchester - good old student - is a Master of Arts of 45 years' standing.³² Many, I say, were ignorant of these things and many other pretty toys³³ until you wrote this pretty book. Besides, whatsoever you overpass³⁴ in my writings and did not gainsay, that, I hope, will be judged to be true. And so, John a' Bridges' treason out of the 448th page of his book you grant to be true.³⁵ Yourselves you deny not to be petty popes. The bishop of Sir David's in Wales you deny not to have two wives,³⁶ with an hundred other things which you do not gainsay, so that the reader may judge that I am true of my word and use not to lie like bishops. And this hath greatly commended my worship's good dealing. But in your confutation of my book you have showed reverend Martin to be truepenny³⁷ indeed, for you have confirmed rather than confuted him. So that, brethren, the pleasure which you have done unto me is out of all scotch and notch.³⁸ And should not I again be as ready to pleasure you? Nay, then I should be as ungrateful towards my good brethren as John of Cant. is to Thomas Cartwright. The which John, although he hath been greatly favoured by the said Thomas - in that Thomas hath now these many years let him alone, and said nothing unto him for not answering his books³⁹ - yet is not ashamed to make a secret comparison between himself and Thomas Cartwright. As who say John of Lambeth were as learned as Thomas Cartwright.⁴⁰ What say you, old Dean John a' Bridges, have not you showed yourself thankful unto

for man, and not man for the Sabbath: and man may have his meate dressed for his health upon the Sabbath, and why may he not then have some convenient exercise of the body, for the health of the body?

³⁰ Blind: In figurative uses, lacking in intellectual, moral, or spiritual perception. (OED, p.203) Matthew 23:16: *Wo be unto you blinde guides, which say, Whosoever sweareth by the Temple, it is nothing: but whosoever sweareth by the golde of the Temple, he offendeth. Matthew 23:24: Ye blind guides, which straine out a gnatte, and swallow a camel.* (GB, p.14)

³¹ Exodus 29: 33: *So they shal eat these things, whereby their atonement was made, to consecrat them and to sanctifie them: but a stranger shal not eate thereof, because they are holy things.* (GB, p.40) I Samuel 21:6: *See Admonition, pp.88-9: So the Priest gave him [David] halowed bread; for there was no bread there save the shewbread that was taken from before the Lord, to put hot bread there, the day that it was taken away.* (GB, p.131) *If they wil admit no Ministers as lawfull, but such as shall have fully all these properties: Surely they will cut from Churches the greatest part, or all the Ministers that they have. . . . We see in the Scriptures, that God sometime beareth with breach of his commandement, falling by the necessitie of our fraile life. God gave in charge, as before is sayde, that none shoulde eate of the Shewbread, but the Priests: And yet in necessity David did eat of it, though he were no Priest.*

³² See *Admonition*, pp.59-60: *It is knowen five and fourtie yeres since, that he was Master of Art, and Student of Divinite, and disputed in that facultie: since which time, hee was never drawn from that exercise of good learning.*

³³ Toy: A thing of little or no value or importance, a trifle; a foolish or senseless affair, a piece of nonsense; trumpery, rubbish. (OED, p.2337)

³⁴ Overpass: To pass over, leave out, omit. (OED, p.1483)

³⁵ In the *Epistle*, Martin characterizes as 'treason' Bridges' statement on page 448 of the *Defence* that one priest among the residue may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church.

³⁶ Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. David's from 1582-1590.

³⁷ Truepenny: A trusty person. (OED, p.2372)

³⁸ Out of all scotch and notch: Beyond all bounds of calculation. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) See also MT, p.215)

³⁹ Whitgift did not respond to Cartwright's *Rest of the Second Reply*, published in 1577.

⁴⁰ See *Admonition*, p.32: *Hee never thought them [Cartwright's books] so necessarie to be answered, as the factious authors of the Libels pretend. . . . There is sufficient written already to satisfie an indifferent reader. Hee that with indifferent minde shall read the answer of the one, and the replie of the other, shall see great difference in learning betweene them.* Martin calls the comparison 'secret' because the whole of the *Admonition* was ostensibly written by Cooper; however, the difference in style between the parts actually penned by Cooper and those written by Whitgift and Aylmer is very marked, and Martin was thus aware that it was in a passage written by Whitgift himself that the claim was made that an 'indifferent reader' would find 'great difference in learning' between his and Cartwright's books.

her Majesty in overthrowing her supremacy in the 448th page of your book? I will lay on load⁴¹ on your skin-coat⁴² for this grace, anon.

And I will have my pennyworths⁴³ of all of you brethren ere I have done with you for this pains which your T.C. hath taken with me. This is the Puritans' craft in procuring me to be confuted, I know.⁴⁴ I'll be even with them, too.⁴⁵ A crafty whoresons,⁴⁶ brethren bishops. Did you think because the Puritans' T.C. did set John of Cant. at a nonplus and gave him the overthrow that, therefore, your T.C. (alias Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, or Thomas Cook's chaplain) could set me at a nonplus? Simple fellows, methinks he should not.

I guess your T.C. to be Thomas Cooper - but I do not peremptorily⁴⁷ affirm it - because the modest old student of 52 years' standing⁴⁸ setteth Winchester after Lincoln and Rochester in the contents of his book, which blasphemy would not have been tolerated by them that saw and allowed⁴⁹ the book unless Mistress Cooper's husband had been the author of it.⁵⁰

Secondly, because this T.C., the author of this book, is a bishop and, therefore, Thomas Cooper. He is a bishop because he reckoneth himself charged, amongst others, with those crimes whereof none are accused but bishops alone (page 101, line 26).⁵¹ *Ha, old Martin! Yet I see thou hast it in thee. Thou will enter into the bowels⁵² of the cause in hand, I perceive.*⁵³ Nay, if you will commend me, I will give you more reasons yet. The style and the phrase is very like her husband's that was sometimes wont to write unto Doctor Day of Wells.⁵⁴ You see I can do it, indeed. Again, none would be so grosshead⁵⁵ as to gather, because my reverence telleth Dean John that he shall have twenty fists about his ears more than his own⁵⁶ (whereby I meant indeed that many would

⁴¹ To lay on load: To deal heavy blows. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴² Skin-coat: A person's skin. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) See Robert Greene's *Scottish History of James IV*: 'I became a courtier, where though I list not praise myself, I engraved the memory of Bohun on the skincoat of some of them, and revelled with the proudest'.

⁴³ Pennyworth: Value for one's money. (OED, p.1546)

⁴⁴ Procure: To bring about, cause, effect. (OED, p.1678) Martin here pretends to accept the deception that *An Admonition to the People of England* was written by the Puritan divine, Thomas Cartwright. Puritan authorship was suggested by Thomas Cooper's ambiguous use of the initials 'T.C.' and his use of the word 'admonition' in the title. Two well-known anonymous Puritan tracts bore similar titles: *An Admonition to the Parliament*, attributed to John Field and Thomas Wilcox, and *A Second Admonition to the Parliament*, attributed to Thomas Cartwright.

⁴⁵ To be even with: To be quits *with*; to have one's revenge upon. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁶ Whoreson: A coarsely abusive epithet, sometimes expressing humorous familiarity. (OED, p.2544)

⁴⁷ Peremptory: Of a conclusion, statement, etc.: incontrovertible; conclusive, final. (OED, p.1552)

⁴⁸ On page 59 of the *Admonition*, Cooper makes reference to his 'fiftie yeeres studie'.

⁴⁹ On the title page of the *Admonition* are the words 'Seene and allowed by authoritie'.

⁵⁰ Martin refers to a heading in the table of contents of the *Admonition: Answeres to the untrueths and slaunders uttered in Martins late Libell: Against the Bishop of Rochester, Lincolne, and Winchester*. Martin's point is that the Bishop of Winchester should have been listed first, as a matter of precedence, and that the ecclesiastical censors would have corrected this error had not Thomas Cooper himself been the author and placed his own name last in order to deflect attention from his authorship of the book.

⁵¹ Martin presumably refers to Cooper's words on page 83 of the *Admonition: This is surely a grievous accusation: but God, I trust, will judge more uprightly, and regard the innocencie of our hearts, in these horrible crimes laid to our charge*.

⁵² Bowel: The interior of anything; heart, centre. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵³ As in the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*, an imaginary bystander encourages Martin from the sidelines.

⁵⁴ This comment indicates that Martin was familiar with Thomas Cooper's writing style, and with Cooper's problems with his wife, which were notorious. According to Pierce, Day 'had to be bound in £100 not to come near' Mistress Cooper. (MT, p.235) In 1587, John Day became vicar-general to Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells. (Carlson, p.99)

⁵⁵ Grosshead: A thick-headed person, a dullard. (OED, p.894)

⁵⁶ See Martin's *Epistle*.

write against him by reason of his bomination⁵⁷ learning which otherwise never meant to take pen in hand), that I threatened him with blows, and to deal by Stafford law.⁵⁸ Whereas that was far from my meaning, and could by no means be gathered out of my words, but only by him that pronounced *eulogein* for *eulogeni*⁵⁹ in the pulpit, and by him whom a papist made to believe that the Greek work *eulogeni*, that is 'to give thanks' signifieth to make a cross in the forehead. Py, hy, hy, hy! I cannot but laugh. Py, hy, hy, hy!⁶⁰ I cannot but laugh to think that an old soaking⁶¹ student in this learned age is not ashamed to be so impudent as to presume to deal with a papist when he hath no grue⁶² in his pocket. But I promise you, sir, it is no shame to be a lord bishop if a man could, though he were as unlearned as John of Gloucester⁶³ or William of Lichfield.⁶⁴ And, I tell you true, our brother Westchester⁶⁵ had as lief⁶⁶ play twenty nobles⁶⁷ in a night at primero⁶⁸ on the cards as trouble himself with any pulpit labour, and yet he thinks himself to be a sufficient bishop. What! a bishop such a card-player? A bishop play 20 nobles in a night? Why a round⁶⁹ threepence serveth the turn⁷⁰ to make good sport 3 or 4 nights amongst honest neighbours. And take heed of it, brother Westchester. It is an unlawful game, if you will believe me. For in winter it is no matter to take a little sport for an odd cast⁷¹ braces⁷² of 20 nobles when the weather is foul,⁷³ that men cannot go abroad to bowls or to shoot. What, would you have men take no recreation? Yea, but it is an old said saw, *Enough is a good as a feast*. And recreations must not be made a trade and an occupation, ka⁷⁴ Master Martin Marprelate. I tell you true, brother mine, though I have as good a gift in pistle-making as you have at primero, and far more delight than you can have at your cards for the love I bear to my brethren, yet I dare not use this sport but as a recreation, not making any trade thereof. And cards, I tell you, though they be without horns, yet they are parlous⁷⁵ beasts. Be they lawful or unlawful, take heed of them for all that. For you cannot use them, but you must needs say your brother T.C.'s 'Amen' - that is, swear by your faith - many a time in the night. Well, I will never stand argling⁷⁶ the matter any more with you. If you will leave your card-playing, so it is; if you will not - trust to it - it will be the worse for you.

⁵⁷ Martin also uses this unusual form of 'abomination' in the *Epitome*, perhaps, as was suggested earlier, in imitation of a peculiarity of speech of Whitgift's.

⁵⁸ Stafford law: Club law. (OED, p.2100) See *Admonition*, p.33: *Touching the Premunire &c., The Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they dare. The same may bee answered to their threatning of fists &c.*

⁵⁹ An indication of Martin's knowledge of Greek.

⁶⁰ Py hy: A representation of laughter. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶¹ Old soaker: An old hand at anything. (OED, p.2038)

⁶² No grue: Not an atom, not a whit. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Pierce suggests that this may be a pun on 'no Greek'. (MT, p.217)

⁶³ John Bullingham (d.1598), Bishop of Gloucester from 1581-1598.

⁶⁴ William Overton (1525?-1609), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1579-1609.

⁶⁵ William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester. Pierce notes that Chaderton, who died a wealthy man, was severe in suppressing Romanists and non-conformists alike; on one occasion he 'readily carried out the instructions of the Council to flog a young girl who professed to be inspired'. (MT, pp.217-8)

⁶⁶ Had as lief: Would as willingly. (OED, p.1208)

⁶⁷ Noble: An English gold coin, first minted by Edward III. (OED, p.1407)

⁶⁸ Primero: A gambling card-game, in which four cards were dealt to each player, each card having thrice its ordinary value. (OED, p.1670) According to Pierce, primero is the oldest card game played in England. (MT, p.218)

⁶⁹ Round: Of a sum of money: large, considerable in amount. (OED, p.1852)

⁷⁰ Serve the turn: To answer one's purpose or requirement. (OED, p.2384)

⁷¹ Cast: A throw of dice. (OED, p.292)

⁷² Brace: A pair. (OED, p.227)

⁷³ Misprinted as 'foe' in the original text. (MT, p.218)

⁷⁴ One of the West Country dialect forms of which Martin makes occasional use throughout the tracts. Pierce quotes from Steevens: 'When our ancient writers have occasion to introduce a rustick, they commonly allot him the Somersetshire dialect'. (MT, p.257)

⁷⁵ Parlous: Perilous, dangerous. (OED, p.1514)

⁷⁶ Argle: To dispute about. (OED, p.103)

I must go simply and plainly to work with my brethren⁷⁷ that have published T.C. Whosoever have published that book, they have so hooped the bishops' tubs that they have made them to smell far more odious than ever they did, even in the nostrils of all men. The book is of 252 pages. The drift thereof is to confute certain printed and published libels. You bestow⁷⁸ not full 50 pages in the answer of anything that ever was published in print. The rest are bestowed to maintain the belly,⁷⁹ and to confute. What think you? Even the slanderous inventions of your own brains for the most part. As, it is not lawful for her Majesty to allot any lands unto the maintenance of the minister, or the minister to live upon lands for this purpose allotted unto him, but is to content himself with a small pension,⁸⁰ and so small as he have nothing to leave for his wife or child after him (for whom he is not to be careful, but to rest on God's Providence)⁸¹ and is to require no more but food and raiment, that in poverty he might be answerable⁸² unto our Saviour Christ and his apostles.⁸³ In the confutation of these points and the scriptures corruptly applied to prove them, there is bestowed above an 100 pages of this book, that is from the 149th unto the end.⁸⁴ Well, T.C., whosoever thou art (and whosoever Martin is, neither thou nor any man or woman in England shall know while you live - suspect and trouble as many as you will - and therefore save your money in seeking for him, for it may be he is nearer you than you are ware⁸⁵ of)⁸⁶ - but whosoever thou art, I say, thou showest thyself to be a most notorious wicked slanderer in fathering these things upon those whom they call Puritans which never any enjoying common sense would affirm. And bring me him, or set down his name and his reasons, that holdeth any of the former points confuted in thy book, and I will prove him to be utterly bereaved of his wits, and his confuter to be either stark mad or a stark enemy to all religion - yea, to her Majesty and the state of this kingdom. No, no, T.C. Puritans hold no such points. It were well for bishops that their adversaries were thus sottish.⁸⁷ They might then justly incense her Majesty and the state against them, if they were of this mind. These objections, in the confutation whereof thou hast bestowed so much time, are so far from having any Puritan to be their author as whosoever readeth the book - were he as blockheaded as Thomas of Winchester himself - he may easily know them to be objections only invented by the author of the

⁷⁷ A parody of a phrase used by Bridges on page 93 of the *Defence (For, brethren, I go plainly and simply to work)*.

⁷⁸ Bestow: To devote for a purpose. (OED, p.185)

⁷⁹ Belly: *Theol.* Pertaining to the service of the flesh; fleshly, carnal. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁸⁰ Pensions: In ecclesiastical uses, a fixed payment out of the revenues of a benefice, upon which it forms a charge. (OED, p.1546)

⁸¹ See *Admonition*, p.114: *Divers I knowe, that when God shall call them, will leave so litle, as their children, as I think, must commend themselves only to the providence of God. . . . But surely, they that murmure so greatly against the moderate provision of the wives and children of Ecclesiasticall persons, and turn that as a matter of haynous slaunder unto them: let them pretend what they will, it may be suspected, they scantly think wel of their marriages.*

⁸² Answerable: Corresponding, accordant. (OED, p.77)

⁸³ See *Admonition*, p.141: *So that the sense and effect of the reason is this: Christ was borne, bredde, and lived in povertie, and chose unto him Apostles of poore condition: therefore bishoppes and Ministers of the Church must have no Landes or possessions, but stay them selves in like poore state, as Christ and his Apostles did. I doe not frame this argument (good Reader) of purpose to cavill, but to admonish thee of the principall state, and that considering the prooffe to bee naked in it selfe, thou mayest the better judge of the strength thereof.*

⁸⁴ As Martin indicates, Cooper devotes over one-third of the *Admonition* (pages 110-179) to arguments in support of the bishops' right to retain their lands and livings.

⁸⁵ Ware: Cognizant, informed, conscious. = aware. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁸⁶ A remark comparable in its daring to Martin's later comment about Waldegrave ('And a had been my worship's printer, I'd 'a kept him from your clutches').

⁸⁷ Sottish: Foolish, doltish, stupid. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

book himself.⁸⁸ For although he be an impudent wretch, yet dareth he not set them down as writings of any other, for then he would have described the author and the book by some adient.⁸⁹

The Puritans indeed hold it unlawful for a minister to have such temporal⁹⁰ revenues as whereby ten ministers might be well maintained, unless the said revenues come unto him by inheritance.

They hold it also unlawful for any state to bestow the livings of many ministers upon one alone, especially when there is such want of ministers' livings.

They hold it unlawful for any minister to be lord over his brethren. And they hold it unlawful for any state to tolerate such under their government, because it is unlawful for states to tolerate men in those places whereinto the Word hath forbidden them to enter.

They affirm that our Saviour Christ hath forbidden all ministers to be lords (Luke 22:25).⁹¹ And the apostle Peter showeth them to be none of God's ministers which are lords over God's heritage⁹² as you bishops are, and would be, accounted. These things, T.C., you should have confuted, and not troubled yourself to execute the fruits⁹³ of your own brains as an enemy to the state.⁹⁴ And in these points I do challenge you, T.C., and you Dean John, and you, John Whitgift, and you, Doctor Cosins, and you, Doctor Cap-case⁹⁵ Copcot, I think your name be) and as many else as have, or dare, write in the defence of the established church government. If you cannot confute my former assertions, you do but in vain think to maintain yourselves by slanders, in fathering upon the Puritans the offspring of your own blockheads. And, assure yourselves, I will so besoop⁹⁶ you, if you cannot defend yourselves in these points, as all the world shall cry shame upon you. You think prettily⁹⁷ to escape the point⁹⁸ of your antichristian callings by giving out that Puritans hold it unlawful for her Majesty to leave any lands for the use of the ministers' maintenance. I cannot but commend you for, I promise you, you can shift⁹⁹ off an heinous accusation very prettily.

A true man¹⁰⁰ bringeth unanswerable¹⁰¹ witnesses against a robber by the highway side, and desireth the judge that the law may proceed against him. *O no, my Lord, saith the thief, in any*

⁸⁸ Martin is right in saying that Cooper never identifies a specific Puritan proponent of any of the arguments he 'confutes' in the *Admonition*, and the reader may well wonder whether most of them were not, as Martin says, 'invented by the author of the book himself'.

⁸⁹ Pierce suggests 'adjunct' (in logic, anything added to the essence; a non-essential attribute). (OED, p.25) See also Latin 'adiuncta', things suitable to.

⁹⁰ Temporal: Lay as distinguished from clerical. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁹¹ Luke 22:25-6: *But he said unto them, The Kings of the Gentiles reigne over them, and they that beare rule over them, are called Gracious lords. But ye shall not be so, but let the greatest among you be as the least: & the chieftest as he that serveth.* (GB, p.41)

⁹² Heritage: The Church of God. (OED, p.955) 1 Peter 5:3: *Not as thogh ye were lords over Gods heritage, but that ye may be ensamples to the flocke.* (GB, p.110)

⁹³ Fruit: Offspring, progeny. (OED, p.812)

⁹⁴ Examples abound throughout the *Admonition* of Cooper's overt suggestions that the reforms desired by the Puritans pose a danger to the state which will be attended by God's vengeance, and his veiled insinuations that the reformers have some darker treasonable purpose in mind. See, as one example, Cooper's remark on page 65: *I pray God they looke not further, and have not a deeper reach, then good subjects that love their Prince and country, should have.*

⁹⁵ Capcase: A travelling-case, bag or wallet. (OED, p.280)

⁹⁶ Besoop: Belabour. Pierce notes that the 'soople' is the heavy end of a flail. (MT, p.221) Martin later uses the term 'dry soops' to describe blows which do not draw blood.

⁹⁷ Prettily: Cleverly, ingeniously. (OED, p.1665)

⁹⁸ I.e., the subject, topic.

⁹⁹ To shift off: To evade, turn aside (an argument); to evade fulfilment of (a duty, a promise). (OED, p.1974)

¹⁰⁰ True: Honest, trustworthy. (OED, p.2372) The expression 'true man', as opposed to 'thief', is found in several plays of the Elizabethan period (1 Henry IV, Sir John Oldcastle, etc.)

¹⁰¹ Unanswerable: Irrefutable. (OED, p.2401)

case, let not me be dealt with. For these mine accusers have given out¹⁰² that you are a drunkard, or they have committed treason against the state. Therefore, I pray you, believe my slander against them, that they may be executed, so when I come to my trial I shall be sure to have no accusers. A very pretty way to escape, if a man could tell how to bring the matter about. Now, brethren bishops, your manner of dealing is even the very same. The Puritans say truly that all lord bishops are petty Antichrists, and therefore that the magistrates ought to thrust you out of the commonwealth. Now of all issues, say the bishops, let not our places be called in question, but rather credit our slanders against the Puritans, whereby if men would believe us when we lie, we would bear the world in hand¹⁰³ that these our accusers are malcontents¹⁰⁴ and sottish men, holding it unlawful for the magistrate to allot any lands for the ministers' portion, and unlawful for the minister to provide for his family. And, therefore, you must not give ear to the accusations of any such men against us. And so we shall be sure to be acquitted. But, brethren, do you think to be thus cleared?¹⁰⁵ Why, the Puritans hold no such points as you lay to their charge. Though they did - as they do not - yet that were no sufficient reason why you, being petty popes, should be maintained in a Christian commonwealth. Answer the reasons that I brought against you. Otherwise, Come off, you bishops, leave your thousands, and content yourselves with your hundreds, saith John of London.¹⁰⁶ So that you do plainly see that your Cooper, T.C., is but a deceitful workman and, if you commit¹⁰⁷ the hooping of your bishoprics unto him, they will so leak in a short space as they shall be able to keep never a lord bishop in them. And this may serve for an answer unto the latter part of your book,¹⁰⁸ by way of an interim¹⁰⁹ until *More Work For Cooper* be published.¹¹⁰

¹⁰² Give out: To utter, publish, report, claim. (OED, p.853)

¹⁰³ Bear in hand: To abuse with false pretences and appearances. *Macbeth* III i 81: 'How you were borne in hand, how crossed'. (Schmidt, p.88)

¹⁰⁴ Cooper claims that pamphlets such as Martin's *Epistle* have 'increased the number of Mal-contents, and mislikers of the state. (*Admonition*, p.30)

¹⁰⁵ Clear: To prove innocent; to acquit. (OED, p.346)

¹⁰⁶ As he did earlier in the *Epistle* and *Epitome*, Martin here quotes a passage from Aylmer's *Harbour For Faithful Subjects* to prove, out of Aylmer's own mouth, that it is necessary for the bishops to relinquish their excessive wealth.

¹⁰⁷ Commit: To give in charge or trust, consign to. (OED, p.377)

¹⁰⁸ I.e., the extensive portion dealing with Cooper's arguments regarding the bishops' lands and livings.

¹⁰⁹ Interim: A temporary or provisional arrangement, adopted in the meanwhile. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹¹⁰ The manuscript of *More Work For Cooper* was seized when the secret press was captured at Manchester on August 14, 1589. No known copy survives. (HIMT, p.190) In the *Theses*, the *Just Censure* and *Protestation*, Martin refers to the tract by the variant title *More Work For The Cooper*.

 Hay Any Work For Cooper

And now, reverend T.C., I am come to your epistle to the reader.¹¹¹ But first you and I must go out alone into the plain¹¹² fields,¹¹³ and there we will try¹¹⁴ it out even by plain syllogisms, and that, I know, bishops cannot abide to hear of.

The reverend T.C. to the reader, page 1:

I draw great danger upon myself in defending our bishops and others the chief of the clergy of the church of England. Their adversaries are very eager.¹¹⁵ The saints in heaven have felt of their tongues, for when they speak of Paul, Peter, Mary, etc. - whom others justly call saints - they, in derision, call them Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir Mary.¹¹⁶

Reverend Martin:

Alas, poor reverend T.C. Be not afraid. Here be none but friends, man. I hope thou art a good fellow and a true subject. *Yea, but I defend the bishops of the church of England*, saith he. Then, indeed, I marvel not though thy conscience accuse thee, and thou art sure to be as well-favouredly¹¹⁷ thwacked for thy labour as ever thou wast in thy life. Thy conscience, I say, must needs make thee fear in defending them. For they are petty popes and petty Antichrists - as I have proved - because they are pastor of pastors, etc. Thou hast not answered my reasons, and therefore swaddled¹¹⁸ thou shalt be for thy pains - and yet, if thou wilt yield I will spare thee. Thou canst not be a good and a sound subject, and defend the hierarchy of lord bishops to be lawful - as I will show anon. Concerning Sir Paul, I have him not at all in my writings. And therefore the reader must know that there is a Canterbury trick once, to patch¹¹⁹ up an accusation with a lie or two.

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.

¹¹¹ The text of the *Admonition* is preceded by a short preface 'To The Reader', with the first few paragraphs of which Martin here deals.

¹¹² Plain: An open space as the scene of battle or contest. (OED, p.1597)

¹¹³ Field: A battlefield. (OED, p.746)

¹¹⁴ Try out: To thrash or fight out; to determine. (OED, p.2375)

¹¹⁵ Eager: Sharp; severe. (OED, p.622)

¹¹⁶ See *Admonition*, pp.3-4: *I am not ignorant (Gentle Reader) what daunger I drawe upon my selfe, by this attempt to answere the quarrels and slaunders of late time published in certaine Libelles, against the Bishops and other chiefe of the Clergie of the Church of England. We see the eagernesse and boldnesse of their spirit that be the authors of them: we taste alreadie the bitternes of their tongues and pennes. The raging furie of their revenge upon all which they mislike, themselves dissemble not, but lay it downe in words of great threatnings. I must needs therfore looke for any hurt, that venomous, scoffing, and unbridled tongues can worke toward me. And how shoulde I hope to escape that, when the Saints of God in Heaven doe feele it? In the course of their whole Libell, when they speake of Peter, Paul, or the Blessed Virgin Marie, &c: whom other justlie call Saintes, their phrase in derision is, Sir Peter, Sir Paule, Sir Marie. Surely it had becopped right well the same unmodest Spirite, to have said also Sir Christ, and so throughly to have bewrayed himself. Seeing they have sharpened their tongues and heart's against heaven, wee poore creatures on earth must be content in our weaknesse to bear them. The dartes, I confesse, of deceitfull and slaunderous tongues, are verye sharpe, and the burning of the woundes made by them, will as hardly in the hearts of many bee quenched, as the coales of Juniper. But I thanke God I feare them not, though they bring mee greater harme, eyther in credite, living or life, then I trust that God that seeth, knoweth, and defendeth the trueth will suffer them.*

¹¹⁷ Well-favouredly: Ironically, in reference to punishment, etc.: severely, soundly. (OED, p.2527)

¹¹⁸ Swaddle: To beat soundly. (OED, p.2206)

¹¹⁹ Patch: To botch up. (OED, p.1526)

And, good reverend T.C., I pray thee tell me: what kin was Saint Mary Overies¹²⁰ to Mary, the Virgin? In my book-learning,¹²¹ the one was some papist trull¹²² and the other the Blessed Virgin. But will you have all those who are saints indeed, called saints? Why then, why do you not call Saint Abraham, Saint Sara, Saint Jeremy? If John of Canterbury should marry, tell me good T.C., dost thou not think that he would not make choice of a godly woman? I hope a¹²³ would. And, T.C., though you are learned, yet you go beyond your books if you said the contrary. Being a godly woman, then, she were a saint. And so, by your rule, her name being Mary, you would have her called Saint Mary Canterbury. But I promise thee - did his Grace what he could - I would call her Sir Mary Canterbury as long as he professed¹²⁴ himself to be a priest,¹²⁵ and this I might do lawfully. For he being Sir John, why should not his wife be Sir Mary? And why not Sir Mary Overies as well as Sir Mary Canterbury? I hope John of Canterbury (whom I know - though I know no great good in him) to be as honest a man as Master Overies was (whom I did not know). Neither is there any reason why you, T.C., should hold Master Overies and his Mary - because they are within the diocese of Winchester - to be more honest than Master Canterbury and his wife. Nay, there is more reason why Master Canterbury and his wife, dwelling at Lambeth,¹²⁶ should be thought the honester of the two than Overies and his wife, because they dwell o' the Bankside.¹²⁷ But, good Tom Tub-trimmer, tell me what you meant by 'the chief of the clergy in the church of England'.¹²⁸ John Canterbury, I am sure. Why, good T.C., this speech is either blasphemous or traitorous, or by your own confession evident proof that John of Canterbury is lord over his brethren. He that is chief of the clergy is chief of God's heritage, and that is Jesus Christ only, and so to make the Pope of Canterbury chief of God's heritage in this sense is blasphemous. If you mean by 'clergy' as Dean John doth (page 443 of his book) - both the people and ministers of the church of England - in this sense, her Majesty is chief of the clergy in the church of England, and so your speech is traitorous. Lastly, if by 'clergy' you mean the ministers of the church of England, none in this sense can be chief of the clergy but a petty pope. For our Saviour Christ flatly forbiddeth any to be chief of the clergy in this sense (Luke 22:26),¹²⁹ and none ever claimed this unto himself but a petty pope. Therefore, T.C., you are either by your own speech a blasphemer or a traitor, or else John of Cant. is a petty pope. Here is good spoon-meat¹³⁰ for a Cooper! Take heed of writing against Martin if you love your ease.

Reverend T.C. page 2, Epistle:

¹²⁰ The origin of the name St. Mary Overies is explained by Stow in his *Survey of London*: 'East from the bishop of Winchester's house, directly over against it, standeth a fair church called St. Mary over the Rie, or Overie, that is over the water. This church, or some other in place thereof, was of old time, long before the Conquest, a house of sisters, founded by a maiden named Mary'. (p.362)

¹²¹ Book-learning: Learning derived from books (merely); knowledge of books. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹²² Trull: A girl, lass, wench. (OED, p.2372)

¹²³ A: He. (OED, p.1)

¹²⁴ Profess: To declare openly, announce, affirm. (OED, p.1680)

¹²⁵ See *Admonition*, p.36: *He hath shewed sufficient reason in his booke against T.C. why Ministers of the Gospell, may be called Priests.*

¹²⁶ London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹²⁷ In the Tudor period, the Bankside 'consisted of a single row of houses built on a bank or levee. At one end of the Bankside stood the Clink Prison, Winchester House (the Bishop's town house), and St. Mary Overie's. At the other end was the Falcon Tavern, and behind it were the Paris Gardens'. (MT, p.225) For several centuries, the 'Bordello or Stewes' were situated on the Bankside, near the residence of the Bishop of Winchester. (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.360-2)

¹²⁸ Cooper uses the phrase 'the chief of the clergy' on the title page and throughout the text of the *Admonition*.

¹²⁹ Luke 22:26: See above.

¹³⁰ Spoon-meat: Soft or liquid food to be taken with a spoon, especially by infants or invalids. (OED, p.2085) The title of the anti-Martinist tract *Pap With An Hatchet* may derive from this term .

*But I fear them not while I go about to maintain the dignity of priests.*¹³¹

Reverend Martin:

Well fare a good heart yet! Stand to thy tackling,¹³² and get the High Commission to send abroad the pursuivants and, I warrant thee, thou wilt do something!¹³³ Alas, good priests, that their dignity is like to fall to the ground. It is pity it should be so. They are such notable pulpit-men. There is a neighbour of ours, an honest priest, who was sometimes (simple as he now stands) a vice in a play,¹³⁴ for want of a better. His name is Glibery of Halstead, in Essex.¹³⁵ He goes much to the pulpit. On a time - I think it was the last May - he went up with a full resolution to do his business with great commendations. But see the fortune¹³⁶ of it. A boy in the church, hearing either the summer-lord¹³⁷ with his May-game¹³⁸ or Robin Hood with his morris-dance¹³⁹ going by

¹³¹ See *Admonition*, p.4: *Ambrose being in case somewhat like, sayeth thus, Non tanti est unius vita, quanti est dignitas omnium Sacerdotum. If I therefore shoulde hazarde the one for the defence of the other: I trust the godlye woulde judge that I did that duetie which I owe to the Church of God, and to my brethren of the same function and calling.*

¹³² Tackling: Arms, weapons, instruments; also fig., esp. in phr. to stand to one's tackling, 'to stand to one's guns', to hold one's ground, to maintain one's position or attitude. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹³³ Under the statute 1 Elizabeth, chapter 1, the High Commission was authorized to 'correct and amend' 'errors, heresies,' etc. Many of the abuses of which Martin complains relate to the manner in which the High Commission interpreted its statutory powers and, in fact, went beyond them as, for example, by sending the pursuivants to arrest without warrant.

¹³⁴ Vice: A character in a morality play representing one or other vice; hence, a stage jester or buffoon. (OED, p.2472) *The residue of their malicious and more then ruffianly railings together with Histrionical mockes and scoffes, too immodest for any Vice in a play, are not meete for any honest man to meddle with.* (*Admonition*, p.73)

¹³⁵ In connection with the theory that the Marprelate tracts were written by the 17th Earl of Oxford, it is interesting to note that William Glibery's parish of Halstead is only a few miles from Castle Hedingham, the ancestral seat of the Earls of Oxford.

¹³⁶ Fortune: A chance, hap, accident; a mishap, disaster. (OED, p.795)

¹³⁷ Summer-lord: A youth chosen as president of the 'summer-game'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹³⁸ May-game: A set entertainment in the Mayday festivities. (OED, p.1294) Mayday was formerly a day of celebration for all classes, as indicated in a lengthy account in Stow: 'In the month of May, namely, on May-day in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind; and for example hereof, Edward Hall hath noted, that King Henry VIII, as in the 3rd of his reign, and divers other years, so namely, in the 7th of his reign, on May-day in the morning, with Queen Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords and ladies, rode a-maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yeomen clothed all in green, with green hoods, and bows and arrows, to the number of two hundred: one being their chieftain, was called Robin Hoode, who required the king and his company to stay and see his men shoot; whereunto the king granting, Robin Hoode whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot off, loosing all at once; and when he whistled again they likewise shot again; their arrows whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the king, queen, and their company. Moreover, this Robin Hoode desired the king and queen, with their retinue, to enter the green wood, where, in harbours made of boughs, and decked with flowers, they were set and served plentifully with venison and wine by Robin Hoode and his men, to their great contentment, and had other pageants and pastimes, as ye may read in my said author. I find also, that in the month of May, the citizens of London, of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several mayings, and did fetch in May-poles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, morris dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long; and toward the evening they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets. Of these mayings we read, in the reign of Henry VI, that the aldermen and sheriffs of London, being on May-day at the Bishop of London's wood, in the parish of Stebunheath, and having there a worshipful dinner for themselves and other commoners, Lydgate the poet, that was a monk of Bury, sent to them, by a pursuivant, a joyful commendation of that season, containing sixteen staves of metre royal. . . . These great Mayings and May-games, made by the governors and masters of this city, with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft (a principal May-pole in Cornehill, before the parish church of St. Andrew), therefore called Undershaft, by means of an insurrection of youths against aliens on May-day, 1517, the 9th of Henry VIII, have not been so freely used as afore'. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.90)

the church, out goes the boy. Good Glibery - though he were in the pulpit - yet had a mind to his old companions abroad (a company of merry grigs¹⁴⁰ you must think them, to be as merry as a vice on a stage), seeing the boy going out, finished his matter presently with John of London's 'Amen' saying, *By the faith, boy, are they there? Then ha' w' thee!* And so came down, and among them he goes.¹⁴¹ Were it not then pity that the dignity of such a priest should decay?¹⁴²

And I would, gentle T.C., that you would take the pains to write a treatise against the boy with the red cap which put this Glibery out of his matter¹⁴³ at another time. For Glibery, being in the pulpit, so fastened his eyes upon a boy with a red cap that he was clean dashed out of countenance,¹⁴⁴ insomuch that no note¹⁴⁵ could be heard from him at that time but this, *Take away red cap, there! Take away red cap, there!* - (It had been better that he had never been born; he hath marred such a sermon this day as it is wonderful to think! The Queen and the Council might well have heard it for a good sermon) - and so came down. An *Admonition To The People Of England*¹⁴⁶ to take heed of boys with red caps - which make them set light by¹⁴⁷ the dignity of their priests - would do good in this time, brother T.C., you know well.

Reverend T.C.:

You may hereby perceive that T.C. is a bishop.

*The cause why we are so spited*¹⁴⁸ *is because we do endeavour to maintain the laws which her Majesty and the whole state of the realm have allowed, and do not admit*¹⁴⁹ *a new platform*¹⁵⁰ *of government, devised I know not by whom.*¹⁵¹

¹³⁹ Morris-dance: A grotesque dance performed by persons in fancy costume, usually representing characters from the Robin Hood legend. (OED, p.1357)

¹⁴⁰ Merry grig: An extravagantly lively person. (OED, p.890)

¹⁴¹ Pierce's notes on this incident suggest that the use of the church and churchyard for May-games and morris-dances while services were in session was not unusual, although the practice was frowned on by the authorities. Archbishop Edmund Grindal's *Articles for the Province of Canterbury* of 1576 state that inquiry is to be made as to whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered 'any lords of misrule or summer-lords or any disguised persons, or others in Christmas or at May-games, or any morris-dancers' to come into the church or churchyard, 'namely in the time of Common Prayer'. Similarly, William Wickham's *Articles to be enquired of by the Church-wardens and Sworn-men within the Diocesse of Lincoln, &c.* of 1585 direct that enquiry be made 'whether your Minister and Church-wardens have suffered any Lords of misrule or sommer Lords, or Ladies or any disguised person in Christmas, or at maigames, or morris dancers or at any other time, to come unreverently into the Churchyard, and there to daunce or play any unsemely part with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, namely in the time of common prair: and what they be that commit such disorder or accompany or maintaine'. (MT, pp.227, 369) From Martin's account, it appears that Glibery not only condoned the May-games and morris-dances in the churchyard, but was a willing observer or participant.

¹⁴² Decay: The process of falling off from a thriving condition; progressive decline. (OED, p.498)

¹⁴³ I.e., made him forget his text.

¹⁴⁴ Dash: To confound, abash. (OED, p.490)

¹⁴⁵ I.e., word.

¹⁴⁶ A play on the title of Cooper's *Admonition*.

¹⁴⁷ Set light by: To despise, slight, undervalue. (OED, p.1211)

¹⁴⁸ Spite: To annoy or thwart. (OED, p.2080) As Martin's marginal note indicates, the phrase 'the cause why we are so spited' indicates that the *Admonition* was written by a bishop.

¹⁴⁹ Admit: To consent to, permit; to acknowledge, as lawful, etc. (OED, p.26)

¹⁵⁰ Platform: A plan or draft of church government and discipline. (OED, p.1602) Wilcox and Field's *Admonition to Parliament* of 1572 states that 'The Writers profere to your godly considerations a true platform of a church reformed, to the end that it beyng layd before your eyes, to beholde the great unlikeness betwixt it and this our English church'. (HIMT, P.36)

¹⁵¹ See *Admonition*, p.4: *What is the cause why wee bee with such spight and malice discredited? Surely, because as the duty of faythfull Subjectes dooth binde us, living in the state of a Church reformed, we doo indeavour to preserve those Lawes, which her Majesties authoritie and the whole state of the Realme hath allowed and established, and doe not admitte a newe platforme of government, devised, I knowe not by whome.*

Reverend Martin:

Why, T.C., say *eulojin* for *eulogein* as often as you will, and I will never spite you - or the bishop of Winchester,¹⁵² either, for that matter. But do you think our church government to be good and lawful because her Majesty and the state, who maintain the reformed religion, alloweth the same? Why, the Lord doth not allow it; therefore, it cannot be lawful. And it is the fault of such wretches¹⁵³ as you bishops are, that her Majesty and the state alloweth the same. For you should have otherwise instructed them. They know you not yet so thoroughly as I do. So that if I can prove that the Lord disliketh our church government, your endeavours to maintain the same show that thereby you cannot choose but be traitors to God and his Word, whatsoever you are to her Majesty and the state. Now, T.C., look to yourself, for I will presently make all the hoops of your bishoprics fly asunder.

Therefore:

Our church government is an unlawful church government, and not allowed in the sight of God.

Because:

That church government is an unlawful church government the offices and officers whereof the civil magistrate may lawfully abolish out of the church. Mark my craft¹⁵⁴ in reasoning,¹⁵⁵ brother T.C. I say *the offices and officers*, for I grant that the magistrate may thrust the officers of a lawful church government out of the church if they be Diotropheses,¹⁵⁶ Mar-Elms,¹⁵⁷ Whitgifts, Simon Magusts,¹⁵⁸ Coopers, Pernes,¹⁵⁹ Kenolds,¹⁶⁰ or any suchlike Judases (though the most of these must be packing,¹⁶¹ offices and all) but their offices must stand,¹⁶² that the same may be supplied¹⁶³ by honest men. But the offices of archbishops and bishops - and therefore the officers much more - may be lawfully abolished out of the church by her Majesty and our state. And, truly, this were brave¹⁶⁴ weather to turn them out. It is pity to keep them in any longer. And that would do me good at the heart - to see John of London and the rest of his brethren so discharged of his business as he might freely run in his cassock¹⁶⁵ and hose¹⁶⁶ after his bowl, or flourish with his two-hand sword.¹⁶⁷ O, 'tis a sweet trunchfiddle!¹⁶⁸

¹⁵² Martin frequently employs the technique of referring to Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, by various epithets and titles (here, 'T.C.' and 'the bishop of Winchester'), as though they represented different individuals.

¹⁵³ Wretch: One of opprobrious or reprehensible character. (OED, p.2579)

¹⁵⁴ Craft: Intellectual power; skill; art. (OED, p.448)

¹⁵⁵ Reason: To hold argument, discussion, discourse, or talk with another. (OED, p.1758)

¹⁵⁶ Diotrephes: The name of a man mentioned in [III John 9-10](#); hence, used typically of persons loving to have the pre-eminence in the church. (OED, p.553)

¹⁵⁷ One of Martin's epithets for Aylmer.

¹⁵⁸ The connection between the offense of simony and Simon, a magus, or sorcerer, of Samaria who was converted to Christianity, is found in [Acts 8:18-9](#).

¹⁵⁹ Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

¹⁶⁰ John Kennall, archdeacon of Oxford and vice-chancellor of the university. (Carlson, p.430)

¹⁶¹ To be packing: To send away, dismiss summarily. OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁶² Stand: To endure, last; to continue unimpaired. (OED, p.2106)

¹⁶³ Supply: To fulfil, discharge, perform (an office or function), especially as a substitute for another. (OED, p.2196)

¹⁶⁴ Brave: Capital, fine. (OED, p.231)

¹⁶⁵ Cassock: A close-fitting garment with sleeves, fastened up to the neck and reaching to the heels, worn under surplice, alb, or gown by clerics, choristers, etc. (OED, p.292)

¹⁶⁶ Hose: Breeches, drawers. (OED, p.988)

¹⁶⁷ See Martin's *Epitome*.

¹⁶⁸ Trunchfiddle. Undefined in the OED. Pierce suggests 'a short stumpy fiddle' and says that Aylmer was a short, stumpy man. (MT, p.229)

But the *offices* of archbishops and bishops may be lawfully abolished out of the church by her Majesty and the state - as I hope one day they shall be. Therefore (mark now, T.C., and carry me this conclusion to John o' Lambeth for his breakfast) our church government by archbishops and bishops is an unlawful church government. You see, brother Cooper, that I am very courteous in my minor;¹⁶⁹ for I desire therein no more offices to be thrust out of the church at one time but archbishops and bishops. As for deans, archdeacons and chancellors - I hope they will be so kind unto my Lord's Grace as not to stay if his worship and the rest of the noble clergy lords were turned out to grass.¹⁷⁰ I will presently prove both major and minor of this syllogism.¹⁷¹ And hold my cloak there, somebody, that I may go roundly to work. For Ise so bumfeg¹⁷² the Cooper as he had been better to have hooped half the tubs in Winchester than write against my worship's pistles.

No civil magistrate¹⁷³ may lawfully either maim¹⁷⁴ or deform the body of Christ,¹⁷⁵ which is the church. But whosoever doth abolish any lawful church officer out of the church government, he doth either maim or deform the church. Therefore, T.C., no civil magistrate, no prince,¹⁷⁶ no state may - without sin - abolish any lawful officer, together with his office, out of the government of the church. And, *per consequens*, the offices of archbishops and lord bishops, which her Majesty may - without sin - lawfully abolish out of the church are no lawful church officers. And, therefore, also, the church government practised by John Whitgift, John Mar-Elm,¹⁷⁷ Richard Peterborough,¹⁷⁸ William of Lincoln,¹⁷⁹ Edmund of Worcester¹⁸⁰ - yea, and by that old steal-counter¹⁸¹ mass-priest¹⁸² John o' Gloucester,¹⁸³ with the rest of his brethren - is to be presently thrust out of the church.¹⁸⁴ And methinks this gear cottons¹⁸⁵ indeed, my masters. And I told you, T.C., that you should be thumped¹⁸⁶ for defending bishops. Take heed of me while you live.

¹⁶⁹ I.e., the minor premise of Martin's syllogism. Martin's syllogism is as follows.

Major premise: That church government is an unlawful church government the offices and officers whereof the civil magistrate may lawfully abolish out of the church.

Minor premise: But the 'offices' of archbishops and bishops -- and therefore the 'officers' much more -- may be lawfully abolished out of the church by her Majesty and our state.

Conclusion: Our church government by bishops and archbishops is an unlawful church government.

¹⁷⁰ Grass: Pasture; the condition of an animal at pasture. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷¹ Martin cuts through Cooper's ten pages of argument on the form of church government (pp.61-71) with a simple syllogism by which he proves that the form of government in the established church is unlawful since the Queen, a 'civil magistrate', undoubtedly has the power to remove from it the offices of bishops and archbishops.

¹⁷² Bumfeg: Humorous synonym for flog, thrash. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷³ Magistrate: A civil officer charged with the administration of the laws, a member of the executive government. (OED, p.1257)

¹⁷⁴ See Bridges' *Defence*, p.60: *For it booteth not that other of our brethren thinke to helpe the matter, in likening our church to a man living, but yet maimed: or to a house standing, but yet ruinated. . . And then, we shall mainteine our government (I trust) in peace, honestie, and godlinesse, (by the grace of God) well-inough, yea, without anie maiming of the church of Christ (as Cartwright saith) and much more, without being no true church at all (as Harrison saith) although we want it.*

¹⁷⁵ Body of Christ: The Church of which Christ is the head. (OED, p.212)

¹⁷⁶ Prince: A sovereign ruler. (OED, p.1671)

¹⁷⁷ i.e., John Aylmer (1521-1594), Bishop of London from 1577-1594. (DNB, v.1, pp.753-55)

¹⁷⁸ Richard Howland (1540-1600), Bishop of Peterborough from 1585-1600.

¹⁷⁹ William Wickham (1539-1595), Bishop of Lincoln from 1584-1595.

¹⁸⁰ Edmund Freake (1516?-1591), Bishop of Worcester from 1584-1591.

¹⁸¹ Steal-counter: A gamester who cheats by stealing counters. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) (See also MT, p.230)

¹⁸² Mass-priest: From the 16 century, a hostile term for a Roman Catholic priest. (OED, p.1286) Cooper uses a similar term, 'Massing priests'. (*Admonition*, p.30)

¹⁸³ John Bullingham (d.1598), Bishop of Gloucester from 1581-1598. (DNB, v.3, p.251)

¹⁸⁴ In this paragraph, Martin sets out a second syllogism.

Major premise: No civil magistrate may lawfully either maim or deform the Body of Christ, which is the church.

Minor premise: But whosoever doth abolish any lawful church officer out of the church government, he doth either maim or deform the church.

The minor of my last syllogism - that whosoever doth abolish the office of any lawful church officer out of the church, he either maimeth or deformeth the church - I can prove with a wet finger.¹⁸⁷ Because every lawful church officer, even by reason of his office, is a member¹⁸⁸ of the body of Christ Jesus, which is the church and, being a member of the body, if the magistrate doth displace¹⁸⁹ him by abolishing his office and leaveth the place thereof void, then the magistrate maimeth the body. If he put another office unto an officer in stead thereof, he deformeth the same because the magistrate hath neither the skill nor the commission¹⁹⁰ to make the members of the body of Christ, because he cannot tell to what use the members of his making may serve in the church. Do you think, T.C., that the magistrate may make an eye for the visible body of the church (for you must understand that we all this while speak of the visible body)? Can he make a foot or a hand for that body? I pray you, in what place of the body would you have them placed? If our Saviour Christ hath left behind him a perfect body, surely he hath left therein no place or no use for members of the magistrate's making and invention; if an imperfect and maimed body, I am well assured that the magistrate is not able to perfect that which he left unfinished. But I hope, T.C., that thou wilt not be so mad and wicked as to say that our Saviour Christ left behind him here on earth an imperfect and maimed body. If not, then where shall these offices - namely these members invented by the magistrate - be placed therein?

Would you have the natural eyes put out (as your brethren, the bishops, have done in the church of England ever since John of Canterbury urged his wretched subscription), and unnatural¹⁹¹ squint¹⁹² goggled¹⁹³ eyes put in their stead, when the body cannot see with any eyes but with the natural eyes thereof? Displace them - howsoever you may seem to help the matter by putting others in their stead - yet the body shall be still blind and maimed. What say you, T.C., may the magistrate cut off the true and natural legs and hands of the body of Christ under a pretence to put wooden¹⁹⁴ in their stead? I hope you will not say that he may. How then cometh it to pass, T.C., that you hold John of Canterbury's office, and John Mar-Elm's, to be true and natural members of the body - that is true officers of the church - and yet hold it lawful for her Majesty to displace them out of the church? I cannot tell, brother,¹⁹⁵ what you hold in this point. Methinks I have disturbed your senses.¹⁹⁶

Do you think that the magistrate may displace the true members of the body of Christ, and place wooden in their stead? Why, this is to hold it lawful for the magistrate to massacre the body. Do you think he may not? Then may not her Majesty displace John of Canterbury's office out of our church. If she may not displace his office, then either he, by virtue of his office, is a lawful pope above all civil magistrates, or else the church government is so prescribed in the Word as it is not lawful for the magistrate to alter the same. But John of Canterbury - as the Puritans their selves

Conclusion: Therefore no civil magistrate, no prince, no state may - without sin - abolish any lawful officer, together with his office, out of the government of the church.

¹⁸⁵ Cotton: To prosper, 'get on' well. (OED, p.435)

¹⁸⁶ Thump: In figurative use, to beat (in a fight), to drub, lick, thrash severely. (OED, p.2299)

¹⁸⁷ With a wet finger: With perfect ease. (OED, p.753)

¹⁸⁸ Member: A part or organ of the body; chiefly, a limb; in figurative use, chiefly in 'member of Christ'. (OED, p.1305)

¹⁸⁹ Displace: To remove from a position, dignity, or office. (OED, p.573)

¹⁹⁰ Commission: Authority committed to anyone, *esp.* delegated authority to act in some specified capacity, to carry out an investigation or negotiation, perform judicial functions, take charge of an office, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁹¹ Unnatural: Monstrous, abnormal. (OED, p.2425)

¹⁹² Squint: Looking obliquely. (OED, p.2097)

¹⁹³ Goggled: Of the eye: Protuberant, prominent, full and rolling; also, squinting. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁹⁴ Wooden: In figurative uses, having some quality likened to the hard dry consistence of wood, or to its inferior value as compared with precious metal or the like; also, expressionless, spiritless; dull and inert; still and lifeless. (OED, p.2567)

¹⁹⁵ Brother: A fellow-Christian; a co-religionist generally. (OED, p.243)

¹⁹⁶ Senses: One's 'reason' or 'wits'. (OED, p.1939)

**Puritans confess
John Cant. to be
no pope.**

confess - is no pope. Then either the church government is so prescribed in the Word as it may not be altered, or else the magistrate may abolish a lawful church government and place another in stead thereof. If the church government be so prescribed in the Word as it cannot be altered, then either our government is the same which was therein prescribed, or our church government is a false church government. If ours be the same which is mentioned in the Word, then Paul and Peter were either no true church governors, or else Paul and Peter and the rest of church governors in their time were lords, for all our church governors are lords. But Paul and Peter, etc. were no lords, and yet true church governors. Therefore our church government is not that which is prescribed in the Word, and therefore a false and unlawful church government.

**The Apostles
chose none
instead of James
(being beheaded)
as they did
instead of Judas
(Acts I), which
they would have
done if the
apostolical
calling had been
permanent.**

If you think that the magistrate may displace the lawful offices of the body then, as I said before, you hold it lawful for the magistrate to maim or deform the body. Because whatsoever he putteth¹⁹⁷ in the room¹⁹⁸ of the true and right members must needs be a deformity, and what place soever he leaveth unfurnished¹⁹⁹ of a member must needs be a maim. And this is the only and sole office of Christ - only to place and displace²⁰⁰ the members of his body, to wit the officers of his church. He may lawfully do it; so cannot man.²⁰¹ And therefore the sots (of which number you, T.C., and John Whitgift, and you, Dean John, and you Doctor Cosins,²⁰² and you, Doctor Copcot,²⁰³ with the rest of the ignorant and wretched defenders of our corrupt church government, are to be accounted), which think that the offices of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons - or the most of them - may be as well now wanting in the church as the offices of apostles, prophets and evangelists, do notably bewray²⁰⁴ their vile ignorance, but the cause²⁰⁵ they do not hurt. For the beasts²⁰⁶ do not consider that the offices of apostles, evangelists and prophets were removed out of the church not by man, but by the Lord, because he in his wisdom did not see any use of such members in his body after the time of the first planting²⁰⁷ of the church. I say they were removed by the Lord himself, and not by man, because partly the gifts²⁰⁸ wherewith they were endued,²⁰⁹ partly the largeness²¹⁰ of their commission, with certain other essential properties to them belonging, were by him abrogated²¹¹ and taken away, which no man could do.

Again, the apostolical, evangelical and propheticall callings were either lawfully or unlawfully abolished out of the church. If lawfully, then they were abolished by the Lord and therefore they are

¹⁹⁷ Misprinted as 'pulleth' in the original tract. (MT, p.233)

¹⁹⁸ Room: An office, function; a post, situation. (OED, p.1846)

¹⁹⁹ Unfurnished: Unprovided (with or of something). (OED, p.2416)

²⁰⁰ Displace: To remove from a position, dignity, or office. (OED, p.573)

²⁰¹ Martin supports his contention that man cannot place and displace officers in the church by a marginal note referring to the instances of James and Judas. *Acts 1:23-26: And they presented two, Joseph called Barnabas, whose surname was Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed, saying, Thou Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shewe whether of these two thou hast chosen. That he may take the roome of this ministration and Apostleship, from which Judas hath gone astray, to go to his owne place. Then they gave forthe their lottes: and the lot fel on Matthias, and he was by a commune consent counted with the Eleven Apostles.* (GB, p.55) *Acts 12: 2: And he killed James the brother of John with the sword.* (GB, p.61)

²⁰² Cosin, Richard (1549?-1597), Dean of the Arches and Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury.

²⁰³ John Copcot (d.1590), Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge.

²⁰⁴ Bewray: To reveal, make known. (OED, p.187)

²⁰⁵ Cause: That side of a question espoused, advocated, and upheld by a person or party. (OED, p.300) In this case, the cause of reformation in the Church.

²⁰⁶ Beast: In figurative use, a human being swayed by animal propensities. (OED, p.170)

²⁰⁷ Plant: To found, establish (a community, etc., especially a colony, city or church). (OED, p.1599)

²⁰⁸ Gift: A faculty, power, or quality miraculously bestowed. (OED, p.849)

²⁰⁹ Endue: To invest, endow, supply with anything; especially with a power or quality, a spiritual gift, etc. (OED, p.656)

²¹⁰ Large: Wide in range or capacity; comprehensive; also, having few limitations or restrictions. (OED, p.1178)

²¹¹ Abrogate: To do away with. (OED, p.7)

neither to be called back until he showeth it to be his pleasure that it should be so, neither can the church be truly said to be maimed for want of them, because he which could best tell what members were fit for his church did abolish them. If unlawfully, then those callings may be lawfully called back again into the church, and the church without them is maimed, that is, wanteth some members. For if their callings were injuriously abrogated, they are as injuriously kept out of the church and, being members of the church, the church is maimed without, unless the Lord hath showed that the time of their service in the body is expired.

But they are not injuriously kept out (for so her Majesty should be said to injury²¹² the church unless she would see apostles, prophets and evangelists planted therein), neither can the church be said to be maimed for want of them because the Lord, by taking them away, hath declared that now there can be no use of them in the body; therefore, the Lord abrogated them. Therefore, also, they may be wanting and the church neither maimed nor deformed thereby, whereas the keeping out of either of the former offices of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons is a maiming of the church, the placing of others in their stead a deforming. Now, reverend T.C., I beseech you, entreat Mistress Cooper to write to Master Doctor Day²¹³ - sometimes of Magdalen's²¹⁴ - that he may procure²¹⁵ Doctor Cooper to know of him that was the last Thomas of Lincoln whether the now bishop of Winchester²¹⁶ be not persuaded that reverend Martin hath sufficiently proved it to be unlawful for the civil magistrate to abolish any lawful church officer out of the church because it is unlawful for him to maim or deform the body of Christ by displacing the members thereof.

But it may be your Cooper's noddle,²¹⁷ profane T.C., doubteth²¹⁸ - for I know you to be as ignorant in these points as John Whitgift or Dean John their selves - whether a lawful church officer, in regard of his office, be a member of the body of Christ, which is the church. Therefore look Romans 12, verses 4-5,²¹⁹ etc., and there you shall see that whosoever hath an office in the body is a member of the body. There also you shall see that he that teacheth, which is the doctor; he that exhorteth, which is the pastor; he that ruleth, which is the elder; he that distributeth, which is the deacon (as for him that showeth mercy that is there spoken of, he is but a church servant, and no church officer) - there, I say, you shall also see that these 4 offices of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons are members of the body. And (I Corinthians 12:8, 28)²²⁰ you shall see that God hath ordained them. Out of all which hitherto I have spoken, T.C., I come upon²²¹ you and your bishoprics with 4 or 5 (yea, half a dozen, and need be) such dry²²² soops²²³ as John of London with his two-hand sword never gave the like. For they answer your whole profane²²⁴ book. First, that the platform of government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons - which you say was devised 'you

²¹² Injury: To hurt, harm, damage. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²¹³ See earlier note on relationship between Mistress Cooper and Dr. Day.

²¹⁴ John Day was a fellow of Magdalen College from 1551-86. (Carlson, p.99)

²¹⁵ Procure: To prevail upon, induce, persuade (a person) to do something. (OED, p.1678)

²¹⁶ 'T.C.', 'Doctor Cooper', 'the last Thomas of Lincoln' and 'the now bishop of Winchester' all refer to Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester.

²¹⁷ Noddle: The head as the seat of mind or thought (colloquial, and usually used playfully or contemptuously). (OED, p.1408) Shakespeare uses the word in his comedies: 'to comb your noddle with a three-legged stool' (*Taming of Shrew* I i 64) and 'I will smite his noddles' (*Merry Wives* III i 128). (Schmidt, p.776)

²¹⁸ Perhaps a reference to 'doubting Thomas'?

²¹⁹ *Romans 12: 4-5: For as we have many members in one bodie, and all members have not one office, So we being many are one bodie in Christ, and everie one, one anothers members.* (GB, p.75)

²²⁰ *I Corinthians 12:8: For to one is given by the Spirit the worde of wisdome: and to another the worde of knowledge, by the same Spirit. I Corinthians 12:28: And God hath ordeined some in the Church: as first, Apostles, secondly Prophetes, thirdly teachers, then them that do miracles: after that, the giftes of healing, helpers, governours, diversities of tongues.* (GB, p.81)

²²¹ Come upon: To attack. (OED, p.373)

²²² Dry: Of a blow, or a beating: properly, that does not draw blood. (OED, p.612)

²²³ Soop: An earlier form of 'swoop'. Swoop: A blow, stroke; also fig. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²²⁴ Profane: Characterized by disregard or contempt of sacred things. (OED, p.1679)

know not by whom' - is the invention of our Saviour Christ. *For God ordained them*, saith the apostle (I Corinthians 12:8, 28). And, therefore, unless you will show yourself either to be a blasphemer, by terming Jesus Christ to be 'you cannot tell whom', or else to be ignorant who is Jesus Christ, you must needs acknowledge the platform of government which you say was invented by 'you know not whom' to have Christ Jesus for the author thereof.

This T. Cooper gainsayeth, page 2 of his epistle.

Secondly, that the Word of God teacheth that of necessity the government by pastors, doctors, elders, etc. ought to be in every church which is neither maimed nor deformed. Because that church must needs be maimed which wanteth those members which the Lord hath appointed to be therein, unless the Lord himself hath, by taking those members away, showed that now his body is to have no use of them. But as hath been said, God hath ordained pastors, doctors, elders and deacons to be in his church, proved out of Romans 12:6-8,²²⁵ I Corinthians 12:8, 28,²²⁶ Ephesians 4:12.²²⁷ And he hath not taken these officers away out of his church because the church hath continual need of them, as of pastors to feed with the word of wisdom, of the doctors to feed with the word of knowledge - and both to build up his body in the unity of faith - of elders to watch and oversee men's manners, of deacons to look unto the poor and church treasury. Therefore, where these 4 officers are wanting, there the church is imperfect in her regiment.²²⁸

T. Cooper saith it is (page second, epis.)

Thirdly, that this government cannot be inconvenient²²⁹ for any state or kingdom. For is it inconvenient for a state or kingdom to have the body of Christ perfect therein?

Fourthly, that every Christian magistrate is bound to receive this government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons into the church within his dominions - whatsoever inconvenience²³⁰ may be likely to follow the receiving of it - because no likelihood of inconvenience ought to induce the magistrate willingly to permit the church under his government to be maimed or deformed.

Fifthly, that the government of the church by lord archbishops and bishops is a government of deformed and unshapen members, serving for no good use in the church of God because it is not the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons which, as I have showed, are now the only true members, that is, the only true officers of the visible body.

Sixthly and lastly, that they who defend this false and bastardly²³¹ government of archbishops and bishops, and withstand this true and natural government of the church by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, are likely in a while to become Mar-prince, Mar-state, Mar-law, Mar-magistrate,²³² Mar-commonwealth. As for Mar-church and Mar-religion, they have long since proved themselves to be.

²²⁵ Romans 12:6-8: *Seeing then that we have giftes that are divers, according to the grace that is given unto us, whether we have prophecie, let us prophecie according to the proportion of faith: Or an office, let us waite on the office: or he that teacheth, on teaching: Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicitie; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercie, with cherefulness.* (GB, p.75)

²²⁶ I Corinthians 12:8, 28: See above.

²²⁷ Ephesians 4:12: *For the gathering together of the Saintes, for the worke of the ministerie, and for the edification of the bodie of Christ.* (GB, p.91)

²²⁸ Regiment: Rule or government. (OED, p.1782)

²²⁹ Inconvenient: Unsuitable, inappropriate. (OED, p.1049) See *Admonition*, p.4: *The reasons that move us so to doe, are these two. First, we see no prooffe brought out of the word of God, that of necessity such forme of Governement ought to be: Secondly, that by the placing of the same, it woulde bring so many alterations and inconveniences, as in our opinion would bee dangerous to the Prince and to the Realme. Some of those inconveniences I have in this treatise laid downe, and leave them to the consideration of them whom God hath set in place of government.*

²³⁰ Inconvenience: Harm, injury, mischief. (OED, p.1049)

²³¹ Bastardly: Unauthorized; counterfeit; debased. (OED, p.163)

²³² The first four of these terms were coined by Cooper. See *Admonition*, p.31: *The Author of them calleth himselfe by a fained name, Martin Marprelate: a very fit name undoubtedly. But if this outrageous spirit of boldnesse be not stopped speedily, I feare he wil prove himselfe to bee, not onely Mar-prelate,*

These six points do necessarily follow of that which before I have set down, namely, that it is not lawful for any to abolish or alter the true and lawful government of the church because it is not lawful for them to maim or deform the body of the church.

And I challenge you, T.C., and you, Dean John, and you, John Whitgift, and you Doctor Cosins, and you, Doctor Copcot, and all the rest that will or dare defend our established church government, to be tried with me in a judgement of life and death²³³ at any bar²³⁴ in England in this point, namely:

That you must needs be not only traitors to God and his Word, but also enemies unto her Majesty and the land, in defending the established church government to be lawful.

You see the accusation which I lay to your charge, and here followeth the proof of it. They who defend that the prince and state may bid God to battle against them, they are not only traitors against God and his Word, but also enemies to the prince and state. I think John of Gloucester²³⁵ himself will not be so senseless as to deny this.

But our archbishops and bishops, which hold it lawful for her Majesty and the state to retain the established form of government and to keep out the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons which was appointed by Christ (whom you, profane T.C., call 'you know not whom'), hold it lawful for her Majesty and the state to bid God to battle against them. Because they bid the Lord to battle against them which maim and deform the body of Christ, viz., the church. And they, as was declared, maim and deform the body of the church which keep out the lawful offices appointed by the Lord to be members thereof, and in their stead place other wooden members of the invention of man. Therefore you, T.C., and you, Dean John, and you, John Whitgift, and you, the rest of the beastly defenders of the corrupt church government, are not only traitors to God and his Word but enemies to her Majesty and the state.

Like you any of these nuts,²³⁶ John Canterbury? I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There be many that greatly dislike of my doings.²³⁷ I may have my wants,²³⁸ I know. For I am a man. But my course I know to be ordinary²³⁹ and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government and of the bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one, and against the other.²⁴⁰ I bethought me, therefore, of a way whereby men might be drawn to do both, preceiving

but Mar-prince, Mar-state, Mar-lawe, Mar-Magistrate, and all together, until he bring it to an Anabaptisticall equalitie and communitie.

²³³ Martin also issues a challenge in the *Protestation*.

²³⁴ Bar: The barrier or wooden rail at which prisoners are stationed for arraignment, trial, or sentence; hence, a court, in open court. (OED, p.155)

²³⁵ John Bullingham (d.1598), Bishop of Gloucester from 1581-1598.

²³⁶ Nut: In allusions to the difficulty of cracking hard-shelled nuts: a difficult question or problem. (OED, p.1422) The sub-title ('Crack me this nut') of the anti-Martinist tract, *Pap With An Hatchet*, may derive from this usage.

²³⁷ Pierce notes that Thomas Cartwright himself, in a letter to Lord Burghley of October 4, 1590, stated that he had not had 'so much as a finger in the book under Martins name', and, further was 'hable to make good proof that from the beginning of Martin unto this day, I have continually upon any occasion, testified both my mislike and sorrow for such kind of disordered proceeding'. (MT, p.238)

²³⁸ Want: Deficiency, lack (of something desirable or necessary). (OED, p.2502)

²³⁹ Ordinary: Conformable to order or rule; regular. (OED, p.1461)

²⁴⁰ This statement of Martin's suggests that he may have been the author of some of the earlier, more serious anonymous tracts in the controversy, such as the *Abstract* (1584) and the *Defence of the Reasons of the Counterpoison* (1586).

the humours of men in these times (especially of those that are in any place)²⁴¹ to be given to mirth. I took that course. I might lawfully do it. Ay, for jesting is lawful by circumstances, even in the greatest matters.²⁴² The circumstances of time, place and persons urged me thereunto. I never profaned the Word in any jest. Other mirth I used as a covert,²⁴³ wherein I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the author both of mirth and gravity, is it not lawful in itself for the truth to use either of these ways when the circumstances do make it lawful?

My purpose was, and is, to do good.²⁴⁴ I know I have done no harm, howsoever some may judge Martin to mar all. They are very weak²⁴⁵ ones that so think. In that which I have written, I know undoubtedly that I have done the Lord and the state of this kingdom great service,²⁴⁶ because I have in some sort discovered²⁴⁷ the greatest enemies thereof. And by so much the most pestilent²⁴⁸ enemies because they wound God's religion, and corrupt the state with atheism and looseness,²⁴⁹ and so call for God's vengeance upon us all, even under the colour of religion. I affirm them to be the greatest enemies that now our state hath for, if it were not for them, the truth should have more free passage herein than now it hath. All states²⁵⁰ thereby would be amended,²⁵¹ and so we should not be subject unto God's displeasure, as now we are by reason of them.

Now let me deal with these that are in authority. I do make it known unto them that our bishops are the greatest enemies which we have, for they do not only go about, but they have long since fully persuaded, our state that they may lawfully procure the Lord to take the sword in hand against the state. If this be true, have I not said truly that they are the greatest enemies which our state hath? The papists work no such effect, for they are not trusted. The atheists have not infected our whole state; these have. The attempts of our foreign enemies may be pernicious, but they are men as we are. But that God which, when our bishops have and do make our prince and our governors to wage war - who is able to stand against him?

²⁴¹ Place: High rank or position. (OED, p.1595)

²⁴² According to Anselment, Martin's claim that he might 'lawfully' answer the most serious matters by jesting is supported by classical authority. Anselment writes: '[T]he dramatic satire of Martin Marprelate is actually a unique adaptation of traditional rhetoric. The standard Elizabethan authorities on rhetoric -- Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and [Sir Thomas] Wilson -- all justify Marprelate's decision to answer serious religious arguments facetiously, but the complex dramatic manner in which he assumes the classical posture of the eiron [dissembler] and forces his opponent John Bridges into the role of the alazon [boaster] reveals an original satiric genius. Consciously manipulating a variety of ironic postures, Martin extends his personae of the vociferous clown, country simpleton, and dissembling auditor into the posture of an antirhetorician'. (quoted in Carlson, p.389)

²⁴³ Covert: A cover, cloak, screen. (OED, p.444)

²⁴⁴ The language of the preceding paragraph indicates Martin's nobility of character and purpose, as does a similar passage in the *Protestation*. Whatever may be thought of Martin's techniques, his disinterested motives cannot be in doubt.

²⁴⁵ Weak: Lacking fortitude or courage, strength of purpose or will. (OED, p.2518) Martin may also allude to the term 'weaker brethren', as applied by St. Paul to believers whose scruples, though unsound, should be treated with tenderness, lest they should be led into acts condemned by their conscience.

²⁴⁶ A word of particular import for members of the Elizabethan nobility, who were ever to be found seeking an opportunity of doing 'some good service' for Queen and country. A number of examples are found in the letters of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland: 'macke me the better able to dooe her such servis as at any tyme she should have cause to command me' (p.34), 'though it grieve me I cannot do her Majesty the service I would' (p.156), 'he did, as you know, a good service' (p.172), 'I went this tyme abroad more to doe her Majestie serveyce, then for gettinge wealth' (p.221), 'they will come to the camp little able to do service' (p.228). (Williamson, G.C., pp. 34, 156, 172, 221, 228)

²⁴⁷ Discover: To make known. (OED, p.563)

²⁴⁸ Pestilent: Injurious to religion, morals, or public peace; noxious, pernicious. (OED, p.1563)

²⁴⁹ Loose: Lax in principle, conduct or speech; chiefly in narrower sense, unchaste, dissolute, immoral. (OED, p.1238) See *Admonition*, p.22: *What shall I say of the looseness of whoredom and adultery?*

²⁵⁰ State: An order or class of persons regarded as part of the body politic, and as participating in the government; an estate of the realm. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁵¹ Amend: To bring into a better state, better, improve (anything implicitly imperfect). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

Well, to the point. Many have put her Majesty, the Parliament and Council in mind that the church officers now among us are not such as the Lord alloweth of, because they are not of his own ordaining. They have showed that this fault is to be amended, or the Lord's hand²⁵² to be looked for.²⁵³ The bishops, on the other side, have cried out upon them that have thus dutifully moved²⁵⁴ the state. They, with a loud voice, gave out that the magistrate may lawfully maintain that church government which best fitteth our estate,²⁵⁵ as living in the time of peace.²⁵⁶ What do they else herein, but say that the magistrate in time of peace may maim and deform the body of Christ's church, that Christ hath left the government of his own house imperfect, and left the same to the discretion of the magistrate, whereas Moses - before whom in this point of government the Lord Christ is justly preferred (Hebrews 3:6)²⁵⁷ - made the government of the legal polity²⁵⁸ so perfect as he left not any part thereof to the discretion of the magistrate. Can they deny church officers to be members of the church? They are refuted by the express²⁵⁹ text (I Corinthians 12).²⁶⁰ Will they affirm Christ to have left behind him an imperfect body of his church, wanting members - at the leastwise, having such members as were only permanent at the magistrate's pleasure? Why Moses, the servant, otherwise governed the house in his time, and the Son is commended in this point for wisdom and faithfulness before²⁶¹ him (Hebrews 3:6). Either, then, that commendation of the Son before the servant is a false testimony, or the Son ordained a permanent government in his church; if permanent, not to be changed. What, then, do they, that hold it may be changed at the magistrate's pleasure, but advise the magistrate by his positive²⁶² laws to proclaim that it is his will that, if there shall be a church within his dominions, he will maim and deform the same? He will ordain therein what members he thinketh good, he will make it known that Christ, under his government, shall be made less faithful than Moses was, that he hath left the placing of members in his body unto the magistrate.

O cursed beasts, that bring this guilt upon our estate. Repent, caitiffs,²⁶³ while you have time. You shall not have it, I fear, when you will.²⁶⁴ And look, you that are in authority, unto the equity²⁶⁵ of the controversy between our wicked bishops and those who would have the disorders of our church amended. Take heed you be not carried away with slanders. Christ's government is neither Mar-prince, Mar-state, Mar-law, nor Mar-magistrate. The living God, whose cause is

²⁵² Hand: Used to denote authority, power. (OED, p.920) Here, Divine vengeance.

²⁵³ Look for: Expect. (OED, P.1237)

²⁵⁴ Move: To urge (a person) to (an action) or to do (something). (OED, p.1366)

²⁵⁵ Estate: State or condition in general, whether material or moral, bodily or mental. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁵⁶ See *Admonition*, p.146: *But the godly, I doubt not, understand that all things neither can, nor ought to be like in the state of the Church beginning and under persecution, and in the Church settled and living in peace and quietnesse. A similar argument is used to justify the bishops' retention of their lands and livings: But what maketh this against that, that ministers of the Church in the calme times of quietnesse, may enjoy the benefites and liberalitie of good and gracious Princes, whome he hath appoynted as fosterers and nourishers of his Church and people, wherein soever those benefites of their liberalitie shall be employed, bee it landes, possessions, goods, money, or any other maner of provision?* (p.162)

²⁵⁷ *Hebrews 3:6: But Christ is as the Sonne, over his owne house, whose house we are, if we holde fast the confidence and the rejoycing of the hope unto the end.* (GB, p.103)

²⁵⁸ Polity: Civil order. (OED, p.1621)

²⁵⁹ Express: Explicit; unmistakable in import. (OED, p.708)

²⁶⁰ *I Corinthians 12*: See above.

²⁶¹ Before: In preference to. (OED, p.174)

²⁶² Positive: Formally laid down or imposed; opposite to 'natural'. (OED, p.1634)

²⁶³ Caitiff: A base, mean, despicable wretch; a villain. (OED, p.266)

²⁶⁴ Will: Desire, wish for, have a mind to (something). (OED, p.2549)

²⁶⁵ Equity: That which is fair and right; also, in jurisprudence, the recourse to general principles of justice to correct or supplement the ordinary law. (OED, p.675)

pleaded²⁶⁶ for, will be revenged of you if you give ear unto this slander, contrary to so many testimonies as are brought out of his Word to prove the contrary. He denounceth²⁶⁷ his wrath against all you that think it lawful for you to maim or deform his church. He accounteth his church maimed when those offices are therein placed which he hath not appointed to be members thereof. He also testifieth²⁶⁸ that there be no members of his appointment in the church but such as he himself hath named in his Word, and those that he hath named, man must not displace, for so he should put the body out of joint.²⁶⁹ Now our bishops, holding the contrary, and bearing you in hand that you may practise the contrary, do they not drive you to provoke the Lord to anger against your own souls? And are they not your enemies? They hold the contrary, I say, for they say that her Majesty may alter this government now established, and thereby they show either this government to be unlawful, or that the magistrate may presume to place those members in God's church which the Lord never mentioned in his Word. And, I beseech you, mark how the case standeth between these wretches and those whom they call Puritans.

1 The Puritans (falsely so called)²⁷⁰ show it to be unlawful for the magistrate to go about to make any members for the body of Christ.

2 They hold all officers of the church to be members of the body (Romans 12:6,²⁷¹ I Corinthians 12:8, 28).²⁷²

3 And therefore they hold the altering or the abolishing of the offices of church government to be the altering and abolishing of the members of the church.

4 The altering and abolishing of which members they hold to be unlawful because it must needs be a maim unto the body.

5 They hold Christ Jesus to have set down as exact and as unchangeable a church government as ever Moses did (Hebrews 3:6).²⁷³

These, and suchlike, are the points they hold. Let their cause be tried and, if they hold any other points in effect but these, let them be hanged - every man of them.²⁷⁴

Now, I demand whether they that hold the contrary in these points, and cause the state to practise the contrary, be not outrageous, wicked men and dangerous enemies of the state. It cannot be denied but they are, because the contrary practice of any the former points is a way to work the ruin of the state.

Now our bishops hold the contrary unto them all, save the 3rd and 2nd points, whereunto it may be they will yield, and cause our estate to practise the contrary, whence, at the length, our destruction is like to proceed. For:

²⁶⁶ Plead: To address the court as an advocate on behalf of either party; hence, in figurative uses, to urge a suit or prayer; to make an earnest supplication; to beg, implore. (OED, p.1605)

²⁶⁷ Denounce: To give formal, authoritative, or official information of; to proclaim, announce, to publish. (OED, p.519)

²⁶⁸ Testify: To assert the truth of (a statement). (OED, p.2270)

²⁶⁹ Out of joint: Said of a dislocated bone; in figurative uses, perverted, disordered, disorganized. *Hamlet* I v 188: 'The time is out of joint'. (OED, p.1136)

²⁷⁰ Martin also takes issue with the term 'Puritans' in the *Theses* ('those whom foolishly men call Puritans'), and in the *Just Censure* ('which our bishops do falsely note with the names of Puritans').

²⁷¹ *Romans 12:6*: See above.

²⁷² *I Corinthians 12:8, 28*: See above.

²⁷³ *Hebrews 3:6*: See above.

²⁷⁴ Here, as in many other places in the tracts, Martin's words clearly indicate that he does not count himself among the Puritans..

1 They deny Christ Jesus to have set down as exact and as unchangeable a form of church government as Moses did. For they say that the magistrate may change the church government established by Christ - so could he not do that prescribed by Moses.

2 In holding all offices of the church to be members of the body (for if they be not members, what should they do in the body?) they hold it lawful for the magistrate to attempt the making of new members for that body.

3 The altering or abolishing of these members by the magistrates they hold to be lawful - and, therefore, the maiming or deforming.

Now, you wretches, (archbishops and lord bishops, I mean) you Mar-state, Mar-law, Mar-prince, Mar-magistrate, Mar-commonwealth, Mar-church and Mar-religion. Are you able for your lives to answer any part of the former syllogism whereby you are concluded to be the greatest enemies unto her Majesty and the state? You dare not attempt it, I know. For you cannot deny but they who hold it and defend it lawful (yea, enforce²⁷⁵ the magistrate) to maim or deform the body of Christ are utter enemies unto that magistrate and that state wherein this disorder is practised. You cannot deny yourselves to do this unto our magistrate and state, because you bear them in hand that a lawful church government may consist of those offices which the magistrate may abolish out of the church without sin, and so that the magistrate may lawfully cut off the member of Christ from his body and so may lawfully massacre the body. You are then the men by whom our estate is most likely to be overthrown. You are those that shall answer for our blood which the Spaniard, or any other enemies, are like to spill (without the Lord's great mercy).²⁷⁶ You are the persecutors of your brethren (if you may be accounted brethren). You and your hirelings are not only the wound but the very plague²⁷⁷ and pestilence²⁷⁸ of our church. You are those who maim, deform, vex, persecute, grieve and wound the church, which keep the same in captivity and darkness,²⁷⁹ defend the blind leaders of the blind,²⁸⁰ slander, revile²⁸¹ and deform Christ's holy government, that such broken and wooden²⁸² members as you are may be still maintained to have the rooms of the true and natural members of the body. Tell me, I pray, whether the true and natural members of the body may be lawfully cut off by the magistrate? If you should say they may, I know no man would abide the speech. What! May the magistrate cut off the true and natural members of the body of Christ! O impudency²⁸³ not to be tolerated. But our magistrate, that is, her Majesty, and our state may lawfully, by your own confession, cut you off - that is, displace you and your offices out of our church. Deny this if you dare. Then, indeed, it shall appear that John of Canterbury meaneth to be a pope indeed, and to have sovereignty over the civil magistrate. Then will you show yourself

²⁷⁵ Enforce: To compel, constrain. (OED, p.657)

²⁷⁶ See *Admonition*, pp.29-30: *Oh my good brethren and loving Countreymen, what a lamentable thing is this, that even nowe, when the viewe of the mightie Navie of the Spaniards is scant passed out of our sight. . . That even nowe (I say) at this present time, wee shoulde see in mens handes and bosomes, commonly slaunderous Pamphlets fresh from the Presse, against the best of the Church of Englande . . . The common report goeth, and intelligence is sundry wayes given, that the Enemies of this lande have rather their malice increased towarde us, then sustained a full overthrowe: and therefore by confederacie, are in making provision for a newe invasion, more terrible in threatning, then the other. . . . What then meaneth this untemperate, uncharitable and unchristian dealings among ourselves at such an unseasonable time?*

²⁷⁷ Plague: A visitation of divine anger or justice. (OED, p.1596)

²⁷⁸ Pestilence: That which is morally pestilent; that which is fatal to the public peace or well-being. (OED, p.1563)

²⁷⁹ Darkness: Want of spiritual or intellectual sight. (OED, p.489)

²⁸⁰ Matthew 15:14: *Let them alone: they be the blinde leaders of the blinde: & if the blinde leade the blinde, bothe shal fall into the ditche.* (GB, p.10)

²⁸¹ Revile: To use opprobrious language; to rail at a person or thing. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁸² In the *Protestation*, Martin uses a similar expression ('some such broken wooden dish or other').

²⁸³ Impudency: Shameless effrontery; = impudence. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

indeed to be Mar-prince, Mar-law, Mar-state. Now, if the magistrate may displace you - as he may - then you are not the true members. Then you are (as indeed you ought) to be thrust out, unless the magistrate would incur the wrath of God for maiming and deforming the body of the church by joining unnatural members thereunto.

Answer but this reason of mine, and then hang those that seek reformation if ever again they speak of it. If you do not, I will give you little quiet. I fear you not.²⁸⁴ If the magistrate will be so overseen²⁸⁵ as to believe that, because you which are the maim of the church are spoken against, therefore they - namely, our prince and state, which are God's lieutenants²⁸⁶ - shall be in like sort dealt with, this credulity will be the magistrate's sin.²⁸⁷ But I know their wisdom to be such as they will not. For what reason is this, which you, profane T.C., have used (page 103):

*The sinful, the unlawful, the broken, unnatural, false and bastardly governors of the church, to wit archbishops and bishops, which abuse even their false offices, are spoken against; therefore the true natural and lawful and just governors of the commonwealth shall be likewise shortly disliked.*²⁸⁸ Ah, senseless²⁸⁹ and undutiful beasts, that dare compare yourselves with our true magistrates - which are the ordinances²⁹⁰ of God - with yourselves, that is with archbishops and bishops which, as you yourselves confess (I will by and by prove this), are the ordinances of the devil.

I know I am disliked of many which are your enemies, that is, of many which you call Puritans. It is their weakness.²⁹¹ I am threatened to be hanged by you. What though I were hanged? Do you think your cause shall be the better? For the day that you hang Martin, assure yourselves, there will 10 Martins spring²⁹² in my place. I mean not, now, you gross beasts, of a commotion²⁹³ - as profane T.C., like a senseless wretch, not able to understand an English phrase, hath given out upon that which he calleth the 'threatening of fists'.²⁹⁴ Suffice²⁹⁵ yourselves: I will prove Marprelate ere

²⁸⁴ This bold statement, and the one which follows shortly after ('I am threatened to be hanged by you. What though I were hanged?'), give a clear indication of what must have been a noticeable characteristic of Martin's personality. It has been contended that Job Throckmorton was Martin Marprelate; however, his evasive action in hiding from the pursuivants in his outhouse cannot be reconciled with Martin's bold statements. (Carlson, p.115; HIMT, pp.214-15)

²⁸⁵ Overseen: Deceived, deluded, in error. (OED, p.1484)

²⁸⁶ Lieutenant: One who takes the place of another; a representative. (OED, p.1208)

²⁸⁷ Pierce points out that the bishops' tactic of associating opposition to them with opposition to the sovereign was eventually successful, as evidenced by James I's use of the phrase 'no bishop, no king'. He also points out that the tactic was patently unfair, since 'Puritans of all shades, as a matter of fact, were intensely loyal'. (MT, p.245)

²⁸⁸ See *Admonition*, p.78: *For such is now the state of this time, that whatsoever an Officer, specially Ecclesiasticall, may do by lawful authoritie, the private subject thinketh he may doe the same, at his owne will and pleasure. And if he be brided thereof, why then it is Lordlinesse, Symonie, Covetousnesse, and Crueltie. And I pray God, the like boldenesse growe not towarde other Officers and magistrates of the Common weale also. Surely, we have great cause to feare it: for the reasons where on they ground their doings, may be applied as well to the one, as to the other.*

²⁸⁹ Senseless: Of a person, etc.: Devoid of sense of intelligence, stupid, silly, foolish. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁹⁰ Ordinance: A dispensation, decree, or appointment of Providence or of Destiny. (OED, p.1461)

²⁹¹ It is difficult to understand, in the face of statements such as this, how it can be maintained by modern commentators that Martin was a Puritan.

²⁹² Spring: To come into being. (OED, p.2090)

²⁹³ Commotion: Physical disturbance, more or less violent. (OED, p.378)

²⁹⁴ See *Admonition*, p.33: *Touching the Premunire &c. The Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they can. The same may bee answered to their threatning of fists &c. See also Admonition, p.41: So the Anabaptists, within our memory, after slaunders and opprobrious calumniationes against the godly preachers and magistrates then living, fell to blowes and open violence. The Libeller in this booke hath performed the one, and threatned the other.* Pierce points out that Cooper's reference to the Anabaptists was unnecessarily inflammatory, since 'of Anabaptism as a religious socialism and as a general revolutionary propaganda, except among a few Continental refugees possibly, there is little or no trace at this time, and at no time was it an English movement'. (MT, p.261)

I have done with you. I am alone. No man under heaven is privy, or hath been privy, unto my writings against you. I used the advice of none therein.²⁹⁶ You have, and do, suspect divers, as Master Paget,²⁹⁷ Master Wigginton,²⁹⁸ Master Udall,²⁹⁹ Master Penry,³⁰⁰ etc., to make³⁰¹ Martin. If they cannot clear themselves, their silliness is pitiful and they are worthy to bear Martin's punishment.³⁰² Well, once again - answer my reasons, both of your antichristian places in my first *Epistle* unto you, and these now used against you. Otherwise, the wisdom of the magistrate must needs smell³⁰³ what you are and call you to a reckoning for deceiving them so long, making them to suffer the church of Christ under their government to be maimed and deformed.

Your reasons for the defence of your hierarchy and the keeping out of Christ's government used by this profane T.C. are already answered. They show what profane beasts you are. I will here repeat them. But here, first, the reader is to know what answer this T.C. maketh unto the syllogisms whereby I prove all lord bishops to be petty popes and petty Antichrists.³⁰⁴ I assure you, no other than this: he flatly denieth the conclusion. Whereas he might (if he had any learning in him, or had read anything) know that every dunstical logician giveth this for an inviolable precept, that the conclusion is not to be denied. For that must needs be true, if the major and minor be true.³⁰⁵ He, in omitting the major and minor, because he was not able to answer, thereby granteth the conclusion to be true. His answer unto the conclusion is that all lord bishops were not petty popes because (page 74)³⁰⁶ Cranmer,³⁰⁷ Ridley,³⁰⁸ Hooper³⁰⁹ were not petty popes. They were not petty popes because they were not reprobates.³¹⁰ As though - you block, you - every petty pope and petty Antichrist were a reprobate! Why no man can deny Gregory the Great³¹¹ to be a petty pope and a petty and petty³¹² Antichrist. For he was the next immediate³¹³ pope before Boniface the First,³¹⁴

²⁹⁵ Suffice: To satisfy. (OED, p.2180)

²⁹⁶ Martin's unequivocal statement that he has acted 'alone' is indicative of another strong characteristic of his personality, his independence. It also raises interesting questions as to how Martin managed to deliver the tracts to the manager of the secret press, John Penry, to have them printed without anyone ascertaining his identity. An intriguing glimpse of Martin is afforded by the description of the servants at Fawsley, who said that 'Martyn went disguised in a long sky-coloured Cloak, or of a light colour, and had the Coller of the said Cloak edged with gould and Silver and Silke Lace, and a light-coloured Hatt, with an arming Sworde by his side'. (HIMT, p.162)

²⁹⁷ Eusebius Paget (1547?-1617).

²⁹⁸ Giles Wigginton (fl.1564-1597).

²⁹⁹ John Udall (1560?-1593).

³⁰⁰ John Penry (1563-1593). References to Paget, Wigginton, Udall and Penry are found in the *Epistle*.

³⁰¹ Make: To compose, write as the author (a book, poem, verses, poetry, etc.). (OED, p.1263)

³⁰² In this passage, Martin is obviously seeking to clear a number of persons from suspicion. In the case of John Penry, he was unfortunately not successful, and Penry was forced, in the end, to 'bear Martin's punishment'.

³⁰³ Smell: To perceive as if by smell; to suspect, to have an inkling of; to divine. (OED, p.2027)

³⁰⁴ See Martin's *Epistle*.

³⁰⁵ Conclusion: In logic, the third proposition of a syllogism, deduced from the two premises. (OED, p.390)

³⁰⁶ See *Admonition*, p.61: [B]y consent of all the States of this Land, this maner of government that now is used, was by law confirmed as good and godly. The bishops and other of the clergy that gave their advise and consent to the same, were learned and zealous, Bishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and many other, which after sealed their doctrine with their blood, all learned, grave and wise in comparison of these yong Sectaries which greatly please themselves. . . . To condemne all these as Reprobate and Pety Antichrists, were great rashnesse, and such impudencie as ought not in any Christian Church or common weale to bee borne without punishment.

³⁰⁷ Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury.

³⁰⁸ Nicholas Ridley (c.1500-1555).

³⁰⁹ John Hooper (1495-1555).

³¹⁰ Reprobate: One rejected by God; one lost in sin. (OED, p.1801)

³¹¹ Gregory I, the Great (c.540-604).

³¹² Quare whether the repetition of 'and petty' is a misprint in the original text.

³¹³ Immediate: Having no person, thing, or space intervening, in place, order, or succession. (OED, p.1025)

that known Antichrist. And yet this Gregory left behind him undoubted testimonies³¹⁵ of a chosen child of God. So might they, yet be petty popes in respect of their office. Profane T.C., his 1st and 2nd reason for the lawfulness of one church government.³¹⁶ And what though good men gave their consent unto our church government or, writing unto bishops, gave them their lordly titles? Are their offices therefore lawful? Then so is the Pope's office. For Erasmus³¹⁷ was a good man, you cannot deny, and yet he both allowed of the Pope's office since his calling, and - writing unto him - gave him his titles. So did Luther³¹⁸ since his calling also, for he dedicated his *Book Of Christian Liberty* unto Pope Leo X.³¹⁹ The book and his epistle unto the Pope are both in English. Here I would wish the magistrate to mark what good reasons you are able to afford for your hierarchy.³²⁰

Thirdly, saith profane T.C. (page 75),³²¹ *all churches have not the government of pastors and doctors, but Saxony and Denmark have lord bishops.* You are a great state man, undoubtedly, T.C., that understand the state of other churches so well. But herein the impudency of a proud fool appeareth egregiously. As though the testimony of a silly schoolmaster,³²² being also as unlearned as a man of that trade and profession can be, with any honesty³²³ would be believed against known experience. *Yea, but Saxony and Denmark have Superintendents.*³²⁴ What then? *ergo*, lord

³¹⁴ This appears to be an error. Gregory the Great, who was Pope from 590-604, was followed by Sabinian (604-606), Boniface III (607), and Boniface IV (608-15).

³¹⁵ Testimony: Personal or documentary evidence or attestation in support of a fact or statement; hence, any form of evidence or proof. (OED, p.2270)

³¹⁶ I.e., the reasons given in the *Admonition* at p.61: *Peter Martir, Bucer, and John de Alasco, grave men, and of great knowledge and godlinesse, did live in that state under the Archbishops and bishops that then were, and wrote to them most reverently, not refusing to give them those Titles, that now bee accompted Antichristian.*

³¹⁷ Desiderius Erasmus (c.1466-1536), Dutch humanist and scholar.

³¹⁸ It is possible that Martin took his first name from Martin Luther.

³¹⁹ Luther's treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty* is prefaced by an epistle to Pope Leo X (1475-1521) dated September 6, 1520.

³²⁰ Hierarchy: Rule or dominion in holy things; priestly government. (OED, p.962)

³²¹ See *Admonition*, p.63: *In Denmarke they have Bishops both in Name, and Office, as it appeareth in certaine Epistles of Hemingius written to some of them. In which he sayth: They are greatly troubled with continuall visitation of their Churches. In Saxony they have Archbishops and Bishops in Office, but not in Name. For prooffe heereof, I alleadge the testimonies of that learned man Zanchius in the Annotations upon certaine parts of his confession. In the Church of the Protestants (saith he) indeede they have Bishops and Archbishops, which chaunging the good Greeke names into ill Latine names, they call Superintendents, and generall Superintendents, &c.*

³²² See *Admonition*, p.64: *This man [Zanchius] undoubtedly knewe the governement of all the Churches in Germany. For hee had bene a reader and Teacher in divers of them. He had bin in Geneva: he taught at Argentine eleven yerres: After at Clavenna foure yerres: Again after that, at Heidelberge ten yerres: And lastly, by Cassimire appointed at his town at Newstade, where yet he liveth an olde man, if God of late hath not taken him out of this world.* Martin's reference to a 'silly schoolmaster' is ambiguous; Martin ostensibly refers to Zanchius, but likely also intends a reference to Cooper, who for many years was Fellow and Master of Magdalen College school. (DNB, v.4, p.1074) It is interesting to compare this passage with a scene involving a schoolmaster in Act III of *Thomas of Woodstock*: 'I'm a scholar. I have shown art and learning in these verses, I assure ye; and yet if they were well searched they're little better than libels. But the carriage of a thing is all, sir: I have covered them rarely. . . . This paper shall wipe their noses, and they shall not boo to a goose for't.' (p.218-9); 'I'll put treason into any man's head, my lord, let him answer it as he can. And then, my lord, we have got a schoolmaster, that teaches all the country to sing treason. And like a villain he say, *God bless your lordship.*' (Armstrong, p.236) The schoolmaster's pride in his verses, which are 'little better than libels', is reminiscent of Martin Marprelate's opinion of Cooper's *Admonition*, and the remark 'they shalt not boo to a goose for't' brings to mind Martin's *Epistle*, in which he uses the same phrase with respect to Bishop Bullingham ('he is not able to say *boo* to a goose'), and in which he comments that Bridges would 'prove a goose', suggests that Bridges was 'hatched in a goose nest', and asks whether Bridges knows 'how to decline what is Latin for a goose?'

³²³ Honesty: Love of truth. (Schmidt, p.549)

³²⁴ Superintendent: As a translation of the Greek 'overseer' of the New Testament; used controversially instead of 'bishop' by extreme Protestant reformers of the 16th century, and subsequently by Papists with reference to bishops of the Church of England. (OED, p.2192)

archbishops and bishops. I deny it. Though other churches had lord archbishops and bishops, this proveth nothing else but that other churches are maimed, and have their imperfections. Your reason is this: other good churches are deformed; therefore, ours must needs be so too. The king's son is lame; therefore, the children of no subjects must go upright. And these be all the good reasons which you can bring for the government of archbishops and bishops against the government of Christ!

You reason thus: it must not be admitted into this kingdom because then civilians³²⁵ shall not be able to live in that estimation and wealth wherein they now do.³²⁶ Carnal and senseless beasts, who are not ashamed to prefer the outward³²⁷ estate³²⁸ of men before the glory of Christ's kingdom! Here again, let the magistrate and other readers consider whether it be not time that such brutish men should be looked unto which reason thus: the body of Christ, which is the church, must needs be maimed and deformed in this commonwealth because, otherwise, civilians should not be able to live. Why, you enemies to the state, you traitors to God and his Word, you Mar-prince, Mar-law, Mar-magistrate, Mar-church and Mar-commonwealth! Do you not know that the world should rather go a-begging rather than that the glory of God, by maiming his church, should be defaced? Who can abide this indignity? The prince and state must procure God to wrath against them by continuing the deformity of his church, and it may not be otherwise because the civilians else must fall to decay. I will tell you what, you monstrous and ungodly bishops! Though I had no fear of God before mine eyes, and had no hope of a better life, yet the love that I owe as a natural³²⁹ man unto her Majesty and the state would enforce me to write against you. Her Majesty and this kingdom (whom the Lord bless with his mighty hand, I unfeignedly beseech) must endanger themselves under the peril of God's heavy wrath, rather than the maim of our church government must be healed. *For we had rather it should be so, say our bishops, than we should be thrust out; for if we should be thrust out, the study of the civil law must needs go to wrack.*³³⁰ Well, if I had lived sometimes a citizen in that old and ancient (though heathenish) Rome, and had heard King Deiotarus,³³¹ Caesar, yea, or Pompey³³² himself, give out this speech - namely, that the city and empire of Rome must needs be brought subject unto some danger because otherwise Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus,³³³ with other of the nobility, could not tell how to live, but must needs go a-begging - I would surely, in

³²⁵ Civilian: One who has studied the Civil Law. (OED, P.342)

³²⁶ See *Admonition*, pp.65-6: *The reason that mooveth us not to like of this platforme of government, is, that when wee on the one part consider the thinges that are required to be redressed, and on the other, the state of our countrey, people, and commonweale: we see evidently, that to plant those things in this Church, wil drawe with it, so many, and so great alterations of the state of government, and of the lawes, as the attempting thereof might bring rather the overthrowe of the Gospel among us, then the end that is desired. The particulars hereof in some fewe things, in steade of many doe here follow, and hath bene opened to you before, if reasonable warning would have served. First the whole state of the lawes of this Realme will be altered. For the Canon law must be utterly taken away, with all offices to the same belonging: which to supply with other lawes and functions, without many inconveniences, wil be very hard. The use and studie of the Civill law will be utterly overthrowen: For the Civilians in this Realme live not by the use of the Civill law, but by the offices of the Canon law, and such things as are within the compasse thereof.*

³²⁷ Outward: Applied to things in the external or material world, as opposed to those in the mind or thought. (OED, p.1477)

³²⁸ Estate: Condition as regards worldly prosperity, fortune, etc. (OED, p.683)

³²⁹ Natural: In a state of nature, without spiritual enlightenment. (OED, p.1387)

³³⁰ Wrack: A disastrous change in a state or condition of affairs; wreck, ruin. (OED, p.2577)

³³¹ Deiotarus, a tetrarch of Galatia (now part of western Turkey), was a faithful ally of the Romans who sided with Pompey against Caesar in the civil wars of 49-45 B.C. In 45. B.C. Deiotarus was accused of having attempted to murder Caesar while the dictator was his guest in Galatia. (EB) Martin's implied comparison between six men involved in Rome's civil wars and conspiracies, and the Elizabethan bishops cannot be accidental.

³³² Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 B.C.).

³³³ L. Sergius Catilina (c.108-62 B.C.), P. Cornelius Lentulus, and C. Cornelius Cethegus, 'the three desperate profligates chiefly concerned in the well-known conspiracy at Rome, 63 B.C., in connection with which all three lost their lives - Cataline slain on the field of battle, Lentulus and Cethegus strangled in prison'. (MT, p.249)

the love I ought³³⁴ to the safety of that state, have called him that had used such a speech in *judicium capitis*,³³⁵ whosoever he had been, and I would not have doubted to have given him the overthrow.³³⁶ And shall I, being a Christian English subject, abide to hear a wicked crew³³⁷ of ungodly bishops, with their hang-ons³³⁸ and parasites, affirm that our Queen and our state must needs be subject unto the greatest danger that may be, viz., the wrath of God for deforming his church, and that God's church must needs be maimed and deformed among us because otherwise a few civilians shall not be able to live? Shall I hear and see these things professed and published, and in the love I owe unto God's religion and her Majesty, say nothing? I cannot, I will not, I may not be silent at this speech - come what will come of it.³³⁹ The love of a Christian church, prince and state shall, I trust, work³⁴⁰ more in me than the love of a heathen empire and state should do. Now judge, good reader, who is more tolerable in a commonwealth - Martin, that would have the enemies of her Majesty removed thence, or our bishops, which would have her life and the whole kingdom's prosperity hazarded, rather than a few civilians should want maintenance?³⁴¹ But I pray thee, tell me, T.C., why should the government of Christ impoverish civilians? *Because*, saith he (page 77), *the canon law*,³⁴² *by which they live, must be altered if that were admitted*. Yea, but civilians live by the Court of Admiralty³⁴³ and other courts, as well as by the Arches,³⁴⁴ viz., also the probates³⁴⁵ of testaments,³⁴⁶ the controversies of tithes,³⁴⁷ matrimony,³⁴⁸ and many other causes³⁴⁹ which you bishops Mar-state do usurpingly take from the civil magistrate, would be a means of civilians' maintenance. But are not you ashamed to profess your whole government to be a government ruled by the Pope's canon laws, which are banished by statute³⁵⁰ out of this kingdom? This notably showeth that you are Mar-prince and Mar-state. For how dare you retain these laws unless, by virtue of them, you mean either to enforce the supremacy of the prince to go again to

³³⁴ Ought: Owed. (OED, p.1471)

³³⁵ *Judicium capitale*: In old English law, judgement of death, capital punishment. (BLD, p.987)

³³⁶ Overthrow: In figurative uses, to cast down from a position of prosperity or power; to bring to ruin, reduce to impotence. (OED, p.1485)

³³⁷ Crew: A number of persons associated together. (OED, p.455)

³³⁸ Hang-on: A hanger-on, a mean dependant. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³³⁹ This statement affords a glimpse of Martin's strong sense of duty.

³⁴⁰ Work: To act upon the mind or will of; to influence, induce, persuade. (OED, p.2571)

³⁴¹ Maintenance: Means of sustentation. (OED, p.1262)

³⁴² Canon law: Ecclesiastical law; the ordinances of councils and decrees of popes. (BLD, p.260)

³⁴³ Court of Admiralty: The tribunal for the trial of maritime causes, formerly presided over by the Lord High Admiral. (OED, p.26)

³⁴⁴ Court of Arches: The ecclesiastical court of appeal for the province of Canterbury, formerly held at the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, so named from the arches that supported its steeple. (OED, p.99) According to Stow, the parish church of St. Mary was 'called *de Arcubus* of the stone arches or bowes on the top of the steeple or bell tower thereof, which arching was as well on the old steeple as on the new, for no other part of the church semeth to have been arched at any time; yet hath the said church never been knowne by any other name that St. May Bow, or le Bow; neither is that church so called of the court there kept, but the said court taketh name of the place wherein it is kept, and is called the Court of Arches'. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.227)

³⁴⁵ Probate of wills belonged to the archbishop of the province, by way of special prerogative, when the deceased left *bona notabilia* (i.e., property of sufficient value to be accounted for) within two different dioceses. (BLD, p.1345)

³⁴⁶ Testament: A will. Formerly, properly applied to a disposition of personal as distinguished from real property. (OED, p.2269)

³⁴⁷ Tithes: The tenth part of the annual produce of agriculture, etc., being a due or payment (originally in kind), for the support of the priesthood, religious establishments, etc. (OED, p.2314)

³⁴⁸ Matrimonial causes: One of the three divisions of causes or injuries cognizable by the ecclesiastical courts, comprising suits for jactitation of marriage, and for restitution of conjugal rights, divorces, and suits for alimony. (BLD, p.1129)

³⁴⁹ Cause: In law, a matter in litigation; an action, process, suit. (OED, p.300)

³⁵⁰ An Act of 1533 declared that such canons as were not 'contrariant to the laws, customs and statutes of this realm, nor to the damage and hurt of the King's prerogative royal', should remain in force. (Pollard, *Cranmer*, pp.280-1)

Rome, or to come to Lambeth? It is treason by statute for any subject in this land to proceed³⁵¹ Doctor of the Canon Law, and dare you profess your church government to be ruled by that law? As though one statute³⁵² might not refer all matters of the canon law unto the temporal³⁵³ and common law³⁵⁴ of this realm. And is this all you can say, T.C.?

2 Yes, saith he, *the government of Christ would bring in the judicial law of Moses.*³⁵⁵ *As much as is*
 3 *moral of that law, or the equity of it, would be brought in. And do you gainsay it? But - you*
 *sodden-headed*³⁵⁶ *ass, you - the most part of that law is abrogated. Some part thereof is in force*
 among us, as the punishment of a murderer by death and presumptuous obstinate theft by death, etc.
 *Her Majesty's prerogative*³⁵⁷ *in ecclesiastical causes should not be a whit diminished, but rather*
 greatly strengthened by Christ's government. And no law should be altered, but such as were
 *contrary to the law of God and against the profit*³⁵⁸ *of the commonwealth, and therefore there can be*
 *no danger in altering these.*³⁵⁹

4 The ministers' maintenance by tithe no Puritan denieth to be unlawful.³⁶⁰ For Martin (good Master
 Parson), you must understand doth account no Brownist³⁶¹ to be a Puritan, nor yet a sottish
 Cooperist.

5 The inconvenience which you show of the government - which is that men would not be ruled by
 it³⁶² - is answered afore. And, I pray you, why should they not be better obedient unto God's law, if
 the same also were established by the law of the land, than to the Pope's law and his canons? You

³⁵¹ Proceed: To advance in one's university course, from graduation as B.A. to some higher degree, as master or doctor. (OED, p.1677)

³⁵² Martin suggests that the remainder of the canon law (i.e. those aspects which remained in force after the Act of 1533), could be abrogated by statute, although he does not appear to go so far as to suggest that it should be abrogated.

³⁵³ Temporal: Of law: civil or common, as distinct from canon. (OED, p.2259)

³⁵⁴ Common law: The unwritten law of England, administered by the King's courts, based on ancient and universal usage, and embodied in commentaries and reported cases (opposed to statute law); also, the law administered by the King's ordinary judges (opposed to equity, ecclesiastical and admiralty law). (OED, p.378)

³⁵⁵ Mosaic law: The ancient law of the Hebrews, contained in the Pentateuch. (OED, p.1359) See *Admonition*, p.66: *Beside this, the Judiciall law of the Jewes, especially for such offences as are against the law of God, must bee brought into this Common weale.*

³⁵⁶ Sodden: Of persons, their features, etc.: Having the appearance of that which has been steeped or soaked in water; rendered dull, stupid, or expressionless. (OED, 2041)

³⁵⁷ Prerogative: That special pre-eminence which the sovereign, by right of regal dignity, has over all other persons and out of the course of the common law; the royal prerogative, a sovereign right (in theory) subject to no restriction of interference. (OED, p.1658) See *Admonition*, p.66: *The lawes also maintaining the Queenes supremacy in governing of the Church, and her prerogative in matters Ecclesiasticall, as well Elections as others, must be also abrogated.*

³⁵⁸ Profit: To be of advantage, use or benefit; avail. (OED, p.1681)

³⁵⁹ See *Admonition*, p.67: *It hath beene alwayes dangerous, to picke quarrels against lawes settled. And I pray God, that the very rumour hereof, spread by these mens bookes, have not already bred more inconvenience, then without hurt will be suppressed: I may not put all that I thinke, in writing.*

³⁶⁰ See *Admonition*, p.67: *The fourme of finding of Ministers by Tithes, must with the Canon lawe be abolished. For it was not used in the government of the Apostles time, nor a great many of yeeres after, and therefore may seeme Papisticall and Antichristian. There must bee some other order for this devised. Which, with howe great alteration it must bee done, and how hard it wil be to bring to good effect, I thinke there is no man but he seeth: For the livings of bishops and Cathedrall Churches (wheremat they carpe) though they were all that way bestowed, will not serve the third part.*

³⁶¹ Brownism: The system of church government advocated c.1581 by the Puritan Robert Browne. (OED, p.244)

³⁶² See *Admonition*, p.68: *And if the Parish will not be ruled (as surely many will not) then must they be excommunicated, and appeale made unto the Prince and Magistrate. And that which passeth nowe with quietnesse, and with a little amendment may be well used, shall be continuall occasion of broile and trouble, whereto this nation is more inclined upon light causes, then any other.*

think that all men are like yourselves, that is like bishops - such as cannot choose but break the laws and good orders of God and her Majesty.

7 The laws of England have been made when there was never a bishop in the Parliament,³⁶³ as in the first year of her Majesty. And this reason, as all the rest, may serve to maintain popery as well as the hierarchy of bishops.

8 The government of the church of Christ is no popular government,³⁶⁴ but it is monarchical³⁶⁵ in regard of our head, Christ; aristocratical in the eldership;³⁶⁶ and democratical in the people. Such is the civil government of our kingdom: monarchical in her Majesty's person; aristocratical in the higher House of Parliament - or rather at the Council table; democratical in the body of the Commons of the lower House of Parliament. Therefore, profane T.C., this government seeketh no popularity to be brought into the church, much less extendeth the alteration of the civil state. That is but your slander, of which you make an occupation. And I will surely pay³⁶⁷ you for it. I must be brief now, but *More Work For Cooper* shall examine your slanders. They are nothing else but proofs that, as by your own confessions you are bishops of the devil, so you are enemies unto the state. For by these slanders you go about to blind our state, that they may never see a perfect regiment of the church in our days.

I say that by your own confession you are bishops of the devil. I will prove it thus. You confess that your lordly government were not lawful and tolerable in this commonwealth if her Majesty and the state of the land did disclaim³⁶⁸ the same. Tell me, do you not confess this? Deny it, if you dare. For will you say that you ought lawfully to be here in our commonwealth whether her Majesty and the Council will, or no? Is this the thanks that her Majesty shall have for tolerating you in her kingdom all this while, that now you will say that you and your places stand not in this kingdom by her courtesy,³⁶⁹ but you have as good right unto your places as she hath unto her kingdom? And by this means, your offices stand not by her good liking³⁷⁰ and the good liking of the state, as do the offices of our Lord High Chancellor,³⁷¹ High Treasurer,³⁷² and High Steward³⁷³

³⁶³ See *Admonition*, p.67: *The lawes of Englande to this day, have stooode by the authoritie of the three Estates: which to alter now, by leaving out the one, may happily seeme a matter of more weight, then all men doe judge it.*

³⁶⁴ See *Admonition*, p.70: *Furthermore, their whole drift, as it may seeme, is to bring the Government of the Church to a Democracie or Aristocracie. The principles and reasons whereof, if they bee made once by experience familiar in the mindes of the common people, and that they have the sense and feeling of them: It is greatly to bee feared, that they will transerre the same to the Governement of the common weale. For by the same reasons, they shall be induced to thinke that they have injurie, if they have not as much to do in civill matters, as they have in matters of the Church, seeing they also touch their commoditie and benefite temporally, as the other doeth spirituallly. And what hereof may followe, I leave to the judgement of other. . . . The Preachers of the Gospell in Germanie, at the beginning, were farre from the meaning to moove the people to rebell against their Governors: but some part of doctrine indiscreetely uttered by divers of them, speaking against some abuses, gave a great occasion thereof to the grieffe of all good men, in such sort, as they were not able by any perswasion to quiet them, untill it had cost a hundred thousand of them their lives. The loosenesse and boldnesse of this time in many, may justly cause some feare that the like will happen hereafter among us.*

³⁶⁵ Monarchical: Of the nature of, or having the characteristics of a monarchy; esp. of government, vested in a monarch. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's is the first usage cited in the OED.

³⁶⁶ Aristocracy: Literally, the government of a state by its best citizens. (OED, p.104) Pierce similarly contends that Martin uses the word in the sense of 'few in number', rather than in a sense which would make of the eldership a 'kind of prelacy'. (MT, p.253)

³⁶⁷ Pay: To give (one) his deserts, visit with retribution, chastise, punish. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁶⁸ Disclaim: To proclaim one's renunciation of, or dissent from. (OED, p.560)

³⁶⁹ Courtesy: By favour or indulgence. (OED, p.443)

³⁷⁰ Liking: Approval, consent. (OED, p.1213)

³⁷¹ The Lord Chancellor at this time was Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591). (Kinney, p.1)

³⁷² The Lord Treasurer was William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598). (Kinney, p.1)

³⁷³ After the death of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, on September 4, 1588, Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby (d.1593), was appointed Lord Steward. (Kinney, p.5)

of England? But your offices ought to stand and to be in force in spite of her Majesty, the Parliament, Council, and every man else, unless they would do you injury? So that I know - aye, you dare not deny - but that your offices were unlawful in our commonwealth if her Majesty, the Parliament and Council would have them abolished. If you grant this, then you do not hold your offices as from God, but as from man. Her Majesty, she holdeth her office and her kingdom as from God, and is beholding for the same unto no prince nor state under heaven. Your case is otherwise, for you hold your offices as from her Majesty, and not from God. For otherwise you needed not to be any more beholding³⁷⁴ unto her Majesty for the same in regard of right³⁷⁵ than she is bound to be beholding unto other states in regard of her right. And so you, in regard of your lordly superiority,³⁷⁶ are not the bishops of God but, as Jerome³⁷⁷ saith, the bishops of man. And this the most of you confess to be true. And you see how dangerous it would be for you to affirm the contrary - namely, that you hold your offices as from God. Well, sir, if you say that, you are the bishops of man.

T.C. 38.

Then tell me whether you like of Dean John's book. *O, yes, saith T. C., for his Grace did peruse that book, and we know the sufficiency of it to be such as the Puritans are not able to answer it.*³⁷⁸ Well, then, whatsoever is in this book is authentical?³⁷⁹ *It is so, saith T.C., otherwise his Grace would not have allowed it.* What say you, then, to the 140th³⁸⁰ page of that book, where he saith (answering the treatise of the bishop of God, the bishop of man, and bishop of the devil)³⁸¹ that there is no bishop of man at all, but every bishop must be either the bishop of God, or the bishop of the devil? He also affirmeth none to be the bishop of God but he which hath warrant both inclusively, and also expressly, in God's Word. Now, you bishops of the devil, what say you now? Are you spited³⁸² of the Puritans because you, like good subjects, defend the laws of her Majesty, or else because, like incarnate³⁸³ devils, you are bishops of the devil's, as you yourselves confess?

Dean John lib. 4,
page 340, line 7.

Here again, let the magistrate once more consider what pestilent and dangerous beasts these wretches are unto the civil state. For either by their own confession they are the bishops of the devil (and so, by that means, will be the undoing³⁸⁴ of the state if they be continued therein), or else their places ought to be in this commonwealth whether her Majesty and our state will or no, because they are not (as they say) the bishops of man; that is, they have not their superiority and their lordly callings over their brethren by humane³⁸⁵ constitution,³⁸⁶ as my Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, and other honourable personages³⁸⁷ have, but by divine ordinance. Yea, and their callings they hold³⁸⁸ (as

³⁷⁴ Beholding: Under obligation. (OED, p.176)

³⁷⁵ Right: A legal, equitable, or moral title or claim to the possession of property or authority, the enjoyment of privileges or immunities, etc. (OED, p.1831)

³⁷⁶ See *Admonition*, p.36: *Hee is likewise perswaded that there ought to be by the worde of God a superioritie among the Ministers of the Church.*

³⁷⁷ Eusebius Hieronymus (?340-420), one of the four great fathers of the Roman church, whose Latin version of the scriptures (the so-called Vulgate) is still the received text of that church. (Rollins, p.979)

³⁷⁸ See *Admonition*, p.32: *He [Whitgift] did indeede peruse Doctor Bridges booke before it went to the Presse, and hee knoweth that the sufficiency thereof causeth these men thus to storme, as not being able otherwise to answer it.*

³⁷⁹ Authentical: Entitled to belief, as being in accordance with, or as stating fact. (OED, p.134)

³⁸⁰ Presumably, a misprint for '340th', the page of the *Defence* to which the reader is directed by a subsequent marginal comment.

³⁸¹ The treatise referred to is Theodore Beza's *The judgement of a most reverend and learned man from beyond the seas* (1580). It is referred to in the title of Bridges' *Defence*, and Pierce notes that on p.328 Bridges quotes from it with respect to the three kinds of bishops. (MT, p.255)

³⁸² See *Admonition*, p.4: *What is the cause why wee bee with such spight and malice discredited?*

³⁸³ Incarnate: Embodied in flesh; in a human bodily form. (OED, p.1042)

³⁸⁴ Undoing: A cause of ruin or destruction. (OED, p.2413)

³⁸⁵ Humane: Of man. (OED, p.994)

³⁸⁶ Constitution: A decree, ordinance, law, regulation, especially, in Roman law, an act made by the emperor. (OED, p.408)

³⁸⁷ Personage: A person of high rank, distinction, or importance. (OED, p.1560)

you have heard) not only to be inclusively, but also expressly, in the Word. What shift³⁸⁹ will they use to avoid³⁹⁰ this point? Are they the bishops of men, that is hold they their jurisdiction as from men? *No*, saith Dean Bridges. *No*, saith John of Canterbury, and the rest of them (for all of them allow this book of John Bridges'), *for then we are the bishops of the devil; we cannot avoid it*. Are they then the bishops of God; that is, have they such a calling as the apostles, evangelists, etc., had? That is, such a calling as ought lawfully to be in a Christian commonwealth (unless the magistrate would injury the church - yea, maim, deform, and make a monster of the church) whether the magistrate will, or no? *We have*, say they, *for our callings are not only inclusively, but also expressly, in the Word*. So that, by Dean Bridges' confession and the approbation of John Canterbury,³⁹¹ either our bishops are bishops of the devil, or their callings cannot be defended lawful without flat and plain treason in overthrowing her Majesty's supremacy. And so Dean Bridges hath written - and John Whitgift hath approved and allowed - flat treason to be published.³⁹²

Is Martin to be blamed for finding out and discovering traitors? Is he to be blamed for crying out against the bishops of the devil? If he be, then indeed have I offended in writing against bishops. If not, whether³⁹³ is the better subject - Martin, or our bishops? Whether I be favoured or no, I will not cease in the love I owe to her Majesty to write against traitors, to write against the devil's bishops. Our bishops are such by their own confession. For they protest themselves to be bishops of the devil if they should hold the pre-eminence to be from man. If they hold it otherwise than from man, they are traitors. And until this beast, Doctor Bridges, wrote this book, they never as yet durst presume to claim their lordships any otherwise lawful than from her Majesty - yea, and Doctor Bridges, about the 60th page, saith the same. But they care not what contrariety they have in their writings, what treason they hold, as long as they are persuaded that no man shall be tolerated to write against them. I have once already showed treason to be in this book of the Dean of Sarum (page 448); I show the like now to be page 340. Because Dean Bridges durst not answer me, they have turned unto me in his stead a beast whom, by the length of his ears, I guess to be his brother, that is, an ass of the same kind.³⁹⁴ But I will be answered of the Dean himself in this and the former point of treason, or else his cloister³⁹⁵ shall smoke³⁹⁶ for it. And thus, profane T.C., you perceive what a good subject you are in defending the established government. Thus also I have answered all your book in the matters of the lawfulness of the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, and the unlawfulness of our bastardly church government by archbishops and bishops, where also the reader may see that if ever there was a church rightly governed - that is, a church without maim or deformity - the same was governed by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.

Whoa, whoa! But where have I been all this while? Ten to one,³⁹⁷ among some of these Puritans. *Why Martin, why Martin*, I say, *hast tow forgotten thyself? Where has ti been? Why, man, cha*

³⁸⁸ Hold: To think, consider, esteem. (OED, p.973)

³⁸⁹ Shift: A fraudulent or evasive device; a piece of sophistry; a subterfuge. (OED, p.1973)

³⁹⁰ Avoid: In law, to defeat (a pleading). (OED, p.138)

³⁹¹ I.e., Whitgift admits on page 32 of the *Admonition* that he sanctioned the *Defence*.

³⁹² Pierce notes that 'his knowledge of Elizabeth's character gave the edge to Martin's logic', and that 'Bridges was out of touch with the realities of the case when he allowed only two categories of bishops in England, bishops of God and bishops of the devil, and would not allow that the man-made bishop was other or better than a bishop of the devil', since 'there was not a bishop of them all but owed his position to [Elizabeth's] will, and some even to her caprice' and she was 'quite capable on her own initiative of unfrocking any of them'. (MT, p.256)

³⁹³ Whether: Which of the two. (OED, p.2535)

³⁹⁴ Asses' Bridge or *Pons Asinorum*: a name given to the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid's *Elements*. (OED, p.116) Quare whether Martin's reference to Bridges as an 'ass' is a play on Bridges' surname and *Pons Asinorum*.

³⁹⁵ Cloister: A place of religious seclusion; a monastery or nunnery. (OED, p.351) Another of Martin's references to Sarum's former status as a monastery.

³⁹⁶ Smoke: To smart, to suffer severely. (OED, p.2029)

³⁹⁷ Martin also uses this expression in the *Epitome*, the *Theses*, and the *Just Censure*, indicating that it was a habitual phrase with him.

bin a-seeking for a salmon's nest,³⁹⁸ and cha vound³⁹⁹ a whole crew, either of ecclesiastical traitors or of bishops of the devil, of broken and maimed members of the church. Never wink⁴⁰⁰ on me, good fellow, for I will speak the truth, let the Puritans do what they can.⁴⁰¹ I say, then, that they are broken members, and I say John of Canterbury - if he be a member of the church - I say he is a broken member, and that Thomas of Winchester is a choleric member. Yea, and cha vound that profane T.C. is afraid lest her Majesty should give bishops' livings away from them. And therefore shutteth⁴⁰² his book with this position,⁴⁰³ viz., that it is not lawful to bestow such livings upon laymen as are appointed by God's law upon ministers.⁴⁰⁴ But hereof *More Work For Cooper* shall learnedly dispute.⁴⁰⁵

Reverend T.C., *Admonition*, pages 1, 2, 3:

*We use the ministers most vile now-a-days. God will punish us for it, as he did those which abused his prophets.*⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁸ The OED notices the phrase 'to seek for a salmon's nest' but does not define it.

³⁹⁹ In this paragraph Martin uses West Country dialect, as he does elsewhere in the tracts.

⁴⁰⁰ To wink on: To 'shut one's eyes to' (an offence, fault, defect, impropriety or irregularity); to connive at. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁰¹ Martin parodies Whitgift's 'The Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they can'. (*Admonition*, p.33).

⁴⁰² Shut: To conclude, wind up (a subject, discourse, etc.); to bring to an end *with*. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁰³ Position: A statement, assertion. (OED, p.1634)

⁴⁰⁴ See *Admonition*, p.179: *But whatsoever is the cause of this reproofing of the liberalitie of our gracious Prince and soveraigne: if the time did now serve, I coulde with better reason and authoritie proove the Contrary Proposition to that which they take upon them to maintaine: that is, That it is not lawfull to bestow such livings upon Lay men, as are appointed by godly lawes for Ministers and Preachers of the worde of God. But the shortnesse of time will not now serve to followe that course.*

⁴⁰⁵ In the final sentence of the *Admonition*, Cooper hints that opposition to the bishops is rooted in the nobility's desire to gain possession of church lands. Martin's intention to refute this slander was frustrated by the capture in August, 1589 of the secret press and of the manuscript of *More Work For Cooper*. Martin was thus forced to deal with the issue, in abbreviated form, in the *Protestation: Even so was it as far from me that, by sharpening my pen against them, I should thereby (as some foolishly give out) make a way for myself, or other great men, unto their livings and promotion. For if the possession and enjoying of a good conscience but for one day alone be not more dear to me than all their ungodly pomp and ambitious pre-eminence, then let mine adversaries prey upon me, and let my reward be nothing else but the very bitterness of their malicious hearts. I have, I 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. And, I may safely say, it is so far from me to bring the church's livings into the hands of any but the ministers and officers thereof, that I can no more abide church-robbery in a temporal man than I can brook sacrilege in a presumptuous priest; as I hate the one, so I abhor the other.* In connection with the hypothesis that the author of the Marprelate tracts was Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, it's worth noticing an inadvertent slip on Martin's part when he refers to 'myself or other great men', implying that he himself is a member of the nobility, and that a very similar statement with respect to being able to make a living if necessary ('live in an honest calling') was attributed to Oxford in a letter from Henry Howard to the Queen written in late December, 1580: '[Oxford] said before that time he would find a better trade than the bearing of a white waster'. (BL Cotton Titus C.6, ff.7-8)

⁴⁰⁶ See *Admonition*, pp.9-10: *When I call to my remembrance, the loathsome contempt, hatred, and disdain, that the most part of men in these dayes beare, and in the face of the worlde declare toward the Ministers of the Church of God, aswell Bishops as other among us here in England: my heart can not but greatly feare and tremble at the consideration thereof. . . . For who seeth not in these dayes, that hee who can most bitterly inveigh against Bishops and Preachers, that can most boldly blaze their discredits, that can most uncharitably slaunder their lives and doings, thinketh of himselfe, and is esteemed of other, as the most zealous and earnest furtherer of the Gospel? Yea, they thinke it almost the best way, and most ready, to bring themselves in credite and estimation with many. A lamentable state of time it is, wherein such untemperate boldnesse is permitted without any bridle at all. What man therefore that feareth God, that loveth his Church, that hath care of his Prince and cuntry, can remember this thing, and not dread in his heart the sequele thereof? When the Israelites derided and contemned the Prophets which God had sent among them, his wrath was so kindled, that he brought the Assyrians upon them to their confusion. When the tribe of Juda did the like to Jeremie and other messengers of God, they were cast into the captivitie of*

Reverend Martin:

Look to it, T.C., then. For out of thine own mouth shalt thou be judged, thou unrighteous servant.⁴⁰⁷ Our bishops are they which abuse the ministers.⁴⁰⁸ Our bishops were never good ministers as yet, and therefore they are not to be compared with the prophets.

Reverend T.C., page 2:

*Some men will say that I do great injury to the prophets and apostles in comparing our bishops unto them, but we may be happy if we may have tolerable ministers in this perilous age.*⁴⁰⁹

Reverend Martin:

I hope, T.C., that thou dost not mean to serve⁴¹⁰ the church with worse than we have. What! Worse than John of Canterbury, worse than Tom Tub-trimmer of Winchester, worse than the vicars of hell, Sir Geoffrey Jones, the Parson of Mickleham, etc.⁴¹¹ I pray thee, rather than we should have a change from evil to worse, let us have the evil still. But I care not if I abide⁴¹² the venture⁴¹³ of the change. Therefore, get John with his Canterbusiness removed, etc. (whom thou acknowledgest to be evil), and I do not doubt, if worse come in their stead, but the devil will soon fetch them away, and so we shall be quickly rid both of evil and worse. But, good T.C., is it possible to find worse than we have? I do not marvel though thou callest me libeller,⁴¹⁴ when thou darrest abuse the prophets far worse than in calling them libellers. For I tell thee true, thou couldst not have any way so stained⁴¹⁵ their good names as thou hast done in comparing them to our bishops. Call me libeller as often as thou wilt, I do not greatly care, but, and thou lovest me, never liken me to our bishops of the devil. For I cannot abide to be compared unto those. For by thine own comparison in the 9th page, they are just⁴¹⁶ Balaams, up and down.⁴¹⁷

Babylon. When the Jewes reprochefully used Christ, and with wicked slaunder persecuted his Apostles that brought to him the light of salvation, their Citie and Temple was burned, their people slaine, and (as Christ threatned) their countrey made desolate, and given over to the spoyle. And shall wee thinke that God will not remaine the same God towards us? Is his minde changed? is his justice slaked? is his hand shortned, that either he wil not, or cannot revenge, as he hath been wont to do? . . . We have just cause to feare the like plague, which they in like case sustained: And surely, it cannot bee, but that it hasteneth fast upon us.

⁴⁰⁷ Perhaps an allusion to the steward in [Luke 16](#)?

⁴⁰⁸ I.e., through the proceedings of the High Commission.

⁴⁰⁹ See Admonition, pp.10-11: *But some will say (I knowe) That I doe great injurie to the Prophets, the Apostles, and other messengers of God, to compare them with such wicked men, such blinde guides, such covetous hypocrites, such antichristian Prelates, such symonicall Preachers, as our cleargie men now are. . . I doe not compare them (good Reader) in worthines of grace and vertue, but in likenesse of office and ministerie. . . Charitie would consider, that the times are dangerous, and that we are lighted into these corrupt and perillous last dayes, whereof Christ prophecied in the Evangelists, and therefore may thinke our selves thrise happy, if wee have tollerable Ministers, though they bee farre from that rule that Christian perfection requireth.*

⁴¹⁰ Serve: To supply or furnish with something necessary or requisite. (OED, p.1949)

⁴¹¹ See Martin's *Epistle*.

⁴¹² Abide: To wait for, await the issue of; also; to await defiantly, to face. (OED, p.4)

⁴¹³ Venture: The chance of risk of incurring harm or loss. (OED, p.2462)

⁴¹⁴ I.e., on the title-page of the *Admonition*, which reads: *An Admonition to the People of England: Wherein are answered, not onely the slaunderous untruethes, reprochfully uttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his broode, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the church.*

⁴¹⁵ Stain: To blemish, soil (a person's reputation, honour, etc.). (OED, p.2101)

⁴¹⁶ Just: That is such properly, fully, or in all respects; complete in amount or character. (OED, p.1144)

⁴¹⁷ Up and down: In every respect; entirely. (OED, p.2435)

Reverend T.C., pages 8, 9, 10:

Though our bishops be as evil as Judas, the false apostles,⁴¹⁸ and Balaam,⁴¹⁹ yet, because they have sometimes brought unto us God's message, we must think no otherwise of them than of God's messengers. For God will not suffer devilish antichristian persons to be the chief restorers⁴²⁰ of his gospel.⁴²¹

Reverend Martin:

First, T.C., I have truly gathered thine argument, though thou namest neither Judas nor the false apostles:⁴²² prove it otherwise;⁴²³ then hast thou, reverend Martin, proved thyself a liar. Now, secondly, then, seeing it is so, I pray thee, good honest T.C., desire our Judases (who was also one of the first apostles)⁴²⁴ not to sell their Master for money. Desire our false apostles (who preached no false doctrine for the most part) not to insult⁴²⁵ over⁴²⁶ poor Paul, and desire our good Balaams not to follow the wages of unrighteousness.⁴²⁷ The counsel is good, for Judas - though one of the first publishers⁴²⁸ of the gospel (so were not our bishops in our time) - yet hung himself. The false apostles had their reward, I doubt not. And Balaam - as soon as ever the Israelites took him - was justly executed for his wickedness.⁴²⁹ The forced blessing wherewith he blessed them⁴³⁰ saved him not.

⁴¹⁸ Perhaps a reference to II Corinthians 11:13?

⁴¹⁹ The prophet Balaam, employed by Balak to curse the Israelites (Numbers 22-4), became the type of one who follows religion for gain.

⁴²⁰ The word 'restore' reflects the view expounded by John Bale and the early English reformers that the church had deviated from the true path under the Popes of Rome and had been restored to its original condition by the Reformation.

⁴²¹ See *Admonition*, pp.13-14: *Balaam was a covetous prophet, and yet by him God blessed his people. Nowe surely, if you have received at their handes the blessing of Gods trueth, and the light of his holie word, as in deede you have: the cogitation of this benefite should move your mindes more favourably to thinke of them, and more charitably to judge of their doinges. Or if you doe not, looke that you leave not great occasion to men to thinke of you, that you make light accompt of the doctrine of the Gospell, which aswell their predecessours as they, have, and doe daily preach unto you: and so that you bee not those men that you would pretende to be. . . . Men will thinke surely either that that doctrine which we call darknesse and errour was the true light, or that these Preachers can not be so evill persons, as malice doth make them. Christ would not suffer that the devill shoulde utter any thing to the glorie of God, and will he suffer devillish and Antichristian persons to bee the chiefe Preachers and restorers of his Gospell?*

⁴²² As Martin indicates, it is he who has added the names of Judas and the false apostles; Cooper names only Balaam.

⁴²³ I.e., prove that God will suffer devilish antichristian persons to be the chief restorers of his gospel.

⁴²⁴ Martin draws attention to the fact that Cooper, in the *Admonition*, has inadvertently included Judas in his statement at p.14: *God alwaies hath appointed godlie men to be the teachers and revivers of his trueth, as the Apostles.*

⁴²⁵ Insult: To exult proudly or contemptuously. (OED, p.1087)

⁴²⁶ Pierce has 'our'. (MT, p.260)

⁴²⁷ Peter 2:15: *Which forsaking the right waye, have gone astraye, following the way of Balaam, the sonne of Bosor, which loved the wages of unrighteousness.* (GB, p.111)

⁴²⁸ Publisher: One who makes something public. (OED, p.1702)

⁴²⁹ Joshua 13:22: *And Balaam the sonne of Beor the southsayer did the children of Israel slaye with the sworde, among them that were slaine.* (GB, p.103)

⁴³⁰ Numbers 24:20-3: *Then Balak was verie angry with Balaam, and smote his hands together: so Balak said unto Balaam, I sent for thee to curse mine enemies, and beholde, thou hast blessed them now three times. There fore now flee unto thy place: I thought surely to promote thee unto honour, but lo, the Lorde hath kept thee backe from honour. Then Balaam answered Balak, Tolde I not also thy messengers, which thou sentest unto me, saying, If Balak wolde give me his house ful of silver and golde, I can not passe the commandement of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine owne minde? what the Lord shal commande, that same wil I speake.* (GB, p.74)

Reverend T.C., pages 10, 11, 12, 13:⁴³¹

Ma[n]y conjectural⁴³² speeches fly abroad of bishops, as that they are covetous, give not to the poor, hinder reformation, [are] simoniacs,⁴³³ etc. But the chief governors ought to take heed that they give no credit to any such things. I trust never any of them committed idolatry, as Aaron did.⁴³⁴

Reverend Martin:

Yea, I beseech you that are in authority, in any case not to believe any truth against our bishops. For these Puritans (although the bishops grant themselves to be as evil as Balaam) could never yet prove the good fathers to have committed idolatry as Aaron did.⁴³⁵ And as long as they be no worse than Balaam was, there is no reason why they should be disliked. You know this is a troublesome world; men cannot come unto any mere⁴³⁶ living without friends.⁴³⁷ And it is no reason why a man should trouble his friend and give him nothing; a hundred pounds and a gelding is yet better than nothing.⁴³⁸ To bowl but seven days in the week is a very tolerable⁴³⁹ recreation.⁴⁴⁰ You must know that John of London⁴⁴¹ hath sometimes preached (as this profane T.C. hath given out, to his no⁴⁴² small commendations) thrice in a year at Paul's Cross.⁴⁴³ It is reason that he should bestow the rest of the year in maintaining his health by recreation and providing for his family. Give him leave but to keep out the government of the church, to swear like a swag,⁴⁴⁴ to persecute,

⁴³¹ See *Admonition*, p.14: *Oh, but our Bishops and preachers bee covetous: they give not to the poore: they imbesill the goodes of the Church: they bee woorkers and clokers of Simonie: they hinder reformation of the Church, &c.*

⁴³² Conjecture: An unverified supposition. (OED, p.400)

⁴³³ Simoniac: One who practices simony; a buyer or seller of benefices, ecclesiastical preferments, or other spiritual things. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴³⁴ As Pierce points out, Martin's satirical remark is telling, since 'the accusation is that the bishops are covetous, &c.' [and] Cooper's refutation is that it cannot be proved that they were horrible idolaters. (MT, p.261) See *Admonition*, p.16: *Aaron had grievously offended, and greatly distained his calling, when hee was the minister to make the golden Calfe, and to further the peoples horrible and shamefull idolatrie. I trust all the enemies that the Bishops and Clergie men of England have, shall never be able to proove, that in this time of the Gospell, any one of them did ever commit an offence either so horrible, and displeasent in the sight of God, or so hurtfull and offensive to the Church.*

⁴³⁵ *Exodus 32:3-6: And all the people pluckte from themselves the golden earrings, which were in their eares, and they broght them unto Aaron. Who received them at their hands, and facioned it with the graving tole, & made of it a molten calf: then they said, These be thy gods, o Israel, which broght thee out of the land of Egypt. When Aaron sawe that, he made an altar before it: and Aaron proclaimed, saying, To morowe shalbe the holy day of the Lord. So they rose up the next day in the morning, and offred burnt offrings, & broght peace offrings: also the people sate them downe to eate and drinke, and rose up to playe.* (GB, p.41)

⁴³⁶ Mere: Having no greater extent, range, value, power, or importance than the designation implies; that is barely or only what it is said to be. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴³⁷ Friend: A sympathizer, patron, or supporter. (OED, p.807)

⁴³⁸ See Martin's *Epistle*, where he claims that Bridges bestowed £100 and a gelding on Sir Edward Horsey (d.1583) for his 'good word' in helping Bridges to his deanery.

⁴³⁹ Tolerable: (1) Capable of being borne or endured; (2) allowable. (OED, p.2320) Martin likely intends a pun on these two meanings.

⁴⁴⁰ See Martin's *Epistle* for references to Aylmer's bowling on Sundays.

⁴⁴¹ I.e., Aylmer.

⁴⁴² No: Qualifying a noun and adjective in close conjunction, usually implying that an adjective of an opposite meaning would be more appropriate. (OED, p.1406)

⁴⁴³ See *Admonition*, p.48: *Is this to be dumbe? howe many Sermons hath hee preached at Paules crosse: sometimes three in a yeere, yea, sometime two or three together, being an olde man, to supply some yonger mens negligence.*

⁴⁴⁴ See *Admonition*, p.48: *It is omitted, that Episcopamastix had a fling at the Bishoppe of London for swearing by his faith, wherefore he termeth him a Swag. What hee meaneth by that, I will not divine: but as all the rest is lewd, so surely herein he hath a lewde meaning.*

and to take some small⁴⁴⁵ ten in the hundred,⁴⁴⁶ and truly he will be loath ever to commit idolatry as Aaron did. I hope, though Judas sold his Master, yet that it cannot be proved, since his calling, that ever he committed idolatry.

Reverend T.C., page 16, 17:

Though bishops should offend as Noah did in drunkenness,⁴⁴⁷ yet good children should cover their father's faults. For natural children, though they suffer injuries at their father's hand, yet they take their griefs very mildly.⁴⁴⁸

Reverend Martin:

Bishop Westfaling?⁴⁴⁹ But what then?⁴⁵⁰ Parson Gravat, parson of Sir John Pulcher's⁴⁵¹ in London (one of dumb John's⁴⁵² bousing⁴⁵³ mates) will be drunk but once a week. But what then? Good children should take links⁴⁵⁴ in a cold morning and light them at his nose, to see if, by that means, some part of the fire that hath so flashed⁴⁵⁵ his sweet face might be taken away. This were their duty, saith T.C., and not to cry *Red-nose, red-nose*.⁴⁵⁶ But, T.C., what if a man should find him lying in the kennel?⁴⁵⁷ Whether should he take him up, all-to-bemired⁴⁵⁸ like a swine, in the sight of the people, and carry him home on his back, or fling a coverlet on him, and let him there take his rest until his legs would be advised by him to carry him home? But methinks, brother

⁴⁴⁵ Used ironically.

⁴⁴⁶ Ten in the hundred: Ten percent interest on moneys lent. (MT, p.262)

⁴⁴⁷ Genesis 9:21-23: *And he dronke of the wine & was dronke, & was uncovered in the middes of his tent.*

And when Ham the father of Canaan sawe the nakednes of his father, he tolde his two brethren without. Then toke Shem and Japheth a garment and put it upon bothe their shulders and went backward, and covered the nakednes of their father with their faces backward: so thei sawe not their fathers nakednes. (GB, p.5)

⁴⁴⁸ See Admonition, pp.18-19: *A naturall childe, though he suffer grieffe and injuries at his fathers hande, will not be in a rage against him, but will take the hurts patiently and mildely, so long as any way they may be borne. . . . If Noah happen in his sleepe to lye somewhat uncomely, and leave open his nakednesse, they will not follow the example of cursed Cham, and with derision fetch not their brethren onely, but their fathers enemies also to beholde it, that hee may bee for ever shamed, and the adversaries mouthes opened against him: They will rather with blessed and obedient Sem and Japhet, take the garment of christian charitie, and going backwarde hide their fathers nakednesse, yea, and happily with the rusling of their feet, or by casting on of the garment, purposely wake him out of his sleepe, that he may understand howe uncomely hee doth lie, in the derision, not onely of their unkind brother, but of other also that seeke his reproche, and by that meanes be taught to take heed that he doe not fal on sleepe againe in such uncomely maner.*

⁴⁴⁹ Herbert Westfaling, Bishop of Hereford from 1585-1602. Pierce takes this 'brief elliptical introduction' of Westfaling's name to mean that 'this one sober and incorruptible prelate cannot save the clergy from general condemnation'. (MT, p.262)

⁴⁵⁰ The phrase appears to mean 'But what follows from that?'

⁴⁵¹ William Gravat, a graduate of Peterhouse at Cambridge, was instituted to St. Sepulchre's in 1566. He published sermons and a short catechism, and was one of the divines selected to hold conference with the Jesuits and seminary priests in 1582. In June, 1588 Whitgift appointed him as one of the ecclesiastical censors. (MT, p.262; Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, p.51)

⁴⁵² I.e., Aylmer.

⁴⁵³ Bousing: That bouses; given to immoderate drinking; tippling. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁵⁴ Link: A torch made of tow and pitch, etc., formerly used for lighting people along the streets. (OED, p.1219)

⁴⁵⁵ Flash: To emit or convey (light, fire, etc.) in a sudden flash or flashes. Used figuratively. (OED, CD-ROM)

⁴⁵⁶ Red-nose: One who has a red nose; a toper. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁵⁷ Kennel: The surface drain of a street, the gutter. (OED, p.1149)

⁴⁵⁸ All-to: Applied in early and modern English as an intensive to any verb. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Thomas Nashe uses numerous verbs prefixed with this intensive.

T.C., you defend the bishops but evil-favouredly⁴⁵⁹ in these points. For you do as though a thief should say to a true man,⁴⁶⁰ *I must needs have thy purse. Thou must bear with me. It is my nature; I must needs play the thief. But yet thou dealest uncharitably with me if thou blazest it abroad, for though I make an occupation of theft, yet charity would cover it.* So say you: though our bishops make a trade of persecuting and depriving God's ministers, though they make a trade of continuing in antichristian callings, yet charity would have their faults covered, and have them mildly dealt with. As though, T.C., there were no difference betwixt those that fall by infirmity unto some one sin - not making it their trade and not defending the faults to be lawful - and our bishops, which continue in an antichristian calling and occupation, and defend they may do so. But will they leave, think you, if they be mildly and gently dealt with? Then, good John of Canterbury, I pray thee, leave thy persecuting. Good John of Canterbury, leave thy popedom. Good Father John of London, be no more a bishop of the devil. Be no more a traitor to God and his Word. And, good sweet boys, all of you, become honest men. Maim and deform the church no longer. Sweet Fathers, now, make not a trade of persecuting. Gentle Fathers, keep the people in ignorance no longer. Good Fathers, now, maintain the dumb ministry no longer. Be the destruction of the church no longer. Good sweet babes, leave your non-residency and your other sins, sweet popes now, and suffer the truth to have free passage. So, T.C, now I have mildly dealt with the good Fathers. I will now expect⁴⁶¹ a while, to see whether they will amend by fair⁴⁶² means. If not, let them not say but they have been warned.

Reverend T.C., from the 20th to the 30th:

Though the bishops be faulty, yet they are not to be excused that find fault with them for sinister ends.⁴⁶³ And the prince and magistrates is to take heed that, by their suggestions, they be not brought to put down⁴⁶⁴ lord bishops, to take away their livings, and put them to their pensions.⁴⁶⁵ For the putting of them to their pensions would discourage young students from the study of divinity.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁵⁹ Evil-favouredly: In an ill-favoured manner; defectively, imperfectly, improperly; maliciously. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁶⁰ True man: A faithful or trusty man; an honest man (as distinguished from a thief or other criminal. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁶¹ Expect: To wait. (OED, p.704)

⁴⁶² Fair: Gentle, peaceable, not violent. (OED, p.719)

⁴⁶³ See *Admonition*, p.21: *And so, whatsoever God regardeth in chastening his negligent Ministers, or in waking them out of sleepe with the spurre of infamy and reproch: yet by their virulent and unseasoned speeches that are used, by the scornfull and disdainfull reproches, by the rash and uncharitable untruethes, I feare it may bee too truely gathered, that they which bee the instruments thereof, seeke to fulfill their envious, proude and disdainfull appetites, or the working of some other purpose, which they looke to bring to passe, by the discrediting of the Bishops, and other chiefe of the Clergie, which be as great blockes and stops in their way.*

⁴⁶⁴ Put down: To depose from office, authority, or dignity. (OED, p.1716)

⁴⁶⁵ See *Admonition*, pp.22-3, 26: *But here I have to advertise the godly, and chiefly the Prince and Magistrates, that they be not abused and ledde by the cunning that Sathan has alwayes used, to deface the glory of God, and disturbe his Church. . . . And if by Gods good providence the Princes and Magistrates be such, as by sword and fire he cannot either overthrowe it, or worke some mischief against it: then seeketh he by lying and slander to discredit and deface the messengers that God sendeth with his worde, and instruments that he useth to advance and sette forth his trueth, by this meanes to worke hinderance to the trueth it selfe. . . . Even so (good Christians) the subtile serpent Sathan, prince of darknesse, seeking to bring the Church of England under his kingdome againe, from which by the mightie hand of God it hath beene delivered, indevoureth cunningly to perswade the shepherdes, that is, the chiefe Governours of this realme to put away their barking dogges, that is, to put down the state of Bishops, and other chief of the Cleargie, to take away their lands and livings, and set them to their pensions, the sooner by that meanes to worke his purpose.*

⁴⁶⁶ See *Admonition*, p.26: *If the state of the Cleargie shall bee made contemptible, and the best reward of learning a meane pension: hee foreseeth that neither yong flourishing wittes will easily incline themselves to godly learning, neither wil their parents and friendes suffer them to make that the ende of their travaile.*

Reverend Martin:

I thought you were afraid to lose your livings by the courtier⁴⁶⁷ Martin's means. But, brethren, fear it not. I would not have any true minister in the land want a sufficient living. But, good souls, I commend you yet, that are not so bashful but you will show your griefs.⁴⁶⁸ Is it the treading underfoot of the glory of God that you fear, good men? *No, no, say they, we could reasonably well bear that loss. But we die if you diminish the allowance⁴⁶⁹ of our kitchen. Let us be assured of that, and our lordly callings, and we do not greatly care how other matters go.* I will, when *More Work* is published, help those good young students unto a means to live - though they have none of your bishopdoms - if they will be ruled⁴⁷⁰ by me.

Reverend T.C., pages 35, 36:

*There have been, within these few weeks, 3 or 4 pamphlets published in print against bishops. The author of them calleth himself Martin, etc.*⁴⁷¹

R. Martin:

But, good Tom Tub-trimmer, if there have been 3 or 4 published, why doth Bishop Cooper name one only?⁴⁷² Why doth he not confute all? Why doth he invent objections of his own, seeing he had 3 books more to confute - or 2 at least - than he hath touched?⁴⁷³ Nay, why doth he not confute one of them thoroughly, seeing therein his bishopdom was reasonably⁴⁷⁴ caperclawed?⁴⁷⁵ I have only published a pistle and a pitome,⁴⁷⁶ wherein also I grant that I did reasonably pistle them. Therefore, T.C., you begin with a lie in that you say that I have published either 3 or 4 books.⁴⁷⁷

Reverend T.C., page 38:

⁴⁶⁷ In the *Epitome*, Martin says that he has been 'entertained at the court'.

⁴⁶⁸ Grief: A wrong or injury which is the subject of formal complaint or demand for redress. (OED, p.890)

⁴⁶⁹ Allowance: A limited portion of food. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁷⁰ To be ruled: To submit to counsel, guidance or authority. (OED, p.1861)

⁴⁷¹ See *Admonition*, pp.30-31: *There are of late time, even within these few weeks, three or four odious Libels against the Bishops, and other of the Clergie, printed and spread abroad almost into all Countreyes of this Realme. . . . The Author of them calleth himselfe by a fained name, Martin Marprelate.*

⁴⁷² Another instance of Martin's technique of referring to Cooper under different titles ('Tom Tub-trimmer', 'bishop Cooper'), as though each represents a different individual.

⁴⁷³ Touch: To say something apt or telling about, especially in censure. (OED, p.2333)

⁴⁷⁴ Reasonably: Fairly or pretty well. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁷⁵ Caperclaw: Variant of 'clapperclaw'. Clapperclaw: To claw or scratch with the open hand or nails; to beat, thrash, drub. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁷⁶ In challenging Cooper's statement that there have been '3 or 4 pamphlets published', Martin concedes that his *Epitome* (which was prefaced by a brief epistle) could be considered a separate publication, although he likely originally conceived of it as simply the second part of his refutation of Bridges *Defence*.

⁴⁷⁷ On the basis of this statement, Pierce makes a valuable deduction with respect to the authorship question: 'The *three or four odious Libels against the Bishops* referred to by Cooper as having been published *within these few weeks* could only have been the four anonymous publications the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*, Udall's *Demonstration of Discipline*, and Penry's *Exhortation*. This has an evident bearing upon the authorship of the Marprelate Tracts. It is clear that neither Penry nor Udall could have written the above sentence. And the evidence is the more valuable in that it is undesigned and indirect. The *Minerals* was not published when the present Tract was being written'. (MT, p.265)

*His Grace never felt blow as yet, etc.*⁴⁷⁸ What, is he past⁴⁷⁹ feeling? Wilt thou tell me that, T.C.? He sleepeth, belike, in the top of the roost?⁴⁸⁰ I would not be so well thwacked for the popedom of Canter. as he hath borne,⁴⁸¹ poor man. He was never able to make good syllogism since, I am sure. *He allowed Doctor Bridges' book,*⁴⁸² quoth T.C. I pray thee, what got he by that but a testimony against himself that either he hath allowed treason or confessed himself to be the bishop of the devil?

T.C., page 38. *He that readeth his Grace's Answer,*⁴⁸³ *and Master Cartwright's Reply,*⁴⁸⁴ shall see which is the better learned of the two.⁴⁸⁵ So he shall, indeed, T.C., and he were very simple which could not discern that. And there is so much answered⁴⁸⁶ already, as thou sayest, that his Grace dare answer no more for shame. And, T.C., you yourselves grant Thomas Cartwright to be learned,⁴⁸⁷ so did I never think John Whitgift to be. What comparison can you make between them? But, Thomas Cartwright, shall I say that thou madest this book against me, because 'T.C.' is set to it? Well, take heed of it. If I find it to be thy doing,⁴⁸⁸ I will so besoop thee as thou never bandedst John Whitgift better in thy life. I see here that they have quarrelled⁴⁸⁹ with thee, Walter Travers,⁴⁹⁰ John Penry,⁴⁹¹ Thomas Spark,⁴⁹² Giles Wigginton,⁴⁹³ Master Davison,⁴⁹⁴ etc. Nay, it is no

⁴⁷⁸ See *Admonition*, p.32: *God be thanked, he never felt blowe given by him or any other in that cause, except the blowes of their despitefull and malitious tongues.* In the *Epistle*, Martin had said that Whitgift would carry to his grave the blows given to him by Cartwright.

⁴⁷⁹ Past: Incapable of. (OED, p.1524)

⁴⁸⁰ Roost: A hen-house, or that part of one in which the fowls perch at night. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁸¹ Borne: Sustained, endured. (OED, p.219)

⁴⁸² See *Admonition*, p.32: *He did indeede peruse Doctor Bridges booke before it went to the Presse, and knoweth that the sufficiencie thereof causeth these men thus to storme, as not being able otherwise to answer it: which maketh them so bitterly to inveigh against his person.*

⁴⁸³ *An answer to a certain Libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament*, by John Whitgifte, D. of Divinitie. 1572.

⁴⁸⁴ *A Replye to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitgifte. Agaynst the Admonition to the Parliament.* By T.C. 1573.

⁴⁸⁵ See *Admonition*, p.32: *There is sufficient written already to satisfie an indifferent reader. Hee that with indifferent minde shall read the answer of the one, and the replie of the other, shall see great difference in learning betweene them.*

⁴⁸⁶ Answer: To meet an objection or argument. (OED, p.76)

⁴⁸⁷ See *Admonition*, p.32: *And of that opinion are not a few wise and learned men, that beare good will unto the party [Cartwright], and with all their hearts wishe, that God woulde direct him to use his good giftes to the peace and quietnesses of the Church.*

⁴⁸⁸ From Martin's other comments, it is clear that he does not attribute the *Admonition* to Thomas Cartwright.

⁴⁸⁹ Quarrel: To raise a complaint, protest, or objection. (OED, p.1725)

⁴⁹⁰ Walter Travers (1548?-1635). See *Admonition*, p.60: *M. Travers, whome they preferre before him, he knoweth not what he is. Hee never saw him to his remembrance, but once, and that was at my Lord of Canterburies, in the presence of some honourable persons: at which time the man shewed no great learning.*

⁴⁹¹ John Penry (1563-1593). See *Admonition*, p.59: *What were the words that Penry used, and especially moved the B. to speake, he doeth not at this time remember: but sure he is, they were as farre from that, which is laide down in the Libel, as falshood can be from truth.*

⁴⁹² Thomas Spark (1548-1616). See *Admonition*, p.60: *Doctor Sparke is so well knowen to the Bishoppe of Winchester, and the Bishoppe to him, that hee cannot bee persuaded that Doctor Sparke will affirme, that he did put the bishop at that time or anie other (as they terme it) to a non plus.* See also *Admonition*, p.40, for Whitgift's reply to this point.

⁴⁹³ Giles Wigginton (fl.1564-1597). See *Admonition*, p.37: *That which he speaketh of Wigginton, is like the rest, saving for his saucie and malapert behaviour toward the Archbishoppe: where 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. The honestest, the most, and the best of his parish did exhibite to the high Commissioners, articles of very great moment against him: the like whereof have*

matter.⁴⁹⁵ You are e'en well served.⁴⁹⁶ This will teach you, I trow, to become my chaplains.⁴⁹⁷ For if you were my chaplains once, I trow John Whitgift, nor any of his, durst not once say black to your eyes.⁴⁹⁸ And if I had thy learning, Thomas Cartwright, I would make them all to smoke. But though I were as very⁴⁹⁹ an ass-head⁵⁰⁰ as John Catercap⁵⁰¹ is, yet I could deal well enough with clergymen - yea, with old Wynken de Worde,⁵⁰² Doctor Prime⁵⁰³ his self. And I'll bepistle⁵⁰⁴ you, Doctor Prime, when I am at more leisure, though, indeed, I tell you true, that as yet I do disdain to deal with a contemptible trencher-chaplain⁵⁰⁵ such as you, Doctor Bancroft⁵⁰⁶ and Chaplain Duport⁵⁰⁷ are. But Ise⁵⁰⁸ be with you, all three, to bring⁵⁰⁹ one day. You shall never scape my fingers, if I take you but once in hand.⁵¹⁰ You see how I have dealt with Dean John; your entertainment⁵¹¹ shall be alike. But, Thomas Cartwright, thou art T.C.; so is Tom Cooper, too. The distinction, then, between you both shall be this. He shall be profane T.C.⁵¹² because he calleth Christ Jesus, by whom the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons was commanded, to be 'he knows not whom'. And thou shalt be simple T.C.⁵¹³

seldome bene seene in that Court. The most and woorst of them are proved by divers sufficient witnesses, and some of them confessed by himselfe, as it appeareth in record. For which enormities, and for that hee refused to make condigne satisfaction for the same, and to conforme himselfe to the orders of the Church, by lawe established: he was by due order of lawe deposed from his ministerie, and deprived of his benefice, and so remayneth, being unfit and unworthie of either.

⁴⁹⁴ John Davidson (1549?-1603). See *Admonition*, p.39: *How Davisons Catechisme was 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.* See also Carlson, pp.255, 295, 403.

⁴⁹⁵ It is no matter: It is of no consequence. (OED, p.1291)

⁴⁹⁶ Serve: To treat in a specified manner. (OED, p.1949)

⁴⁹⁷ Chaplain: A clergyman who conducts religious services in the private chapel of a sovereign, lord, or high official, of a public institution, or in the household of a person of quality. (OED, p.314)

⁴⁹⁸ To say black is anyone's eye: To find fault with, to lay anything to his charge. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴⁹⁹ As very a: In emphatic use, denoting that the person or thing may be so named in the fullest sense of the term, or possesses all the essential qualities of the thing specified. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁰⁰ Ass-head: A stupid fellow. (OED, p.118)

⁵⁰¹ I.e., Bridges.

⁵⁰² Wynken de Worde, Caxton's apprentice and successor, was 'famous as a printer and publisher of school books and grammars' as, for example, the *Vulgaria* and other Latin primers of Robert Whittington and 'the popular disciplinary manual for youths, *Stans puer ad mensam* by John Sulpitius'. (MT, p.267)

⁵⁰³ John Prime was a fellow of New College, Oxford. (MT, p.267; Carlson, p.225) Martin's reason for calling him 'Wynken de Worde' is unclear. In the *Just Censure*, Martin makes a similar reference, and claims to have written, in Latin, an 'excellent point of poetry' against Prime. (MT, pp.267, 363)

⁵⁰⁴ Bepistle: To inflict epistles upon. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁰⁵ Trencher-chaplain: *Contemptuous*. A chaplain who eats at a patron's table; a domestic chaplain. (OED CD-ROM ed.) The reformer Henry Barrow uses a similar term: 'these sycophants, these trencher-priests, will most cunningly insinuate into some great or noble man's house, where they are sure to be wel fed, and safe from all stormes'. (Arber, p.191)

⁵⁰⁶ Richard Bancroft (1544-1610). At the time of the Marprelate tracts, Bancroft was 'an aggressive member of the High Commission'. (Carlson, p.59) In 1597, he was appointed Bishop of London, and succeeded Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604. (Kinney, p.19) Pierce holds Bancroft responsible for the 'theory of the divine authority of the episcopacy', and relates anecdotes showing his fondness for wrestling and card-playing. (MT, pp.267, 369)

⁵⁰⁷ John Duport became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. (MT, p.268; Carlson, p.294)

⁵⁰⁸ West Country dialect.

⁵⁰⁹ To be with a person to bring: To give him a sound lesson, to bring him to reason, to overcome him. (Schmidt, p.148) Pierce cites an example from the anti-Martinist tract, *The Return of Pasquil*. (MT, p.268)

⁵¹⁰ Take in hand: To undertake the discipline, care, or cure of (a person). (OED, p.920)

⁵¹¹ Entertainment: Treatment. (OED, p.664)

⁵¹² Profane: Characterized by disregard or contempt of sacred things; irreverent, blasphemous. (OED, p.1679)

⁵¹³ Simple: Free from duplicity, simulation or guile; honest, open, straightforward. (OED, p.1998)

Qui pergit quod
vult discere quae
non vult audiet.

Concerning Mistress Lawson,⁵¹⁴ profane T.C., is it not lawful for her to go to Lambeth by water to accompany a preacher's wife, going also (as commonly godly matrons in London do) with her man?⁵¹⁵ No, saith, T.C., *I do not like this in women.* Tush, man. Thomas Lawson is not Thomas Cooper; he has no such cause to doubt of Dame Lawson's going without her husband as the bishop of Winchester hath had of Dame Cooper's gadding.⁵¹⁶ But *More Work For Cooper* will say more for Mistress Lawson.

From whomsoever Chard had his protection, his Face⁵¹⁷ is glad of it,⁵¹⁸ for otherwise he knoweth not how to get a printer for the established government⁵¹⁹ because the books will not sell.

T.C., page 40.

*Touching the praemunire, let the libeller and his do what he dare.*⁵²⁰ Why, brethren, what wisdom is this in you, to dare your betters? Do you not know that I can send you my mind⁵²¹ by a pistle, and then prove you to be petty popes and enemies to the state? And how can you mend yourselves? It is certain you are in a *praemunire*. If her Majesty will give me leave to have the law,⁵²² I will be bound⁵²³ to bring 10,000 pounds into her coffers upon that bargain. And therefore, foolish men, dare your betters no more. And here, I pray thee, mark how I have made the bishops to pull in their horns.⁵²⁴ For whereas in this place they had printed the word 'dare', they bethought themselves that they had to deal with my worship, which am favoured at the court,⁵²⁵ and, being afraid of me, they pasted the word 'can' upon the word 'dare' and so, where before they bade me and mine dare what we durst, now they bid us do what we can, hoping thereby to have a friend in a corner who would not suffer us to do what we ought and durst, and so our ability should not be according unto their demerit.⁵²⁶ Mark now, ye bishops of the Devil, whether you be not afraid of me. I will see you jowled⁵²⁷ with the *praemunire* one day.

The like⁵²⁸ thing you shall find in the 135th page.⁵²⁹ For there, having said that they will not deny the discipline to have been in the apostles' time, they have now pasted there upon that: *That is not yet proved.* So that, although their consciences do tell them that the discipline was then, yet

⁵¹⁴ Margaret Lawson. See *Admonition*, p.33: *But in trueth, aswell for the immodestie of her tongue, wherein she excelleth beyond the seemelinese of an honest woman, as also for her unwomanlie and skittish gadding up, and downe to Lambeth, and from thence in company unfit for her, without her owne husband, he [Whitgift] threatned to send her to Bridewell, if she reformed not the same: which he meaneth to performe, if she continue her lightnesse.* Pierce notes that there are a number of references to Mistress Lawson as 'Dame Law.', 'Meg Law.' and 'Lady Law.' in the anti-Martinist tract, *An Almond For A Parrot* (1590). (MT, p.269) She is also mentioned in Thomas Nashe's *Strange News* (1592).

⁵¹⁵ Man: A manservant. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵¹⁶ Gad: To go from one place to another, to wander about. (OED, p.823) Hunt notes that the Puritan practice of travelling to another parish for a sermon on Sunday, if the local minister did not preach, was called 'gadding', after the wandering biblical tribe of Gad. (Hunt, William, p.94)

⁵¹⁷ I.e., Whitgift.

⁵¹⁸ I.e., Whitgift. See *Admonition*, p.33: *That which he calleth a Protection, Chard had from the Lords of her Majesties privie Counsell, upon charitable and good causes mooving their Lordships.*

⁵¹⁹ I.e., the Church of England.

⁵²⁰ See *Admonition*, p.33: *Touching the Praemunire &c. The Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they dare.*

⁵²¹ Mind: One's view or opinion. (OED, p.1326)

⁵²² Have the law: Have recourse to the courts, litigation. (OED, p.1185)

⁵²³ Bound: Under obligations (of duty, contract, etc.). (OED, p.223)

⁵²⁴ Pull in one's horns: To lower one's pretensions; in allusion to the snail's habit of drawing in its retractile tentacles (which bear the eyes) when disturbed. (OED, p.984)

⁵²⁵ Martin's third reference to his favour at court.

⁵²⁶ Demerit: Desert in a bad sense; quality deserving blame; censurable conduct. (OED, p.515)

⁵²⁷ Jowl, joll: To bump, to strike, knock, or push; especially to dash (the head) against something. (OED, p.1138) *Hamlet* V, i, 84: 'That skull . . . how the knave jowls it to the ground'.

⁵²⁸ Like: Analogous. (OED, p.1212)

⁵²⁹ *Admonition*, p.105.

they will bear the world in hand that *That is not yet proved*. Here you see that, if this patch⁵³⁰ T.C. had not also two patches⁵³¹ to cover his patchery,⁵³² the bishops could have accounted him to be as very a patch as Dean John.

Ah, but these knave Puritans are more unmannerly before his Grace than the recusants⁵³³ are, and therefore the recusants have more favour.⁵³⁴ I cannot blame them, for we ought to have no popes. The papists liketh the archiepiscopal pall,⁵³⁵ and therefore reverenceth a petty pope therein. And though the recusant come not to hear the sermons, yet he is an informer very often upon other men's information.⁵³⁶

His Grace denieth that ever he heard of any such matter as that the Jesuit should say he would become a brave cardinal, if popery should come again.⁵³⁷ I know, T.C., that long since he is past shame, and a notorious liar; otherwise, how durst he deny this, seeing Cliffe, an honest and a godly cobbler dwelling at Battle Bridge,⁵³⁸ did justify⁵³⁹ this before his Grace's teeth⁵⁴⁰ - yea, and will justify the same again, if he be called. So will Atkinson,⁵⁴¹ too. Send for them, if he dare. *Ministers of the gospel ought to be called priests*,⁵⁴² saith his Grace. What say you by that? Then, good Sir John o' Cant., when wilt thou say Mass at our house? His Grace is also persuaded that

Page 41.

Page 46.

Page 44.

⁵³⁰ Patch: A domestic fool; a clown, dolt, booby. (OED, p.1526)

⁵³¹ Martin refers to the fact that the ecclesiastical censors pasted 'patches' of paper over two of Cooper's statements in the printed copies of the *Admonition*. In the first instance, in the sentence 'let him and his doe what they dare', the word 'dare' was replaced by the word 'can'. In the second instance, with reference to the form of discipline in the primitive church, the words 'I will not deny it' were replaced by the words 'That is not yet proved'. (pp.33, 105).

⁵³² Patchery: The conduct of a patch; roguery, knavery. (OED, p.1526)

⁵³³ Recusant: One, especially a Roman Catholic, who refused to attend the services of the Church of England. (OED, p.1770)

⁵³⁴ See *Admonition*, p.34: *[T]he Recusant, for the most part, behaveth himself more civilly before the Magistrate then doth the Puritane: who is commonly most insolent, and thereby deserveth more sharpe wordes and reproofes then the other.*

⁵³⁵ Pall: The office or dignity of metropolitan or archbishop. (OED, p.1497) Pallium: In ecclesiastical uses, a vestment of wool worn by patriarchs and metropolitans (in the Roman Catholic Church conferred by the Pope) now consisting of a narrow ring-like band lying over the shoulders with a piece pendent therefrom at the front and the back. (OED, p.1498) Pierce has the following note: 'The pall (or pallium) was a garment worn by the Pope and then sent by him as a mark of special favour to such high ecclesiastics as patriarchs, metropolitans, primates, and more rarely to bishops. The Roman archbishop could not exercise his functions until he had received his pall, which he could not take with him from one see to another, nor could it be used by his successor; and so the bestowal of this inexpensive garment - a slight scarf of white wool bordered with purple crosses, later in Elizabeth's time, of white silk - became a great source of papal revenue, and indeed of extortion'. (MT, p.270)

⁵³⁶ See *Admonition*, p.34: *That which he speaketh of the Recusants threats against Puritane Preachers, hath no sense. For how can the Recusant so threaten the Puritane, when he never commeth to heare his Sermons?*

⁵³⁷ See *Admonition*, p.34: *[H]e never heard of any such matter, but by this lewde Libeller: neyther doeth he thinke that there was ever such thing spoken.*

⁵³⁸ Pierce notes that Cliffe is mentioned as 'profound Cliffe the ecclesiastical cobbler' in the anti-Martinist tract, *An Almond For A Parrot*. Battle Bridge, 'named after either a battle between Suetonius and Boadicea, or some engagement between Alfred and the Danes', was located 'near old King's Cross, on the modern Caledonian Road, built across the upper Fleet or Holborn'. (MT, p.271)

⁵³⁹ Justify: To corroborate, prove, verify; also, to affirm, aver. (OED, p.1145)

⁵⁴⁰ To one's teeth: Intensive of 'to one's face'; directly and openly; defiantly. (OED, p.2325)

⁵⁴¹ See *Admonition*, p.37: *The tale of Atkinson is a lowde, notorious, and knowen lie. For neither did he ever say so to the Archbishop, neither would hee have taken it at his hands, neither was that any cause of Wiggintons deprivation.*

⁵⁴² See *Admonition*, p.36: *Hee hath shewed sufficient reason in his booke against T.C., why Ministers of the Gospell, may be called Priests. The ancient fathers so cal them. The church of England imbraceth that name, and that by the authoritie of the highest court in England. And why may not Presbyter be called Priest?*

there ought to be a lordly superiority among ministers.⁵⁴³ So was Judas persuaded to sell his Master. If you would have these things proved, profane T.C. referreth you to his Grace's *Answer* unto simple T.C.,⁵⁴⁴ and to Doctor Bridges.⁵⁴⁵ That is, if you would learn any honesty, you must go to the stews,⁵⁴⁶ or if you would have a good favour,⁵⁴⁷ you must go to the sink⁵⁴⁸ for it. Why thou unsavourily⁵⁴⁹ snuff,⁵⁵⁰ dost tow⁵⁵¹ think that men know not Doctor Bridges and John Whitgift? Yea, but his Grace also firmly believeth that Christ in soul descended into hell.⁵⁵² This is the 3rd point of his Catholic persuasion.⁵⁵³ But tell him from me that he shall never be saved by this belief, and my finger in his mouth. Let him tell what our Saviour Christ should do if he did not harrow⁵⁵⁴ hell.⁵⁵⁵ Where thou sayest Master Young⁵⁵⁶ had only the dealing with Thackwell, the popish printer, without his Grace's privity, thou liest in thy throat. Master Young himself brought him to his Grace, who ordered⁵⁵⁷ the matter as it is set down in my pistle.⁵⁵⁸ But did not I say truly of thee that thou canst cog, face⁵⁵⁹ and lie as fast as a dog can trot, and that thou hast a right seasoned wainscot⁵⁶⁰ face of ti'n own? Ch' warnt te; ti vorehead⁵⁶¹ zaze hard as horn.⁵⁶²

⁵⁴³ See *Admonition*, p.36: *Hee is likewise perswaded that there ought to be by the worde of God a superioritie among the Ministers of the Church, which is sufficiently proved in his booke against T.C. and D. Bridges booke likewise, and he is all times ready to justifie it, by the holy Scriptures, and by the testimony of all antiquitie. Epiphanius and August: account them heretikes, that holde the contrary. The Arguments to the contrary, are vaine, their answeres absurd, the authorities they use, shamefully abused, and the Scriptures wrested.*

⁵⁴⁴ I.e., Whitgift's *Answer* of 1572.

⁵⁴⁵ I.e., Bridges' *Defence*.

⁵⁴⁶ Stew: A brothel; sometimes, a quarter occupied by houses of ill fame. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁴⁷ Favour: Appearance, aspect, look; countenance, face. (OED, p.732)

⁵⁴⁸ Sink: A pool or pit formed in the ground for the reception of waste water, sewage, etc.; a cesspool. (OED, p.2002)

⁵⁴⁹ Unsavourily: = unsavourily. (OED, CD ROM ed.)

⁵⁵⁰ Snuff: That portion of a wick, etc. which is partly consumed in the course of burning and requires to be removed at intervals; a candle-end. (OED, p.2037)

⁵⁵¹ West country dialect.

⁵⁵² A doctrine found in the Apostles' Creed. See *Admonition*, p.36: *Hee [Whitgift] firmly beleeveth that Christ in soule descended into hell. . . . But hee doth disagree from the Church of Rome that now is in the dregges, which it hath added: as, that Christ should harrow hell.* A further indication of the controversy surrounding this doctrine is given by Cooper later in the *Admonition* at p.96: *The article of the common Creed touching Christes descension into hell, contrary to the sense of all ancient writers, hath beene strangely interpreted, and by some, with unreverent speeches flatly rejected.*

⁵⁵³ Persuasion: Religious belief or opinion; a creed. (OED, p.1562)

⁵⁵⁴ Harrow: To harry, rob, spoil. (OED, p.929)

⁵⁵⁵ Pierce notes that 'according to the medieval conception of Christ's descent into hell, the object of the *descensus* was to spoil, or harrow (the same as harry) the prison-house'. Martin refers to this when he rhetorically asks for what purpose Christ would have descended into hell if, as Whitgift maintains, he did not go there to harrow it.

⁵⁵⁶ The Jesuit priest John Gerard (1564?-1637) makes mention of Richard Young in his *Autobiography*. According to Gerard, Young was 'the chief inquisitor of Catholics living in the neighbourhood of London and was in charge of searches and prosecutions'. (Caraman, p.68) Although Young worked in conjunction with the notorious Richard Topcliffe, Gerard's account of incidents involving the two men reveals basic personality differences. Young, for example, was susceptible to bribery: during Gerard's imprisonment his friends were able to bribe Young to secure Gerard's removal from the Counter to the Clink, a 'better prison', where Gerard enjoyed a great deal more freedom of movement. (p.77) Gerard gives an account of the circumstances of Young's death: 'one rainy night, at two or three o'clock, he got up to make a search of some Catholic houses. The effort left him exhausted; he became ill, contracted consumption and died. He left only debts behind him'. (p.92)

⁵⁵⁷ Order: To treat, deal with, manage (in a specified manner). (OED, p.1460)

⁵⁵⁸ See *Admonition*, p.34: *That which hee speaketh of Thackwell the Printer &c. is a matter nothing pertaining to him [Whitgift]. M. Richard Yong, was the dealer therein without his privity, who is able to justify his doings in that matter, and to convince the libeller of a malicious slander.*

⁵⁵⁹ Face: To show a bold or a false face. (OED, p.716) Martin's references to Whitgift as 'his Face' and 'my Lord Face' are presumably puns on this verb and 'his Grace'.

⁵⁶⁰ Wainscot: A superior quality of foreign oak imported from Russia, Germany, and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel-work; used figuratively ('This kind of men have faces of wainscote'). (OED, p.2496)

Concerning Waldegrave,⁵⁶³ it's no matter how you deal with him. He's a foolish fellow to suffer you to spoil⁵⁶⁴ his press and letters. And a⁵⁶⁵ had been my worship's printer,⁵⁶⁶ I'd kept him from your clutches. And yet, it is pity to belie⁵⁶⁷ the devil, and therefore you shall not belie him and go scot free.⁵⁶⁸ As for the press that Waldegrave sold,⁵⁶⁹ he did it by order, viz., he sold it to an allowed⁵⁷⁰ printer, I.C.,⁵⁷¹ one of his own Company, with the knowledge of his Warden,⁵⁷² Henry Denham,⁵⁷³ etc. And call you this favour,⁵⁷⁴ in releasing him after long imprisonment? But I will give you a precedent of great favour, indeed, wherein you may see what an ungrateful fellow Waldegrave is to his Grace, who hath been so good unto him from time to time. There being a controversy between another printer and Waldegrave (all matters of printing being committed by the Lords of the Council to his Grace),⁵⁷⁵ Waldegrave made one of his Company his friend (who could do much with his Grace) to deal for him, who brake the matter to his worship, being at Croydon in his orchard.⁵⁷⁶ So soon as the party named Waldegrave, he sweetly answered him saying, if it had been any of the Company save him, he would have granted the suit, but in no case to Waldegrave. Well, Waldegrave obtained the good Honourable Lord Treasurer's⁵⁷⁷ letter⁵⁷⁸ in his

⁵⁶¹ Forehead: Capacity of blushing; modesty. (OED, p.787)

⁵⁶² West country dialect. The comparison of the forehead to 'horn' may refer to the bishop's mitre.

⁵⁶³ The printer Robert Waldegrave (1554?-1604).

⁵⁶⁴ Spoil: To seize goods by force or violence. (OED, p.2083) See Martin's *Epistle* for an account of this incident.

⁵⁶⁵ A: He. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) *Hamlet* III iii 74: 'Now might I do it, but now a is a praying, And now Ill doo't, and so a goes to heaven'.

⁵⁶⁶ A daring statement, since Waldegrave was, at that time, the printer for the secret press. At the end of March, 1589, however, Waldegrave was replaced as printer by John Hodgkins, and left England for La Rochelle. While there, it seems likely he printed *A Dialogue* and *Master Some*. (MT, pp.352-3)

⁵⁶⁷ Belie: To tell lies about; esp. to calumniate by false statements. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁶⁸ Scot free: Free from payment of 'scot', tavern score, fine, etc.; exempt from injury, punishment. (OED, p.1908)

⁵⁶⁹ See *Admonition*, p.35: *The Calumination touching the Presse and Letters in the Charterhouse (which presse Waldgrave himselve soulede to one of the Earle of Arundels men, as it is since confessed) must receive the same answere with the other of Thackwell.*

⁵⁷⁰ Allowed: Licenced. (OED, p.50)

⁵⁷¹ Pierce considers 'I.C.' to be the John Charlewood mentioned in the *Epistle*.

⁵⁷² Warden: In certain guilds, especially in the Livery Companies of the City of London, a member of the governing body under the authority of the Master or the Prime Warden. (OED, p.2504) As a printer, Waldegrave was a member of the Stationers' Company.

⁵⁷³ Henry Denham, printer, whose works including editions of Bishop Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565), ridiculed by Martin in his *Epistle* as 'Cooper's dictionary'.

⁵⁷⁴ See *Admonition*, p.35: *Waldegrave received justly according to his deserts, having founde before that time, greater favour than he deserved.*

⁵⁷⁵ This particular Privy Council order is unidentified, although it may be that Martin refers here to the Star Chamber decree of June, 1586 which put both presses and printers under the control of the ecclesiastical commissioners.

⁵⁷⁶ By the later Saxon period, Croydon, ten miles south of London, was the heart of a huge estate belonging to the archbishops of Canterbury. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not earlier, the archbishops used the manor house as an occasional place of residence; and by the sixteenth century a substantial palace had been built up. This became the main summer home of the archbishops, until they sold it in 1781, and bought Addington Palace in its place. Many of the buildings of Croydon Palace survive, and are in use today as Old Palace School. (Croydon web site at www.croydononline.org) Martin's mention of Whitgift's orchard at Croydon suggests some familiarity with the archbishop's summer residence.

⁵⁷⁷ William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598). Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, was Lord Burghley's son-in-law, and it is interesting that Martin Marprelate here demonstrates detailed knowledge of an incident in which Whitgift's high-handed actions would have constituted a direct affront to Burghley.

⁵⁷⁸ It appears that Whitgift was approached on two separate occasions: on the first, Waldegrave's friend petitioned him, and received a negative answer; on the second, Waldegrave himself went to Croydon armed with a letter from Lord Burghley and, through the intervention of Dr. Cosin, obtained Whitgift's letter to the Wardens of the Stationers' Company.

**A new revenge for
an old grudge.**

behalf to his Grace who, when he had read it, said, *I will answer*⁵⁷⁹ *my Lord Treasurer*. With that, Waldegrave entreated for his⁵⁸⁰ favourable letter to the Wardens of his Company which, in the end, through Doctor Cosins,⁵⁸¹ he obtained (though late), yet went home at night, thinking to deliver it in the morning.⁵⁸² But before he was ready, the Wardens were with him, and rested⁵⁸³ him with a pursuivant upon his Grace's commandment, Waldegrave telling them there was a letter from his Grace which he received late the last night at Croydon. Who answered they knew it well enough, *But this is his pleasure now*.⁵⁸⁴ So they carried⁵⁸⁵ Waldegrave to prison, and in this his Grace was so good unto him as to help him with an hundred marks⁵⁸⁶ over the shoulders.⁵⁸⁷ If this be your favour, God keep me from you, ka⁵⁸⁸ M. Marprelate. Bishops have justly received according to their deserts, having found greater favour at my worship's hands than ever they deserved, being notorious, disobedient and godless persons, unthrifty spenders⁵⁸⁹ and consumers of the fruits not of their own labours (as you say Waldegrave was) but of the possessions of the church, persons that have violated their faith to God's church, her Majesty, and this whole kingdom, and wittingly bring us all (without the great mercy of God) to our undoing, so that our wives, children and servants have cause to curse all lord bishops.⁵⁹⁰ Lo, T.C., you see that I have a good gift in imitation,⁵⁹¹ and methinks I have brought your words into a marvellous good sense, whereas before in the cause they were unfavourably wrested.⁵⁹² And as for his wife and children, they have just cause to curse John of London and John of Canterbury for the tyrannizing over him by imprisoning, and spoiling his goods, and vexing his poor wife and children with continual rifling⁵⁹³ his house with their pursuivants who, in November last, violently rushed into his house, breaking though the main wall thereof after midnight, taking away his goods - for some of the pursuivants sold his books up and down the streets to watchmen and others.⁵⁹⁴ Ah, you antichristian prelates, when will you make an end of defending your tyranny by the blood and rapine⁵⁹⁵ of her Majesty's subjects? You have been the consumers of the fruits of Waldegrave's labours, for have you not sent him so often to prison that it seemed you made a common occupation thereof? For as soon as any book is printed in the defence of Christ's holy discipline or for the detecting of your antichristian dealings, but your ravening⁵⁹⁶ pursuivants fly city and country to seek for Waldegrave, as though he were bound by

⁵⁷⁹ Answer: To reply favourably to (a petitioner), or conformably to (his petition). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁸⁰ I.e., Whitgift's.

⁵⁸¹ Cosin, Richard (1549?-1597), Dean of the Arches and Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury.

⁵⁸² I.e., Waldegrave planned to deliver Whitgift's letter to the Wardens of the Stationers the next morning.

⁵⁸³ Rest: To arrest or apprehend (a person). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁸⁴ Re marginal note. See Whitgift's comments regarding Waldegrave below.

⁵⁸⁵ Carry: To conduct, lead, take with one. (OED, p.289)

⁵⁸⁶ Mark: In England, after the Conquest, the ratio of 20 sterling pennies to an ounce was the basis of computation; hence the value of the mark became fixed at 160 pence = 13s. 4d. o 2/3 of the £ sterling. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁸⁷ Over the shoulders: Indicating that what is said is meant ironically for the reverse. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED gives a strikingly similar example from Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596): 'By these complots . . . Wolfe could not choose but bee a huge gainer, a hundred marke at least over the shoulder'.

⁵⁸⁸ West Country dialect.

⁵⁸⁹ Spender: A consumer or waster of something. (OED, p.866)

⁵⁹⁰ See *Admonition*, p.34: *Waldegrave received justly according to his deserts . . . 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. His wife and children have cause to curse all wicked and ungodly Libellers.*

⁵⁹¹ I.e., his 'imitation' of Whitgift's diatribe against Waldegrave in the *Admonition*.

⁵⁹² Wrest: To put a wrong construction on the words or purport of (a writer); to interpret perversely. (OED, p.2579)

⁵⁹³ Rifle: To ransack, especially to take what is valuable. (OED, p.1830)

⁵⁹⁴ Pierce notes that Waldegrave would have been printing the *Epitome* at Fawsley in Northamptonshire when the pursuivants raided his house in London in November, 1588. (MT, p.274)

⁵⁹⁵ Rapine: Plunder, pillage, robbery. (OED, p.1747)

⁵⁹⁶ Raven: To take (goods) away by force; to seize or divide as spoil. (OED, p.1752)

**O, the greatness
of his Grace's
favour!**

statute⁵⁹⁷ unto you, either to make known who printed seditious books against my Lord Face⁵⁹⁸ or to go to prison himself, and threatened with the rack.⁵⁹⁹ And are you not ashamed to say that he ever violated his faith? You know well enough that he is neither archbishop nor lord bishop. The case thus stood, after he had remained a long time in prison. Not that time when Hartwell,⁶⁰⁰ his Grace's secretary, wished that his Grace might never eat bit of bread after he released him. Nor at that time when you, profane T.C., told him that all Puritans had traitorous hearts. Nor at that time Waldegrave told his Grace that he was worse than Bonner,⁶⁰¹ in regard of the time.⁶⁰² Nor that time when he was strangely⁶⁰³ released by one of the Lord of good London's swans.⁶⁰⁴ Neither was it at that time when his Grace (good, conscionable, noble man) violated his promise, in that he told the Wardens of the Stationers that, if Waldegrave would come quietly to him and cease printing of seditious books, he would pardon what was past, and the Wardens promised his wife that if he were committed they would lie⁶⁰⁵ at his Grace's gate till he were released, and for all this, yet he was committed to the White Lion⁶⁰⁶ where he lay⁶⁰⁷ five weeks. Nor it was not at that time when his Grace allowed Watson, the pursuivant,⁶⁰⁸ to take of Waldegrave 13 shillings 4 pence⁶⁰⁹ for carrying of him to the White Lion. But it was that time when his Grace kept him 20 weeks together in the White Lion for printing *The Complaint Of The Commonalty*,⁶¹⁰ *The Practice of Prelates*,⁶¹¹ *A Learned Man's Judgement*,⁶¹² etc. Means being used for his liberty, his friend who was bound for him⁶¹³ told him his liberty was obtained in manner following. *You must be bound, saith he, in a 100 pounds to print no more books hereafter but such as shall be authorized by her Majesty or his Grace, or such as were before lawfully authorized.* Whereunto he answered that it was not possible for him to contain⁶¹⁴ himself within the compass⁶¹⁵ of that bond, neither should his consent ever go to the same (the same will Doctor Cosins witness - that maidenly⁶¹⁶ Doctor who sits cheek by jowl with you - if he will speak a truth, which words Waldegrave uttered to him going in the old

**Whereby it may
appear he swore
not to his friend.**

⁵⁹⁷ Statute: A law made by a guild or corporation for the conduct of its members. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵⁹⁸ I.e., Whitgift.

⁵⁹⁹ Rack: An instrument of torture formerly in use, consisting of a frame having a roller at each end; the victim was fastened to these by the wrists and ankles and had the joints of his limbs stretched by their rotation. (OED, p.1736)

⁶⁰⁰ Hartwell, Abraham. In 1588, Whitgift appointed twelve persons to license books to be printed. The most active among these twelve were Abraham Hartwell the younger, secretary to Whitgift, and Dr. Stallard. (Carlson, p.33)

⁶⁰¹ Edmund Bonner (1500?-1569), Catholic Bishop of London, noted for his persecution of Protestants.

⁶⁰² In regard of: In respect of, with respect or reference to. (OED, p.1781)

⁶⁰³ Strangely: Surprisingly, unaccountably, oddly. (OED, p.2144)

⁶⁰⁴ Perhaps an allusion to Juno's swans, suggesting that the Bishop of London's men went about in pairs. *As You Like It*, II, i, 78-9: 'And whereso'er we went, like Juno's swans/ Still we went coupled and inseparable'.

⁶⁰⁵ Lie: To dwell or sojourn. (OED, p.1207)

⁶⁰⁶ The prison in Southwark. (MT, p.275)

⁶⁰⁷ Lie: To lie in prison. (OED, p.1207)

⁶⁰⁸ The Stationers' Registers show that 'Watson the pursuivant' was one of the individuals who travelled to Kingston Upon Thames in an attempt to arrest Waldegrave. See Martin's *Epistle*.

⁶⁰⁹ A sum equal to one mark. (Schmidt, p.694)

⁶¹⁰ Pierce identifies this publication as *A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament, For a Learned Ministry* (1585). (MT, p.275; RCEA, p.83)

⁶¹¹ *The unlawful Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, The Maintainers Of The Discipline of God.* c.1584. (MT, p.275; RCEA, p.79)

⁶¹² *The judgement of a most reverend and learned man from beyond the seas, concerning a threefold order of bishops, with a declaration of certaine other waightie points, concerning the discipline and governement of the church.* This treatise, published in 1580, and mentioned in the title of Bridges' *Defence*, is an English translation by John Field from the Latin of Theodore Beza. (MT, p.275; RCEA, p.81; British Library on-line catalogue)

⁶¹³ I.e., had entered into a bond.

⁶¹⁴ Contain: To restrict, confine. (OED, p.410)

⁶¹⁵ Compass: In figurative uses, bounds, limits. (OED, p.381)

⁶¹⁶ Maidenly: Gentle, modest, timid. (OED, p.1260)

palace at Westminster⁶¹⁷ with his keeper,⁶¹⁸ before he was released), yet he would gladly have his liberty, if he might lawfully. *For, said he, I, being a poor workman to my Company, cannot possibly observe it.* For many books heretofore printed had *cum privilegio*,⁶¹⁹ yet were never authorized. And, again, that it were but a folly for him to sue⁶²⁰ to her Majesty; the office were very base and unfit for her.⁶²¹ And he might be well assured that Caiaphas of Cant.⁶²² would never authorize anything for his behoof, and so it fell out. And thus Martin hath proved you in this - as in all other things - to be liars. And what is it that you bishops and your hang-ons will not say by⁶²³ Waldegrave, whom you would hang if you could. I will be brief in the rest, but so as [the] reader may perceive that T.C. was hired to lie by commission.⁶²⁴

Page 46.
Page 47.

Page 47.

I will stand to it that his Grace accounteth the preaching of the Word, being the only ordinary means of salvation, to be an heresy, and doth mortally persecute the same.⁶²⁵ His appellation⁶²⁶ to the obedient clergy⁶²⁷ shall stand him in no stead when *More Work For Cooper* is published. And there I will pay thee for abusing Master Wigginton⁶²⁸ and Master Davison,⁶²⁹ whose good names can take no stain from a bishop's chops.⁶³⁰ If his Grace rejected Master Evans for want of conformity,⁶³¹ why is the *quare impedit*⁶³² gotten against the bishop of Worcester⁶³³ by the noble

⁶¹⁷ The Gatehouse prison was at Westminster Palace. Gatehouse: The apartment over the gate of a city or palace, often strongly built and hence used as a prison; spec., that over the gate of the palace of Westminster. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶¹⁸ Keeper: One who has charge, care or oversight of any person or thing. (OED, p.1148)

⁶¹⁹ Cum privilegio (ad imprimendum solum): With privilege (of sole printing). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶²⁰ Sue: To petition or appeal for. (OED, p.2179)

⁶²¹ I.e., it would be unsuitable for the Queen to be troubled with such trivial matters as Waldegrave's suits to her for permission to print specific books.

⁶²² I.e., Whitgift. *Matthew 26:3: Then assembled together the chief Priests and the Scribes, and the Elders of the people into the hall of the high Priest, called Caiaphas. John 18:13: And led him away to Annas first (for he was Father in law to Caiaphas, which was the high Priest that same yere).* (GB, pp.15, 52).

⁶²³ By: About, concerning, with respect to. (OED, p.260)

⁶²⁴ Commission: A charge or matter entrusted to anyone to perform. (OED, p.376) Perhaps a pun on 'High Commission?'

⁶²⁵ See *Admonition*, p.38: *That heathenish untruth uttered divers times in this booke, that the Archbishoppe should accompt preaching of the word of God to be heresie, and mortally abhorre and persecute it, is rather to bee pitied then answered. . . . He doth bridle factious and unlearned Preachers, such as the more part of that sect are, who notwithstanding crie out for a learned Ministerie, themselves being unlearned, and so would be accounted of all men, if it were not propter studium partium. . . . Otherwise hee defieth all Martinists in Englande, and doeth appeale unto the whole State of the learned and obedient Cleargie for his innocencie therein.*

⁶²⁶ Appellation: Appeal. (OED, p.90)

⁶²⁷ *II Esdras 14:21: For thy Law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the workes that shalbe done.* (GB, p.403) This marginal note relates to Martin's statement that the Apocrypha is 'a profane and lying story in many places'.

⁶²⁸ Giles Wigginton (fl.1564-1597).

⁶²⁹ John Davidson (1549?-1603).

⁶³⁰ Chops: The jaws. (Usually contemptuous or humorous). (OED, p.330) Quare whether 'chops' is taken from the sound of the final syllable of 'bishops'.

⁶³¹ Conformity: Conformity in worship; compliance with the usages of the Church of England. (OED, p.397)

⁶³² *Quare impedit*: In law, a form of writ issued in cases of disputed presentation to a benefice, requiring the defendant to state why he hinders the plaintiff from making the presentation. (OED, p.1724) The use of the *quare impedit* appears to have been not unusual, judging from Cooper's comment in the *Admonition* at p.110: *And if the bishop shal make courtesie to admitte him, some such shift shall be found by the law, either by Quare impedit, or otherwise, that whether the bishop will or no, he shall be shifted into the benefice. I know some bishops, unto whom such sutes against the Patrones have bene more chargeable in one yeere, then they have gained by all the Benefices that they have bestowed since they were bishoppes, or I thinke will doe, while they bee bishoppes.*

⁶³³ Edmund Freake (1516?-1591), Bishop of Worcester from 1584-1591. (DNB, v.7, pp.670-1)

Page 48, 49.

II Esdras 14:21,
37, etc.

Page 50.

Earl of Warwick, his patron?⁶³⁴ I hope he will see both the *quare impedit* and the *praemunire*, too, brought upon the bones⁶³⁵ of Father Edmund of Worcester. It is a common brag with his Grace's parasites, and with himself, that he is the second person in the land.⁶³⁶ *More Work* shall pay his Grace for commending [sic?] the Apocrypha - a profane and lying story in many places - to be inseparably joined with the holy Word of God.⁶³⁷ You grant Doctor Spark⁶³⁸ to have set his Grace and yourself, T.C., at a nonplus, for the Septuagint⁶³⁹ is contrary to the Hebrew,⁶⁴⁰ and therefore you maintain⁶⁴¹ contrary translations, and require men to approve both.⁶⁴² Martin hath marred Richard Patrick's market,⁶⁴³ for otherwise he was in good hope to have a benefice at his Grace's hand and to be made a minstrel.⁶⁴⁴ Shameless and impudent wretches, that dare deny⁶⁴⁵ John of

⁶³⁴ Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (1528?-1590). See *Admonition*, p.38: *That of Evans concerning the Vicarage of Warwike is maliciously reported. He rejected him for lacke of conformitie to the orders of the Church. If hee have done him any wrong thereby, the lawe is open, hee might have had his remedie. That honourable person mentioned by the Libeller, I am sure, accepted of his answer. And I knowe, that according to his honourable disposition, hee thinketh himselfe greatly abused by the libeller in this point.*

⁶³⁵ Martin uses a similar expression in the *Epistle* ('I shall see the *praemunire* on the bones of you one day for these pranks').

⁶³⁶ See *Admonition*, p.39: *That which followeth of the Archbishops words to the knight, that he was the second person of the land, &c. is of the same kinde. The knight I am sure is living, let him be examined of that matter. True it is, that there was a good knight with him, an olde friend of his about such a sute: but that he ever spake any such wordes unto him, as the Libeller woulde make the worlde beleewe, is most false: the knight liveth and can testifie the same.*

⁶³⁷ See *Admonition*, p.39: *Touching the Apocrypha, &c. He gave commandement in deede, and meaneth to see it observed. For who ever separated this Apocrypha from the rest of the Bible, from the beginning of Christianity to this day? Or what Church in the world, reformed or other, doth yet at this present? And shal we suffer this singularitie in the church of England, to the advauntage of the adversary, offence of the godly, and contrary to al the world besides? I knowe there is great difference betweene the one and the other: yet all learned men have from the beginning, given to the Apocrypha authoritie, next to the Canonick Scriptures. And therefore such giddie heads, as seeke to deface them, are to be bridled. A foule shame it is, and not to be suffered, that such speeches should be uttered against these bookes, as by some hath bene: enough to cause ignorant people to discredite the whole Bible.*

⁶³⁸ Thomas Spark (1548-1616).

⁶³⁹ Septuagint: The Greek version of the Old Testament, which derives its name from the story that it was made by seventy-two Palestinian Jews at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284-247 B.C.) and completed by them, in seclusion on the island of Pharos, in seventy-two days. (OED, p.1944)

⁶⁴⁰ This sentence suggests Martin's knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew.

⁶⁴¹ Maintain: To uphold, defend (an opinion, statement, tenet, etc.); to assert to be true or right. (OED, p.1261)

⁶⁴² See *Admonition*, p.40: *Touching Dr. Sparke, &c. Their Honors that were then present, can and wil, I am sure, answere for the bishops to this untrueth. They made report to divers in publike place, and some to the highest, of that conference, after an other sort, and to another end, then the libeller doth. That seely Objection God knoweth, was soone answered in few words, viz. That the translation read in our Churches, was in that point according to the Septuagint, and correspondent to the Analogie of faith. For if the word be understood of the Israelites, then is it true to say, that they were not obedient to his commandement: but if of the signes and wonders, that Moses and Aaron did before Pharao, or of Moses and Aaron themselves, then is it on the other side true, that they were obedient to his commandement. This might have satisfied any learned and peaceable Divine and pacified their immoderate contention against the booke of common praier. This was then, and is now, the answer to that frivolous objection, and this is the Nonplus that the Libeller vaunteth of.*

⁶⁴³ To mar another's market: To spoil his trade. (OED, p.1280) Perhaps a pun on the first syllable of Martin's name?

⁶⁴⁴ See *Admonition*, p.40: *He never made Patrike Minister, neither intended to make him, neither was hee of his acquaintance at all in Worcester. Minstrel: In early use, any one whose profession was to entertain his patrons with music, story-telling, buffoonery, etc. (OED, p.1330) Stow's use of the word indicates that it could also be applied to someone who was not an entertainer by profession: '[T]he late dissolved priory of St. Bartilmew [was] founded also by Rahere, a pleasant witted gentleman, and therefore in his time called the king's minstrel'. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.335) Perhaps Martin intended a play on 'minister'?*

⁶⁴⁵ The vehemence of Martin's words indicates that he knows the denial to be a flagrant lie, suggesting his personal knowledge of this matter.

Cant. to have been at any time under Doctor Perne⁶⁴⁶ but as a Fellow⁶⁴⁷ of the House⁶⁴⁸ where he was Master,⁶⁴⁹ whereas all the world knoweth him to have been a poor scholar⁶⁵⁰ in that House.⁶⁵¹ Yea, and his Grace hath often confessed that he, being there a poor scholar, was so poor as he had not a napkin to wipe his mouth, but when he had gotten some fat meat off o' the Fellows' table, would go to the screen,⁶⁵² and first wipe his mouth on the one side and then o' the other because he wanted a napkin. Judge you whether this be not a meaner state than to carry a cloak-bag - which is not spoken to upbraid any man's poverty, but to pull the pride of God's enemy⁶⁵³ an ace⁶⁵⁴ lower. Although we cannot believe Doctor Perne in the pulpit, yet in this point we will not refuse his testimony.⁶⁵⁵

Pages 51, 52, 53,
54.

I am glad, John of London, you will not deny but you have the dyers' cloth.⁶⁵⁶ Make restitution, then! Thou madest the porter of thy gate a minister, John, and thou mightest do it lawfully? Why

⁶⁴⁶ Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (DNB, v.15, pp.896-7)

⁶⁴⁷ Fellow: In college or university use, one of the company or corporation who, with their head, constitute a college, and receive emoluments from the corporate revenues. (OED, p.737) Pierce notes that Whitgift was elected a perpetual Fellow of Peterhouse when Perne was Master. (MT, p.277)

⁶⁴⁸ House: A college in a university (i.e. either the building or the fellows and students collectively). (OED, p.990)

⁶⁴⁹ Master: As a title of office, the head of certain colleges in Oxford, Cambridge, etc. (OED, p.1287)

⁶⁵⁰ Scholar: A student who receives emoluments, during a fixed period, from the funds of a school, college, or university, towards defraying the cost of his education or studies, and as a reward of merit. (OED, p.1902)

⁶⁵¹ See *Admonition*, p.39: *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: Although if he had so done, it had bin no disgrace to him. Better mens sonnes then the Libeller is, have caried cloake-bags. But the lewde man is not ashamed to lye in those things, that are open to every mans eyes: such is his malice and impudencie.* Incidentally, the comment that 'better mens sonnes then the Libeller is, have caried cloake-bags' suggests that at this point the bishops had no inkling that Martin's identity.

⁶⁵² Screen: A partition of wood or stone, pierced by one or more doors, dividing a room or building into two parts. (OED, p.1912)

⁶⁵³ Quare whether 'God's enemy' is a reference to *Beowulf*.

⁶⁵⁴ Ace: In figurative uses, a single point, a jot, particle or atom. (OED, p.15)

⁶⁵⁵ Martin's comment suggests that Dr. Perne was the source of the stories regarding Whitgift's poverty as a student.

⁶⁵⁶ See *Admonition*, pp.41-42: *And as to Martins lewd exclamation against the B. of London concerning the cloth thought to be stollen from Dyars, this is the truth of the case: that upon notice given to the said B. that such like cloth was wayved within his Manor of Fulham, and left in a ditch there, and no owner knownen, hee presently hoping to take them that brought it thither, or at the least to save the same from purloyning or miscarying, appoynted the same to be watched divers nights: and in the end hearing neyther of the owners, nor of them that so waived it, willed the same to bee brought to his house in Fulham, and there to be kept for him or them which by law ought to have it, were it in respect of the first property, or of the alteration therof by means of the liberties. Whereupon, a good space after, the Dyars indeed came to the Bishop, and claimed the cloth, and sought by earnest means to have it again, without making any prooffe, that the cloth was theirs, or that the same cloth was it, for which the theeves were executed, or that fresh sute was made after the saide theeves for the same. But upon conference had with learned Lawyers therein, it was resolved, that the propertie of this cloth was altered and transferred to the lyberties: and so it seemeth the Dyars themselves have found, els would they by lawe have sought remedy therefore yer nowe, it beeing well nie towards three yeares since. Yet neverthelesse, so far hath the said bishop beene from exacting the extremity, that offer hath bene made to the Dyars of a good part of the cloth, where in rigour of the law, they have lost all: And further to restore all, or to make sufficient recompense therefore, if by law it ought to be so, upon the examination of the trueth of the case. And as for Martins erroneous judgement, that this is theft, beeing taken and claymed by right and lawe, as aforesayd, because the true owners are defeated (as hee saith) surely, hee might knowe if it were matter for his humor, that the Lawe worketh this in other cases, as in strayes proclaymed and kept a yeere and a day, according to the law, the propertie is altered, and transferred to the Lord from the true owner: so is it for stolen cattell, brought bona fide to the overt market. The first owners propertie is gone, and the buyer hath it: And so it is for waived goods, as was this cloth. And to shewe that the sayde Bishop had not so great a desire to detain the cloth as the Libeller hath presumed, hee often times asked an officer of his, howe it happened that the Dyars*

Pages 55, 56.

so, I pray thee? Why, man? Because he was almost blind, and at Paddington - being a small people⁶⁵⁷ - he could not starve as many souls as his master doth, which hath a great charge?⁶⁵⁸ I hope Master Madox will think scorn⁶⁵⁹ to ask John of London forgiveness. The substance of the tale is true. I told you that I had it at the second hand.⁶⁶⁰ Are you not ashamed to deny the elms to be cut down at Fulham?⁶⁶¹ Why, her Majesty's taker⁶⁶² took them from John of London. And, simple fellows, are you not able to discern between a pleasant⁶⁶³ frump⁶⁶⁴ given you by a Councillor,⁶⁶⁵ and a speech used in good earnest?⁶⁶⁶ Alas, poor John o' London, dost thou think that Master Vice-Chamberlain⁶⁶⁷ spake as he thought? Then it is time to beg⁶⁶⁸ thee for a swag. And so it is, if thou thinkest we will believe the turncoat, Doctor Perne, speaking unto us in his own name who, like an apostata, hath out of the pulpit told so many untruths. And as it is as lawful to bowl o' the Sabbath as it is to eat, and for you to make dumb ministers as it was for David

Page 57, 58.

came not for it: for hee was ever ready, and yet is, to deliver it to them, or the value thereof, if it prove to be theirs. Martin's comment cuts decisively through Aylmer's legalistic argument.

⁶⁵⁷ Small: Composed or consisting of, containing, few individual members. (OED, p.2025)

⁶⁵⁸ Charge: A thing or person entrusted to the care of anyone, specifically, the people or district committed to the care of a clergyman. (OED, p.316) See *Admonition*, p.42: *The Libeller objecteth against the Bishop as a great heinous fault, that of his Porter he made a Minister. . . . he allowed of him, to serve in a small congregation at Padington, where commonly for the meannesse of the stipend, no Preacher could be had, as in many places it commeth to passe where the Parsonage is impropriat, and the provision for the Vicar or Curat is very smal.*

⁶⁵⁹ The expression 'think scorn of', also found in the *Epitome*, is characteristic of Martin.

⁶⁶⁰ See *Admonition*, pp.43-44: *Further, for lacke of true matter, M. Maddockes must be brought in by the Libeller to furnish his railing comedy. It were ynough to say of that thus much, that the most reverent Father the Archbishop of Canterburie examining that matter betweene the Bishop and Maddockes, with some other Bishops assisting him, founde the matter to make so sore against the Bishop, that Maddockes himselfe was content before them to aske him forgiveness, and to promise that he would ever after have a reverent regard of his duetie towards the saide Bishop, as his Ordinarie. For if he should so untruely have played with the name of Aelmer, by turning it into the name of Mar-elme, hee shoulde have spoken against his conscience, as he himselfe knoweth, and all the Court, and her Majestie her selfe can testifie, that it was a most shamefull untrueth blased abroade by one Lichfield a Musicion, which is nowe departed.*

Martin's comment (made initially in the *Epistle*, and repeated here) that he relied on 'second hand' information for the story that Madox called Aylmer 'Mar-Elm' serves to emphasize the fact that Martin had first hand personal knowledge of the other incidents related in the tracts. Moreover, as Martin states, the 'substance of the tale is true': Aylmer did cut down all the elms at Fulham.

⁶⁶¹ See *Admonition*, p.44: *Here might bee noted, howe Doctor Perne, beeing at no meane mans table, and hearing of such slanderous rayling of felling of the Elmes at Fulham, he asked one of the company being an ancient Lawyer, howe long the Elmes of Fulham had bene felled. Said the Lawyer, some half yere past. Nowe truly saide D. Perne, they are marveiouslie growen in that time, for I assure you I was there within these foure daies, and they seeme to be two hundred yeeres old. And maister Vicechamberlaine at her Majesties being at Fulham, tolde the Bishop that her Majestie misliked nothing, but that her Highnesse lodging was kept from all good prospects by the thickness of the trees.*

⁶⁶² Taker: An officer who took or exacted supplies of necessities for the sovereign. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED gives an example from Nashe's *Have With You To Saffron Walden* (1596): 'Let all the droppings of my pen bee seized upon by the Queenes Takers for Tarre to dresse ships with'.

⁶⁶³ Pleasant: Humorous, facetious. (OED, p.1605)

⁶⁶⁴ Frump: A flout; jeer. (OED, p.813)

⁶⁶⁵ Sir Thomas Heneage was appointed to the Privy Council on November 11, 1577. (Brooks, p.167).

⁶⁶⁶ Earnest: Seriousness, as opposed to jest. (OED, p.623)

⁶⁶⁷ Vice-chamberlain: A subordinate or deputy chamberlain; spec., an officer of the Royal Household under the Lord Chamberlain. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The Queen visited Fulham on January 16-20th, 1588, and it was apparently during this visit that Sir Thomas Heneage made the remark in question. However, Heneage was not Vice-Chamberlain at the time. The office was vacant from 1587 until 1589, when Heneage, an ally of Whitgift's, was appointed. It appears that both Aylmer and Martin bestowed the title on Heneage when referring to this incident because it was Heneage's current title, not because he held it at the time he made the remark in January 1588. (Kinney, p.6; Hunt, p.100; Cole, p.207)

⁶⁶⁸ To beg (anyone) as a fool: To set him down as a fool. (OED, p.175) Similarly, 'to beg thee for a swag'.

Page 62. to eat of the shewbread (page 110), or for the Macchabees to fight on the Sabbath,⁶⁶⁹ or for Moses to grant a bill of divorcement.⁶⁷⁰ I perceive these men will have the good divinity if it be to be gotten for money.

Page 58. Yea, and our Saviour Christ sware by his faith very often. How so, good John? I never heard that before. Why, saith T.C., *He said 'Amen, Amen' very often, and 'Amen' is as much as 'by my faith'* (page 62).⁶⁷¹ Horrible and blasphemous beasts! Whither will your madness grow in a while, if you be not restrained? Master Allen, the grocer, is paid - all save 10 pound. For the use of that, the executors have John o' London's blessing.⁶⁷² And I think they are reasonably well served.⁶⁷³ If

Page 59. the tale of Benison be not true, why was John of London allotted⁶⁷⁴ by the Council to pay him (I think) 40 pounds for his false imprisonment?⁶⁷⁵ John of London is not dumb, because he preacheth sometimes thrice a year at Paul's Cross. Then we shall never make our money of it, I see.⁶⁷⁶ But I pray thee, T.C., how canst thou excuse his blasphemy of *Eli, Eli, Lamma sabachthani?*⁶⁷⁷ There have been 2 outrageous facts, amongst other, committed in the world by those that profess true religion: the one was the betraying of our Saviour by Judas, an apostle; the other was the horrible mocking of his Agony and bitter Passion by John Aylmer,⁶⁷⁸ a bishop, in this speech. If he had been in some reformed churches, the blasphemer would have hardly escaped with his life. And is it true, sweet boy, indeed? Hath Leicestershire so embraced the gospel without contention, and that by Dumb John's means?⁶⁷⁹ Little dost thou know what thou hast done now. How if Martin be a

Pages 6, 61, 62.

⁶⁶⁹ See *Admonition*, p.89: *The Machabees fought on the Sabboth day contrary to this commandement, Thou shalt keepe holy the Sabooth day:*

⁶⁷⁰ All these points are dealt with on page 89 of the *Admonition*.

⁶⁷¹ See *Admonition*, p.48: *[F]or in the phrase of our speech, by my faith signifieth no more, but, in very trueth, bona fide, in trueth, assuredly, id est, Amen.*

⁶⁷² See Martin's *Epistle*.

⁶⁷³ See *Admonition*, p.46: *Martin with his bitter stile of malicious Momus dipt in the gall of ungodlinesse, proceedeth in a shamelesse untrueth touching the Bishops answere to the executors of Allein the Grocer, as though he should flatly denie the payment of a certaine debt, due to the sayde Allein: which is as true as all the rest of Martins writings is honest and sober. For bee it that at the first demaunde, the Bishoppe was somewhat mooved to heare his name to be in the Merchants bookes, which hee ever so precisely avoyded, that commonly he sendeth to them whom hee hath to doe with, warning them to deliver nothing in his name, without his owne hand or ready money, used peradventure some sharpe wordes in a matter that was so suddaine and so strange to him: Yet most certaine it is, that though not at that time, yet very shortly after, the debt was discharged, as shall be prooved, long before Martins railing booke was heard of or seene: ten pound excepted, which the sayde executors for a time respited.*

⁶⁷⁴ Allot: To make it the lot of, appoint, destine (a person to do something). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin here provides information not found in the *Epistle*, i.e., that the Bishop of London's refusal to pay Allen's executors came before the Privy Council, and that the Council ordered Aylmer to pay the debt.

⁶⁷⁵ See *Admonition*, p.46: *Another mountaine that he maketh of molehils (for such is all his blasphemous buildings) is, that one Benison a poore man, was kept in the Clincke I cannot tell howe long, unjustly without cause, &c. . . . After they had dealt with him, and could finde at his hands nothing but railing, they sent him againe to the Bishop, and he finding him in unspeakable disobedience to her Majestie and her Lawes, offered him the oath, which he contemptuously and spitefully refused. Which being certified according to order, hee was sent to the Queenes bench, and was condemned, and thereupon sent to prison. And this is that wonderful tragedie wherein this fellow so greatly triumpheth, wishing belike (as his whole Libell seemeth to desire) that no malicious schismaticke should be punished for mooving sedition in the lande.*

⁶⁷⁶ See *Admonition*, p.48: *Is this to be dumbe? howe many Sermons hath hee preached at Paules crosse: sometimes three in a yeere, yea, sometime two or three together, being an olde man, to supply some yonger mens negligence.*

⁶⁷⁷ Mark 15:34: *And at the ninth houre Jesus cryed with a loude voyce, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lamma-sabachtani? which is by interpretacion, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* (GB, p.26)

⁶⁷⁸ In the text, this is 'Elmar'.

⁶⁷⁹ See *Admonition*, p.47: *Is he dumbe because hee was the onely preacher in Leicestershire for a space, as the noble Earle of Huntington can witness? and by their two meanes, that shire, God be blessed, was converted and brought to that state that it is now in? In which true religion is above any other place, because they retaine the Gospell without contention, which fewe other places doe.*

Page 63.

Leicestershire man? Hast not thou then set out the praise of thine own bane?⁶⁸⁰ For Martin, I am sure, hath wrought your Caiaphas' chair more wrack and misery than all the whole land beside. And therefore thou seest a man may be so mad sometimes that he may praise *he cannot tell what*. The bishop of Rochester, in presenting himself to a parsonage, did no more than law allowed him.⁶⁸¹ And do so again, good John of Rochester, and it will be for thy credit. Fa! These Puritans would find fault, I think, with John of Cant. if he, believing that Christ in soul went to hell, should hold it unlawful for a man to pray unto Christ, being in hell. And, sweet John of Cant., if ever thou prayedst in thy life for anybody's souls, now pray for thy brother Doctor Squire⁶⁸² and Tarleton's⁶⁸³ souls. They were honest fellows, though I think Dean John's ears be longer. For why, good sweet John, may not your worship do this as well as William of Lincoln might pray that our souls should be with the souls of professed traitorous papists?⁶⁸⁴

Pages 63, 64.

The good bishop of Winchester did not protest that at Sir Mary Overies which was laid to his charge, but he spake some things that way. Well, brother Winchester, you confess the most part, and we will believe the rest for your sake without witness.⁶⁸⁵ The bishop of Winchester never said that it was an heresy to hold that the preaching of the Word was the only ordinary means to salvation, but inasmuch as Penry held that the effect⁶⁸⁶ of salvation could not be wrought by the Word read, he said that was not far from heresy.⁶⁸⁷ Why, brother Cooper, what is this else but open

Pages 14, 65, 66,
etc. Page 7.

⁶⁸⁰ Bane: That which causes ruin or woe. (OED, p.153)

⁶⁸¹ John Young (1534?-1605), Bishop of Rochester from 1578-1605. See *Admonition*, p.48: *Among other their reproches, they affirme of the bishop of Rochester, that hee presented him selfe to a benefice. I doe not thinke it to be true, for that I know it can not be good in Lawe. If he hath procured a benefice in way of Commendam (as they call it) it is by lawe allowed, and hath bene done by other.*

⁶⁸² Pierce is of the view that this reference cannot be to Aylmer' son-in-law, Dr. Adam Squire, with whom Aylmer 'went to buffets'. (MT, p.280) In any event, the 'Dr. Squire' referred to was clearly deceased by the spring of 1589.

⁶⁸³ The actor and clown Richard Tarleton (d.1588). See Martin's *Epistle*.

⁶⁸⁴ William Wickham (1539-1595), Bishop of Lincoln from 1584-1595, preached at the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). See *Admonition*, p.49: *If the bishop of Lincolne had not even of late shewed himselfe in the Commission Court, at the examination of some of them, he had now escaped this scratch of the lewde lying Martin Marprelate. What his wordes were I have forgotten, and yet I heard them delivered by a learned man that was present. For I did not then meane to deale in this cause, but they were nothing sounding to that which the Libell layeth downe. And the person considered at whose funerall hee preached, hee could not with comelinesse speake lesse in her commendation then he did, unlesse they woulde have had him as rash and furious as themselves, and to enter into Gods secrete judgement, and openly to condemne her as a reprobate. God may work great matters in a moment.*

⁶⁸⁵ See *Admonition*, p.57: *The Bishop of Winchester is further charged in this maner, He said that men might find fault, if they were disposed to quarrel, aswel with the Scriptures, as with the booke of common prayer. . . . At that time, in S. Mary Overies church, in a large discourse, he did answeere the objections that many make at this day, against the booke of common praier, and toward the end uttered these words, If it could without blasphemy, they might picke as many and as great quarrels against the holy scriptures themselves. For even the best writings are subject to the slanderous malice of wicked men. This assertion was found fault withall, by a Jesuite or Massing priest at that time in the Marshalsey, and therfore the B. the next Sunday following, expounded his meaning, and at large shewed, that that might be done, which before time was done by a great number: and that he was not so far beside himself, as to compare the booke of common prayer with the holy scriptures in dignity, trueth, or majestie.*

⁶⁸⁶ Effect: Efficacy. (OED, p.631)

⁶⁸⁷ See *Admonition*, pp.58-59: *Of like trueth it is, that he burtheneth the Bishop of Winchester, to affirme that it was heresie to say, The preaching of the worde was the onely ordinarie way to salvation, which he never thought, or spake, either then, or at any other time of his life. But in handling of that controversie, Penrie spake things so strangely and obscurely, that he seemed to attribute that effect to the preaching of the word only, and not otherwise used by reading: And being urged with that question, by occasion of reading the scriptures in Churches, his answeere was such, as he evidently shewed himselfe to meane, that that effect of salvation could not be wrought by hearing the word of God read, with some other wordes, giving suspition of worse matter. And then in deede the B. rose not out of his place, (as these honest men doe carpe) nor spake in such cholerike maner, as they pretend: but quietly said, My Lord, this is not farre from Heresie. What were the words that Penry used, and especially moved the B. to speake, he doeth not at this time remember: but sure he is, they were as farre from that, which is laide down in the Libel, as falshood can be from truths.*

Pages 72, 75.

confession? For John Penry, as appeareth in his writings, holdeth the Word read to be no ordinary means of salvation at all. This I know you will account an heresy; otherwise, your case is damnable, that cause the people to content themselves with reading,⁶⁸⁸ and hold that they may ordinarily be saved thereby.⁶⁸⁹ Yea, but Thomas of Winchester disputed a Master of Art 45 year ago in divinity.⁶⁹⁰ Here is an old lad⁶⁹¹ once!⁶⁹² I hope that disputation was very cholericly performed. And he did once as pretty a thing as that came to. For once, preaching at Canter., he was disposed to note⁶⁹³ out T.C. - I mean simple T.C. - in his sermon. His part he played after this sort. He noted 4 great hydras⁶⁹⁴ of the gospel in his sermon: (1) carnal security,⁶⁹⁵ (2) heathenish gentility,⁶⁹⁶ (3) obstinate papistry, (4) Saith he, *When I look in his forehead, I find 'T.C.' written therein, which I cannot otherwise interpret than 'thankless curiosity' - thankless for the benefits already received, and more curious than needs, in vain and needless questions.* The old student did not know himself to be T.C. when he thus spake, and this is that 'thankless curiosity' that hath answered Martin. Yea, and he saw Martin's picture drawn when he was a young man.⁶⁹⁷ I perceive, then, he was not blind as the old porter of Paddington, whom John of London bedeaconed and beministrelled.⁶⁹⁸ Lucian⁶⁹⁹ of Westminster⁷⁰⁰ himself was the painter;⁷⁰¹ Midas of Cant., the

⁶⁸⁸ I.e., the reading of the Scriptures by ministers, as opposed to preaching.

⁶⁸⁹ Re marginal note: According to Pierce, the reference to p.75 is a misprint. (MT, p.281)

⁶⁹⁰ See *Admonition*, p.59: *It is known five and fourtie yeres since, that he was Master of Art, and Student of Divinite, and disputed in that facultie.*

⁶⁹¹ Lad: Applied familiarly (occasionally ironically) to a man of any age. (OED, p.1167)

⁶⁹² Once: (*Emphatically*) Once for all. Hence, as a qualification of the whole statement: to sum up; in short. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED gives an example from Nashe's *Have With You To Saffron Walden* (1596): 'This is once, I both can and wilbe shut of this tedious chapter of contents'.

⁶⁹³ Note: To indicate; to point *out*, to set or show *forth*. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶⁹⁴ Hydra: In Greek mythology, the fabulous many-headed snake of the marshes of Lerna, whose heads grew again as fast as they were cut off; hence, an evil resembling the Lernaean hydra, especially in the difficulty of its extirpation. (OED, p.1001)

⁶⁹⁵ Carnal: Not spiritual, in a privative sense; unregenerate, unsanctified, worldly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) By 'carnal security', Cooper may intend something similar to the 'heathenish securitie in sinne and wickednesse' and the 'securitie in sinne' of which he makes mention on pages 22 and 177 of the *Admonition*.

⁶⁹⁶ Gentility: In relation to 'gentile', heathenish, paganism. (OED, p.843)

⁶⁹⁷ The relevant passage from the *Admonition*, in which Cooper describes 'Martin's picture', is printed below.

⁶⁹⁸ Be: As prefix: To make. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) 'Bedeacon' and 'beminstrel' from *Hay Any Work For Cooper* are both given as examples in the OED, as well as an example from Nashe's *Lenten Stuff*: 'Too foul-mouthed I am, to becollow, or becollier him, with such chimney-sweeping attributes'.

⁶⁹⁹ Lucian: The name of a celebrated writer of Greek dialogues (c.160 A.D.); thus, Lucianical: pertaining to or like Lucian and his style; marked by a scoffing wit. (OED, p.1245)

⁷⁰⁰ Martin presumably refers to Gabriel Goodman (1529?-1601), Dean of Westminster. See Martin's *Epistle*.

⁷⁰¹ In the ensuing description, Martin satirizes the following passage in the *Admonition* at pp. 71-72: *Now because M.M. is so notable a paynter of Bishops visages, and can purtry them all with faces of seasoned wainscot: it were good for him in some table to behold his owne ougly shape, that he and his children may learne to be ashamed of themselves. I saw his figure drawn and set forth in a table when I was a yong man: the paynter was one very nigh of his kinne: His name was Lucian. The figure was this, An ancient man of some authoritie sate upon the judgment seate: he was like Mydas that covetous King: for hee had long eares like an Asse, and had sitting on eche side of him a woman: the name of the one was Ignorance, the other was called Jelous Suspicion, which two made him very rash in credite. Then commeth in M. Martin M. otherwise called Calluminator, a false accuser, trimmed handsomely for his better credite, and not a wrinkle awry in his garment: but seemed somewhat to halte and not to goe upright: his eyes and gesture fierce and fierie: In his left hand, he caried a flaming firebrand to note his furie. With his right hand he drew by the haire of the head a young man, his name was Innocencie, who lifted up his handes to heaven, protesting before God that he was giltlesse in the cause. There folowed two or three, much like to schollers: their names were Dolus, Fraus, Insidiae. These clapped their Master on the backe to encourage him. And because Master Martin will be a gentleman, he had a treader before him, an olde fellowe: his eyes were fierce, his face thinne and withered, his whole countenance much like to one pined away with a melancholy and fretting furie. His name was Livor, that is cankred malice, or envie: A little behinde followed dolefull Dame repentance in mourning apparell, and looking backe with shame and teares, goeth*

judge.⁷⁰² The one of the two women called Ignorance was the Good Wife of Bath, Doctor Culpable, Warden of New College.⁷⁰³ The other, called Jealous Suspicion, was the fox, John of Exeter.⁷⁰⁴ Then came in Wynken de Worde, *alias* Doctor Prime, calumniator.⁷⁰⁵ This Wynken and his Lordship of Winchester⁷⁰⁶ drew Innocency, to wit, Martin Marprelate, gentleman, by the hair of his head. Then followed *Dolus, Fraus, Insidiae*, to wit, Doctor Perne, Doctor Kenold⁷⁰⁷ and Doctor Cosins. The treader⁷⁰⁸ was Cankered Malice. His eyes were fiery, his face thin and withered, pined away with melancholy, and this was Doctor Copcot.⁷⁰⁹ Then followed Doleful Repentance, that is, Dean John,⁷¹⁰ repenting that ever he had written in the bishops' behalf, because his Grace is not so good as his word.⁷¹¹

T.C., consider this picture until we meet again. Now, my business calleth me away. I am travelling towards Banbury,⁷¹² for I hear say that there hath been old⁷¹³ ado! For bakers' daughters would have knights, whether they would or no.⁷¹⁴ I will learn the truth hereof, etc.,⁷¹⁵ and so I will post to Solihull,⁷¹⁶ and, visiting some parts of Stafford, Warwick and Nottingham shires, I will make a journey back again to Norfolk and Suffolk: I have a register⁷¹⁷ at Bury.⁷¹⁸ By that time, my visitors⁷¹⁹ will be come out of Cornwall, Devon and Hampshire. And now, fare thee well, good profane T.C. I cannot now meddle⁷²⁰ with the long period which thou hast in the 33rd [and] 34th page of thy book. It is but 38 lines.⁷²¹ Thou art longer-winded than Dean John is, I see, though he hath longer periods than that which I set down.⁷²² Whereas thou dost complain that the

to meete Lady Trueth, comming somewhat after. . . . If Martin that delighteth so much in himselfe, woulde discretely beholde this Table, I trust hee would diminish some part of his follie. But for that it liketh Martin, not onely to be a false accuser, but also a rash and credulous Judge with his long Asses eares receiuing every untrueth that is tolde him, he may beholde himselfe in all the partes of the Table.

⁷⁰² I.e., John Whitgift. Midas: The name of a fabled king of Phrygia, whose touch turned everything (including his food) into gold. Apollo gave him ass's ears for being dull to the charm of his lyre. (OED, p.1320)

⁷⁰³ Dr. Martin Colepepper was Warden of New College, Cambridge from 1573-1599. (MT, p.282) Quare in what way Dr. Colepepper merited a comparison to Chaucer's Wife of Bath; had he perhaps married several times?

⁷⁰⁴ John Wolton (1535?-1594), Bishop of Exeter from 1579-1594.

⁷⁰⁵ This, and Martin's earlier reference to Dr. Prime as 'Wynken de Worde', suggest that Prime had some connection with printing, perhaps as a writer.

⁷⁰⁶ I.e., Thomas Cooper.

⁷⁰⁷ John Kennall, archdeacon of Oxford and vice-chancellor of the university. (Carlson, p.430)

⁷⁰⁸ Treader: The OED does not define 'treader', but draws attention to Elyot's definition of *anteambulo*: 'the ussher or treader that goeth before his maister'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁷⁰⁹ John Copcot (d.1590), Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge. (DNB, v.4, p.1089) See *Epistle*.

⁷¹⁰ i.e., John Bridges.

⁷¹¹ Martin suggests that Bridges wrote the *Defence* in expectation of preferment from Whitgift.

⁷¹² In Oxfordshire.

⁷¹³ Old: In colloquial use: = Great, plentiful, abundant, excessive; 'grand'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED gives an example from *Much Ado About Nothing* V ii 98: 'Yonders old coile at home'.

⁷¹⁴ Ado: Doing, fuss. (OED, p.27) Quare what the 'ado' was in Banbury, and how it related to the expression 'bakers' daughters would have knights'. See also *Hamlet* IV v 42: 'They say the owl was a baker's daughter'.

⁷¹⁵ A further indication of the fact that Martin placed little reliance on second-hand sources.

⁷¹⁶ According to Carlson, Solihull is located about twelve miles northwest of Job Throckmorton's manor of Haseley. (p.388)

⁷¹⁷ Register: A book or volume in which regular entry is made of particulars or details of any kind which are considered of sufficient importance to be exactly and formally recorded; a written record or collection of entries thus formed. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁷¹⁸ Bury St. Edmonds, Suffolk.

⁷¹⁹ Visitor: One who visits officially for the purpose of inspection or supervision, in order to prevent or remove abuses or irregularities. (OED, p.2483)

⁷²⁰ Meddle: To concern oneself. (OED, p.1299)

⁷²¹ Martin appears to refer to the sentence found on page 89 of the *Admonition*.

⁷²² See Martin's *Epistle*.

livings of our bishops are so small that some of their children are like to go a-begging,⁷²³ there is a present⁷²⁴ remedy for that. For to what end else is John of Cant. unmarried, but to provide for the bishops' children who shall be poorly⁷²⁵ left? Though, indeed, I never said in my life that there was ever any great familiarity (though I know there was some acquaintance) between Mistress Toy⁷²⁶ and John Whitgift. *And I'll befie⁷²⁷'em, I'll befie 'em, that will say so of me!* And wherefore is Richard of Peterborough⁷²⁸ unmarried, but to provide for other men's children? O, now I remember me, he has also a charge⁷²⁹ to provide for his hostess⁷³⁰ and cousin⁷³¹ of Sibson.⁷³² The petticoat which he bestowed upon her within this six months was not the best in England; the token⁷³³ was not unmeet⁷³⁴ for her state.⁷³⁵ Farewell, farewell, farewell, old Martin, and keep thee out of their hands for all that! For thou art a shrewd⁷³⁶ fellow. Thou wilt one day overthrow them, Amen. *And then thou swearest by thy faith,* quoth John of London.

Martin the metropolitan to John the metropolitan⁷³⁷ saith, *Nemo confidat nimium secundis.*⁷³⁸

Martin to his troubled sons saith, *Nemo desperet meliora lapsus.*⁷³⁹

Anglia Martinis disce favere tuis.

Faults Escaped.

Title, line 10, read 'Chaplain hath showed himself in his late *Admonition To The People Of England* to be, etc.'

⁷²³ See *Admonition*, p.114: *The sight whereof, I thinke, doth move some bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, to bee the more careful for their wives and children, that they may have some stay after their time, and not to bee turned to live upon Almes, where charitie and Christian consideration is so cleane banished. Ecclesiasticall persons are not as other parents are. For so soon as they depart this life, or otherwise bee put from their living, because they have no state but for life, their wives and children without consideration are turned out of the doores. And if in their husbandes time they have not some place provided, they hardly can tel how to shift for themselves.*

⁷²⁴ Present: Ready at hand. (OED, p.1660)

⁷²⁵ Poorly: In a state of poverty or indigence; necessitously. (OED, p.1628)

⁷²⁶ According to Carlson, mention is made in the *Second Admonition* and in *Certain Articles* to the bookbinder and 'persecuting printer' Humphrey Toy, who may be a relative of the mysterious 'Mistress Toy'. (pp.323, 327)

⁷²⁷ Again, Martin's use of 'b' for 'd' suggests the possibility that this was a peculiarity of Whitgift's speech.

⁷²⁸ Richard Howland (1540-1600), Bishop of Peterborough from 1585-1600. (DNB, v.10, pp.125-6) See *Epistle*.

⁷²⁹ Charge: Pecuniary burden. (OED, p.316)

⁷³⁰ Hostess: A woman that lodges and entertains guests; specifically, the mistress of an inn. (OED, p.988)

⁷³¹ Cousin: A trull. (OED, p.443)

⁷³² Sibson, Leicestershire is located approximately 15 miles west of the city of Leicester, near Bosworth Field.

⁷³³ Token: Something given as an expression of affection. (OED, p.2320)

⁷³⁴ Unmeet: Unfit or unsuited for some end or purpose. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁷³⁵ State: A person's condition or position in life; a person's natural, social, or legal status. (OED, p.2112)

⁷³⁶ Shrewd: Cunning, artful; clever or keen-witted in practical affairs; astute, penetrating, or sagacious in action or speech. (OED, p.1985)

⁷³⁷ I.e., Whitgift.

⁷³⁸ Line 615 of Seneca's *Thyestes*: *Nemo confidat nimium secundis* (No man should put his trust in the smile of fortune). (Watling, p.71; <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sen.thyestes.html>)

⁷³⁹ Line 616 of Seneca's *Thyestes*: *Nemo desperet meliora lapsis* (No man abandon hope in a time of trouble). (Watling, p.71; <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sen.thyestes.html>)

Epistle, page 3, read *Eulokein* for Eulogeni.

Bear with the rest of the faults.

- Admonition To The People Of England*, 12, 56
 Allen, George, a grocer, 52
Answer To A Certain Libel, 40
 Atkinson, a parishioner of Sedburgh, 43
 Aylmer, John (1521-1594)
 blasphemy, 52
 bowling, 13
 imprisons Benison, 52
 makes his porter a minister, 50, 54
 Parson Gravat his bousing mate, 37
 sermons at Paul's Cross, 36, 52
 two-hand sword, 13, 17
 Banbury, 55
 Bancroft, Richard (1544-1610)
 a trencher-chaplain, 41
 Benison, Barnaby
 imprisoned by Aylmer, 52
 Beza, Theodore (1519-1605)
 author of *Judgment Of A Most Reverend
 And Learned Man*, 47
 Bible, references to
 Aaron, 36
 Abraham, 10
 Acts, 16
 Apocrypha, 49
 Balaam, 34, 35, 36
 Caiaphas, 48, 53
 Corinthians, 17, 18, 21, 22
 David, 3, 52
 Diotrephes, 13
 Ephesians, 18
 Genesis, 37
 Hebrews, 21, 22
 James, 16
 Jeremiah, 10
 Judas, 13, 16, 35, 52
 Luke, 7, 10
 Macchabees, 52
 Mark, 52
 Matthew, 3, 23
 Moses, 21, 22, 23, 52
 Noah, 37
 Numbers, 34, 35
 Paul, 9, 35
 Peter, 35
 Romans, 17, 18, 22
 Sara, 10
 Septuagint, 49
 Simon Magus, 13
 Bishops
 enemies to the state, 19, 20, 22, 27, 31, 42
 favour Catholics over Puritans, 43
 send pursuivants for Martin, 2
 simony, 36
 threaten to hang Martin, 24
 traitors, 32
 would hang Waldegrave, 48
 Boniface I, Pope, 25
 Bonner, Edmund (c.1500-1569)
 Whitgift worse than, 47
Book Of Christian Liberty, 26
 Bridges, John (d.1618)
 as 'Doleful Repentance', 55
 ass, 53
 ass-head, 41
 Martin's challenge to, 19
 Bullingham, John (d.1598)
 Bishop of Gloucester, 14
 mass-priest, 14
 unlearned, 5
 Bury St. Edmonds, 55
 Caesar, Julius (100-42 B.C.), 27
 Cambridge University, 50, 55
 Cartwright, Thomas (1535-1603)
 and Whitgift, 3
 author of *Reply To An Answer*, 40
 learned, 41
 simple T.C., 41
 Catholicism, satiric references to
 papist trull, 10
 say Mass at our house, 43
 Catiline (c.108-62 B.C.), 27
 Cecil, William, Lord Burghley (1520-1598)
 letter on behalf of Waldegrave, 45
 Cethegus (fl. 63 B.C.), 27
 Chaderton, William (1540?-1608)
 card-playing and gambling, 5
 Chard, Thomas
 prints Bridges' *Defence*, 42
 Cliffe, a cobbler
 of Battle bridge, 43
Complaint Of The Commonalty, 47
 Cook, Thomas, 1, 4
 Cooper, Mistress
 her gadding, 42
 liaison with John Day, 4, 17
 Cooper, Thomas (1517?-1594), 55
 ass, 32
 author of *Admonition To The People Of
 England*, 1, 56
 Bishop of Winchester, 53
 calls Puritans traitors, 47
 choleric disposition, 33, 54
 lack of knowledge of Greek, 5, 13
 Martin's challenge to, 19
 Master of Arts, 3
 parson of East Meon, 1
 profane T.C., 17, 41
 schoolmaster, 26
 sermon at Canterbury, 54
 sermon at St. Mary Overies, 53
 simony, 36
 unlearned, 26
 Copcot, John (d.1590), 7, 16
 as 'Cankered Malice', 55
 Martin's challenge to, 19
 Cornwall, 55
 Cosin, Richard (1549?-1597), 7, 16
 Martin's challenge to, 19
 witnesses Waldegrave's words, 47
 Court of Admiralty, 28
 Cranmer, Thomas (1489-1556), 25
 Croydon, 45
 Dating of events in Marprelate tracts

- 1588 (May)
 Glibery's sermon at Halstead, 11
- 1588 (September)
 Tarleton's death, 53
- Davidson, John
 mentioned in *Admonition To The People Of England*, 40
- Davison, John
 mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 48
- Day, John
 liaison with Mistress Cooper, 4, 17
 of Magdalen College, 17
 of Wells, 4
- Deiotarus, King (d.40 B.C.), 27
- Denham, Henry
 warden of Stationers' Company, 45
- Denmark, 26
- Devon, 55
- Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick (1528?-1590)
 seeks quare impedit, 49
- Duport, John
 a trencher-chaplain, 41
- East Meon, 1
- Elizabeth I (1533-1603), 12, 42
- Erasmus, Desiderius (1466-1536), 26
- Essex, 11, 55
- Evans, Master
 Whitgift refuses to place at Warwick, 48
- Freake, Edmund (1516?-1591)
 and Earl of Warwick, 48
 Bishop of Worcester, 14
- Fulham, 51
- Glibery, William
 sermons at Halstead, 11, 12
- Gravat, William
 Aylmer's bousing mate, 37
 parson of St. Sepulchre's, 37
- Gregory I (c.540-604), 25
- Halstead, 11
- Hampshire, 55
- Hartwell, Abraham
 Whitgift's secretary, 47
- Hooper, John (1495-1555), 25
- Howland, Richard (1540-1600)
 Bishop of Peterborough, 14, 56
 gives petticoat to hostess at Sibson, 56
 to provide for bishops' children, 56
- Jerome, St. (c.342-420), 31
- Jones, Geoffrey
 parson of Mickleham, 34
- Judgment Of A Most Reverend And Learned Man*, 47
- Kennall, John, 13
- Latin expressions
 cum privilegio, 48
 iudicium capitis, 28
 nonplus, 4, 49
 per consequens, 14
- Lawson, Margaret
 accompanies a preacher's wife to Lambeth, 42
- Lawson, Thomas
 husband of Margaret Lawson, 42
- Legal references
 acquittal, 8
 bar, 19
 canon law, 28
 cause, 28
 civilians, 27, 28
 common law, 29
 Court of Admiralty, 28
 Court of Arches, 28
 Doctor of the Canon Law, 29
 equity, 21, 29
 false imprisonment, 52
 iudicium capitis, 28
 leave to have the law, 42
 libel, 34
 Mosaic law, 29
 pleading, 22
 positive law, 21
 praemunire, 42, 49
 quare impedit, 48
 slander, 30
 temporal law, 29
- Leicestershire, 53
- Lentulus (fl. 63 B.C.), 27
- Leo X (1475-1521), 26
- London
 Bankside, 10
 Battle bridge, 43
 Court of Arches, 28
 Lambeth, 42
 Paddington, 51, 54
 Paul's Cross, 36, 52
 prisons
 Clink, 2
 Gatehouse, 2
 White Lion, 47
 St. Mary Overies, 53
 St. Sepulchre's, 37
 Westminster Palace, 48
- Lucian (c.117 – c.180), 54
- Luther, Martin (1483-1546), 26
- Madox, Master
 controversy with Aylmer, 51
- Marprelate, Martin
 disliked by many, 19
 favoured at court, 42
 knowledge of Greek, 5, 13, 49, 57
 knowledge of Hebrew, 49
 purpose in writing the tracts, 20
 references to drama
 vice on a stage, 12
 references to folk customs
 May-game, 11
 morris-dance, 11
 summer-lord, 11
 references to gambling
 primero, 5
 references to music
 trunchfiddle, 13
 references to sports
 bowling, 2, 5, 36, 51
 hunting, 5
- Mickleham, 34
- Midas (fl. 8th c. B.C.), 54

- Middleton, Marmaduke (d.1593)
 has two wives, 3
More Work For Cooper, 8, 30, 33, 39, 42, 48
 Norfolk, 55
 Nottinghamshire, 55
 Overton, William (1525?-1609)
 unlearned, 5
 Paddington, 51, 54
 Paget, Eusebius
 suspected to be Martin, 25
 Parliament, 21, 30
 Particulars of which Martin is aware
 Chaderton's gambling, 5
 Cooper's simony, 36
 Cooper's writing style, 4
 Cosin's personal traits, 47
 Howland's gift to his hostess at Sibson, 56
 Mistress Cooper's liaison with John Day, 4
 Whitgift's liaison with Mistress Toy, 56
 Patrick Richard, a clothier
 fails to obtain benefice from Whitgift, 49
 Penry, John (1559-1593)
 mentioned in *Admonition To The People Of England*, 40
 suspected to be Martin, 25
 views on preaching, 53
 Perne, Andrew (d.1589), 13
 and Whitgift, 50
 tells untruths in the pulpit, 51
 testimony as to Whitgift's poverty, 50
 Whitgift a fellow of Perne's house, 50
 Pompey (106-48 B.C.), 27
 Prime, John, 55
 a trencher-chaplain, 41
 as Wynken de Worde, 41
 Printing, references to
 authorized books, 48
 cum privilegio, 48
 printers
 Thackwell, 44
 Thomas Chard, 42
 Privy Council refers control of printing to
 Whitgift, 45
 sale of Waldegrave's press, 45
 Stationers' Company, 45, 47
 Privy Council, 12, 21, 30, 31, 45, 51, 52
 Puritans, 32
 called traitors, 47
 displeased with Martin, 24, 33
 falsely so called, 22
 Martin distinguishes himself from, 4
 Religious issues
 form of church government, 7, 13, 21, 25,
 30, 42
 High Commission, 11
 plurality of benefices, 7
 preaching, 48, 53
Reply To An Answer Made Of Doctor Whitgift,
 40
 Ridley, Nicholas (c.1500-1555), 25
 Robin Hood, 11
 Saxony, 26
 Sibson, 56
 Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
 Jesuit at Newgate, 43
 Solihull, 55
 Spark, Thomas (1548-1616)
 disputation with Whitgift and Cooper, 49
 mentioned in *Admonition To The People Of England*, 40
 Squire, Doctor
 Whitgift to pray for his soul, 53
 Staffordshire, 55
 Suffolk, 55
 Tarleton, Richard (d.1588)
 Whitgift to pray for his soul, 53
 Thackwell, a printer
 popish, 44
 Whitgift's dealings with, 44
The Unlawful Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, 47
 Toy, Mistress
 liaison with Whitgift, 56
 Travers, Walter (1548?-1635)
 mentioned in *Admonition To The People Of England*, 40
 Udall, John (1560?-1593)
 suspected to be Martin, 25
 Waldegrave, Robert (1554?-1604)
 committed to White Lion, 47
 controversy with another printer, 45
 destruction of his press, 45
 imprisoned by Whitgift, 46
 sale of his press, 45
 says Whitgift worse than Bonner, 47
 Warwickshire, 55
 Watson, a pursuivant
 takes money from Waldegrave, 47
 Whitgift, John (1530?-1604), 14, 16
 author of *Answer To A Certain Libel*, 40
 brags he is second person in the land, 49
 Caiaphas, 48, 53
 commends Apocrypha, 49
 his parasites, 49
 house at Croydon, 45
 liaison with Mistress Toy, 56
 Martin's challenge to, 19
 to pray for souls of Squire and Tarleton, 53
 to provide for bishops' children, 56
 views on Christ descending into hell, 44,
 53
 worse than Bonner, 47
 Wickham, William (1539-1595)
 Bishop of Lincoln, 14, 53
 sermon at funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots,
 53
 Wigginton, Giles (fl.1564-1595)
 mentioned in *Admonition To The People Of England*, 40
 mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 48
 suspected to be Martin, 25
 Worde, Wynken de (d.1535?), 41, 55
 Young, John (d.1605)
 presents benefice to himself, 53
 Young, Richard
 dealings with Thackwell, 44