

The Just Censure<sup>1</sup> And Reproof Of Martin Junior.

Wherein the rash and indiscreet headiness<sup>2</sup> of the foolish youth is sharply<sup>3</sup> met with,<sup>4</sup> and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reverend and elder brother, Martin Senior, son and heir unto the renowned Martin Marprelate the Great.

Where, also, lest the springal<sup>5</sup> should be utterly discouraged in his good meaning,<sup>6</sup> you shall find that he is not bereaved<sup>7</sup> of his due commendations.

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<sup>1</sup> Censure: An unfavourable opinion, hostile criticism; blaming, finding fault with, or condemning as wrong. (OED, p.304) The phrase 'just censure' is found twice in Shakespeare: 'How blest am I in my just censure, in my true opinion' (*Winter's Tale* II i 37); 'Let our just censures attend the true event' (*Macbeth* V iv 14). (Schmidt, p.181) The running title of the tract is 'The reproofe of Martin Junior'.

<sup>2</sup> Headiness: Rashness, hastiness, precipitancy; unruliness, self-will, obstinacy, headstrongness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>3</sup> Sharply: Of speech, rebuke, command: Sternly, severely, harshly, peremptorily, in cutting terms; in stern or angry tones. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) See *Venus & Adonis*, line 470: 'For sharply he did think to reprehend her.' (Schmidt, p.1044)

<sup>4</sup> Meet with: To receive (reward, punishment, etc.) (OED, p.1302)

<sup>5</sup> Springal: A young man, a youth, a stripling. (OED, p.2090)

<sup>6</sup> Meaning: Intention, purpose. (OED, p.1297)

<sup>7</sup> Bereave: To deprive. (OED, p.182)

The Reproof Of Martin Junior By His Elder Brother.

Whoa, then! And boys will now be a-pistle-making, either without their father's leave or their elder brother's advice, we shall have our father's art brought to a pretty pass<sup>8</sup> within a while. I could a<sup>9</sup> told, 'tis long ago, that my father would get<sup>10</sup> him so many sons as John Canterbury would have no cause to sit quiet at dinner or supper, for looking to<sup>11</sup> his young nephews.<sup>12</sup> I thought boys would be a-doing. But, foolish stripling, canst thou tell what thou hast done? I ween<sup>13</sup> not. If my father should be hurt, either at the Groyne,<sup>14</sup> or at the suburbs of Lisbon,<sup>15</sup> is this the way either to cure him or to comfort him, to publish his scrabbled<sup>16</sup> and weather-beaten<sup>17</sup> papers in this sort? What if he had in purpose to write no more, seeing the danger and trouble that comes of it? Will this be any means to work<sup>18</sup> the old man's quietness,<sup>19</sup> for a foolish and a heady springal to go set abroad<sup>20</sup> his papers? Thou sawest well enough that Martin's doings were now almost forgot and

<sup>8</sup> (To come to) a pretty pass: (To reach) a regrettable state of affairs. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's appears to be the first usage of this phrase.

<sup>9</sup> A: For *ha, ha'*, a worn-down form of *have* when unaccented or obscure in compound verbal forms, or where the independent meaning is sunk in a phrase, as *might a been, would a said, should a thought, a done*. Exceedingly frequent in 13-17th c. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>10</sup> Get: To beget, procreate. (OED, p.847)

<sup>11</sup> Look to: To attend to, take care of. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>12</sup> Nephew: Euphemistically, the illegitimate son of an ecclesiastic. (OED, p.1395)

<sup>13</sup> Ween: To think, surmise, suppose. (OED, p.2523)

<sup>14</sup> A pun.

<sup>15</sup> After leaving Coruna (the Groyne) on May 9, 1589 Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris set sail for Lisbon, and were off the mouth of the Tagus on May 15. On May 16, a force of 6000 men disembarked at Peniche, and on May 18 most of these troops, under Sir John Norris, began the 45-mile overland march to Lisbon. On the evening of May 25, they reached the 'suburbs of Lisbon', which they occupied with little difficulty the next day. For the next few days, the English troops engaged in sporadic fighting while awaiting an anticipated armed rising by the Portuguese against their Spanish masters. When the 3000 troops promised by the Portuguese Pretender Don Antonio did not materialize, the English forces retired from Lisbon on the morning of May 29. Drake wrote the Queen on June 2, and it would seem likely that this report of the fighting in the 'suburbs of Lisbon' reached England about a week later. Martin's topical reference thus indicates that he was aware of the specific location of the fighting at Lisbon; it also makes it clear that this particular reference could not have been included in the *Just Censure* any earlier than the first week of June. However, with respect to the dating of the *Just Censure*, Hodgkins' evidence that the tracts he printed contained 'interlineation' should be kept in mind. English forces occupied the 'suburbs of Lisbon' on May 26, a month after the attack on Coruna (the Groyne). It is thus possible that Martin wrote both the *Theses* and the *Just Censure* in early May, when the reference in both tracts to fighting at the Groyne was fresh news, and that the reference to the 'suburbs of Lisbon' was added as an interlineation some weeks later. This could have been done at any time after the news of the fighting at Lisbon reached England, since the tracts were not actually printed until late July, due to the difficulty of finding a suitable printer to replace Robert Waldegrave. (Wernham, pp. 115-122)

<sup>16</sup> Scrabbled: Inscribed with scrawling characters; written in a scrawling style. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin usage predates the earliest usage cited in the OED.

<sup>17</sup> Martin's mention of the 'scrabbled and weather-beaten' condition of his papers lends colour to the (probably fictitious) suggestion in the *Theses* that he accompanied the expedition to Coruna and Lisbon. It is also an allusion to the actual weather conditions during the latter part of the voyage. From about June 8, the fleet was beaten by a fierce southerly gale, which forced them as far north as Vigo, which they attacked and sacked on June 20. By that time, fewer than 2000 men were still fit for duty, and Norris sailed for home while Drake made a final attempt to sail for the Azores. He was prevented by another strong southerly gale in which his flagship sprang a leak, forcing him to return to England. (Wernham, p.125)

<sup>18</sup> Work: To effect, bring about. (OED, p.2571)

<sup>19</sup> Quietness: The condition of being quiet or undisturbed; absence of noise, motion, or excitement; calmness, tranquillity. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>20</sup> Abroad: At large. (OED, p.7)

**\*Bear witness, reader,  
that I give my Lords  
their right titles.**

huisht.<sup>21</sup> And the men\* of sin<sup>22</sup> themselves - I mean the Canterbury Caiaphas,<sup>23</sup> with the rest of his antichristian beasts who bear his abominable mark<sup>24</sup> - were content in a manner to turn his purposes from a serious matter to a point of jesting, wherewith they would have only rimers and stage-players (that is, plain rogues, as thou hast well noted) to deal. So that, had not thy untimely folly bewrayed itself, it may be that the syllogisms whereby our father hath cracked the crown<sup>25</sup> of Canterbury should have had no other answer - or he himself none other punishment - but this: *I' faith, let him go. Martin is a mad knave.* Whereas now, upon this scrabbling and paltering<sup>26</sup> of thine, mark whether John Canterbury will not send for all the knave pursuivants that belongs<sup>27</sup> unto his popedom, and set them a-work with the confutation<sup>28</sup> of Martin, using some such speech as this is, in the direction of them, for the choice of their arguments against him:

**An oration of John  
Canterbury to the  
pursuivants, when he  
directeth his warrants  
unto them to post after  
Martin.**

*Now, sirs, is not her Majesty's High Commission, and myself, also, being the chief thereof, and one of her Majesty's Privy Council - well set up with a company of messengers,<sup>29</sup> as long as we have you to go of our business? What think you? Have you been careful of us and our places, to find us out the press and letters wherewith these seditious<sup>30</sup> Martins are printed? Or have you diligently sought me out Waldegrave the printer,<sup>31</sup> Newman the cobbler,<sup>32</sup> Sharpe the bookbinder of Northampton<sup>33</sup> and that seditious Welshman Penry<sup>34</sup> who, you shall see, will prove the author*

<sup>21</sup> Huisht: Silent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>22</sup> Martin's marginal comment refers to the titles 'men of sin' and 'antichristian beasts'. The phrase 'men of sin' is found in *The Tempest* III, iii, 53: 'You are three men of sin . . . you 'mongst men; Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad.'

<sup>23</sup> I.e., Whitgift.

<sup>24</sup> *Revelation 13:16-17: And he made all, bothe small and great, riche and poore, fre and bonde, to receive a marke in their right hand or in their foreheads. And that no man might bye or sell, save he that had the marke, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.* (GB, p.119)

<sup>25</sup> A pun on several meanings of 'crown', including, perhaps, 'the tonsure of a cleric'. (OED, p.463)

<sup>26</sup> Paltering: Equivocation, shuffling, playing fast and loose, trifling (*with* serious matters). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>27</sup> Like Shakespeare, Martin sometimes uses a singular verb with a plural subject.

<sup>28</sup> Confutation: The action of confuting; disproof; the complete argument in which anything is confuted. (OED, p.398) Martin presumably intends a comment on Whitgift's decision to despatch the pursuivants rather than answer Martin's arguments in print.

<sup>29</sup> Messenger: A government official employed to carry dispatches, and formerly, to apprehend state prisoners. (OED, p.1313)

<sup>30</sup> Sedition: Violent party strife; an instance of this, esp. a factious contest attended with rioting and disorder. (OED, CD-ROM) If this fairly represents the bishops' comments, they were certainly over-reacting. By no stretch of the imagination can the Marprelate tracts be termed 'seditious'.

<sup>31</sup> Robert Waldegrave had terminated his role as printer for the secret press in early April, and, although his movements during the summer of 1589 cannot be determined with absolute certainty, it is likely that he was at La Rochelle. (MT, pp.352-3; Carlson, p.88)

<sup>32</sup> Humphrey Newman, a principal distributor of the Marprelate tracts, was not arrested by the authorities until June, 1590. His examination of July 9, 1590 is no longer extant, although references to his testimony appear in two other contemporary sources. (MT, p.353; Carlson, pp.50-2)

<sup>33</sup> Henry Sharpe, who assisted with the binding, distribution and sale of some of the tracts issued from the secret press, had been in hiding from the authorities since February, 1589, when the High Commission issued orders for his arrest to Thomas Crasswell, Mayor of Northampton. He was eventually apprehended in September, 1589. (Carlson, pp.40, 45, 61; HIMT, pp.162, 202-3) Pierce notes that Sharpe 'was never completely trusted by those engaged in the work of the secret press', and the question of how he became involved is an interesting one. One Edward Sharpe was the vicar at Fawsley, where the *Epitome* was printed in November, 1589; Henry Sharpe may have been a relative of the vicar, and through him have obtained news of the printing at Fawsley. In addition, Sharpe's father-in-law resided at Wolston, where the *Theses*, the *Just Censure*, and the *Protestation* were printed. At his examination, Sharpe made the following deposition: 'Within a fortnight after Midsommer, this Examinee being drawn by necessity to

*of all these libels?*<sup>35</sup> *I thank you, Master Munday,*<sup>36</sup> *you are a good gentleman of your word. Ah, thou Judas! Thou that hast already betrayed the papists, I think meanest to betray us also. Didst thou not assure me without all doubt that thou wouldst bring me in Penry, Newman, Waldegrave,*

leave Northampton, went to dwell at Wolston with his wives Mother, and after his coming thither, he found that there, for the which he was sorry. For whereas he had thought that Hoskins had been printing in the North, he found him at worke at Master Wigston's Howse at Wolston, in printing of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior'. This Hoskins wrought there very privately in a low Parlour, and was kept there under the name of an Imbroyderer, that the Servants might know nothing of the matter. When 'Martin Junior' was printed, which was the 22nd of July, this Examinee helped to make up those Books in a Bedchamber: and being so bound, Newman carried thence at the least 700 or 800 of them. After within seven or eight days 'Martin Senior' was there likewise printed. The Correcter of these two Bookes, this Examinee thinketh to be Master Penry, who was there diverse tymes by starts, at Master Wigstons. At this Examinee's coming first to Master Wigstons and fyndeing them printing these two Bookes, with that Lettre that the Supplication was printed withall, he talked with Master Penry, and sayd unto him, that yt wolde descry him to be Martin. Who made to this Examinee a careless answer, and so they past yt over. When the last Booke 'Martin Senior' was finished, Master Penry and Mistress Wigston were very earnest with Hoskins to stay there, and to printe *More Worke for the Cooper*, which he refused to doe, because (as he sayd) he had promised his wyfe, to have bene at home three weekes before that tyme. And another reason he gave to this Examinee, for that he misliked Master Penry's Press. This Examinee further sayth, that Master Wigston was not of Counsell, with ye first beginning of the printing of these two Bookes, as Mistress Wigston told this Examinee, and further sayth, that the said Mistress Wigston told this Examinee, that she had desired of her Husband leave to doe a piece of worke at his Howse, whereof he wolde be content to take no knowledge, and that she obteyned her desire. But afterwards Master Wigston understood of the matter, and was very angry with his wyfe, but yet suffred them to finish that which they had begun.' (HIMT, p.202; Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.100-2) Although the point seems not to have been noticed before, it appears clear from this deposition that Sir Roger Wigston was Henry Sharpe's father-in-law, although the pedigree of Sir Roger Wigston given in the *Visitation of Warwickshire* makes no mention of Sharpe. The pedigree shows that Sir Roger and his wife Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Davenport, had two daughters, Elizabeth and Susanna, and a son Huntingdon, who died unmarried. Susanna married Nicholas Wentworth (1561-1613) of Lillingstone Lovell. Elizabeth is said to be the wife of 'Davenport'; it is possible that 'Davenport' was a second husband, and that Elizabeth was earlier married to Henry Sharpe. (pp.37-8) This view is supported by the pedigree of the Hattons of Holdenby, ancestors of Sir Christopher Hatton. Henry Hatton of Holdenby had two sons, John, the grandfather of Sir Christopher Hatton, and Richard, who married Goditha, sister of Sir William Wigston (*Visitation of Shropshire, 1623*). The three grandsons of Richard Hatton and Goditha Wigston - John, William and Richard Hatton - are mentioned in Sir Christopher Hatton's will. (Brooks, pp.24, 389) The father of Sir Roger Wigston of Wolston Priory was Sir William Wigston (d.1563). Thus, if the Sir William Wigston mentioned in both pedigrees is one and the same individual, his son, Sir Roger Wigston was great-uncle to the John, William and Richard Hatton mentioned in Sir Christopher Hatton's will. This relationship between the Wigstons and Hattons helps to explain why Henry Sharpe sent his wife on his behalf to Sir Christopher Hatton, in June, 1589 with a request for a pardon. (Carlson, p.42)

<sup>34</sup> According to the deposition of Humphrey Newman, Penry resided at Job Throckmorton's manor of Haseley from March 2 to October 2, 1589. (Carlson, p.51)

<sup>35</sup> Martin would hardly have mentioned Waldegrave, Newman, Sharpe and Penry were it not common knowledge that Whitgift was actively seeking for them in connection with the secret press.

<sup>36</sup> The career of Anthony Munday (1553-1633) cannot but perplex anyone who attempts to reconcile his various roles as stage-player, printer's apprentice, balladeer, anti-Papist informer, pamphleteer, pursuivant, servant to the 17th Earl of Oxford and to the Queen, translator of romances, playwright, pageant-writer and chronicler. It has even been suggested that there were two Anthony Mundays living during this period, whose careers have been conflated. In any event, a pursuivant named Anthony Munday was responsible for the arrest of Giles Wigginton on December 6, 1588, and was present at his appearance before the High Commission. (Carlson, p.33) It would appear, from Martin's reference to the fact that he has 'already betrayed the papists', that this pursuivant was also the Anthony Munday who infiltrated the Jesuit College in Rome and claimed credit for the capture of Edmund Campion.

**\*But not the church of Christ, good uncle. You do not so greatly care, though they did.**

**\*Never condition for the matter man for, except thou repent, thou art sure of that already.**

**\*And you have nothing neither, yourselves, but what you get in the service of your lord and master, the devil.**

*press, letters, and all, before Saint Andrew's Day<sup>37</sup> last? And now thou seest we are as far to seek for them as ever we were. Nay, unless we have them now, they are like to trouble\* our church more than ever they did. For here is a young Martin, hatched out of some poisoned egg<sup>38</sup> of that seditious libeller, old Martin. Why, truly, it grieves<sup>39</sup> me at the heart that I, by her Majesty's favour having more authority in mine hand to repress these Puritans than any bishop else hath had in England these thirty years,<sup>40</sup> yet should be more troubled and molested by them these six years<sup>41</sup> than all my predecessors have been these six and twenty years.<sup>42</sup> And all this cometh by reason of your unfaithfulness<sup>43</sup> and negligence, whom we send for them. Well, I give you warning. Look better unto your offices, or else let me be damned body and soul\* if I turn you not all out of your places. Therefore, look to it. For now every one of you shall have warrants, both for himself and as many as you will substitute<sup>44</sup> under you besides. Bring us whomsoever you suspect; your warrant shall serve you to do it. And if you can find us either young or old Martin, Penry, or Waldegrave - so that you bring the press and letters - he shall have forty pounds for his labour, whosoever will bring them, his charges<sup>45</sup> and all borne clear. But if you bring us neither Martin, the press, nor those afore-named, never look us in the face more. And methinks for your own good you should be careful to get in these seditious men. For if we that are lords of the clergy go down<sup>46</sup> once, then shall you be sure to fall. For, poor men, you have nothing but what you get in our service, that are your lords and masters.\* And, methinks if these wayward<sup>47</sup> men had any conscience in them, they would not seek our overthrow with tooth and nail<sup>48</sup> as they do, seeing so many honest poor men - yea, and many a good gentleman, too, by my troth - live<sup>49</sup> only by us and our places.*

*Well, if ever you mean to do any good in this matter, take me this course, which we here in Commission<sup>50</sup> have thought meetest. Let a six or seven of you, or your substitutes that stay here in London, watch me Paul's Churchyard.<sup>51</sup> Especially have an eye to Boyle's shop at the Rose.<sup>52</sup>*

<sup>37</sup> Since St. Andrew's Day falls on November 30, it is clear from this comment that the pursuivants were seeking for Penry, Newman and Waldegrave as early as November, 1588, one month after the publication of Martin's *Epistle*. Waldegrave's home in London was raided a few days prior to November 30, 1588. (MT, p.354)

<sup>38</sup> Martin again takes up the conceit of a 'poisoned egg' at the end of the tract, where he writes verses claiming that Mar-Martin originated from a goose's egg 'engendered of Canterbury and Sarum'.

<sup>39</sup> Grieve: To vex, trouble, or oppress mentally; to cause pain, anxiety, or vexation to; to annoy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>40</sup> I.e., since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

<sup>41</sup> Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583.

<sup>42</sup> I.e., since 1563. Quare why Whitgift alludes to this particular year.

<sup>43</sup> Unfaithful: Of conduct: characterized by want of good faith; not honest or upright. (OED, p.2415)

<sup>44</sup> Substitute: To depute, delegate. (OED, p.2173)

<sup>45</sup> Charges: Expenses. (OED, p.316)

<sup>46</sup> Go down: To be overthrown. (OED, p.865)

<sup>47</sup> Wayward: Wrong-headed, intractable, self-willed, perverse. (OED, p.2518)

<sup>48</sup> Tooth and nail: Vigorously, fiercely, with one's utmost efforts, with all one's might. (OED, p.2325)

<sup>49</sup> Live: To procure oneself the means of subsistence. (OED, p.1225)

<sup>50</sup> I.e., the High Commission.

<sup>51</sup> Stationers' Hall was situated on the north-west side of St. Paul's, and appears to have been within the Churchyard; Stow uses the phrase 'stationers of Paule's churchyard'. (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.75, 331)

<sup>52</sup> According to Pierce, Richard Boyle was a bookseller in Blackfriars. (MT, p.355) Martin's reference suggests that Boyle also had a shop at the sign of the Rose in Paul's Churchyard; however, Blackfriars was

*And let some one or two of you that are unknown go in thither and, if there be any strangers in the shop, fall in talk with them of Martin. Commend him, and especially his son's last libel (and here, he that will take that course, take me this, that if need be you may show it),<sup>53</sup> showing that by great friendship<sup>54</sup> you got one of them, saying also that you understood a man might there help his friend to some, if he were acquainted with Master Boyle, and offer largely<sup>55</sup> for it. Now, sir, if any shall either enter with you into any speeches against the state and in defence of these libels, or else if any can procure<sup>56</sup> you to the sight of the books, be sure to bring them before us. Though you learn not their names, yet your warrants shall serve your turns, inasmuch as you do suspect them.<sup>57</sup> And thus I would have some of you bestowed.<sup>58</sup>*

*Let three or four more of you or your substitutes be every day at the Blackfriars,<sup>59</sup> Lincoln's Inn,<sup>60</sup> Whitechapel,<sup>61</sup> Paul's Chain,<sup>62</sup> as often as Chark,<sup>63</sup> Gardiner,<sup>64</sup> Egerton<sup>65</sup> or Cooper<sup>66</sup> do*

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very near Paul's Churchyard, and Boyle may, in fact, have had only the one shop. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.280)

<sup>53</sup> I.e., a copy of the *Theses*.

<sup>54</sup> Friendship: A friendly act; a favour; friendly aid. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>55</sup> Largely: Generously, liberally. (OED, p.1178)

<sup>56</sup> Procure: To cause or get (a person or thing) to be treated in some way; to get something done to (a person). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>57</sup> In Whitgift's view, a pursuivant is justified in arresting anyone on mere suspicion, even though the person arrested is not named in the warrant.

<sup>58</sup> Bestow: To place, locate; to put in a position or situation, dispose of (in some place). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>59</sup> The Blackfriars church and monastery, established in 1276, were surrendered to the Crown November 12, 30th Henry VIII, and the church, along with the parish church of St. Anne within the Blackfriars precincts, was 'pulled down' by Sir Thomas Cawarden. During the reign of Queen Mary, Cawarden was required to find the parishioners a place of worship, which requirement he satisfied by allowing them a 'lodging chamber above a stair'. (*Stow's Survey of London*, pp.303-4) At the time of the Marprelate tracts, the old monastery buildings served as the London residence of William Brooke, Lord Cobham (1527-1597) and other citizens, a number of whom were Puritans.

<sup>60</sup> Lincoln's Inn was situated in Chancery Lane 'by the old Temple'. Stowe quotes Matthew Paris's account of its history: 'Ralph de Nova Villa, or Nevill, bishop of Chichester and chancellor of England, sometime built a noble house, even from the ground, not far from the new Temple and house of Converts; in the which place he deceased in the year 1244. In this place, after the decease of the said bishop, and in place of the house of black friars before spoken of, Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, constable of Chester, and custos of England, built his inn, and for the most part was lodged there; he deceased in this house in the year 1310, and was buried in the new work (whereunto he had been a great benefactor) of St. Paul's church betwixt our Lady chapel and St. Dunstan's chapel. This Lincoln's inn, sometime pertaining to the bishops of Chichester, as a part of the said great house, is now an inn of court, retaining the name of Lincoln's inn as afore, but now lately increased with fair buildings, and replenished with gentlemen studious in the common laws. (*Stowe's Survey of London*, pp.71, 392)

<sup>61</sup> Stow says of Whitechapel church that it was a 'chapel of ease' to Stepney. It was located outside the walls on the east side of the city, near Aldgate. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.376)

<sup>62</sup> Paul's Chain was 'a barrier on the south side of the cathedral, designed to preserve the quietness and privacy of the close during times of service'. Pierce tentatively identifies the church near Paul's Chain associated with Puritan preachers as 'St. Gregory's by St. Paul's'. Stow's account indicates the close proximity of this church to Paul's Chain ('the south chain of Paul's churchyard, and the churchyard itself on that south side of Paul's church, and the church of St. Gregorie'). (MT, p.356; *Stowe's Survey of London*, p.325)

<sup>63</sup> William Chark, a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge was expelled from his fellowship and from the university in 1572 for a sermon which he preached at St. Mary's. In 1580, he disputed with the Jesuit Edmund Campion. From 1581 until 1593, he was 'constant preacher' to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. (MT, p.355)

**\*Surely, nuncle, I dare swear for him he is not in the fault, for they stand against his will.**

*preach. And truly, my Lord of London, I marvel you suffer these men all this while to trouble the state by their preaching. By the Mass, I had not thought they should have stood<sup>67</sup> half this time.\* And there see if you can draw by speech anything from any Martinist, and let us talk with them. Especially mark if you see any before the sermon begins, setting their heads together and whispering<sup>68</sup> under their cloaks. If you do, be sure they are reading Martin, and have them forthwith to the prison until we send for them, or cause them to put in sufficient sureties<sup>69</sup> to appear the next court day.*

**\*I hope the pursuivants in time shall be able to make a good living in taking toll of those packs which they do not open.**

*You that stay here in London must also be sure, if possibly you can, to have a watch<sup>70</sup> at all common inns, to see what carriage<sup>71</sup> of paper and other stuff either goes from, or comes to, London.<sup>72</sup> Thereby you may haply<sup>73</sup> learn something. And mark if any Puritan receiveth anything. Open his pack, that you may be sure he hath no Martins sent him. We will direct our warrants so that you may search all packs\* at your discretion.<sup>74</sup> We will take order, also, that the court may be watched who disperse or read these libels there. And, in faith, I think they do my Lord*

<sup>64</sup> Pierce suggests that the preacher in question might be either Richard Gardiner, who had known connections with Nonconformist assemblies in 1587, or John Gardiner, a signatory to the Book of Discipline, who was imprisoned in Newgate in 1586. (MT, p.355)

<sup>65</sup> Pierce notes that Stephen Egerton, a 'strong Puritan of the Cartwright type', was, at the time of the Marprelate tracts, an occasional preacher at St. Anne's, Blackfriars 'where there was a famous afternoon lecture, much frequented by Puritans'. (MT, p.356) Chark, Egerton and Gardiner met, along with other Puritan leaders, on the eve of Thomas Cartwright's interrogation in the Star Chamber in October, 1590. (Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp.411-12)

<sup>66</sup> Pierce notes that one 'Master Cooper' had obtained a licence to preach in his parish 'by Powles' through the aid of Mistress Lawson. (MT, p.356)

<sup>67</sup> To stand: To be, to continue or remain in a specified state, position, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>68</sup> Compare with references to 'whispering' in *Thomas of Woodstock*: 'Besides, I'd have you use yourselves so cunningly/ To mark who grudges, or but speaks amiss/ Of good King Richard, myself, or any of his new councillors./ Attach them all for privy whisperers.' (pp.205-6); 'And Nimble, look to the whisperers. . . And you and I will here shadow ourselves and write down their speeches.' (p.215); 'They say there are whispering knaves abroad.' (p.216); 'They grumble as they do it. I must put them down for whisperers and grumblers.' (p.217); 'Sfoot, the country's so full of intelligencers that two men can scarce walk together but they're attached for whisperers.' (p.219); 'Close again, Master Bailey: here comes another whisperer, I see by some - - O villain! he whistles treason! I'll lay hold of him myself.' (p.220); 'The high shrieves of Kent and Northumberland/ With twenty gentlemen are all arrested/ For privy whisperers against the state . . . If these seven hundred whisperers that are taken come off lustily, he'll have the devil and all shortly' (p.236); 'Seven hundred whispering traitors' (p.238). If subscription to Whitgift's *Articles* is substituted for the subscription to Chief Justice Tresilian's 'blank charters' in *Thomas of Woodstock*, the inference is very strong that this anonymous play was written about 1588-9 and that Martin Marprelate was its author.

<sup>69</sup> Surety: A formal engagement entered into; a pledge, bond, guarantee, or security given for the fulfilment of an undertaking. (OED, p.2200)

<sup>70</sup> Watch: One who watches; a look-out man; a spy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>71</sup> Carriage: Conveyance, especially of merchandise. (OED, p.288)

<sup>72</sup> The difficulties entailed in obtaining printing supplies without attracting the attention of the authorities must have been considerable. Very little is known about this aspect of the operation of the secret press, apart from the fact that Richard Holmes and a Master Grimston, both of Northampton, confessed that they had transported printing materials from London to Wolston in August and September, 1589. James Meadows and Humphrey Newman also assisted in transporting these materials, which consisted of 'an iron frame, eight reams of paper, ink, and type'. (Carlson, pp.22, 50, 109, 390)

<sup>73</sup> Haply: Perhaps. (OED, p.924)

<sup>74</sup> A sweeping infringement of civil liberties.

of Essex<sup>75</sup> great wrong that say he favours Martin; I do not think he will be so unwise as to favour these, who are enemies unto the state. For, if he do, her Majesty, I can tell him, will withdraw her gracious favour from him. But take you no care for the court. Watch you London, and learn me where Newman and Waldegrave's haunt<sup>76</sup> is, and there be sure to watch early and late. Have an eye also unto all the Puritans' houses in London, especially my Lord Mayor's,<sup>77</sup> Alderman Martin's,<sup>78</sup> and the preachers' houses. Let none that you suspect be uncited.<sup>79</sup>

As for you that go into the country, I would have ye especially go into Northampton and Warwick shires, and command the Mayor and the Constables of Northampton to keep watch and ward<sup>80</sup> for Sharpe<sup>81</sup> and Penry.<sup>82</sup> And if they can take them, let them bring them up, and we will be sure to

<sup>75</sup> Robert Devereaux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1567-1601). Pierce notes his opposition to the bishops and support of the Puritans. It is also recorded that Essex possessed a copy of Martin's *Epistle*. (HIMT, p.159; MT, p.357)

<sup>76</sup> Haunt: A place of frequent resort or usual abode. (OED, p.932)

<sup>77</sup> Sir Martin Calthorpe served for ten years as alderman, first in Aldersgate Ward and later in Cheap Ward. He was chosen Lord Mayor in 1588 and died in office in early May, 1589. His will, dated May 3, 1589 was proved on May 16 of that year. (At that time, the Lord Mayor of London was elected on Michaelmas Day, September 29, and assumed office on October 28.) (Beaven, v.1, pp. 5, 102, 341; v.2, pp. xxviii, 40; *Remembrancia*, p.4)

<sup>78</sup> Sir Richard Martin, a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, served as alderman from 1578-1602, and was chosen to finish Sir Martin Calthorpe's term of office as Lord Mayor when the latter died in early May, 1589. (Beaven, v.1, pp.147, 343) Thus, in late July, 1589, when the *Just Censure* was printed, Sir Richard Martin was doubtless serving as Lord Mayor, and Martin's reference to the houses of 'my Lord Mayor' and 'Alderman Martin' raises an interesting point in connection with the dating of this tract. On the one hand, this reference could indicate that Martin was out of touch with events in London during the late spring and early summer of 1589, and was unaware of Sir Martin Calthorpe's death. On the other hand, very little news escaped Martin's notice, and if he was aware of the death of Andrew Perne, and of particulars of the fighting at Coruna and Lisbon, it is extremely unlikely that he would have been unaware of the death of the Lord Mayor of London. This suggests that the *Just Censure* was written shortly after Drake's attack on Coruna (the Groyne) on April 25 and Andrew Perne's death on April 26, but before the death of Sir Martin Calthorpe in early May. That being said, it is necessary to consider Martin's reason for failing to correct the references to 'my Lord Mayor's and Alderman Martin's houses' prior to the publication of the *Just Censure* in late July. It may be that he did not feel it necessary, since he does not actually refer to 'my Lord Mayor' and 'Alderman Martin', but to their 'houses'. And, if Martin's information can be relied on, it was no doubt true that at the time the *Just Censure* was originally written, near the beginning of May, the pursuivants were, in fact, watching these two houses.

<sup>79</sup> Uncited: Not called or summoned. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Citation: The process used in the English ecclesiastical courts to call the defendant or respondent before them. (BLD, p.309)

<sup>80</sup> Watch and ward: The performance of the duty of a watchman or sentinel, especially as a feudal obligation. (OED, p.2511)

<sup>81</sup> The High Commission's order regarding Sharpe was issued to the Mayor of Northampton in February, 1589. Penry alludes to it in his *Appellation*, finished on March 7, 1589 and printed by Waldegrave during the summer of that year in La Rochelle: 'From this insolvency of theirs it is, that of late they have in their mandatory letters, enjoined the Mayor of Northampton, to surcease the execution of his office in the government of that towne under hir majestie, and either to become their pursuivant, in apprehending one of his neighbours, or else personally to appeare before them at London, and not to departe their court without special leave, his affaires in her majesties service, and the distance of Place betweene Northampton and London, nothing considered. And yet required they of him that which he coule not bring to passe, because the party whome he was to apprehend [a marginal note identifies the party to be apprehended as 'M. Sharpe book binder of Northampton'] . . . was compelled with the hinderance of his family to absent himself from his calling. (Carlson, pp.134-6) This reference illustrates the problems connected with the dating of the *Just Censure*, which includes references to events which took place as early as February, 1589 (the High Commission's order to the Mayor of Northampton) and as late as May 25 of that year (Norris's attack on the 'suburbs of Lisbon').

<sup>82</sup> In January, 1589 the High Commission dispatched the pursuivant Richard Walton to Northampton, where Penry was residing with his father-in-law, Henry Godley. Walton raided Godley's home on January



*content them well for their pains. Others must go into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. And if you can bring us no Martinists from thence (at the least, that by that means your charges may be borne) I would ye might starve for me. There is More,<sup>83</sup> there is Allen,<sup>84</sup> there is Knewstub,<sup>85</sup> there is Wright,<sup>86</sup> with many others - all very seditious men. That is pity, by my troth, that so many worshipful and good-nurtured<sup>87</sup> knights and gentlemen are carried away with them and their waywardness, as in those parts are seduced. But I hope her Majesty will have an uniformity.<sup>88</sup> To be brief, I have said enough unto you already, but my meaning is that you should go<sup>89</sup> all the ground her Majesty hath, or find out Martin.<sup>90</sup> Go me to Devonshire, and to the North parts, where my Lord's Grace of York<sup>91</sup> also will direct his warrants by you to seek this traitor, Martin. For I will have him, or else I will no longer be Archbishop of Canterbury. He die at the Groyne, as they say? Nay, he'll be hanged ere he'll die there! He is in some corner<sup>92</sup> of England, lurking and doing mischief. I tell you true,\* I do think him and his brood to be worse than the Jesuits. These Martinists are all of them traitors and enemies unto her Majesty.\*\* They will overthrow the state; they are most rebellious and disobedient unto all good proceedings. No warning will serve them; they grow worse and worse. I persuaded myself that none ever durst attempt to write besides this desperate wretch, Martin himself. If he still enjoy his liberty, his brood will become as desperate as himself. His impunity will make them presume to speak against the state. And therefore either get him, or we shall never stay<sup>93</sup> their course. And I think I shall grow stark mad with you unless you bring him. Therefore, my masters, as you have any care for the pacifying of the state - and your*

**\*I'll believe you o' your word. \*\*Saving your reverence, uncle Canter., you lie in your throat.**

**Amen, good John, if thou dost not belong to the Lord, ka M. Martin Senior.**

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29, seized some of Penry's books and manuscripts, and 'peremptorily ordered the Mayor of Northampton to arrest Penry on sight'. Penry's whereabouts during the month of February are not known, but by March 2 he was at Job Throckmorton's manor of Haseley, where he seems to have remained until October 2. By then, the Privy Council had issued a warrant for his arrest, and Penry escaped to Scotland, arriving at Edinburgh in November, 1589. (Carlson, pp.58, 85-6; HIMT, p.210)

<sup>83</sup> Pierce and Carlson identify this clergyman as John More (d.1592), the 'apostle of Norwich'. (MT, p.357; Carlson, pp.33, 255) Carlson is probably not correct, however, in assuming that John More, the 'apostle of Norwich', is the 'Master More' referred to in the account of Giles Wigginton's examination before the High Commission in December, 1588. One of the questions asked of Wigginton by Whitgift was whether he had delivered 'some copies of [the *Epistle*] in the country, one to M. More and another to M. Cartwright?' (Carlson, p.35) According to Cross, the 'Master More' referred to in Whitgift's question is Robert More (or Moore), rector of Guisely in Yorkshire from 1581 until the Civil War. The advowson of Guisely was purchased for More by a group of influential patrons who were impressed with his preaching: George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford; Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby D'Eresby; and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. (Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, p.264)

<sup>84</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>85</sup> John Knewstub was minister of Cockfield in West Suffolk. According to Pierce, his house was 'narrowly watched and afterwards thoroughly searched by the bishops' officers'. (MT, p.358)

<sup>86</sup> Robert Wright of Ipswich was tutor to the Earl of Essex and chaplain to Lord Rich. According to Pierce, he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse for some time on Aylmer's orders. (MT, p.358)

<sup>87</sup> Nurtured: Trained, educated. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>88</sup> Uniformity: Conformity to (or compliance with) one standard of opinion, practice, or procedure, especially in religious observance. (OED, p.2419) According to Pierce, uniformity was Queen Elizabeth's religious ideal. (HIMT, pp.8, 16)

<sup>89</sup> Go: To go through (a tract of country). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>90</sup> The sense seems to be 'Travel the length and breadth of England, if necessary, but find Martin'.

<sup>91</sup> John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, was nominated Archbishop of York on January 18 and confirmed February 19, 1589. (Kinney, p.19) Apart from this brief mention, Piers was one of the few bishops to escape attack in the Marprelate tracts. Others in this select group were Thomas Godwin of Bath and Wells, Herbert Westfaling of Hereford, John May of Carlisle, Hugh Bellott of Chester, John Meyrick of Sodor and Man, and Richard Rogers of Dover. (Kinney, pp.19-24; Carlson p.389)

<sup>92</sup> Corner: An out-of-the-way, secluded place, that escapes notice. (OED, p.427)

<sup>93</sup> Stay: To detain, hold back, stop (a person or thing); to hinder from going on. (OED, p.2116)

*own preferment - some way or other compass<sup>94</sup> me to find the first Martin himself, wheresoever he be. Spare no charges. Get him, and see what we'll do for you. For if we were not in hope to come by him through your means, we would cast about another way to suppress his libelling. For we would make friends to have him proclaimed traitor, and have it felony,<sup>95</sup> if we could, for any man to read his writings. And here an end with you.*

Lo, sir<sup>96</sup> boy! Have you not spun a fair thread<sup>97</sup> for our father's ease and quietness, and for the quietness of your brethren? If our uncle Canterbury should take this course, where shall the old man stay, then? You see England will be made too hot for him, if he be living. Why (thou simple and unexperienced lad, thou), my father - my father, I tell thee - had been better, it may be, that thou hadst never (I tell thee truth) learned a word of Irish<sup>98</sup> in thy life than to have in this heat of the year published his unperfect questions.<sup>99</sup> Dost thou not see thy uncle Canterbury abroad<sup>100</sup> in his visitation?<sup>101</sup> Dost thou not see with how many men Esau<sup>102</sup> rides, that if he meet with his poor brother Jacob, he may be sure to suck his blood? Is seven score horse nothing, thinkest thou, to be in the train of an English priest? Whereof also there are thirty gold chains?<sup>103</sup> Dost thou think that the kingdom of Christ - which thy father seeketh to build - shall be able to stand, seeing John Canterbury with so many men rideth about the country to proclaim nothing else but fire and sword unto as many as profess themselves to be the true subjects thereof? Why, thou seest he goes a-visiting purposely for no other end but to make it known what an enmity and hatred he beareth to the gospel and kingdom of Christ Jesus, and to show how careful he is that that heresy of preaching may not prevail. Does thou, then, persuade thyself, silly stripling, that there is any good to be done in sending a pistle unto him, seeing he hath so many men in his train who will swear for him that he loves none of these hot<sup>104</sup> preachers? Methinks my father himself should be afraid of him, being so well horsed as he is. And therefore folly for one of his young sons to think his strength sufficient to bear the encounter.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Compass: To contrive, devise, machinate (a purpose). Usually in a bad sense. (OED, p.381)

<sup>95</sup> Felony: In common and statute law, any of a class of crimes regarded by the law as of a graver character than misdemeanours. (OED, p.738) In Elizabethan England, many felonies were capital crimes.

<sup>96</sup> Sir: Used fancifully, or as a mock title. (OED, p.2004)

<sup>97</sup> Martin uses this expression in the *Epitome*. This is one of many indications that the Marprelate tracts were all written by a single individual, and that Martin Senior and Martin Junior are merely 'characters' whom Martin has created.

<sup>98</sup> Quare why Martin refers to 'a word of Irish'.

<sup>99</sup> Since the *Theses* were published in mid-July, the natural inference is that the *Just Censure* was written in the summer. However, we know from Hodgkins testimony that the *Just Censure* was written before printing of the *Theses* was complete. Thus, the phrase 'in this heat of the year' does not necessarily refer to the month of July, and may refer to the heat of May or June.

<sup>100</sup> Abroad: Out of one's house or abode; out of doors; out in the open air. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>101</sup> Visitation: A visit by an ecclesiastical person to examine into the state of a diocese, parish, religious institution, etc.; specifically, in English use, such a visit paid by a bishop or archdeacon. (OED, p.2482) Here used satirically.

<sup>102</sup> Genesis 33:1: *And as Jacob lift up his eies, and loked, beholde, Esau came, and with him foure hundreth men.* (GB, p.16)

<sup>103</sup> Pierce notes that, if anything, Martin understates the size and splendour of Whitgift's retinue. He quotes the following passage from Paule's *Life of Whitgift*: 'At his first journey into Kent, he rode to Dover, being attended with an hundred of his own servants, at least, in livery, whereof there were forty gentlemen in chains of gold. The train of clergy and gentlemen in the country and their followers was above five hundred horse.' (MT, p.360)

<sup>104</sup> Hot: Fervent. (OED, p.989)

<sup>105</sup> Encounter: A meeting face to face; a meeting in conflict; hence, a battle, skirmish, duel, etc. (OED, p.653) The reference to being 'well-horsed' and of 'strength sufficient to bear the encounter' suggest that Martin's metaphor is taken from jousting.

It may be thou wilt say that thy father is every day in the week able to make as many men of his own charges.<sup>106</sup> I would he were else. If he be, it is more than I know, I promise thee, and I think more than thou canst prove. But, howsoever it goes, thou seest what a credit<sup>107</sup> it is for an English priest to have so many men following of him, as in the Day of Judgement there may be enough of those that wear his livery<sup>108</sup> to witness against him that in this life he was a monstrous antichristian pope and a most bloody oppressor of God's saints.

Be it my father were dead - as you seem to give out (and for mine own part, I will not gainsay you, because I, for my part, may truly say that his eldest child never knew him, and therefore is ignorant whether he be living or dead) - yet, brother Martin, I do see in the publishing of these things by you two great slips<sup>109</sup> committed, the one of inconsideracy,<sup>110</sup> the other of undutifulness. Your rashness and want of wisdom other men, I see, are like to feel; your undutifulness is only towards myself - which I cannot well put up<sup>111</sup> - and because of thy rashness.

Mark whether those poor men before named - to wit, Penry, Sharpe, Waldegrave, Newman, etc., with many other good men who, I dare swear for them, did never meddle nor make<sup>112</sup> at any time with the metropolitical<sup>113</sup> writings of our renowned father<sup>114</sup> - shall not be now as hotly pursued after as ever they were. And all this comes of thy foolish and paltry meddling in matters too high<sup>115</sup> for thy capacity. And thus other men are like to smart<sup>116</sup> by thy folly.

As for myself - to omit the honourable mention that my father (my father, I say, *quem honoris causa nomino, quoties nomino, nomino autem saepissime*) made of me in his writings, whereas he did not once vouchsafe to speak a word of such a dilling<sup>117</sup> as thou art - I should have thought that the very name of an elder brother should have taught thee that there had been one in the world to whom, by right of inheritance, the pistling of bishops had belonged after the decease of reverend Martin himself. Why, who should set out my father's writings but I, Martin, Senior, his son? At the least, who should publish them without my leave? So that herein thy undutifulness is no less than thy heady and rash inconsideracy.

To return again unto our reverend father. Of all other things, I would wish thee not to come within his reach - if he be living - for an thou do, eft,<sup>118</sup> I can tell thee, he'll give thee such a lesson for thy sauciness, as I think thou shalt never be lord bishop while thou livest. For it may be that the

<sup>106</sup> I.e., Martin could readily furnish, at his own expense, a number of men equal to the number in Whitgift's train.

<sup>107</sup> Credit: A source of commendation. (OED, p.453)

<sup>108</sup> Livery: A distinctive suit or badge bestowed by a person upon his retainers or servants. (OED, p.1226)

<sup>109</sup> Slip: An error in conduct, procedure, argument, etc. (OED, p.2020)

<sup>110</sup> Inconsideracy: Inconsiderateness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin usage precedes by a century and a half the first example cited in the OED.

<sup>111</sup> Put up: In figurative uses, to 'pocket', submit to (an affront or injury). (OED, p.1717)

<sup>112</sup> Make: To have to do *with* (a person or thing); to interfere *in* (a matter); chiefly in collocation with *meddle*. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>113</sup> Metropolitical: *Eccl.* Of, pertaining to, or constituting a metropolitan bishop or see; = metropolitan. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>114</sup> If evidence were needed that the individuals named were not involved in the writing of the Marprelate tracts, Martin here provides it.

<sup>115</sup> High: Weighty, grave, serious. (OED, p.963)

<sup>116</sup> Smart: To bear the penalty, to suffer severely, for some offence, etc. (OED, p.2026)

<sup>117</sup> Dilling: Darling; the last born of a family. (OED, p.550)

<sup>118</sup> Eft: A small lizard. (OED, p.633)

**My father, I tell you,  
saving his worship,  
stands upon the credit  
o' his children.**

**Doctor Prime.**

expectation which men have conceived of the proof of such points as thou hast laid down will force him to alter his purpose in *More Work For The Cooper*, and fall a-proving of these things, lest men should hold themselves deluded<sup>119</sup> by thee. And will this be no pain,<sup>120</sup> think you, sir boy? Will it be no labour for a man, having finished a book, to alter his course, and make it wholly new? And this thou knowest he must do, unless his wisdom hath beforehand prevented the inconvenience.<sup>121</sup> I deny not, indeed, but it is easier for him to alter his course than for any one writer that I know of, because he hath chosen him such a method as no man else besides hath done.<sup>122</sup> Nay, his syllogisms, axioms,<sup>123</sup> method, and all, are of his own making; he will borrow none of these common School rules - no, not so much as the common grammar, as it appeareth by that excellent point<sup>124</sup> of poetry written in Latin by him against Doctor Wynken de Worde.<sup>125</sup> There thou shalt see such grammar, such art, such wit and conveyance<sup>126</sup> of matter as, for the variety of the learning and the pleasantness of the style, the like is not elsewhere to be found.

But lest I should utterly discourage thee, poor knave, I will, before I touch<sup>127</sup> the rest of thine oversights, attribute<sup>128</sup> unto thee thy deserved commendations. I confess, then, that thou canst do prettily well; thou canst enter reasonable<sup>129</sup> into the sinews<sup>130</sup> of thine uncle Canterbury's popedom, and make a tolerable<sup>131</sup> anatomy thereof. I must needs also say for thee, Jack,<sup>132</sup> that thou fearest none of these popes. And, I promise thee, I think thou hast a pretty mother wit<sup>133</sup> of thine own. But, poor boy, thou wantest wisdom withal, to govern<sup>134</sup> thy wit. Thou wantest that which thine uncka Bridges hath not, that is, wisdom to direct thee in the carriage<sup>135</sup> of those pretty crotchets<sup>136</sup> that thou hast in thy head. And the poor old Drone<sup>137</sup> o' Sarum<sup>138</sup> lacks that

<sup>119</sup> Deluded: Deceived by mocking prospects, beguiled, misled. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>120</sup> Pain: Trouble taken in accomplishing or attempting something. (OED, p.1494)

<sup>121</sup> This statement is a red herring. The printers finished the *Theses*, and began printing the *Just Censure*, on July 21, 1589. Three or four days later, on or about July 25, the manuscript copy of *More Work For Cooper* was dropped from an upper room into the chamber in which Hodgkins was working. (HIMT, pp.336-8, Carlson, pp.47-8, 173) After printing was complete, the books had to be bound and distributed, and there is little likelihood that copies of the *Theses* were in circulation before July 25. There is thus no real possibility that Martin Marprelate rewrote *More Work For Cooper* as a result of publication of the *Theses*.

<sup>122</sup> This is certainly true.

<sup>123</sup> Axiom: *Logic*. A proposition (whether true or false). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>124</sup> Point: In music, a short strain or snatch of melody. (OED, p.1615) Martin's Latin verses against Dr. Prime have not survived. Quare whether they were included in *More Work For Cooper*.

<sup>125</sup> I.e., Dr. Prime.

<sup>126</sup> Conveyance: The conveying of meaning by words; hence, style. (OED, p.419)

<sup>127</sup> Touch: To mention in speaking. (Schmidt, p.1277)

<sup>128</sup> Attribute: To assign, give, concede to any one, as his right; also, to ascribe in praise. (OED, p.130)

<sup>129</sup> Reasonable: Reasonably. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>130</sup> Sinews: The main strength, mainstay, or chief supporting force, of something. (OED, p.2000)

<sup>131</sup> Tolerable: Moderate in degree, quality, or character; mediocre, passable. (OED, p.2320)

<sup>132</sup> Martin perhaps uses the familiar form of John here as a passing jest at the first name of his adversary, John Whitgift.

<sup>133</sup> Mother wit: Native or natural wit; common sense. (OED, p.1361)

<sup>134</sup> Govern: To hold in check, curb, bridle. (OED, p.874)

<sup>135</sup> Carriage: Conduct or action in given circumstances. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>136</sup> Crotchet: A whimsical fancy; a perverse conceit; a peculiar notion on some (unimportant) point; a fanciful device. (OED, p.462)

altogether wherewith thou art prettily furnished, viz., a natural wit. Neither do I deny, boy, but that thou art Tom Tell-troth, even like thy father, and that thou canst not abide to speak unto thine uncle Canter. by circumlocutions and paraphrases, but simply and plainly<sup>139</sup> thou breakest<sup>140</sup> thy mind unto him, and tellest him unto his face, without all these frivolous circumstances<sup>141</sup> of, *What is your name?* and, *Who gave you that name?* of *An't please your worship, etc.* Thou tellest him plainly to his face, I say, that he is a very antichristian beast, and an intolerable oppressor of God's church. And methought when I read that point in thy epilogue<sup>142</sup> - then, thought I, it will prove a vengeable<sup>143</sup> boy in time. For methinks that already *patrizat sat bene certe*.<sup>144</sup> And, trust me, Jack, I commend thee for thy plainness.<sup>145</sup> And do so still, boy, for truth never shames the master, I warrant thee, and take it o' my word. For indeed thine uncle Canter. is no less than a most vile and cursed tyrant in the church. And a plain Antichrist he is, even by the doctrine of the church of England, and so, by the doctrine of our church, are the rest of our cursed bishops, in the proof of which point by and by I will a little insist. And because many take snuff<sup>146</sup> that my father should account them - yea, and prove them - petty Antichrists, I will manifestly prove them to be so, even by the doctrine of the church of England, maintained by statute and her Majesty's royal privilege. For my father, now, hath taught us such a way to reason against these Caiaphases - in the theses set down by thee - as will anger all the veins in John Canterbury's heart. And that is, to show that they are enemies unto the doctrine of our church.

Unto the point I will come anon. But, first, brother Martin, I will school<sup>147</sup> you in a point or two for your learning in these things wherein I find your epilogue to be unperfect. First, then, I trow, I would have had some other manner of accusations against our Puritans for their slackness<sup>148</sup> than wherewith you have charged them, as presently I will declare. Secondly, I would have propounded some things of mine own against our bishops, or else it should have cost me a fall.<sup>149</sup> And that should have been after this, or the like, sort.

I, Martin Senior, gentleman, son and heir to the reverend and worthy metropolitan, Martin Marprelate the Great, do protest,<sup>150</sup> affirm, say, propound, and object<sup>151</sup> against John Canterbury and his brethren in manner and form following:<sup>152</sup>

137 Drone: The bass pipe of a bagpipe, which emits only one continuous tone. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) See also Schmidt, p. 337.

138 I.e., Bridges.

139 A parody of Bridges' statement in the *Defence* that he goes 'plainly and simply to work'.

140 Break: To reveal (one's mind), disclose (news, etc.); to utter. (OED, p.233)

141 Circumstance: Words or ado made about anything; circumlocution; ceremony. (OED, p.340)

142 Martin Junior takes Whitgift severely to task in the penultimate paragraph of the epilogue in the *Theses*.

143 Vengeable: Inclined or ready to take vengeance or inflict retaliative injury. (OED, p.2460)

144 Unidentified. However, Thomas Nashe, in *Strange News* (1592) has a similar line ('*fratrizat sat bene pretty*') which parodies a line in Gabriel Harvey's *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1578).

145 Plainness: Openness, honesty, or straightforwardness of conduct; frankness or directness of language. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

146 Take snuff: To take offence or umbrage (at a thing). (OED, p.2037)

147 School: To teach with superiority; to tutor. (OED, p.1903)

148 Slackness: Lack of diligence or energy; tendency to idleness or sluggishness; remissness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

149 Fall: *Wrestling*. The fact of being thrown on one's back by an opponent; hence, a bout in wrestling. (OED, CD-ROM)

150 Protest: To declare or state formally or solemnly (something about which a doubt is stated or implied); to affirm, asseverate, or assert in formal or solemn terms. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

151 Object: To bring as a charge against any one; to attribute to any one as a fault or crime; to lay to one's charge, cast in one's teeth, accuse one of, reproach one with. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

First, I protest and affirm that the foresaid John Whitgift, alias Canterbury, which nameth himself Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>153</sup> is no minister at all in the church of God, but hath, and doth, wrongfully usurp and invade the name and seat of the ministry unto the great detriment of the church of God, the utter spoil of the souls of men, and the likely ruin of this commonwealth, together with the great dishonour of her Majesty and the state. And in this case do I affirm all the lord bishops in England to be.

2 Item, I do protest that the entering in of this cursed man, John Whitgift, and of all others our bishops in England, is not an entering into the church of God by the door,<sup>154</sup> Christ Jesus. Wherefore I affirm all of them to be thieves, robbers, wolves, and worriers<sup>155</sup> of the flock, and therefore no true shepherds.

3 Item, I do proclaim the said John Canterbury, with the rest of our prelates, to be common simoniarchs<sup>156</sup> - such as make merchandise<sup>157</sup> of church livings and benefices, by faculties,<sup>158</sup> dispensations,<sup>159</sup> etc., and make as common a gain of church censures, by absolutions and commutations<sup>160</sup> of penance,<sup>161</sup> etc. as any men in the land do of their lawful trades and occupations.

4 Item, I do propound and affirm that the said John Canterbury and his brethren do hinder and let<sup>162</sup> with all their might the true knowledge of God amongst her Majesty's loving subjects, the inhabitants of this kingdom, and thereby, besides their own sore-provided<sup>163</sup> damnation, are guilty of the blood of infinite thousands.

5 Item, I do proclaim that the said John Whitgift, with the rest of his brethren, doth spend<sup>164</sup> and waste<sup>165</sup> the patrimony<sup>166</sup> of the church (which ought to be employed in the maintenance of true

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<sup>152</sup> According to Pierce, Martin has framed his 'proposition' on the 24 inquisitorial articles devised by Whitgift for examination of non-conformists before the High Commission. (MT, p.365)

<sup>153</sup> Martin here puts Whitgift to the proof of his right to call himself 'Archbishop of Canterbury'.

<sup>154</sup> *John 10:1-2, 7, 9: Verely, verely I say unto you, He that entreth not in by the dore into the shepefolde, but climeth up another way, he is a thefe and a robber. But he that goeth in by the dore, is the shepherd of the shepe. Then said Jesus unto them againe, Verely, verely I say unto you, I am the dore of the shepe. I am the dore: by me if any man enter in, he shalbe saved.* (GB, p.48)

<sup>155</sup> Worrier: An animal that kills or injures others by biting or rough treatment. (OED, p.2574)

<sup>156</sup> 'Simoniarchs', which appears to be Martin's coinage, is not found in the OED.

<sup>157</sup> Make merchandise: To traffic in (usually in a bad sense). (OED, p.1308)

<sup>158</sup> Faculty: A dispensation, licence: *esp. Eccl.* an authorization or licence granted by an ecclesiastical superior to some one to perform some action or occupy some position which otherwise he could not legally do or hold. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>159</sup> Dispensation: In ecclesiastical uses, the granting of licence by a pope, archbishop, or bishop, to a person, to do what is forbidden, or omit what is enjoined by ecclesiastical law, etc.; the licence so given. (OED, p.572)

<sup>160</sup> Commutation: In law, the substitution of a lesser punishment for a greater. (OED, p.379)

<sup>161</sup> Penance: The performance of some act of self-mortification or submission to some penalty, as an expression of penitence; in ecclesiastical use, such discipline or observance officially imposed by a priest after confession. (OED, p.1543)

<sup>162</sup> Let: Hinder, stand in the way of. (OED, p.1201)

<sup>163</sup> 'Sore-provided', which appears to be Martin's coinage, is not found in OED.

<sup>164</sup> Spend: To consume, employ, use superfluously, wastefully, or with undue lavishness. (OED, p.2071)

<sup>165</sup> Waste: In law, to destroy, injure, damage (property). (OED, p.2510)

faithful ministers, and other church uses) in the persecuting the true members of Christ, her Majesty's most trusty and loving subjects, and also upon their own pomp and ambitious pride, in maintaining a rude,<sup>167</sup> ungodly train of vile men, and a company of lewd and graceless children.<sup>168</sup>

6 Item, I do propound that the said John Whitgift and his brethren do, as much as in them lieth, sow sedition and discontentedness<sup>169</sup> between her Majesty and her true loyal subjects by pretending that their practices in urging subscription and in depriving men contrary to law (as for the surplice,<sup>170</sup> denying to subscribe,<sup>171</sup> etc.) is at her Majesty's commandment. As though her Highness would command that which were contrary unto the true doctrine of our church, and contrary unto her lawful statutes and privileges. Or as though she would so delude her loving subjects as publicly to maintain that true doctrine and these godly statutes which, privately, she would have violated and trodden under feet.

7 Item, I, the said Martin Senior, do protest and affirm the said John Whitgift, with the rest of his brethren, to have incurred the statute of *praemunire facies*, for depriving of ministers for not subscribing, not wearing the surplice, and for other their manifold proceedings against law and equity.<sup>172</sup>

8 Item, I do propound all our bishops for their said practices to be, *ipso facto*,<sup>173</sup> deprivable,<sup>174</sup> and that her Majesty, if she will do them but right, may by law deprive them all tonight before tomorrow.

9 I do also propound and avouch<sup>175</sup> the said John Whitgift, and the rest of his wicked fraternity, though by outward profession<sup>176</sup> they are in the church, yet to be none of the church, but to have - until they repent and desire to be received into the church - cut themselves (by the persecuting of the truth, and other their heinous sins) from the church and so, without their repentance, from the interest<sup>177</sup> and inheritance<sup>178</sup> of the kingdom of heaven.

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<sup>166</sup> Patrimony: The ancient estate or endowment of an institution, corporation, etc., especially that of a church or religious body. (OED, p.1529)

<sup>167</sup> Rude: Turbulent, violent, boisterous, rough. (OED, p.1858)

<sup>168</sup> Nothing seems to be known of the bishops' children, apart from Bishop Scory's 'worthless son Sylvanus'.

<sup>169</sup> Discontentedness: The quality or condition of being discontented; discontent, dissatisfaction. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first citation in the OED.

<sup>170</sup> See *Epistle*.

<sup>171</sup> I.e., to Whitgift's Articles of 1584.

<sup>172</sup> Equity: In England, a system of law existing side by side with the common and statute law (together called 'law' in a narrower sense), and superseding these, when they conflict with it. (OED, p.675) This passage shows Martin's awareness of the distinction, and is one of many references in the tract which demonstrate his accurate knowledge of the law.

<sup>173</sup> *Ipsa facto*: By that very fact; by the fact itself. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>174</sup> Deprivable: Liable to be deprived; subject to deprivation. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Deprivation: The action of depriving anyone of an office, dignity, or benefice; dispossession, deposition; esp. the depriving of an ecclesiastic of a benefice or preferment as an act of punishment or discipline. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>175</sup> Avouch: To declare as a thing one can prove, or upon which one offers his own express testimony as a personal witness. (OED, p.139)

<sup>176</sup> Profession: The declaration of belief in and obedience to religion which one professes. (OED, p.1680)

<sup>177</sup> Interest: The relation of being objectively concerned in something, by having a right or title to, a claim upon, or a share in. (OED, p.1093)

<sup>178</sup> Inheritance: In figurative uses, something that one comes into possession of by right or divine grant. (OED, p.1073)

Item, I do protest and affirm that the true church of God ought to have no more to do with John Canterbury, his brother,<sup>179</sup> and their synagogue, namely, with their antichristian Courts of Faculties,<sup>180</sup> etc., with their officers of commissaries,<sup>181</sup> archdeacons, chancellors, officials,<sup>182</sup> dumb ministers,<sup>183</sup> etc., than with the synagogue of Satan.<sup>184</sup> And that he, their head and pope, together with his foresaid rabble, are not to be accounted for that church whose censures we are to reverence and obey, and in the unity whereof we are to remain.

Item, particularly concerning John Canterbury himself, I do affirm - but yet no further than *quatenus*<sup>185</sup> *probabile*, that is, by great likelihoods - that he is so finally hardened<sup>186</sup> in his heinous sins against God and his church that as he cannot be reclaimed, for his mouth is full of cursing against God and his saints; his feet are swift to shed the blood of the holy ones;<sup>187</sup> he teareth in pieces the churches which he ought to foster, wilfully pulling the shepherds from their sheep, and so scattering them in a most lamentable sort; making much of wicked men that maintain his popedom, and smiting<sup>188</sup> the righteous for gainsaying his ways; bringing in daily into the church - either by himself or his hang-ons<sup>189</sup> - new errors, not heard of before. Blaspheming the way of truth, and being rooted in malice against that truth of Christ Jesus (who is blessed forever) which he may see, if he did not hoodwink<sup>190</sup> himself, he, with all his power, contrarieth and striveth against the going forward of the gospel, lest by the light thereof his sins should be reprov'd. Finally, he hath in him too too many likely testimonies of an heir of the kingdom of darkness<sup>191</sup> where, without his true turning unto the Lord, he shall live in hell forever.

And, wicked man! if thou meanest to be elsewhere received, that is, into Christ's kingdom, turn thee from thy wickedness, and let men and angels be witnesses of thy conversion. Thy high place cannot

<sup>179</sup> Unidentified. Martin may refer to the Pope, or to Dean John Bridges, both of whom are called Whitgift's 'brother' later in the tract.

<sup>180</sup> Court of Faculties: A tribunal of the archbishop in England. (BLD, p.430) Court of Faculties: A court having power to grant faculties in certain cases. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Faculty: A dispensation, licence: *esp. Eccl.* an authorization or licence granted by an ecclesiastical superior to some one to perform some action or occupy some position which otherwise he could not legally do or hold. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>181</sup> Commissary: In ecclesiastical uses, an officer exercising jurisdiction as the representative of the bishop in parts of his diocese. (OED, p.376)

<sup>182</sup> Official: In ecclesiastical use, in the Church of England, the presiding officer or judge of an archbishop's, bishop's, or archdeacon's court. (OED, p.1440)

<sup>183</sup> Isaiah 56:10: *Their watchmen are all blinde; they have no knowledge; they are all domme doggs; they can not barke; they lie & slepe and delite in sleping.* (GB, p.303)

<sup>184</sup> Synagogue of Satan: In hostile controversial use; the phrase is taken from Revelation 2:9: *I knowe thy works and tribulation, and povertie (but thou art riche) & I knowe the blasphemie of them, which say they are Jewes and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan.* (OED, p.2222)

<sup>185</sup> Quatenus: Latin 'how far', 'to what extent'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>186</sup> Hardened: Rendered callous; obdurately determined in a course. (OED, p.925)

<sup>187</sup> Romans 3:15: *Their feet are swift to shed blood.* (KJB)

<sup>188</sup> Smite: In or after Biblical use: to strike, or strike down, in battle; to kill, slay. (OED, p.2028)

<sup>189</sup> Martin also uses this term in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*. This is one among many indications that Martin Marprelate, Martin Senior, and Martin Junior are one and the same, and that all seven Marprelate tracts had a single author.

<sup>190</sup> Hoodwink: *Fig.* To blindfold mentally; to prevent (any one) from seeing the truth or fact; to 'throw dust in the eyes of', deceive, humbug. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first citation in the OED.

<sup>191</sup> Perhaps a reference to Matthew 8:12: *And the children of the kingdome shal be cast out into utter darkenes: there shalbe weping and gnashing of teeth.* (GB, p.5)



save thee from his wrath whose truth thou suppressest, and whose members thou dost persecute and imprison. And I would not wish thee to defer thy repentance, lest thou callest with the foolish virgins when there is no opening.<sup>192</sup> Thou seest - even here upon earth - manifest tokens of God's anger towards thee. For thou seekest for honour; but, alas, I know none more contemptible than thyself - the poorest, faithful minister in the Lord hath more true reverence in one day than thou hast had since the first time of thy popedom. There are almost none of God's children but had as lief<sup>193</sup> see a serpent as meet thee, not because they fear thy face, but inasmuch as it grieveth them that their eyes are forced to look upon so wicked an enemy of God and his church. Thine own creatures<sup>194</sup> themselves honour thee, but as tyrants are commonly honoured of their parasites and sycophants. Thy brother, the Pope, hath the like honour unto thine, that is, an honour whose end will be shame and confusion of face forever. The fearful and contemptible end that have been brought upon many of them<sup>195</sup> ought to terrify thee. Nay, the message of death which the Lord sent lately even into thine own house ought to move thee, and force thee to confess that thy years also - yea, and days - are numbered. Doctor Perne, thou knowest, was thy joy, and thou his darling.<sup>196</sup> He was the dragon from whose serpentine<sup>197</sup> breasts thou didst first draw this poison wherewith now thou infecteth the church of God and feedest thyself unto damnation. He lived a persecutor, an atheist, an hypocrite, and a dissembler, whom the world pointed at, and he died (thou knowest) the death due unto such a life as he led; thou knowest he died suddenly, even at thine own palace of Lambeth,<sup>198</sup> when, in thine own judgement, he was likely - in regard of bodily strength, though not of age - to outlive thee.<sup>199</sup> And take thou his death for a forewarning<sup>200</sup> of thy destruction, except thou repent.

<sup>192</sup> Matthew 25:10-12: *And while they went to bide, the bridegrome came: & they that were readie, went in with him to the wedding, and the gate was shut. Afterwardes came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord open to us. But he answered, and said, Verely I say unto you, I knowe you not.* (GB, p.15)

<sup>193</sup> Had as lief = had rather. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>194</sup> Creature: One who owes his position to another. (OED, p.452)

<sup>195</sup> I.e., on the popes.

<sup>196</sup> Darling: Dearly-loved, best-loved, favourite. (OED, p.489)

<sup>197</sup> Serpentine: Having the evil qualities of the Serpent; pertaining to the Serpent as the tempter of mankind; diabolical, Satanic; devilishly wily or cunning. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>198</sup> In his autobiography, the Jesuit priest John Gerard confirms the suddenness of Perne's death at Lambeth Palace, while recounting an incident which supports Martin's accusation that Perne was a 'hypocrite and dissembler'. The incident involved a lady of Gerard's acquaintance, a sister of Edward Yelverton, in whose home in Norfolk Gerard was then residing. Gerard writes: 'Being anxious about the state of her soul, she went to consult a Cambridge doctor called Perne. He was known to have changed his religion three or four times to suit the change of ruler, Catholic and Protestant, and still retained a wide reputation for learning. This Doctor Perne was her close friend and she asked him to tell her honestly and simply which was the holy religion that would see her safe to heaven. The doctor was unused to urgent appeals like this from shrewd women of good sense. He said, 'I beg you never to tell anyone what I am going to say. Since, however, you have asked me to answer as if I were responsible for your salvation, I will tell you. If you wish, you can *live* in the religion which the Queen and the whole kingdom profess - you will have a good life, you will have none of the vexations which Catholics have to suffer. But don't *die* in it. Die in faith and communion with the Catholic Church, that is, if you want to save your soul'. So the man answered; but what happened to him? The poor fellow had put off his conversion from day to day. Then, when he least expected it, he fell dead just as he got back to his room after dining with the Archbishop of Canterbury in his palace.' (Caraman, pp.18-9)

<sup>199</sup> Martin's comparison between Perne and Whitgift in respect of age and bodily strength suggests personal acquaintance with both men. Andrew Perne died April 26, 1589 while on a visit to Whitgift at Lambeth Palace. (DNB, v.15, p.897) April 26, 1589 is thus the earliest date at which the *Just Censure* could have been written, and Pierce is of the view that it was written within a few weeks of Perne's death. It was not printed, however, until July 29 because the secret press lacked a printer for three and a half months following Waldegrave's departure. (MT, p.367) See also earlier note on the dating of the *Just Censure*.

<sup>200</sup> Forewarning: A warning beforehand. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

And these, brother Martin, with suchlike points, are some of those positions wherewith I could have thwacked my uncles about the shoulders, I ween, an I had been in thy place. There is one question more which I would have propounded for mine uncka Bridges' sake. O, I love him, thou knowest. And therefore thus would I have set down my proper-sition<sup>201</sup> on his behalf:

I, Martin Senior, gentleman, do here protest, affirm, propound, and defend that if John Canterbury will needs have a fool in his house, wearing a wooden dagger and a coxcomb, that none is so fit for that place as his brother John a' Bridges, Dean of Sarum.<sup>202</sup> And that he, viz., John Bridges, is by right to displace the other with whom Lambeth now plays the ass,<sup>203</sup> and is himself to be, after a solemn manner, according to the book of ordaining bishops and priests, invested<sup>204</sup> unto that room, having for his officers and daily attendants these gentlemen following. First and foremost, Doctor Robert Some<sup>205</sup> for his confessor who, also, when his master John Sarum<sup>206</sup> hath no use of his service, may be at my Lord's Grace's commandment to read the starve-us<sup>207</sup> book in his chapel at Lambeth. Secondly, if he were not something touched<sup>208</sup> with the coinquination<sup>209</sup> of the flesh, I would appoint none but Doctor Underhill<sup>210</sup> to be his almoner.<sup>211</sup> Thirdly, Bancroft<sup>212</sup> - and drunken Gravat<sup>213</sup> - should be the yeomen<sup>214</sup> of his cellar. Anderson\*, parson of Stepney, should make room before him with his two-hand staff, as he did once before the morris-dance at a market

**\*This chaplain robbed the poor men's box at Northampton, played the potter's part in the morris-dance, and begot his maid with child in Leicestershire - and these things he did since he was first priest.**

<sup>201</sup> A play on 'proper' and 'position'?

<sup>202</sup> Compare with Nimble's speech to Chief Justice Tresilian in *Thomas of Woodstock*: 'As nimble as a morris-dancer, now my bells are on/ How do ye like the rattling of my chains, my lord?' (Armstrong, p.205)

<sup>203</sup> Martin presumably alludes to a fool or jester whom Whitgift maintained in his household.

<sup>204</sup> Invest: To install in an office or rank with proper rites. (OED, p.1108)

<sup>205</sup> Robert Some (1542-1609), Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge from 1589. A vigorous controversialist, Dr. Some became involved in a debate with John Penry and the anonymous author of *Master Some Laid Open In His Colours* as a result of the publication of the first edition of Some's *Godly Treatise* in May, 1588. See note in the *Minerals* for an account of the controversy in print between Dr. Some and John Penry. After Penry's manuscript reply to Dr. Some was seized on January 29, 1589, Penry dropped out of the controversy, and an anonymous author entered the fray with *Master Some Laid Open In His Colours*, which was printed by Waldegrave at La Rochelle in the summer of 1589. Carlson has demonstrated that the similarities of content and style between the Marprelate tracts and *Master Some* render it almost certain that Martin Marprelate was the author of the anonymous *Master Some*. (Carlson, pp.57-8, 285-6, 132-157)

<sup>206</sup> I.e., Bridges.

<sup>207</sup> A pun. Starve: To die, in spiritual sense. (OED, p.2111) Service: A service book, a volume containing the *Book of Common Prayer*. (OED, p.1950) Hunt notes that a complaint of the inhabitants of Maldon in Essex to their Members of Parliament complains 'not of the want of bread, or the scarcity of corn . . . but . . . the wrong done to our souls, and . . . the want of spiritual food'. (Hunt, p.100)

<sup>208</sup> Touch: To affect injuriously in some physical way (e.g. by fire or frost), esp. in a slight degree; to communicate disease to by contagion, to infect, taint. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>209</sup> Coinquination: Complete pollution, defilement. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>210</sup> Dr. John Underhill (d.1592). Martin seems to suggest venereal disease as the reason Underhill should not be appointed almoner.

<sup>211</sup> Almoner: A distributor of alms on behalf of a person or a community. (OED, p.51)

<sup>212</sup> Richard Bancroft (1544-1610). At the time of the publication of the Marprelate tracts, Bancroft was chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton and a member of the High Commission. He is 'said to have originated the idea of replying to the [Marprelate] tracts in a like satirical vein, as was done by Thomas Nashe and others'. (Carlson, pp.59, 361; DNB, v.1, p.1029) However, historical evidence to support this view is lacking.

<sup>213</sup> William Gravat, vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

<sup>214</sup> Yeoman: A servant or attendant in a royal or noble household, usually ranking between a sergent and a groom or between a squire and a page. (OED, p.2589)

town in the edge of Buckingham or Bedford shires, where he bare the potter's part.<sup>215</sup> His two supporters (always to lead him by the arms)<sup>216</sup> must be Sir Leonard Wright and Sir Tom Blan o' Bedford, the one whereof also must carry his bauble,<sup>217</sup> and the other a looking-glass<sup>218</sup> for their master, to see whether his catercap doth every way reach over his ears and so stand according to his calling. As for Mar-Martin and John Frégeville,<sup>219</sup> they, *alterius* [sic] *vicibus*,<sup>220</sup> shall be the grooms of his stool.<sup>221</sup> The rest of his officers I refer to the discretion of my father, unto whose censure also I do humbly submit this conceit of mine. And it may be I am bold to appoint these men their offices, who happily are at my father's direction to give their attendance where he hath appointed them their places. But this I'll bide by,<sup>222</sup> though my father should say nay, that John Bridges deserves to have his place that wears the wooden dagger, the coxcomb, and the copper chain at Lambeth. Ise<sup>223</sup> abide by it, come what will of the matter.

The next thing that we are to consider, brother Martin, is a more just reprehension of the Puritans than that wherewith thou blamest them. For thou findest fault with the preachers only - and that justly, I confess - because they are no more forward<sup>224</sup> in casting off these, our popes. But I say that with more equity<sup>225</sup> thou mightest have blamed both the gentlemen and people together with the ministers, than the ministers alone. For the ministers, although they be faulty, yet notwithstanding thou canst not deny but the gentlemen and people are as deep in fault as they are. And I would wish them - both the one and the other - to take this, or some such course, as I here set down, which also - for a great part of it, though not all - I saw in a Puritan's hand, and so came by a copy of it, thinking, if I could have heard of my father, to let him have the use of my copy, but now, you see, I publish it myself. I would then have all the Puritans in the land, both lords,

<sup>215</sup> Carlson identifies the parson of Stepney (the main village in an area east of the Tower of London called from about 1200 the 'Tower Hamlets') as Anthony Anderson. (Carlson, p.225; Baker, p.50) According to Pierce, the potter's part in the Robin Hood stories is referred to in *Robin Hood's Garland* (1670) and in a chap-book printed about 1560 by William Copland, *A mery geste of Robyn Hoode and of hys lyfe, with a new playe for to be played in May games very plesaunte and full of pastyme*, in which the potter and Robin Hood fight with quarter-staves. (MT, p.370) In addition to bearing the potter's part in Buckinghamshire, Anderson was also, according to Martin's marginal note, guilty of robbing the poor-box at Northampton, and getting his maid with child in Leicestershire. It is clear from these references to Anderson's activities in three different parts of England that Martin had been following his career for a number of years.

<sup>216</sup> Presumably Martin intends a pun on 'supporters', and 'arms' in heraldry. Supporter: One who attends another for the purpose of giving physical or moral support; hence, an attendant, as in a procession, sometimes with allusion to 'supporter' in heraldry (a figure of an animal, mythical creature, or human being, represented as holding up or standing beside the shield; each of two such figures, one on each side of the shield). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>217</sup> Bauble: The baton of the court fool or jester. (OED, p.166)

<sup>218</sup> Looking-glass: A mirror. (OED, p.1237)

<sup>219</sup> Leonard Wright, Tobias Bland, Mar-Martin, and John Frégeville are mentioned in the *Theses* as the authors of works written against Martin.

<sup>220</sup> *Alternis vicibus*: Either of the two by turns. (MT, p.370) In the original text, this is misprinted as *alterius vicibus*. (Carlson, p.205)

<sup>221</sup> Groom of the stool: The title of a high officer of the King's household (formerly sometimes also in the household of a prince of the blood), ranking next below the vice-chamberlain of the household. There seems to be little doubt that the 'stole chamber', served by the Groom or Yeoman of the Stole, was originally the room containing the king's close-stool'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>222</sup> To bide by: To stand firm by, adhere to, stick to, maintain. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>223</sup> West Country dialect.

<sup>224</sup> Forward: Ready, prompt, eager (in an action or cause). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>225</sup> Equity: Impartiality; even-handed dealing. (OED, p.675)

knights, gentlemen, ministers, and people, to become joint suitors in one supplication<sup>226</sup> unto her Majesty and the Lords of her honourable Privy Council in these petitions:

1 First, that there may be a redress of the great ignorance wherewith our whole land is overgrown, by placing able and faithful teachers over every congregation, as near as may be.

2 Secondly, that all unlawful and sinful callings may be removed out of our ministry and church.

3 Thirdly, that the church within her Majesty's dominions may be governed by these offices and officers only which the Lord Christ Jesus hath set down in his Word.

4 Fourthly, that for the quiet and orderly taking up<sup>227</sup> of these controversies which are risen in our church - concerning the government and ceremonies thereof<sup>228</sup> - between our prelates and those learned men which are contrary-minded<sup>229</sup> unto them, there might be had a quiet meeting of both the parties, and the controversies determined on their side who shall be found to deal for (and not against) the truth. Or, if this fourth petition cannot take place, I would have this in the stead thereof, viz.,

That it may please her Majesty and the Lords of her Majesty's honourable Privy Council to see that the true subjects of this Crown may not be troubled, as now they are, for defending such points as, being according unto the Word of God, are also according to the privileged doctrine of the church of England which is maintained by the statutes of this land - and that, in case the prelates do molest any man (as now they do) for maintaining the doctrine of our church, or otherwise contrary unto the laws of our land - it may be lawful for him or them thus injured to have his remedy<sup>230</sup> at the King's Bench<sup>231</sup> against the said prelates.

Now, Jack, what sayest thou? I am sure thou canst not deny but these petitions, in thy judgement, would be an easy suit. I trow so, too, and I think that now thou findest greater fault, or at the least as great, with the Puritan noblemen, gentlemen, and people as with the ministers because this, or the like course, goeth not on forward. And, I can tell thee, there would be gotten an hundred thousand hands<sup>232</sup> to this supplication, of known<sup>233</sup> men in the land, all her Majesty's most loyal and trusty loving subjects. Thou mayest then well think what a stroke<sup>234</sup> so many would strike together, especially in so reasonable and just a suit. And hereby our bishops should be proved to be lord bishops indeed, that is, ungodly and slanderous liars,\* when her Majesty saw that the Puritans seek not any intolerable course (for if the foresaid petitions be not to be borne, I know not what is sufferable),<sup>235</sup> as the bishops would pretend. And further, it should appear that they are not a few, and of small reputation - but in a manner the strength of our land and the sinew of her Majesty's

<sup>226</sup> Supplication: A written or formal petition. (OED, p.2196)

<sup>227</sup> Take up: To make up, settle, (a dispute, quarrel, etc.). (OED, p.2237)

<sup>228</sup> Martin identifies the two principal points at issue between the established church and the Puritans: the form of church government, and the outward 'ceremonies' or 'ornaments' to be used in the conduct of church services.

<sup>229</sup> Contrary-minded: Of the contrary opinion. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>230</sup> Remedy: Legal redress. (OED, p.1791)

<sup>231</sup> King's Bench: A former court of record and the supreme court of common law in England. (OED, p.1156)

<sup>232</sup> Hand: Signature. (OED, p.920)

<sup>233</sup> Known: Familiar to all, generally known or recognized. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>234</sup> Stroke: *Fig.* An act which causes pain, injury, or death; often, an act of divine chastisement or vengeance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>235</sup> Sufferable: That may be allowed, permissible. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

\*A pretty brief definition of a lord bishop.

royal government - which our bishops do falsely note with the names of Puritans.<sup>236</sup> The consideration whereof, I tell thee, even in policy,<sup>237</sup> would make that this their suit should not be hastily rejected, especially in such a time as wherein we now live, in danger of our enemies abroad,<sup>238</sup> and therefore had need of no causes of discouragement at home. Why, man, this were also such a course as it would descry<sup>239</sup> our bishops' English to be plain slander and treachery against the truth and the maintainers thereof, as indeed it is.

**Bishops' English.**

The bishops' English, wilt thou say? Now, I pray you, reverend brother, what is that? Why, Jack, dost thou not understand what our bishops' English meaneth? I do not greatly marvel, because I myself came but lately unto the knowledge of it aright.<sup>240</sup> But now that I have bestowed a little study that way, I do think there are but a few in England that see into it as far as I do - *semper excipio Platonem* - you know I always give place to my father, for he made the first grammar and lexicon<sup>241</sup> in our time for the understanding hereof. Thy small experience then considered, I wonder not of thine ignorance in this point. But, to satisfy thy demand, the bishops' English is to wrest our language in such sort as they will draw a meaning out of our English words which the nature of the tongue can by no means bear. As, for example, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, in good bishops' English is as much as: *I pray God thou mayest receive the Holy Ghost*.<sup>242</sup> And, again, *My desire is that I may be baptized in this faith*, to their understanding, and in their dialect, is after this sort: *My desire is not that I myself, but that this child, whereunto I am a witness, may be baptized in this faith*.<sup>243</sup> Further, to entreat her Majesty and the Parliament that the miseries of the church may be redressed, in the prelates' language, is to seek the overthrow of the state and the disquietness of her subjects.<sup>244</sup> And if a man should go and ask thine uncle Canterbury (but stay, boy, I mean not that thou shouldst go and demand the question of him)<sup>245</sup> what it were (in the tongue which he and his brethren do commonly use) to put up such a dutiful supplication as before I have set down, why his answer would be presently that to deal in such a suit were to rebel against her Majesty, to pull the crown off of her head, to make a faction,<sup>246</sup> to wrest the scepter out of her hand, and to shake off all authority. A wonderful thing in thy conceit<sup>247</sup> I know it will be, to think that humbly and

**I am sure that they would not, for forty pence, that 'Receive a bishopric' should be expounded unto, 'I wish thou mayest receive a bishopric', when they receive the Holy Ghost.**

<sup>236</sup> Martin also takes issue with the term 'Puritans' in *Hay Any Work For Cooper* and the *Theses*.

<sup>237</sup> Policy: Political sagacity; prudence, skill, or consideration of expediency in the conduct of public affairs; statecraft, diplomacy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>238</sup> Despite the defeat of the Armada, England was still at war with Spain.

<sup>239</sup> Descry: To make known. (OED, p.527)

<sup>240</sup> Aright: In a right manner; justly, correctly. (OED, p.103)

<sup>241</sup> Lexicon: A word-book or dictionary; chiefly applied to a dictionary of Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic (the restricted use is due to the fact that until recently dictionaries of these particular languages were usually in Latin, and in modern Latin *lexicon*, not *dictionarius*, has been the word generally used. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>242</sup> Pierce interprets this passage as follows: 'In the ordination of a bishop and also of a priest, Evangelical bishops who could not believe that man might ceremonially bestow upon his fellow-man the gift of the Holy Spirit, and who yet desired to retain their benefices, employed the slippery and perilous defence of a non-natural interpretation of the words employed. The proper criticism of such prevarication is given by Martin in the margin.' (MT, p.373)

<sup>243</sup> Pierce gives the questions asked of the godparents, and the appropriate responses: 'What dost thou desyre?' 'Baptism.' 'Wilt thou be baptized?' 'I will.' (MT, p.373)

<sup>244</sup> Martin presumably refers to the many insinuations of treason in Cooper's *Admonition*.

<sup>245</sup> I.e., Martin Senior restrains the impetuous Martin Junior.

<sup>246</sup> Faction: A party in the state or in any community or association. Always with imputation of selfish or mischievous ends or unscrupulous methods. (OED, p.717)

<sup>247</sup> Conceit: Personal opinion, judgment, or estimation, usually 'in a neutral sense', as *in my conceit*, in my opinion or conception of the case. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

dutifully to entreat should, in the English tongue, signify by unbridled<sup>248</sup> force undutifully to compel, and that to seek the removing of unlawful callings out of the church should be to threaten that the lawful magistrate should be thrust out of the commonwealth. But, simple boy, such English must thou study to understand, or else thou shalt never be able to pistle thine uncle Canterbury so learnedly as my father and I can do. And therefore I would wish that, of the first money which thou meanest to bestow in books, thou wouldst buy thee thy father's\* grammar and his lexicon, with a brief thing called his *Capita Concordantiarum*.<sup>249</sup> And study these well but one month and, out o' doubt, thou shalt, with the pretty skill which thou hast already, be able to overturn any catercap of them all. I would thou knewest what great light to the understanding of all the bishops' treacheries a little time bestowed in these volumes have afforded unto me.

\*These books are not yet printed.

Well, by this time I think thou perceivest what a brave way this supplication which I speak of were, to prove our bishops to be treacherous and vile slanderers. For hereby her Majesty should perceive that the rumors which the bishops raise falsely concerning the great danger that would ensue unto her Crown by the reformation which the Puritans seek and labour for, are nothing else but (in a cunning and mystical kind of unnatural English) to translate: *The Puritans, by the establishing of the kingdom of Christ, seek the sure upholding of the crown and dignity of their dread* <sup>250</sup> *sovereign Lady Elizabeth, into this handsome, bishoplike metre:*<sup>251</sup> *The Puritans, by their platform of reformation, seek the utter ruin and subversion of Lady Elizabeth, her crown and dignity.* I am sure her Majesty would well-favouredly laugh at such a translation as this is, and yet behold, such she must be content with if she will vouchsafe to yield her ears unto a bishop's persuasion. Yet thus much must I say of them, namely, that although they be not the best expounders<sup>252</sup> of words that ever I read, yet do they never translate anything *e verbo ad verbum* which by learned men is commended as an especial virtue in a translator.<sup>253</sup> But O, that I, as simple as I am, might read a lecture or two concerning this bishoplike translation - if not before her Majesty, yet at the least before some of her nobles - I would not doubt but to unfold such a deal of strange English (and yet the very *vernacula*, viz., the natural mother tongue of our unnatural prelates) as was never heard of in this land since the Saxons' time.

Here, I know that thou art ready to enquire two points of me for thine instruction: the one, how our prelates can be proved Antichrists by the church of England; the other, how thou mayest come by those books of my father before quoted. Well, thus I will briefly answer thee in both.

For the first, Master Tyndale, in the preface of his book called *The Obedience Of A Christian Man* (page 102), proveth them to be Antichrists inasmuch as, in their doctrine and their doings concerning non-residency, they are directly against Christ and his Word. I charge<sup>254</sup> thee, read the place,<sup>255</sup> because at this time I am not at leisure to set it down. I can tell thee, the reading of it will be double worth thy pains.

<sup>248</sup> Unbridled. *Fig.* Not restrained or held in check; absolutely uncontrolled or ungoverned. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>249</sup> Martin's grammar, lexicon and *Capita Concordantiarum* never appeared in print.

<sup>250</sup> Dread: Revered. (OED, p.606)

<sup>251</sup> In the original text, this is 'miter', perhaps a pun on the bishop's mitre.

<sup>252</sup> Expounder: One who expounds; an expositor. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>253</sup> I.e., like all good translators, the bishops do not translate literally; however, unlike good translators, the bishops wrest the translated words from their natural meaning.

<sup>254</sup> Charge: To lay a command or injunction upon. (OED, p.316)

<sup>255</sup> Pierce gives the passage cited by Martin from William Tyndale's *Obedience Of A Christian Man*: 'When a whole parish of us hire a schoolmaster to teach our children, what reason is it that we should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, and he should have licence to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and to leave our children untaught? Doth not the pope so? Have we not given our tithes of courtesy unto one, for to teach us God's word; and cometh not the pope, and compelleth us to pay

My father's books afore spoken of are not in print, I confess; I would they were. Yet it may be I could direct thee where to go to have mine. But, because I mean yet further to punish thee for thy slips in thy pistle, I will not do thee that pleasure. For now indeed it cometh into my mind that thou hast dealt foolishly in two points, besides all other thy fore-reckoned<sup>256</sup> oversights.

First, thou hast hereby exasperated against thy father and other poor men, his well-willers,<sup>257</sup> not only thy uncle Caiaphas, but hast set on the most of thine neames to give their advice how to entrap him and his favourers. For (ten to one) but that Beelzebub of London<sup>258</sup> will discharge<sup>259</sup> the pursuivants to go to their business with this or the like madmonition:<sup>260</sup>

*My Masters, you must not sleep<sup>261</sup> in this matter. The maintenance of the peace of our church standeth now in your faithfulness and care. They are desperately set to overthrow all. And, by the Mass, I will be a pursuivant myself rather than abide this tumult.<sup>262</sup> And if I were, I trow I would watch about Travers'<sup>263</sup> house in Milk Street<sup>264</sup> who go in and out there. And I would know what they carried under their cloaks too, even any of them all.<sup>265</sup> There is Paget<sup>266</sup> at Hounslow;<sup>267</sup> I beshrew my heart<sup>268</sup> if I would show him any such favour as my Lord's Grace here doth.<sup>269</sup> They are naught,<sup>270</sup> they are naught, all the pack of them! I'll trust none of them*

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it violently to them that never teach? Maketh he not one parson, which never cometh at us? Yea, one shall have five or six [livings], or as many as he can get, and wotteth oftentimes where never one of them standeth. Another is made vicar, to whom he giveth dispensation to go where he will, and to set in parish priest which can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies. . . . These deeds are verily against Christ. Shall we therefore judge you by your deeds, as Christ commandeth? So are ye false prophets, and disciples of Antichrist, or Against-Christ.' (MT, p.375)

<sup>256</sup> Reckon: To enumerate serially or separately; to name or mention one after another or in due order; to go over (or through) a series in this manner. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage of 'fore-reckoned' precedes by more than two centuries the example cited in the OED.

<sup>257</sup> Well-willer: One who bears good will or wishes well (to another, a cause, etc.). (OED, p.2528)

<sup>258</sup> I.e., Aylmer. Whitgift is referred to in similar fashion as 'Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils' in the anonymous tract *A Dialogue Wherein Is Plainly Laid Open The Tyrannical Dealing of Lord Bishops*. Matthew 12:24: *But when the Pharises heard it, they said, This man casteth the devils no otherwise out, but through Beelzabub the prince of devils.* (GB, p.8)

<sup>259</sup> Discharge: The act of discharging a weapon or missile; firing off a fire-arm, letting fly an arrow, etc.; also used figuratively. (OED, p.560)

<sup>260</sup> A pun on the title of Cooper's *Admonition*.

<sup>261</sup> Sleep: To put off or delay. (OED, p.2016)

<sup>262</sup> Tumult: A popular commotion or disturbance. (OED, p.2380)

<sup>263</sup> Walter Travers (1548?-1635).

<sup>264</sup> Milk Street was in Cripplegate Ward, near the Guildhall. (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.260-1)

<sup>265</sup> Variations of this phrase are found throughout Aylmer's speech ('any of them all', 'none of them all', 'any o' them all', 'the best of us all', 'and all'). Martin appears to have been very familiar with Aylmer's habits of speech.

<sup>266</sup> Eusebius Paget (1547?-1617).

<sup>267</sup> Hounslow is located a few miles west of London.

<sup>268</sup> Beshrew my heart: *Imprecatory expression*. 'Evil befall, mischief take, devil take'; etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Frequent in Shakespeare: 'Beshrew my very heart, I think you are happy in this second match (Romeo & Juliet III v 223); 'Beshrew my heart, but I pity the man' (Midsummer Night's Dream V i 295).

<sup>269</sup> The 'favour' shown to Paget was his deprivation by the High Commission. (MT, p.62)

<sup>270</sup> Naught: Morally bad, wicked. (OED, p.1388)

all.<sup>271</sup> *There is Cartwright, too, at Warwick.*<sup>272</sup> *He hath got him such a company of disciples, both of the worshipful and other of the poorer sort, as we have no cause to thank him. Never tell me that he is too grave to trouble himself with Martin's conceits.*<sup>273</sup> *Tush, they will do anything to overthrow us, that they might have our livings, any o' them all. I know what a good living is able to do with the best of us all. Cartwright seeks the peace of our church no otherwise than his platform may stand. And you know, my Lord, that there is no biting to the old snake. And I do not see, o' my troth, but that Martin's abettors*<sup>274</sup> *may be worse than himself, and do more mischief.*<sup>275</sup> *Therefore, go me to all their houses, spare me none of them - knights, gentlemen, and all. For I trust the High Commission may go to any knight - yea, or nobleman's - house in England. Therefore, my Lords, I would wish that some continual spy may be in all those places which are most suspected. And let him learn to be wise,*<sup>276</sup> *to creep*<sup>277</sup> *into acquaintance with some of the preciser sort and look smoothly*<sup>278</sup> *for a time until he can execute*<sup>279</sup> *his commission.*<sup>280</sup>

Lo, young man, do not you deserve stripes<sup>281</sup> for fleshing<sup>282</sup> on these bloodhounds<sup>283</sup> in this sort? Let men look to keep them in as good temper as possibly they can, yet will they have a black tooth<sup>284</sup> in their heads,\* do what we may. But yet I would have borne with all this if thou hadst taken a little pains in riming with Mar-Martin, that the catercaps may know how the meanest<sup>285</sup> of my father's sons is able to answer them, both at blunt<sup>286</sup> and sharp.<sup>287</sup> And for thy further instruction against another time, here is a sample for thee of that which, in suchlike cases, thou art to perform if I or my father should set thee a-work.

**\*The manifest token of a mad dog.**

<sup>271</sup> According to Pierce, Whitgift used these words at Paget's trial. (MT, p.376)

<sup>272</sup> Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) was at this time Master of the Hospital at Warwick; the following year, he was summoned before the High Commission and, after refusing the oath *ex officio*, was imprisoned in the Fleet. (MT, p.376)

<sup>273</sup> Pierce notes that Cartwright wrote to Lord Burghley on October 4, 1590 from the Fleet prison, stating 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, pp.238, 376)

<sup>274</sup> Abettor: One who abets an offence; also, a supporter, adherent. (OED, p.4)

<sup>275</sup> Pierce notes that this sentence, and the previous one, are a parenthetical comment addressed by Aylmer to Whitgift; Aylmer then returns to his instructions to the pursuivants, and finishes with a final comment addressed to the rest of the bishops. (MT, p.377)

<sup>276</sup> Wise: Having the ability to perceive and adopt the best means for accomplishing an end. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>277</sup> Creep: *Fig.* To insinuate oneself into. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>278</sup> Smoothly: In a bland, mild or plausible manner; blandly, suavely. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>279</sup> Execute: To follow out, carry into effect; to give effect to. (OED, p.699)

<sup>280</sup> Aylmer urges the pursuivants to insinuate themselves into acquaintance with the Puritans ('the preciser sort') in order to gather information which will allow them to arrest them.

<sup>281</sup> Stripe: A stroke or lash with a whip or scourge. (OED, p.2153)

<sup>282</sup> Flesh: To give a taste of the flesh of the game killed to (a hawk, or hound), in order to incite it to the chase. Hence, to render (an animal) eager for prey by the taste of blood; also, in figurative uses, to incite. (OED, p.767)

<sup>283</sup> Bloodhound: A large, very keen-scented dog, formerly much used for tracking large game, stolen cattle, and human fugitives. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>284</sup> The note in the margin indicates that a black tooth is 'the manifest token of a mad dog'.

<sup>285</sup> Mean: Poor in ability, learning, etc. (OED, p.1296)

<sup>286</sup> Blunt: A foil for fencing. (OED, p.209)

<sup>287</sup> Sharp: A sharp weapon; specifically, a small sword; a rapier used for duelling as opposed to a 'blunt' or buttoned weapon. (OED, p.1966)



The first rising,<sup>288</sup> generation,<sup>289</sup> and original<sup>290</sup> of Mar-Martin.<sup>291</sup>

From Sarum came a goose's egg,<sup>292</sup>  
with specks and spots<sup>293</sup> bepatched,<sup>294</sup>

A priest of Lambeth<sup>295</sup> couched thereon:  
thus was Mar-Martin hatched.

Whence hath Mar-Martin all his wit,  
but from that egg of Sarum?

The rest comes all from great Sir John,  
who rings us all this larum.<sup>296</sup>

What can the cockatrice<sup>297</sup> hatch up  
but serpent like himself?

What sees the ape within the glass,  
but a deformed elf?<sup>298</sup>

Then must Mar-Martin have some smell<sup>299</sup>  
of forge<sup>300</sup> or else of fire,

A sot in wit, a beast in mind:  
for so was dam<sup>301</sup> and sire.<sup>302</sup>

Or else thou mightest have requited<sup>303</sup> him in this epitaph<sup>304</sup> thus:

*If that Mar-Martin die the death that to the dog is due,*

<sup>288</sup> Rising: The action or state of ascending; upward movement or course; ascent; an instance of this. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>289</sup> Generation: The act or process of generating or begetting physically; procreation; propagation of species. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>290</sup> Original: Of persons: Descent, extraction, parentage; = origin. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>291</sup> I.e., the origin of Mar-Martin, anonymous author of a seven-page rhyme published in May, 1589 under the title *Mar-Martine*.

<sup>292</sup> I.e., Bridges' *Defence*.

<sup>293</sup> Spot: *Fig.* A moral stain, blot, or blemish; a stigma or disgrace. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>294</sup> Bepatched: Mended with patches; wearing patched clothes. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED does not notice Martin's figurative usage, which precedes the first literal usage cited in the OED.

<sup>295</sup> I.e., Whitgift.

<sup>296</sup> Larum: A call to arms, a battle-cry; news of an enemy's approach; any sound to warn of danger. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>297</sup> Cockatrice: A serpent, identified with the basilisk, fabled to kill by its glance, and to be hatched from a cock's egg. In figurative uses, applied to persons. (OED, p.359)

<sup>298</sup> Elf: A tricky, mischievous, sometimes a spiteful and malicious creature. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>299</sup> Smell: In figurative uses, a trace, suggestion, or tinge of something. (OED, p.2027)

<sup>300</sup> Forge: An apparatus consisting of an open hearth or fireplace with bellows attached, used by blacksmiths for heating iron to render it malleable. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>301</sup> Dam: = Mother (human): usually in contempt. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>302</sup> Sire: A father; a male parent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>303</sup> Requite: To pay back, make retaliation on (one) for some injury, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>304</sup> As Pierce points out, Martin is replying to the epitaph given him in the final lines of *Mar-Martine*: 'If Martin dy by hangmans hands, as he deserves no lesse/ This Epitah [sic] must be engravde, his maners to expresse./ Here hangs knave Martine a traitrous Libeler he was/ Enemie pretended but in hart a friend to the Papa/ Now made meat to the birdes that about his carkas are hagling/ Learne by his example yee route of Pruritan Asses/ Not to resist the doings of our most gracious Hester/ Martin is handg, o the Master of al Hypocritical hangbies.' (MT, p.378)

*Upon his tomb engrave this verse, and you shall find it true:*

*He lies enditched<sup>305</sup> here that from the ladder top  
Did once bebless<sup>306</sup> the people thus, but first he kissed<sup>307</sup> the rope.<sup>308</sup>*

**Mar-Martin's auricular  
confession from the  
top of a gibbet.**

Come near, quoth he, take heed by me,  
I loved to lie by riming,  
'Tis just you see, and doth agree,  
that now I die by climbing.<sup>309</sup>  
What wretch but I, that vowed to lie,  
all falsehood still defending?  
Who may say fie? No beast but I,  
Lo, here you see my ending.  
I lived a wretch, I die the stretch,<sup>310</sup>  
my days and death agree;  
Whose life is blameful, his death is shameful,  
be warned, ye rogues, by me.  
The justest I hated, the godliest I rated,<sup>311</sup>  
and thus I railed<sup>312</sup> my fill;  
The good I detested, the best things I wrested,  
to serve mine own beastly will.  
Religion I loathed, myself I betrothed,<sup>313</sup>  
to all the lewd snares of sin.  
'Tis shame to say more, take heed of a whore,<sup>314</sup>  
Her marks stick<sup>315</sup> yet in my skin.\*  
Ask you the cause? I spurned at God's laws,  
and hence comes all my wrack,  
Where should he dwell, that fears not hell,  
but with the Furies<sup>316</sup> black?  
A beast that braves,<sup>317</sup> a tongue that raves,

**\*Believe him, then,  
but drink not with  
him.**

<sup>305</sup> 'Enditched', which appears to be Martin's coinage, is not noticed in the OED.

<sup>306</sup> Bebless: Bless amply or profusely. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first citation in the OED.

<sup>307</sup> Apparently a play on 'kiss the rod' (to accept chastisement or correction submissively). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>308</sup> Rope: A halter; the hangman's cord. (OED, p.1847) As the marginal note indicates, Mar-Martin's confession is made from the top of a gibbet or gallows. Auricular confession: Addressed to the ear; told privately in the ear. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) An allusion to the Catholic sacrament of confession, which had been rejected by Protestant reformers.

<sup>309</sup> A pun. Climb: 'To mount by means of some hold or footing'. Also, *fig.*, to rise by continued effort in dignity, rank or state; to ascend or aspire upward in the intellectual, moral, or social scale. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>310</sup> To stretch a halter, rope: To be hanged. (OED, p.2149)

<sup>311</sup> Rate: To chide, scold, reprove vehemently or angrily. (OED, p.1749)

<sup>312</sup> Rail: To utter abusive language. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>313</sup> Betroth: To pledge, engage. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>314</sup> In addition to the usual meaning, is there perhaps an allusion to the Church of Rome, 'the whore of Babylon'? (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>315</sup> Stick: To be fastened (*in* something) by having its end thrust or driven in. (OED, CD-ROM)

<sup>316</sup> Fury: One of the avenging deities sent from Tartarus (the infernal regions of ancient Greek and Roman mythology) to avenge wrong and punish crime; in later accounts, three in number (Tisiphone, Megaera, Alecto). (OED, pp.820, 2247)

Take example, then,  
my clergy chaplains,  
by this lamentable fall  
of your Mar-Martin.

will God revenge in ire.  
Then vengeance must (for God is just)  
fall to Mar-Martin's hire.<sup>318</sup>  
My tongue in ribaldry,<sup>319</sup>  
My heart in villainy,  
My life in treachery,  
Hath wrought me my fall.  
I strove for the prelacy,  
And so shook off honesty,  
O vile indignity!  
Yet would this were all.

Lo, youth! Though I were loath to file<sup>320</sup> my fingers with such a brothel<sup>321</sup> beast as this Mar-Martin is, yet because thou didst let him go by thee (methought) half unbranded,<sup>322</sup> I was the willinger,<sup>323</sup> as thou seest, to give him a wipe<sup>324</sup> or two, which I believe he will never claw<sup>325</sup> off with honesty<sup>326</sup> while he lives. And I would wish him, with the rest of the rimers, if they be wise, to take heed of my next pistle. Indeed, I deny not but thou hast said prettily to him, neither would I have thee discouraged in thy good and honourable course against these prelates. Nevertheless, I muse<sup>327</sup> thou didst let him go clear away with his popery of Sir Nicholas' priests.<sup>328</sup> Also where, like a good Catholic, he counsels us (we thank him) to say a round<sup>329</sup> *Pater noster*<sup>330</sup> for Queen Elizabeth,<sup>331</sup> I muse thou saidst nothing to that, considering how much her Majesty is beholden to him in that regard. And much more had she been, if he had added an *Ave Maria*<sup>332</sup> to it; those both together, with a piece of Sir John's gospel<sup>333</sup> about one's loins,<sup>334</sup>

<sup>317</sup> Brave: To boast, glory, vaunt. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>318</sup> Hire: Payment contracted to be made for personal service; wages. (OED, p.967)

<sup>319</sup> Ribaldry: Obscenity or coarseness of language. (OED, p.1827)

<sup>320</sup> File: To render (materially) foul, filthy or dirty; to pollute, dirty; to destroy the cleanness or purity of; = defile. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>321</sup> Martin's usage of 'brothel beast' is not noticed in the OED.

<sup>322</sup> Brand: To burn with a hot iron, whether for the purpose of marking the flesh (as in the case of criminals or slaves), or of cauterizing as in a surgical operation; also *fig.* (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage of 'unbranded' precedes the first citation in the OED.

<sup>323</sup> I.e., the more willing.

<sup>324</sup> Wipe: A slashing blow, a sweeping cut, a swipe; also *fig.* (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>325</sup> To claw off: To get rid of (as an itch by clawing), to get free from. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>326</sup> Honesty: Uprightness of disposition and conduct; integrity, truthfulness, straightforwardness: the quality opposed to lying, cheating, or stealing. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>327</sup> Muse: To be astonished, wonder, marvel. (OED, p.1374)

<sup>328</sup> Pierce notes that St. Nicholas was the patron saint of both clerks and thieves, and draws attention to a similar usage in *Henry IV, Part 1* II i: 'Sirrah, if they meet not with Saint Nicholas' clerks, I'll give thee this neck. No, I'll none of it; I prithee, keep that for the hangman; for I know thou worship'st Saint Nicholas as truly as a man of falsehood may.' (MT, p.379)

<sup>329</sup> Round: Plain, honest, straightforward. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>330</sup> Pater noster: The Lord's Prayer, especially in Latin. (OED, p.1527)

<sup>331</sup> Martin refers to a verse from *Mar-Martine*: 'For Sovereigne Dame Elizabeth, that Lord it lang she maie/ (O England) now full often must thou Pater Noster say/ And for those mighty Potentatis, thou kenst what they bin hight/ The tout-puissant Chevaliers that fend S. Nichols right/ Else clarkis will soon all be Sir Johns, the preistis craft will empaire/ And Dickin, Jackin, Tom & Hob, mun sit in Rabbies chair, etc.'

<sup>332</sup> Ave Maria: The 'Hail Mary!' the angelic salutation to the Virgin (Luke 1:28), combined with that of Elizabeth (v.42), used devotionally; so named from its first two words. (OED, p.137)

<sup>333</sup> In the original text, this is 'S. Johns Gospell'. As Martin is never blasphemous, he likely refers to Bridges *Defence* rather than the Gospel of St. John.

would have been a principal receipt<sup>335</sup> for the colic.<sup>336</sup> But sure, now I think on it, he brought it in only but to make up his rime. And if you scan<sup>337</sup> it well, tis a pretty one - mark it well:

*O, England, now full often must thou pater noster say.*

How sayest thou? Hast thou any skill in music?<sup>338</sup> If thou have, then I am sure thou wilt confess with me that this bastard<sup>339</sup> pentameter<sup>340</sup> verse hath a fine sweet loose<sup>341</sup> at the latter end, with a draught of Derby ale.<sup>342</sup> But what sayest thou to it? Whether likest thou better of these Nicholas priests, that can so amble<sup>343</sup> away with the *Pater noster*, or of that little priest of Surrey who bade his maid in her extremity<sup>344</sup> of sickness *Say, Magnificat, say Magnificat?*<sup>345</sup>

Well boy, to draw to an end, notwithstanding thy small defects, persuade thyself that I love thee: doubt not of that. And here, before we part, take this one grave lesson of thine elder brother: be silent and close,<sup>346</sup> hear many, confer with few. And, in this point, do as I do: know not thy father, though thou mayest. For I tell thee, if I should meet him in the street, I would never ask him blessing.<sup>347</sup> Walk smoothly and circumspectly, and if any offer to talk with thee of Martin, talk thou straight<sup>348</sup> of the voyage into Portugal,<sup>349</sup> or of the happy<sup>350</sup> death of the Duke of Guise,<sup>351</sup> or of some such accident,<sup>352</sup> but meddle not with thy father. Only, if thou have

<sup>334</sup> Loins: *Chiefly Biblical*: The part of the body which should be covered by clothing and about which the clothes are bound. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>335</sup> Receipt: The formula or description of a remedy for a disease. (OED, p.1760)

<sup>336</sup> Colic: A name for severe paroxysmal griping pains in the belly, due to affections of the bowel or other parts. (OED, p.366)

<sup>337</sup> Scan: To analyse (verse) by determining the nature and number of feet or the number and prosodic value of the feet or the number and prosodic value of the syllables. (OED, p.1896) An indication of Martin's literary interests.

<sup>338</sup> It seems unlikely that Martin would make this remark unless he himself had considerable 'skill in music'.

<sup>339</sup> Bastard: Anything of inferior quality. (OED, p.163)

<sup>340</sup> Pentameter: A verse or line consisting of five feet. (OED, P.1547)

<sup>341</sup> Loose: The conclusion or close of a matter; upshot, issue, event. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) An example of this usage is found in *Master Some Laid Open In His Colours* ('he shutteth up the whole with this good sweet loose').

<sup>342</sup> Martin's reference to 'Derby ale' may be a play on his earlier use of 'bastard'. Bastard: A sweet kind of Spanish wine, resembling muscadel in flavour; sometimes applied to any kind of sweetened wine. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) 1 Henry IV II iv 30: 'Anon, Anon, sir, Score a Pint of Bastard in the Halfe Moone'.

<sup>343</sup> Amble: In figurative uses, of any easy motion. (OED, p.57)

<sup>344</sup> Extremity: Extreme or inordinate intensity or violence (of passion, action, suffering, labour, etc.); an instance of this. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin appears to hint at impropriety between the maid and the 'little priest of Surrey' and that the maid was perhaps in labour.

<sup>345</sup> Magnificat: The hymn of the Virgin Mary in Luke 1:44-55 (in the Vulgate beginning 'Magnificat anima mea Dominum'), used as a canticle; a song of praise; a paean. (OED, p.1258) Martin's comment presumably draws attention to the priest's lack of learning.

<sup>346</sup> Close: Practising secrecy; reserved, reticent, uncommunicative; not open. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>347</sup> Blessing: Invocation of divine favour by any one. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Hamlet III iv 172: 'I'll blessing beg of you'.

<sup>348</sup> Straight: Immediately, without delay. (OED, p.2142)

<sup>349</sup> I.e., Drake's expedition of April, 1589.

<sup>350</sup> Happy: Fortuitous. (OED, p.924)

<sup>351</sup> Henri, 3rd Duke of Guise (1550-88), was assassinated by order of King Henri III on December 23, 1588. (MT, p.332) He was one of the contrivers of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572, and was considered to have been behind French plots to invade England and put Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne.

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gathered anything in visitation for thy father, and hast a longing to acquaint him therewith, do no more but entreat him to signify in some secret printed pistle where a<sup>353</sup> will have it left, and that'll serve thy turn as good as the best. The reason why we must not know our father is that I fear lest some of us should fall into John Canterbury's hand, and then he'll threaten us with the rack unless we bewray all we know. And what get we then by our knowledge? *For I had rather be ignorant of that'll do me no good, than know that'll hurt me*, ka Master Martin Senior. Farewell, boy, and learn to reverence thy elder brother.

Page 6, line 18: for 'give all the good', read, 'go all the ground'.

Page 14, line 12: for 'avoiding', read 'urging'.

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<sup>352</sup> Accident: An occurrence, incident, event. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>353</sup> A: He. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin also uses 'a' for 'he' in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*.

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