

THESES¹ MARTINIANAE²

That is,

Certain demonstrative³ conclusions set down and collected⁴ (as it should seem) by that famous and renowned clerk,⁵ the reverend Martin Marprelate the Great,⁶ serving as a manifest and sufficient confutation of all that ever the College of Catercaps - with their whole band of clergy priests - have, or can, bring for the defence of their ambitious and antichristian prelacy.⁷

Published and set forth as an afterbirth⁸ of the noble gentleman himself by a pretty⁹ stripling¹⁰ of his, Martin Junior,¹¹ and dedicated by him to his good neame¹² and nuncka,¹³ Master John Kankerbury.¹⁴

How the young man came by them, the reader shall understand sufficiently in the epilogue. In the meantime, whosoever can bring me acquainted with my father, I'll be bound he shall not lose his labour.¹⁵

¹ Thesis: In logic and rhetoric, a proposition laid down or stated, especially as a theme to be discussed and proved, or to be maintained against attack (in logic, sometimes as distinct from hypothesis; in rhetoric from antithesis). (OED, p.2284)

² Martin perhaps intended an allusion to Luther's 95 Theses, particularly since he calls himself 'Martin'.

³ Demonstrative: Provable by demonstration. (OED, p.517)

⁴ Although the *Theses* were printed as the fifth of the Marprelate tracts, Martin had already dealt with a number of the theses in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, and it is possible that the entire 110 theses were 'collected' by Martin before any of the tracts were printed.

⁵ Clerk: A man of book learning, one able to read and writer, a scholar. (OED, p.348)

⁶ Great: Eminent by reason of birth, rank, wealth, power, or position; of high social or official position; of eminent rank or place. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin uses this title in the *Theses* and the *Just Censure* to distinguish himself from his 'sons', both also named 'Martin'.

⁷ Prelacy: The system of church government by prelates or bishops of lordly rank; a term, chiefly hostile, for episcopacy. (OED, p.1655)

⁸ Afterbirth: *Rom. law*: Birth after a father's death or last will; posthumous birth. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) There were obvious difficulties in getting *More Work For Cooper* printed after Waldegrave's departure at the end of March, 1589 and a number of hints in this tract and the *Just Censure* suggest that Martin may not have intended to publish again under the pseudonym 'Martin Marprelate'. The use of the word 'afterbirth' to describe the *Theses* perhaps hints that Martin Marprelate is dead.

⁹ Pretty: Clever, skilful. (OED, p.1665)

¹⁰ Stripling: A youth; one just passing from boyhood to manhood. (OED, p.2154)

¹¹ The question of whether 'Martin Marprelate', 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' were really the same individual has vexed commentators. However, it must be answered in the affirmative on the basis of the evidence given by the assistant printers Arthur Thomlyn and Valentine Simms. According to both Simms and Thomlyn, the *Theses* ('Martin Junior'), the *Just Censure* ('Martin Senior'), and *More Work For Cooper* ('Martin Marprelate') were in 'the same hand'. Of even greater importance is Simms' evidence as to the time span within which two of these tracts were printed. According to Simms, printing of the *Theses* commenced on Thursday, July 17; one day later, on July 18, the *Just Censure* was delivered into Hodgkins' hands. Three days later, on Monday, July 21, having finished with the *Theses*, the printers immediately began work on the *Just Censure*. (HIMT, pp.336-8, Carlson, pp.47-8, 173) Thus, the fiction maintained in the *Just Censure* - namely that Martin Senior had learned of Martin Junior's publication of Martin Marprelate's 'papers' (the *Theses*) and had written the *Just Censure* to take his 'younger brother' to task for his heady rashness - is just that, a fiction. The consonance of content and style in the Marprelate tracts also make it clear that all seven tracts are by a single author.

¹² Neame: Variant of 'eme'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Eme: An uncle; also *dial.* a friend, gossip. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹³ According to Pierce, 'neame' and 'nuncka' are both used familiarly for 'uncle'. (MT, p.299) The form 'nuncka' is not found in the OED, although the OED has 'nuncle' as a variant of 'uncle'.

¹⁴ Canker: A cankerworm; also, figuratively, anything that frets, corrodes, corrupts, or consumes slowly and secretly. (OED, p.276) See *Thomas of Woodstock*: 'Shall cankers eat the fruit/ That planting and good husbandry hath nourished? . . . Cankers?! . . . Ay, cankers! caterpillars! . . . Worse than consuming fires/ That eat up all their fury falls upon'. (p.183)

¹⁵ Throughout the *Theses* and the *Just Censure*, the fiction is maintained that 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' do not know the identity of their 'father', Martin Marprelate. Martin Junior also claims that he accidentally came upon Martin Marprelate's theses, together with a fragment of a covering letter, and decided to publish them. There are suggestions in both tracts that Martin may be either in one of the bishops' prisons, or dead. All this seems deliberately designed to throw the bishops off the scent in their pursuit of Martin.

Printed by the assigns of Martin Junior,¹⁶ without any privilege of the catercaps.¹⁷

¹⁶ Assigns: In English law, the appropriate word to express the transference of personal property. (OED, p.118)

¹⁷ Privilege: A franchise, monopoly, patent; the sole right of printing or publishing a book or the like. (OED, p.1674)

Martin Junior, Son Unto The Renowned And Worthy Martin Marprelate The Great, To The Reader.

Thou shalt receive (good reader) before I set down unto thee anything of mine own, certain of those things of my father's doings which I found among his unperfect¹⁸ papers. I have not changed anything in them, detracted¹⁹ anything from them, nor added unto them aught²⁰ of mine own but, as I found them, so I have delivered them unto thee. Mine own meaning thou shalt understand at the latter end in my epilogue to my nuncle Canterbury.²¹ This small thing that followeth before his theses is also his own. I have set down the speech as I found it, though unperfect. One thing I am sorry for, that the speech pretendeth²² the old man to be something discouraged in his courses.

¹⁸ The claim that Martin Marprelate's papers were found in an 'unperfect' state appears to be part of the strategy of suggesting that Martin is dead in order to discourage the bishops' pursuit of him.

¹⁹ Detract: To take away a portion. (OED, p.533)

²⁰ Aught: Anything whatever. (OED, p.131)

²¹ Martin Junior's epilogue reveals his attitude toward the bishops, particularly Whitgift, to be synonymous with Martin Marprelate's.

²² Pretend: To indicate, signify, import. (OED, p.1664)

THESE MARTINIANAE.

I see my doings and my course misliked of many, both the good and the bad, though also I have favourers of both sorts. The bishops and their train,²³ though they stumble²⁴ at the cause, yet especially dislike my manner of writing. Those whom foolishly men call Puritans²⁵ like of the matter²⁶ I have handled, but the form²⁷ they cannot brook.²⁸ So that herein I have them both for mine adversaries. But now what if I should take the course²⁹ [] in certain theses or conclusions, without inveighing against either person or cause? Might I not then hope my doings would be altogether approved of the one, and not so greatly scorned at by the other? Surely, otherwise, they should do me great injury, and show that they are those who delight neither in heat nor cold, and so make me as weary in seeking how to fit³⁰ them as the bishops are in labouring how to find me. The bishops I fear are past my cure, and it may be I was unwise in taking that charge³¹ upon me. If that which I have already done can do them any good, or any wise further the cause which I love, I shall be glad; if not, what hope is there of amending them this way? The best is, I know how to mend myself. For good leave³² have I to give over my desperate³³ cure and, with this my farewell unto them, I wish them a better surgeon. Yet ere I leave them, I do here offer unto the view of the world some part of their monstrous corruptions,³⁴ in defence whereof, for their lives, dare not they in any learned meeting or assembly dispute with me, or attempt to overthrow mine assertions by modest³⁵ writings handled anything scholarlike - that is, by good and sound syllogisms which have both their major and minor, confirmed by the Word. I would once see them enter into either of these courses, for as yet they have been far from both. Fire and faggot,³⁶ bands³⁷ and blows, railing³⁸ and reviling, are - and have been hitherto - their common weapons; as for slandering and lying, it is the greatest piece of their holy profession.³⁹ And these, with their bare assertions, and their wretched cleaving to popish absurdities are, in a manner, the only proofs and tried maxims⁴⁰ they offer unto the church in this age. And so if a man would be confuted, I must needs say, my Lord of Winchester hath long ago sufficiently and dexterously⁴¹ performed it. *I am not of opinion*, saith he, *that una semper debet esse aeconomia Ecclesiae - that the government of the church should always, and in all places, be one and the same, especially by a company of*

²³ Train: A number of persons following or attending on someone, usually a person of rank; a body of attendants, retainers or followers; a retinue, suite. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁴ Stumble: To take offence; to find a stumbling-block or obstacle to belief. (OED, p.2160)

²⁵ Martin also takes issue with the term 'Puritans' in *Hay Any Work For Cooper* ('those whom they call Puritans') and the *Just Censure* ('which our bishops do falsely note with the names of Puritans'). This is yet another passage in which Martin distances himself from the Puritans, and makes it clear that he is not one of them.

²⁶ Matter: The substance of a book, speech, or the like; that which a spoken or written composition contains in respect of the facts or ideas expressed; often as opposed to the form of words ('manner') in which the subject is presented. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁷ Form: Manner, method, way of doing something. (OED, p.792)

²⁸ Brook: Put up with. (OED, p.242)

²⁹ A break in the original text at this point indicates that a few words are omitted although, as Pierce indicates, 'there is no serious break in the sense'. (MT, p.305) This may be a printing error. On the other hand, it is perhaps part of the strategy of using the 'unperfect' state of the manuscript of the *Theses* to suggest that Martin is dead.

³⁰ Fit: To supply with what is fit or suitable. (OED, p.759)

³¹ Charge: Commission, trust, responsibility. (OED, p.316) Martin likely intends a pun on the ecclesiastical meanings of both 'cure' and 'charge'.

³² Good leave: Permission. (OED, p.1192)

³³ Desperate: Despaired of, given up as hopeless. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁴ Martin uses a similar phrase in the *Epistle* ('so many and so monstrous corruptions in our church').

³⁵ Modest: Well-conducted, orderly; not harsh or domineering. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁶ Faggot: Figuratively, the punishment of burning alive, as heretics. (OED, p.718) Martin's use of this language would bring to his readers' minds the image of the burning of the Marian martyrs.

³⁷ Band: A shackle, chain, fetter, manacle. (OED, p.152)

³⁸ Rail: To utter abusive language. (OED, p.1740) Martin makes effective use of alliteration in this sequence of phrases.

³⁹ Profession: The declaration of belief in and obedience to religion. (OED, p.1680)

⁴⁰ Maxim: An axiom; a self-evident proposition assumed as a premise. (OED, p.1293)

⁴¹ Dexterously: In a dexterous manner, with dexterity; adroitly, cleverly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

elders.⁴² Lo, sir, what say you to this? Here is enough, I trow, for any man's satisfaction, that Bishop Cooper *is not of opinion*.⁴³ Yea, but our Saviour Christ's apostles and holy martyrs are of opinion that the government of the church should always, and in all places, be one, especially by a company of elders. As for my Lord of Winchester's *opinion*, we have little or nothing to do with that - nor no great matter which side it lean to, whether with or against the truth. For if his bishopric and unruly jurisdiction⁴⁴ were no more noisome⁴⁵ and hurtful to the church of God than his learning and opinion is hurtful to the cause of discipline, he might sit long enough undistempered⁴⁶ in his chair⁴⁷ for us: the good old man might cough his fill⁴⁸ and be quiet, having his faithful promise and book-oath (as we have also John a' Bridges⁴⁹ and Bancroft's)⁵⁰ that by arguments he will never hurt us.⁵¹ For they must think that it is not such dry⁵² blows as this *I am not of opinion, etc.*, that will satisfy the learned, and answer the demonstrations that are brought on the contrary side. If then they have, indeed, any purpose at all to quiet the contentions of our church, let them bring unto us - not these babbles⁵³ of their own, *We are not of opinion, etc.* - but some sound warrant⁵⁴ from the Word that Christ and his apostles *were not of opinion* with us in the points wherein we truly charge them to have erred, otherwise their 812 their 1401.⁵⁵

⁴² See *Admonition*, p.104: *I am not of that opinion, nor ever was any of the auncient writers, no more are sundry learned men of great credite at this time, Quod una semper debet esse oeconomia Ecclesiae, that is, that the externall government of the Church, should alwaies, and in all places be one, and specially by a College or company of Elders.*

⁴³ Cooper also gives his personal opinions on page 142 ('which in mine opinion are two') and page 161 ('but in my opinion').

⁴⁴ Jurisdiction: Administration. (OED, p.1143)

⁴⁵ Noisome: Harmful, injurious. (OED, p.1408)

⁴⁶ Distempered: Of the bodily humours: = distemperate. Hence, disturbed in humour, temper, or feelings; out of humour, vexed, troubled. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) As with many words in the tracts, 'undistempered' appears to be of Martin's coinage.

⁴⁷ Chair: The seat of a bishop in his church; hence, figuratively, episcopal dignity or authority. (OED, p.310)

⁴⁸ This passage suggests Martin's personal knowledge of Cooper's health, and ties in with other statements in the tracts which indicate that he knew Cooper well.

⁴⁹ John Bridges (d.1618).

⁵⁰ Richard Bancroft (1544-1610), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1604-1610.

⁵¹ Book-oath: One sworn on the Bible. (OED, p.217) Presumably, Martin intends a pun: Cooper's *Admonition* is his 'book-oath' that 'by arguments he will never hurt us'. Bridges' 'book-oath' to the same effect is his *Defence*; Bancroft's may be the published version of his sermon of February 9, 1589 at Paul's Cross, referred to later in thesis 108, or an earlier book (*Discourse Upon The Bill And Book Exhibited In Parliament By The Puritans*) published circa 1585. (DNB, v.1, p.1029)

⁵² Dry: Of a blow or a beating, that does not draw blood. (OED, p.612)

⁵³ Babble: Idle, foolish, or unseasonable talk. (OED, p.143)

⁵⁴ Warrant: A token or evidence of authorization. (OED, p.2507)

⁵⁵ Pierce suggests that these numbers refer to pages 812 and 1401 of Bridges' *Defence*. These two page numbers may have been inserted by Martin in the manuscript to remind him to quote a phrase or two from each of these pages to sum up his introductory comments. On page 812, Bridges deals with burial of the dead, and on page 1401, the final page of his book, he urges the brethren to join 'in the good clerk's part' by saying 'Amen'. (MT, p.306)

THESES MARTINIANAE⁵⁶

That is, the unanswerable conclusions of Martin, wherein are plainly set down many strange and unknown things (if hereafter they may be proved) against the bishops.

Compiled by Martin the Great; found and published by Martin Junior for the benefit of posterity, if his father⁵⁷ should be slain.

1 That all the officers of a true and lawful church government, in regard of their offices, are members of the visible body of Christ which is the church (Romans 12:4-5⁵⁸ etc., I Corinthians 12:8, 28).⁵⁹

2 That none but Christ alone is to ordain the members of his body, to wit, of the church, because:

3 That the Lord in his Word hath left the church perfect in all her members - which he should not have done if he had not ordained all the officers, namely the members thereof. And so he should leave the building of his church unperfect, and so it must continue, for who will presume to finish that which he hath left undone in the building of his church?

4 That to ordain a perfect and an unchangeable government of the church is a part of Christ's prerogative royal,⁶⁰ and therefore cannot, without the great derogation⁶¹ of the Son of God, be claimed by any church or man.

5 That if Christ did not ordain a church government which, at the pleasure of man, cannot be changed, then he is inferior unto Moses, for the government placed by him might no man to alter, and thereto might no man add anything (Hebrews 3:2-3).⁶²

⁵⁶ The principal arguments in the theses are as follows :

1. Christ ordained a perfect church government, which man cannot alter.
2. The government of the church of England by lord bishops is not the church government ordained by Christ.
3. The office of lord bishop is unlawful because it maintains a minister in a lordly superiority over his brethren, and joins the civil magistracy to the ministry.
4. The doctrine of the church of England condemns the office of lord bishop, and is supported in this by statute and by Elizabeth's royal prerogative.
5. The doctrine of the church of England prohibits bishops from exercising the powers of ordination, licencing of preachers, excommunication, etc.
6. The current controversy over church government is dangerous to the state.

As with the arguments in the balance of the tracts, the theses deal with ecclesiastical, rather than theological issues, and are supported in a considerable number of instances by reference to legal authority.

⁵⁷ In the text, this is misprinted as 'fathers'.

⁵⁸ Romans 12: 4-5: *For as we have many members in one bodie, and all members have not one office, So we being many are one bodie in Christ, and everie one, one anothers members.* (GB, p.75)

⁵⁹ I Corinthians 12:8: *For to one is given by the Spirit the worde of wisdom: and to another the worde of knowledge, by the same Spirit. I Corinthians 12:28: *And God hath ordeined some in the Church: as first, Apostles, secondly Prophetes, thirdly teachers, then them that do miracles: after that, the giftes of healing, helpers, governours, diversities of tongues.* (GB, p.81)*

⁶⁰ Prerogative: That special pre-eminence which the sovereign, by right of regal dignity, has over all other persons and out of the course of the common law; the royal prerogative, a sovereign right (in theory) subject to no restriction or interference. (OED, p.1658) Quare whether the identification of the royal prerogative with Christ's position as head of the church is unique to Martin's theology, or is found in other theological tracts of the period.

⁶¹ Derogation: Impairment of the power or authority of. (OED, p.526)

⁶² Hebrews 3:1-3: *Therefore, holie brethren, partakers of the heavenlie vocation, consider the Apostle and high Priest of our profession Christ Jesus. Who was faithful to him that hathe appointed him, even as Moses was in all his house. For this man is counted worthie of more glorie then Moses, inasmuche as he which hathe buylded the house, hathe more honour then the house.* (GB, p.103)

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- 6 That the Lord, in the New Testament, did appoint as perfect and unchangeable a form of church government in the offices and officers thereof as Moses did in the Old.
- 7 That the Lord never placed any offices in the New Testament but the offices of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.
- 8 That unto the end of the world there were no other offices to be placed in the church, but only these.
- 9 That none of these were - and so no offices of a lawful church government are - to be removed out of the church by any but by the Lord Christ himself who placed them, because they are the members of his body, in the placing or displacing whereof man hath no skill, nor yet commission to deal.
- 10 That the Lord, for the causes seeming good to his own wisdom (whereof any further than he hath set down in his Word, man is not to enquire), hath removed out of the church the offices of apostles, prophets and evangelists.
- 11 That the want of these can be no maim unto the church, seeing the Lord, by removing them thence, showeth that the body can have no use of them.
- 12 That the church is now, unto the world's end, to have none other offices in it but of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.
- 13 That the displacing or the want of these is a maim unto the church; and therefore:
- 14 That the churches of God in Denmark, Saxony, Tygurium,⁶³ etc., wanting this government by these offices, are to be accounted maimed and unperfect.
- 15 That it is as good a reason - yea, and a far better - to say that learned men and valiant captains must have their eyes put out because Homer⁶⁴ and Zisca⁶⁵ were blind, as to avouch that the church of England may not be governed by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons because other good churches want this regiment.
- 16 That to place others in the stead of these is both a maiming and a deforming of the church.⁶⁶
- 17 That no magistrate may lawfully maim or deform the body of Christ which is the church; and therefore:
- 18 That no lawful church government is changeable at the pleasure of the magistrate.
- 19 That the platform of government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons was not devised by man, but by our Saviour Christ himself, the only head, and alone universal bishop, of his church, as it is set down Romans 12:4-5, Ephesians 4:12, and I Corinthians 12:8, 28. *God hath ordained*, saith the apostle.⁶⁷
- 20 That no inconvenience can possibly come unto any state by receiving this government.

⁶³ Tigurine: Of or pertaining to Zurich; hence, Zwinglian. (OED, p.2306)

⁶⁴ Homer (8th c. B.C.), Greek epic poet. Tradition has it that he was blind.

⁶⁵ I.e., John Trocznowski (d.1424), the general who led the Bohemian reformers; he was blind during the latter part of his career. (MT, p.308) Zisca was familiar to Martin's readers, since an account of him is found in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (v.III, pp.548-577) immediately following that of the Lollard martyr, Sir John Oldcastle.

⁶⁶ This is one of the principal arguments in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*.

⁶⁷ Ephesians 4:12: *For the gathering together of the Saintes, for the worke of the ministerie, and for the edification of the bodie of Christ.* (GB, p.91) For the other Biblical passage cited, see above.

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- 21 That the true stability of all Christian states and commonwealths consisteth in the sound execution of this church government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.
- 22 That of necessity all Christian magistrates are bound to receive this government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, and to abolish all other church governments.
- 23 That a church government being the ordinance of the magistrate or of the church is an unlawful church government.
- 24 That it is merely⁶⁸ and utterly unlawful for any man, church or state to ordain any church government, or any church officer, save that government and those officers before named, because:
- 25 That a church government consisting of any other officers but pastors, doctors, elders and deacons is a government of maimed and mis-shapen members; therefore:
- 26 That our church government in England by lord archbishops and bishops is a government of maimed, unnatural and deformed members, serving for no use in the church of God; therefore, also:
- 27 That no lord bishop is to be maintained in any Christian commonwealth.
- 28 That those kingdoms and states who defend any church government, save this of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, are in danger of utter destruction, inasmuch as they defend the maim and deformity of the church, and, therefore:
- 29 That our lord archbishops and bishops, in defending this, their ungodly government, are not only traitors to God and his church, but utter enemies unto her Majesty and the state, inasmuch as they enforce the Lord by these their sins to draw the sword against us, to our utter ruin.
- 30 That our lord archbishops and bishops hold it lawful for our magistrates to maim or deform the church.
- 31 That they hold Jesus Christ to have left behind him an unperfect and a maimed church, wanting some of her members.
- 32 That they hold it lawful for the magistrate to abolish the true and natural members of the body, and to attempt the making of new by his own invention.
- 33 That they, to wit, archbishops and bishops, are the maim of our church, and like to be the destruction of our commonwealth.
- 34 That the warrant that the archbishops and bishops have for their places can be no better than the warrant which the maintenance of the open and most monstrous whoredom in the stews had in times past amongst us. For by the Word they are condemned to be the maim or deformity of the church, or both. And as for the laws that maintain them, being the wound and sore of the church, they are no more to be accounted of than the laws maintaining the stews.⁶⁹
- 35 That the places of lord bishops are neither warranted by the Word of God nor by any lawful human constitutions.
- 36 That the government of the church of England by lord archbishops and bishops is not a church government set down in the Word, or which can be defended to be God's ordinance.

⁶⁸ Merely: Absolutely. (OED, p.1309)

⁶⁹ Pierce notes that the stews (brothels) in Southwark were legalized and under the control of the Bishop of Winchester till they were abolished in 1542. (MT, p.310)

37 That the government of lord archbishops and bishops is unlawful, notwithstanding it be maintained, and in force, by human laws and ordinances.

38 That the human laws maintaining them are wicked and ungodly, and to be abrogated⁷⁰ of all Christian magistrates.

39 That to be a lord bishop, then, is simply unlawful in itself - that is, in respect of the office - though the man sustaining the same should not abuse it as our prelates do.

40 To be a lord bishop in itself simply, besides the abuse, consisteth of two monstrous parts,⁷¹ whereof neither ought to be in him that professeth himself a minister.

41 The first is, to bear an unequal and a lordly superiority over his brethren in the ministry and the rest of the church of God under his jurisdiction.

42 The second is the joining of the civil magistracy unto the ministry.⁷²

That both these parts are condemned by the written Word of God⁷³ (Luke 22:25,⁷⁴ I Peter 5:1-2,⁷⁵ Matthew 20:25,⁷⁶ Mark 10:42,⁷⁷ I Corinthians 8:10,⁷⁸ Luke 12:14,⁷⁹ II Timothy 2:4,⁸⁰ and John 18:36,⁸¹ compared with Matthew 10:25,⁸² Luke 16:13).⁸³

⁷⁰ Abrogate: To repeal a law. (OED, p.7)

⁷¹ Part: An element or constituent of some quality or action, considered by itself (and with no stress on its being merely a part); a point, particular. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁷² Martin returns to this point in the epilogue where, assuming the persona of 'Martin Junior', he says that Whitgift has been 'raised up out of the dust - and even from the very dunghill - to be President of her Majesty's Council'.

⁷³ Pierce notes that most of the reformers' scriptural arguments against the episcopacy were originally propounded by Tyndale. Martin gives a number of the most important scriptural references here. (MT, p.312)

⁷⁴ Luke 22:25-6: *But he said unto them, The Kings of the Gentiles reigne over them, and they that beare rule over them, are called Gracious lords. But ye shall not be so, but let the greatest among you be as the least: & the chiefest as he that serveth.* (GB, p.41)

⁷⁵ I Peter 5:1-2: *The Elders which are amonge you, I beseeche which am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glorie that shalbe reveiled, Fede the flocke of God, which dependeth upon you, caring for it not by constraint, but willingly: not for filthie lucre, but of a readie minde.* (GB, p.110)

⁷⁶ Matthew 20:25-6: *Therefore Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye knowe that the lords of the Gentiles have domination over them, and they that are great, exercise authoritie over them. But it shal not be so among you: but whosoever wil be great among you, let him be your servant.* (GB, p.12)

⁷⁷ Mark 10:42: *But Jesus called them unto him, and said to them, Ye knowe that they which delite to beare rule among the Gentiles, have domination over them, and they that be great among them, exercise autoritie over them.* (GB, p.23)

⁷⁸ I Corinthians 8:10: *For if any man se thee which hast knowledge, sit at table in the idoles temple, shal not the conscience of him which is weake, be boldened to eat those things which are sacrificed to idoles?* (GB, p.79)

⁷⁹ Luke 12:14: *And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge, or a divider over you?* (GB, p.35)

⁸⁰ II Timothy 2:3-4: *Thou therefore suffer affliction as a good souldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affaires of this life, because he wolde please him that hath chosen him to be a souldier.* (GB, p.100)

⁸¹ John 18:36: *Jesus answered, My kingdome is not of this worlde: if my kingdome were of this worlde, my servants wolde surely fight, that I shulde not be delivered to the Jewes: but now is my kingdome not from hence.* (GB, p.53)

⁸² Matthew 10:25: *It is ynough for the disciple to be as his master is, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how muche more them of his householde?* (GB, p.7)

⁸³ Luke 16:13: *No servant can serve two masters: for ether he shal hate the one, and love the other: or els he shal leane to the one, & despise the other. Ye can not serve God and riches.* (GB, p.37)

43 That the hierarchy of bishops, in their superiority over their brethren and their civil offices, hath been gainsaid and withstood by the visible church of God successively and without intermission for these almost 500 years last past.

44 That this cause of overthrowing the state of lord bishops and bringing in the equality of ministers is no new cause, but that which hath been many years ago held and maintained, even in the fire, by the holy martyrs of Christ Jesus.

45 That this wicked government of bishops was an especial point gainsaid by the servants of God in the time of King Henry VIII and Queen Mary, and in the withstanding whereof they died, the holy martyrs of Christ Jesus.

46 That none ever defended this hierarchy of bishops to be lawful but papists, or such as were infected with popish errors.

47 That we have not expelled and banished every part of popery as long as we maintain lord bishops and their seats.⁸⁴

48 That the offices of lord archbishops and bishops, together with other their corruptions, are condemned by the doctrine of the church of England.

49 That the doctrine of the church of England condemning the places of lord bishops is approved by the statutes of this kingdom and her Majesty's royal prerogative.

50 That to be a lord bishop is directly against the statute 13 Elizabeth, rightly understood, and flatly condemned by her Majesty's royal privilege.⁸⁵

51 That all her Majesty's loving subjects, ministers especially, are bound by statute (and have the allowance of the doctrine of the church of England, published with her Majesty's prerogative) not to acknowledge - yea, to disavow and withstand - the places and callings of lord bishops.

52 That the doctrine of the church of England in the days of King Henry VIII was the doctrine which the blessed martyrs of Christ Jesus - Master Tyndale,⁸⁶ Master Doctor Barnes,⁸⁷ and Master Frith⁸⁸ - taught them and delivered unto us.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Martin frequently identifies the office of bishop in the church of England with Catholicism.

⁸⁵ Quare whether Martin uses the terms 'royal prerogative' and 'royal privilege' interchangeably.

⁸⁶ William Tyndale (c.1494-1536), English translator of the Bible, arrested at Antwerp and strangled and burned.

⁸⁷ Robert Barnes.

⁸⁸ John Frith (1503-33), English Protestant martyr burned at Smithfield.

⁸⁹ Pierce quotes a number of extracts from the works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes to illustrate the consonancy of Martin's views on the episcopacy with those of the early reformers: 'Let [kynges] rule their Realmes them selves, wyth the helpe of laye men that are sage, &c. Is it not a shame above all shames and a monstrous thing, that no man should be founde able to governe a worldly kyngdome save byshops and prelates' (Tyndale, *Obedience Of A Christian Man*); 'Is it not a marvelous court that they have? wherein was never man accused of heresie, were he learned or not learned, but they have found him guilty? Is it not a marvelous court that never hath innocentes? . . . And if any man speak of Gods law and right conscience agaynst thys damnable tyranny, little will they stick to make him an heretick. And if that will not helpe then adde they treason against your grace, though hee bee never so true a subject' (Barnes, *Supplication To Henry VIII*); 'After that [the office of bishop] was made so honorable and profitable, they that were the worst both in learnyng and lyvvyng most laboured for it. For they that were vertuous wold not entangle them selves with the wayne pride of this world, and weare three crownes of gold, where Christ dyd ware one of thorne' (Frith, *Answer To More*). (MT, p.313)

53 That this doctrine of theirs is now to be accounted the doctrine of the church of England, inasmuch as (being the doctrine of Christ and his apostles) it is published in print by Master Foxe, and that by her Majesty's privilege.⁹⁰

54 That this, their doctrine, is maintained by the statute under the name of the doctrine of the faith and sacraments.⁹¹

55 That the doctrine which, according to the Word, is published by Master Foxe in the *Book of Martyrs*, seeing it is *cum privilegio*⁹² is also to be accounted the doctrine of faith and sacraments in the church of England, and so is approved by statute.

56 That upon these former grounds we may safely hold these conclusions following,⁹³ and are thereby allowed by statute and her Majesty's prerogative:

57 That by the doctrine of the church of England it is not possible that naturally there can be any good lord bishop (Master Tyndale's *Practise Of Prelates*, page 374).⁹⁴

58 That by the doctrine of the church of England a bishopric is a superfluous honour and a lewd⁹⁵ liberty.⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

59 That by the doctrine of the church of England our bishops are none of the Lord's anointing, but servants of the Beast.⁹⁷

60 That by the doctrine of the church of England our lord bishops are none of Christ's bishops, but the ministers of Antichrist.

61 That by the doctrine of the church of England our bishops and their government are no part of Christ's kingdom, but are of the kingdom of this world.

⁹⁰ The works of the Protestant reformers Tyndale, Frith and Barnes were familiar to Martin's readers through Foxe's edition, which had been published *cum privilegio*. (MT, p.313) Pierce points out that, although Foxe's *Acts And Monuments* (often called *The Book Of Martyrs*) was ordered to be kept in all churches, the author lived in poverty with only a small benefice at Salisbury because he would neither wear the clerical vestments nor subscribe to Whitgift's *Articles*. (MT, p.404)

⁹¹ I.e., the doctrine of Tyndale et al is contained within the doctrine of faith and sacraments mentioned in the statute 13 Elizabeth, chapter 12. The subscription required is set out in the statute in the following terms: 'That every person under the degree of bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments shall . . . declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book inprinted, intituled, *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our lord God [1562]*.'

⁹² I.e., since the title page of Foxe's *Acts And Monuments* states that it is published *cum privilegio*, the doctrine contained therein is the approved doctrine of the church of England. (MT, p.315)

⁹³ Martin's argument that the views of Tyndale, Barnes and Frith incorporated in theses 57-92 are the approved doctrine of the church of England was probably dealt with more fully in *More Work For Cooper*, just as the *Epitome* and *Hay Any Work For Cooper* had dealt in detail with other ecclesiastical arguments summarized in the *Theses*.

⁹⁴ Pierce gives Tyndale's words as follows: 'Neither is it possible, naturally, that there should be any good bishop, so long as the bishoprics be nothing save worldly pomp and honour, superfluous abundance of all manner riches, and liberty to do what a man listeth unpunished: things which only the evil desire, and all good men abhor.' (MT, p.315)

⁹⁵ Lewd: Lay, not in holy orders, not clerical. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁹⁶ Liberty: Faculty or power to do as one likes. (OED, p.1206)

⁹⁷ Pierce suggests that thesis 59 is taken from Tyndale's *Obedience Of A Christian Man*: 'Bishops and priests that preach not, or that preach ought save Gods word, are none of Christes, nor of hys annoynting: but servantes of the beast.' (MT, p.313) The Beast is referred to in Revelations 13, and was identified by Protestant reformers with the Pope.

62 That by the doctrine of the church of England lord bishops are a part of that body whereof Antichrist is the head.

63 That by the doctrine of the church of England the places of archbishops and bishops are the seats of Antichrist.

64 That by the doctrine of the church of England a bishop can have no other lawful authority but only to preach the Word.

65 That by the doctrine of the church of England the desire of a bishopric or any other honor in a minister is a note of a false prophet.⁹⁸

66 That according to the doctrine of the church of England all our bishops and their chaplains⁹⁹ are false prophets.

67 That the doctrine of the church of England concerning the civil offices of our prelates is that all civil rule and dominion is, by the Word of God, flatly forbidden unto the clergy.

68 That according to the doctrine of the church of England the ministry and the magistracy cannot, by the ordinance of God, be both in one person.

69 That by the doctrine of the church of England the joining together of the ministry (and magistracy) in one person doth put every kingdom out of order.

70 That for a lord bishop to be of the Privy Council in a kingdom, according to the doctrine of the church of England is as profitable unto the realm as the wolf is to the lambs.¹⁰⁰

71 That bishops ought to have no prisons wherein to punish transgressors.¹⁰¹

72 That according to the church of England all ministers be of equal authority.

73 That according to the doctrine of the church of England those Doctors¹⁰² who are daily alleged by our bishops in the defence of their superiority over their brethren - to wit, Cyprian,¹⁰³ Jerome,¹⁰⁴ Augustine,¹⁰⁵ Chrysostom¹⁰⁶ - knew of no authority that one bishop should have above another, neither thought, or once dreamed, that ever any such thing should be.

**Mark this,
good reader.**

⁹⁸ Matthew 24:11: *And many false prophetes shal arise, & shal deceive manie.* Matthew 24:24: *For there shal arise false Christs, & false prophetes, and shal shewe great signes and wonders, so that if it were possible, they shulde deceive the verie elect.* (GB, p.14)

⁹⁹ Martin may have included the bishops' chaplains in thesis 66 because of Bancroft's attacks on him in his sermons of January 28 and February 9, 1589. Bancroft had formerly been chaplain to Richard Cox (d.1581), Bishop of Ely; he was also, for a time, chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591). (DNB, v.1, p.1209; Vines, p.176)

¹⁰⁰ A reference to Whitgift's appointment to the Privy Council.

¹⁰¹ According to Pierce, Aylmer imprisoned persons at London Palace (situated at the north-west corner of St. Paul's) and at his house at Haddam in Essex; Whitgift also used the Lollards' Tower at Lambeth for that purpose. (MT, p.316)

¹⁰² Doctors of the Church: Certain early 'fathers' distinguished by their eminent learning. (OED, p.589)

¹⁰³ Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus (c.200-258), Christian martyr.

¹⁰⁴ Eusebius Hieronymus (?340-420).

¹⁰⁵ Aurelius Augustinus (354-430), Bishop of Hippo, one of the four great fathers of the Roman church. A powerful antagonist of the Donatist, Pelagian, and Manichean heresies, he influenced the whole body of mediæval dogma, and his *Confessions* and the *City of God* have remained literary classics of Christianity. (Rollins, p.960)

74 That according to the doctrine of the church of England a bishop and an elder or a minister note out in the Word of God the one and self same person and church officer, the contrary whereof is popery.

75 That by the doctrine of the church of England it is popery to translate the word *presbyteros* into priests, and so to call the ministers of the gospel, priests.

76 That according to the doctrine of the church of England Doctor Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's¹⁰⁷ the 28 of January 1588,¹⁰⁸ maintained a popish error in avouching that in the days of Cyprian there was a difference between a bishop and a priest or minister.

77 That according to the doctrine of the church of England John Cant. is a maintainer of a popish error in terming the ministers of the gospel by the name of priests.¹⁰⁹

78 That according to the doctrine of the church of England our prelates have no authority to make ministers, or to proceed to any ecclesiastical censure.¹¹⁰

79 That by the doctrine of the church of England to have a bishop's license to preach is the very mark of the Beast, Antichrist.¹¹¹

80 That by the doctrine of the church of England the godly ministers ought to ordain those that would enter into that function without any leave of the prelates, and not so much as once to suffer them to take any approbation¹¹² of the prelates.

81 That according to the doctrine of the church of England there ought to be no other manner of ecclesiastical censure but that which is noted Matthew 8:15,17¹¹³ which is, to proceed from a private

¹⁰⁶ Chrysostom, St. John (ca.347-407), father of the Greek church, a famous preacher at Antioch (his name means 'golden-mouthed'), and patriarch of Constantinople (398-404). (Rollins, p.966)

¹⁰⁷ I.e., Paul's Cross. (MT, p.317)

¹⁰⁸ I.e., January 28, 1589. Martin uses Old Style dating, in which the New Year began on March 25. This sermon appears not to have been printed, although its contents may have been incorporated into the printed edition of Bancroft's sermon of February 9, 1589. (MT, p.317) Quare whether Martin was present at this sermon; if so, this would place him in London in January, 1589.

¹⁰⁹ See *Admonition*, p.36: *Hee hath shewed sufficient reason in his booke against T.C., why Ministers of the Gospell, may be called Priests. The ancient fathers so cal them. The church of England imbraceth that name, and that by the authoritie of the highest court in England. And why may not Presbyter be called Priest?*

¹¹⁰ Censure: A spiritual punishment inflicted by some ecclesiastical judge. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹¹¹ All licences to preach were originally suspended by Archbishop Matthew Parker's *Advertisements* of 1566 ('that al licences for preaching graunted out by the Archebyshop and Byshopes within the province of Canterbury, bearing date before the firste day of marche 1564 be voyde and none effect'). A minister could regain his licence only by subscription to the Articles contained in the *Advertisements*. Although Parker prepared the *Advertisements* under orders from Queen Elizabeth, she characteristically refused to sign the document, eventually forcing Parker to publish it himself. Thus, he took the precaution of incorporating his royal instructions into the title (*Advertisements partly for due order in the publique administration of common prayers and using the holy Sacramentes, and partly for the apparrell of all persons ecclesiasticall by vertue of the Queenes majesties letters commanding the same . . .*). (HIMT, pp.12-3) Milward notes that Parker's *Advertisements* 'largely became a dead letter' under Archbishop Grindal; when Whitgift became Archbishop, however, he speedily drew up new Articles for uniformity, and licences to preach were granted only to those who would subscribe to them. Whitgift's *Articuli per Archiepiscopum, Episcopos & reliquum Clerum* were approved at a Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in November, 1584. (RCEA, pp.77-8) As with the *Advertisements*, the name of the Queen is mentioned in the title; however, it is clear that the Queen once again avoided giving her formal approval. Thus, Martin is on sure ground when he states that the doctrine of the church of England does not require that a minister have a bishop's licence to preach.

¹¹² Approbation: The action of formally or authoritatively declaring good or true; sanction. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

admonition to one or two witnesses, and thence to the church - that is, not to one, but unto the governors of the church, together with the whole congregation.

82 That according to the doctrine of our church the citations,¹¹⁴ processes,¹¹⁵ excommunications, etc. of the prelates are neither to be obeyed nor regarded.

83 That according unto the doctrine of the church of England men ought not to appear in their courts, seeing their proceedings are so directly against the truth as now they are manifested to be, seeing the doctrine of the church warranteth them no such calling.

84 That according to the doctrine of the church of England, that a man being excommunicated by them ought not to seek any absolution¹¹⁶ at their hands.

85 That according unto the doctrine of the church of England every minister is bound to preach the gospel, notwithstanding the inhibition¹¹⁷ of the bishops.

86 That according unto the doctrine of the church of England a man, being once made a minister, is not to be kept back from preaching by the inhibition of any creature.

87 That according unto the doctrine of our church our prelates notably profane¹¹⁸ the censures¹¹⁹ of the church by sending them out against those who are not offenders against God, for money matters and other trifles, etc.

88 That according unto the doctrine of the church of England it is a great tyranny in them to summon and cite poor men as they do, to come before them for hearing the Word or speaking against their hierarchy.¹²⁰

89 That it is tyranny by the doctrine of the church of England - and the badge¹²¹ of Antichrist's disciples - for our prelates to break¹²² up into men's consciences to compel them by oaths to testify against themselves.¹²³

90 That by the doctrine of the church of England our prelates learned this abomination¹²⁴ of Pilate (Matthew 26:93).¹²⁵

¹¹³ *Matthew 8:15-17: Moreover, if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee & him alone: if he heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother. But if he heare thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that by the mouth of two or thre witnesses everie worde may be confirmed. And if he wil not vouchesave to heare thee, tel it unto the Church: & if he refuse to heare the Church also, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a Publicane.* (GB, p.11)

¹¹⁴ Citation: A citing to a court of justice, a summons. (OED, p.341)

¹¹⁵ Process: The formal commencement of any action at law; the mandate, summons, or writ by which a person or thing is brought into court for litigation. (OED, p.1677)

¹¹⁶ Absolution: Remission of sins declared by ecclesiastical authority. (OED, p.8)

¹¹⁷ Inhibition: In ecclesiastical law, the command of a bishop or ecclesiastical judge that a clergyman shall cease from exercising ministerial functions. (OED, p.1073)

¹¹⁸ Profane: To misuse, abuse (what ought to be revered or respected). (OED, p.1680)

¹¹⁹ The word is not clear in the original. It may be 'censors'.

¹²⁰ This thesis indicates that individuals other than ministers were cited before the High Commission.

¹²¹ Badge: A distinguishing sign. (OED, p.146)

¹²² Break: To burst open (a barrier), make forcible way into (a house), open forcibly (a letter, box, etc.). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED cites an example using phraseology similar to Martin's: 'Let the judges . . . not break up into the consciences of men'.

¹²³ Martin refers to the oath *ex officio mero* which was administered by the High Commission.

¹²⁴ Abomination: An action, or custom, abominable, detestable, odious, shamefully wicked or vile; a degrading vice. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹²⁵ A misprint. Martin perhaps intended a reference to *Matthew 27:13: Then said Pilate unto him, hearest thou not how many things they laye against thee?* (GB, p.16)

91 That according unto the doctrine of the church of England none ought to be in the ministry but such as are able to preach.

92 That according unto the doctrine of the church of England non-residents and pluralities¹²⁶ of benefices are most intolerable in the sight of God and man.

93 That all true subjects have better warrant to deny the superiority of bishops than the bishops have to impose themselves upon the church.

94 That her Majesty's true subjects, in oppugning the state of lord bishops, have the warrant of the Word of God, the warrant of our laws and statutes, the doctrine of the church of England, the consent of the church of God for the space of above 400 years, and her Majesty's privilege.

95 That the bishops have nothing for their defence but the corruption received into our church contrary unto the Word, contrary unto our statutes, contrary unto her Majesty's privilege, contrary unto the doctrine of our church.

96 That our bishops, in this controversy for their hierarchy, have not me, poor man, for their only adversary - but our Saviour Christ, his apostles and holy martyrs, our laws and statutes, her Majesty's privileges, and the doctrine of our church hath long ago condemned them for traitors unto God, unto his Word, his church, and unto our laws and privileges.

97 That Master Thomas Cartwright,¹²⁷ together with all those learned men, and myself, also, that have written against the state of the clergy, could do no less than we have done, except we would betray the truth of God, the laws of this land, and the doctrine of our church.

98 That our magistrates, in maintaining both the doctrine of our church and also the hierarchy of our bishops, maintain two contrary factions under their government, which their wisdoms know to be dangerous.

99 That this faction is likely to continue until either of the parties give over.¹²⁸

100 That those who defend the doctrine of our church in oppugning of our bishops neither can nor will give over the cause, inasmuch as it is confirmed by the Word professed in our church, allowed by our statutes, and maintained by her Majesty's privilege.

101 That the bishops will not give over, in any likelihood to die for it,¹²⁹ as long as the state will maintain them.

102 That the continuance of these contrary factions is likely in a while to become very dangerous unto our state, as their wisdoms who are magistrates do well know and perceive.

103 That their wisdoms then are bound, even for the quieting of our outward state, to put down either the doctrine of our church, or the corruption, viz., our bishops and their proceedings.

¹²⁶ Plurality: *Eccles.* The holding of two or more benefices or livings concurrently by one person. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹²⁷ Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603).

¹²⁸ Give over: To give up. (OED, p.853)

¹²⁹ Martin appears to mean that the bishops would die rather than give up their hierarchical positions.

104 That they cannot, without the endangering of themselves, under the wrath of God, and the odious and most monstrous sin of inevitable apostasy¹³⁰ from the truth, put down and abolish the doctrine of the church.

105 That they cannot any longer maintain the corruptions of our church, namely archbishops and bishops, without the shameful contradiction of our doctrine and the discontentedness of their subjects.

106 That all ministers are bound by subscription, by virtue of the statute that requireth their subscription unto the doctrine of faith and sacraments in the church of England, to disavow the hierarchy of bishops.

107 That it were well that all these ministers who are urged to subscribe¹³¹ would require a resolution¹³² in this point before they yield their subscription.

Page 68, line
19.

108 That Doctor Bancroft, in affirming her Majesty to be a petty pope in his sermon preached at Paul's the ninth of February, 1588¹³³ preached treason against her Majesty's royal crown and dignity.¹³⁴

109 That the said Bancroft is a traitor in affirming her Majesty to usurp that authority within her dominions in causes ecclesiastical which the Pope usurped in times past.

110 That our bishops, in suffering the said sermon to be published in print¹³⁵ containing the former points of treason, are accessory unto Bancroft's treason.

That our prelates.

here the father left his writing unperfect,¹³⁶ and thus perfectly¹³⁷ begins the son.

¹³⁰ Apostasy: Abandonment or renunciation of one's religious faith. (OED, p.88)

¹³¹ I.e., to Whitgift's *Articles*.

¹³² Resolution: The removal of a doubt on some point from a person's mind. (OED, p.1808)

¹³³ I.e., February 9, 1589, since Martin uses Old Style dating. Thesis 108 suggests that Martin was in London on February 9, 1589. Quare whether Martin's marginal note refers to page 68 of the published version of Bancroft's sermon.

¹³⁴ Pierce gives a full explanation of this point: Martin has, in the manner of formal logic, set forth his familiar syllogism:

No petty popes ought to be maintained or tolerated in a Christian commonwealth.

But our archbishops and bishops are such petty popes.

Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated, &c.

To this Bancroft replies by stating that based on Martin's example one could frame the following syllogism:

No petty pope ought to be tolerated, &c.

But hir Majestie is a Pettie Pope.

Therefore hir Majestie is not to be tolerated, &c.

Moreover, Bancroft says that the minor, or second member in the syllogism, may be proved thus:

Whosoever doe take upon them or usurpe the same authority in causes ecclesiastical within their dominions, which the Pope had, are Pettie Popes.

Her Majestie doth so.

Therefore hir M. is a Petty Pope and not to be tolerated, &c. (MT, p.321)

¹³⁵ Bancroft's sermon of February 9 was followed on February 13 by a royal proclamation enforcing his criticism, and the sermon itself was published in March under the title *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 9 of Februarie, being the first Sunday in the Parleament, Anno 1588. by Richard Bancroft D. of Divinitie, and Chaplaine to the right Honorable Sir Christopher Hatton Knight L. Chancellor of England.* (MT, p.321; RCEA, p.89)

¹³⁶ Pierce suggests that the unfinished state of the *Theses* poses a problem for those who consider Job Throckmorton to have been their author. If Throckmorton was the author, why did he not complete the 'broken sentences', since he was present at Wolston while the *Theses* were printed? Pierce concludes that 'this is the loophole through which we may escape from our conjectures, and imagine some great and still unknown English reformer as the writer of the Marprelate Tracts.' (MT, p.289) In *Master Marprelate Gentleman: Master Job Throckmorton Laid Open In his Colours*, Carlson attempts to demonstrate that Job Throckmorton was Martin Marprelate. However, Carlson's analysis is flawed by

Martin Junior's Epilogue

To the worshipful, his very good neame, Master John Canterbury.

After my hearty commendations¹³⁸ unto your worship (good nuncle Canterbury), trusting that you, with the rest of the catercaps, are as near your overthrow as I, your poor nephew, am from wishing the prosperity of your antichristian callings. The cause of my writing unto you at this instant¹³⁹ is to let you understand, first, that I was somewhat merry at the making hereof,¹⁴⁰ being indeed sorry, together with others of my brethren, that we cannot hear from our good father Master Martin Marprelate, that good and discoursing¹⁴¹ brother of yours, but especially grieved that we see not the utter subversion¹⁴² of that unhappy¹⁴³ and pestilent government of lord bishops, at the helm whereof ye sit like a Pilate,¹⁴⁴ or a Caiaphas rather. Moreover, I do you to wit¹⁴⁵ that you shall receive by this bearer certain unperfect writings of my father's, praying your prelacy if you can send me or any of my brethren any word of him, that you would return us an answer with speed.

Many flim-flam¹⁴⁶ tales go abroad of him, but of certainty nothing can be heard, inasmuch as he keepeth himself secret from all his sons. Some think that he is even now employed in your business, and I think so too. *My reason is*, quoth Robert Some,¹⁴⁷ *because it was for your sakes and good that he first fell a-studying the art of pistle-making*. Others give out that in the service of his country and her Majesty's, he died, or was in great danger, at the Groyne.¹⁴⁸ *And those others*, quoth mine nunca Bridges, *have seen motives inducing them to be of this mind*.¹⁴⁹ Some there are also who fear that you have him in your

the fact that he assigns to Job Throckmorton the authorship of anonymous works such as *Master Some Laid Open In his Colours*. Carlson then compares excerpts from these anonymous works to the Marprelate tracts. The result is that Carlson builds a good case for the hypothesis that the same person who wrote the Marprelate tracts also wrote certain anonymous tracts such as *Master Some*. However, this in no way proves that Job Throckmorton was the author either of the Marprelate tracts or of *Master Some*.

¹³⁷ Perfectly: So that nothing is left undone and no part is wanting; completely, thoroughly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹³⁸ Commendations: Remembrances sent to those at a distance; respects, greetings. (OED, p.375)

¹³⁹ Instant: The time now present. (OED, p.1084)

¹⁴⁰ Presumably, Martin Junior is only 'somewhat' merry because of the lack of news of Martin Marprelate.

¹⁴¹ Discoursing: Passing from premises to consequences, reasoning; reasonable, rational (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁴² Subversion: Overthrow, ruin of a law, rule, system, condition, faculty, character, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁴³ Unhappy: Associated with, bringing about or causing, misfortune or mishap; disastrous. (OED, p.2417)

¹⁴⁴ There is an obvious pun on 'helm' and 'Pilate'.

¹⁴⁵ To do (one) to wit: To cause (one) to know; to give (one) to understand; to make known to; to inform. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁴⁶ Flim-flam: Frivolous, idle, vain, nonsensical; also, deceptive, fictitious, sham. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁴⁷ Dr. Robert Some (1542-1609). The phrase 'my reason is' probably parodies Some's style since, in the *Protestation*, Martin complains that Some speaks of nothing but '*my sermons, my writings, my reasons, my arguments*'.

¹⁴⁸ Groyne: A sailor's name for Coruna, Spain. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris arrived at Coruna on the afternoon of Thursday, April 24, 1589 and disembarked 7000 troops. On the evening of April 25, the troops took the lower town. Norris then unsuccessfully attempted to take the upper town. Two weeks later, Norris abandoned the siege and burned the lower town. Drake and Norris re-embarked the troops on May 8 and set sail for Lisbon on May 9. Letters to England were written from Coruna on May 7 (and responded to by the Queen on May 20), and the result of the fighting was thus known to the Queen and court by the middle of May. (Wernham, pp.108-11, 125) In fact, the principal part of the fighting at Coruna was finished by April 26, and it is even possible that some news of soldiers having 'died at the Groyne' reached England as early as the beginning of May. In any event, Martin's topical reference to the battle at the Groyne makes it clear that the *Theses* can have been in its final form no earlier than the last week of April, 1589.

¹⁴⁹ Quare whether this is a parody of Bridges' style in the *Defence*.

hands. Howsoever it be, somewhat¹⁵⁰ is not well, that he is silent all this while.¹⁵¹ We his sons must needs be disquieted, seeing we can neither know where our father is nor yet hear from him. If we could but hear by some pistle - though it were but of twenty sheets of paper¹⁵² - that he is well, we would not then be so inquisitive of him. But now that he hath been so long time tongue-tied - these four or five months¹⁵³ - we must needs enquire of the matter. Speak then, good nuncles. Have you closely murdered the gentleman in some of your prisons? Have you strangled him? Have you given him an Italian fig?¹⁵⁴ Or what have you done unto him? Have you choked him with a fat prebend¹⁵⁵ or two? What? I trow, my father will swallow down no such pills.¹⁵⁶ And he do, I can tell he will soon purge¹⁵⁷ away all the conscience he hath, and prove a mad hind¹⁵⁸ ere he die. But tell me, I pray you, what you mean to do unto him if you have him in hold? Do you mean to have the keeping of him, lest he should not be otherwise well looked unto? Why, what need tat?¹⁵⁹ I am sure he hath 500 sons in the land of good credit and ability with whom he might have othergates¹⁶⁰ welcome than with any catercap of them all. And I pray you, nuncles, never trouble yourselves with the keeping of him. I trust he shall do well, though he never come near any of you all.¹⁶¹ And I think in reason it were more meet his sons than his brethren should be charged¹⁶² with him, if it so came to pass that he were forced to lean unto others. This I know full well, that my father would be sorry from his heart to put you to any such cost as you intend to be at with him. A meaner house - and of less strength than the Tower, the Fleet, Newgate or the Gatehouse¹⁶³ is - would serve him well enough. He is not of that ambitious vein¹⁶⁴ that many of his brethren the bishops are, in seeking for more costly houses than ever his father built for him. And therefore good sweet neames, now, if you have him, let him be dispatched out of your hands with honesty and credit. My father is of a kingly¹⁶⁵ nature; I perceive by him he would do good unto you, but he would not be recompensed for it

¹⁵⁰ Somewhat: Some (material or immaterial) thing of unspecified nature, amount, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁵¹ The comment about Martin's long silence relates to the fact that four months had elapsed between the printing of *Hay Any Work For Cooper* in March, and the completion of the printing of the *Theses* on July 22, 1589. (MT, p.288) During that time, the managers of the secret press were attempting to find a printer to replace Waldegrave, and Martin was presumably at work writing *More Work For Cooper*. When a new printer was eventually found, and the secret press was able to resume operation, Martin seems to have conceived the idea of providing an entertaining stop-gap (in the form of the *Theses* and the *Just Censure*) to whet his readers' appetites for the more serious and substantial *More Work For Cooper*. The allusions to Drake's expedition to the Groyne in Portugal make it clear that both tracts were written very much on the spur of the moment: Drake returned to England at the end of June, and the *Theses* and *Just Censure* were in print by July 22, and July 29, respectively.

¹⁵² Pierce points out that a quarto of twenty sheets would yield 160 pages. (MT, p.323)

¹⁵³ The *Minerals* was printed circa February 20, 1589 and *Hay Any Work For Cooper* circa March 20, which tallies exactly with the comment that nothing had been heard from Martin for 'four or five' months.

¹⁵⁴ Fig: A poisoned fig used as a secret way of destroying an obnoxious person. Often *fig of Spain*, *Spanish*, *Italian fig*, etc. (OED, p.748)

¹⁵⁵ Prebend: The portion of the revenues of a cathedral or collegiate church granted to a canon or member of the chapter as his stipend; also, the separate portion of land or tithe from which the stipend is gathered, hence the tenure of this as a benefice. (OED, P.1648)

¹⁵⁶ Martin doubtless intends a pun here, as the meaning of 'to pill' is 'to plunder, or pillage'. (OED, p.1584)

¹⁵⁷ Purge: To remove by some cleansing or purifying process. (OED, p.1711)

¹⁵⁸ Hind: Lad, fellow, chap. (OED, p.965)

¹⁵⁹ West Country dialect.

¹⁶⁰ Othergates: Of another fashion or kind, different. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) A pun on the names of the prisons at Newgate and the Gatehouse.

¹⁶¹ The phrase 'any of you all' perhaps parodies one of Aylmer's speech mannerisms. It is used in the speech put in the mouth of Aylmer in the *Just Censure*.

¹⁶² Charge: To put to expense. (OED, p.316) Martin likely intends a pun on two other meanings of 'charge': (1) 'custody' or (2) 'the accusation on which a prisoner is brought up for trial'. (OED, p.316)

¹⁶³ London prisons.

¹⁶⁴ Vein: Personal character or disposition; also, a particular element or trait in this. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁶⁵ Kingly: Having the character, quality, or attributes of a king; kinglike; dignified, majestic, noble. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

again. He will none of your courtesies¹⁶⁶ - unless it be for your own sakes, that you will give over your bishopdoms. That is the greatest benefit he accounts of from you. Other recompense, he seeks none.

If you demand of me where I found this,¹⁶⁷ the truth is it was taken up (together with certain other papers)¹⁶⁸ besides¹⁶⁹ a bush, where it had dropped from somebody passing by that way. I hope my father's worship will not be offended with me for publishing of it, being not so perfect as questionless¹⁷⁰ he would have had it. He and you cannot but commend my good dealing in setting it out, for I chose rather to leave the sentences unperfect than to add anything more than I found legible. The arithmetical¹⁷¹ numbers in the end of his preamble¹⁷² show that, when he had written so far, he had something more in his head than all men do conceive, which made him leave in the midst of a period.¹⁷³ I myself do perceive some tautologies¹⁷⁴ in the conclusions,¹⁷⁵ as being the first draft, but I would not presume to mend them. That I refer to himself, if he be yet living; if dead, yet posterities may have his afterbirth to be altogether his own.¹⁷⁶ And let them take this as his *cygneam cantionem*,¹⁷⁷ viz., his farewell to book-making. But that I would be sorry of, for who can be able to prove the points which he hath set down here concerning the doctrine of our church - maintained by statute and her Majesty's privilege - so soundly and so worthily as he himself would perform it? A thirty or forty of the first conclusions are already showed in *Hay Any Work For The Cooper*, and therefore they need no further proof than the reading over that worthy treatise, whence they seem to have been collected. The rest I hope shall be showed in *More Work For The Cooper*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁶⁶ Used satirically.

¹⁶⁷ The circumstances of the finding of the *Theses* are described in some detail in John Hodgkins' examination. According to Hodgkins, he and John Penry spent the night of July 13, 1589 at Job Throckmorton's manor of Haseley, three and a half miles northwest of Warwick. The next day, a Monday, Hodgkins set out for Warwick, where he had arranged to meet his assistant, Valentine Simms. Penry insisted on accompanying Hodgkins part of the way, and the two of them found 'in the path, within a bolt-shot of [Haseley Manor] a great part of the said *Theses*.' (HIMT, pp.333, 335; Bond, v.3, p.578) It seems reasonable to infer from this account that Penry accompanied Hodgkins to ensure that the latter found the papers which had been dropped in the path. Further corroborative details are found in the examination of Valentine Simms, who said that Hodgkins told him they were to print the tract at Wolston, where a press and type were ready for them. Hodgkins and Simms reached Wolston (a six-mile journey from Warwick) that day, sent for Thomlyn (who was at Coventry, 4 miles from Wolston), and began preparations for printing the *Theses*. According to the examinations of both Thomlyn and Simms, printing began on Thursday, July 17 and finished on Monday, July 21, Simms himself being the only 'corrector'. (HIMT, pp.335-6)

¹⁶⁸ The mention of these 'other papers' picked up with the manuscript of the *Theses* is interesting; since Hodgkins told Thomlyn and Simms on Friday, July 18 (while they were printing the *Theses*) that the *Just Censure* was ready for printing, the 'other papers' picked up on the path along with the *Theses* may have been the manuscript of the *Just Censure*. If so, this would prove conclusively that 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' were nothing more than characters created by Martin Marprelate to divert both his readers and the pursuivants (albeit in different senses of the word).

¹⁶⁹ Besides: = beside. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷⁰ Questionless: Without question, beyond all question; unquestionably; undoubtedly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷¹ Arithmetical: Of, pertaining to, or connected with, arithmetic; according to the rules of arithmetic. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷² Preamble: A preliminary statement in speech or writing; an introductory paragraph, section, or clause; a preface, prologue, introduction. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷³ This comment is almost as cryptic as the 'arithmetical numbers' themselves ('otherwise their 812 their 1401').

¹⁷⁴ Tautology: A repetition of the same statement. (OED, p. 2249)

¹⁷⁵ This could be yet another comment by Martin designed to throw his pursuers off the trail, and make it appear that Martin Junior was, in fact, a different individual from Martin Marprelate.

¹⁷⁶ I.e., Martin Junior has made no changes to Martin's imperfect theses.

¹⁷⁷ *Cygneam cantionem*: A song like that fabled to be sung by a dying swan; the last work of a poet or musician, especially one composed shortly before his death. (OED, p.2208)

¹⁷⁸ Another reason to regret the loss of the manuscript. Martin's reasoning in the theses is sometimes difficult to follow without the sort of detailed exposition he would have provided in *More Work For Cooper*.

And, vather,¹⁷⁹ if you can prove these things out of the doctrine of our church, then certainly you deserve to be chronicled¹⁸⁰ forever. Then, John Canterbury, come down with thy popery,¹⁸¹ ka Master Martin Junior, for now art thou set out in thy colours to be an adversary, not only of Christ and his apostles - which all men might know - but even also an utter enemy unto the doctrine of the church of England, sowed here by the holy martyrs and sealed with their blood - yea, allowed by statute, and published with her Majesty's royal privilege, which is a point that the most have not considered of.¹⁸² And who is he now that dares persuade Martin to give over his course, unless the same also will show himself an enemy to the doctrine of the church of England? For Martin, in his writings, is not so much an enemy unto the bishops as a defender of the doctrine of our church. And therefore, you Puritans that mislike of him, take heed that you be not found amongst posterities to be the betrayers of this doctrine (for your ease and quietness' sake) which you are bound to deliver unto your children, without corruption or mangling,¹⁸³ though it cost you your lives a thousand times. For to tell you the truth, if you do but read over the writings of Master Tyndale,¹⁸⁴ Master Frith,¹⁸⁵ Master Barnes,¹⁸⁶ Master Hooper,¹⁸⁷ Master Knox,¹⁸⁸ Master Lambert,¹⁸⁹ etc., which were the first planters of the gospel amongst us, you shall find yourselves in faithfulness, courage and zeal - yea, even the best of you - far behind them, which I speak not but to your great shame, with a desire of your amendment. And therefore, I tell you true, I think it a great blessing of God that hath raised up this Martin - whom you can hardly brook - to hold tackling¹⁹⁰ with the bishops, that you may have some time of breathing, or rather a time to gather courage and zeal, joined with knowledge, to set upon these enemies of the doctrine of our church, even the doctrine of God, I mean, maintained in our church. For that as hitherto ye have done - you be so loath (for the disturbing of our state, forsooth, and the offending of her Majesty) not only to speak against, but even utterly to reject, this hierarchy of our bishops, even to have no more to do with it than with the seat of the Beast¹⁹¹ - you shall declare unto our children that God raised up a company of white-livered soldiers to teach the gospel in sincerity under her Majesty. And take heed lest our forenamed fathers¹⁹² rise up in judgement against you. As for her Majesty or the state, I think she hath little cause to thank you for your wisdom in seeking the quietness of this commonwealth by winking at the sin of the pompous¹⁹³ ministry. And methinks you are bound unto her and her people to make so much (at the least) known as she maintaineth public in books, by her statutes and privileges, to be the doctrine of this our church under her government. Therefore look unto these things, for certainly - if ever the Lord shall make the proceedings of our wicked bishops known unto her Majesty to be so contrary to Word of God, the profession of holy martyrs, and the doctrine of our church, maintained both by our statutes and privileges, as in these theses they are set down - assure yourself that

¹⁷⁹ West Country dialect.

¹⁸⁰ Chronicle: To enter or record in a chronicle. (OED, p.333)

¹⁸¹ A parody of Aylmer's words in his *Harbour For Faithful Subjects* ('Come down, you bishops, from your thousands and content you with your hundreds').

¹⁸² In theses 53 and 55, Martin states that John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was published *cum privilegio*.

¹⁸³ Mangle: To cut or hack (a thing) roughly, so as to damage and disfigure. (OED, p.1271)

¹⁸⁴ William Tyndale (c.1494-1536).

¹⁸⁵ John Frith (1503-33).

¹⁸⁶ Robert Barnes.

¹⁸⁷ John Hooper (1495-1555), English prelate and martyr.

¹⁸⁸ John Knox (c.1513-1572), Scottish Protestant reformer.

¹⁸⁹ John Nicholson, alias Lambert, a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, was burned at Smithfield in November, 1538. John Bale published an address written by Lambert to King Henry VIII under the title *A treatyse made by Johan Lambert unto kynge Henry the viij concernynge hys opynyon on the sacrament of the aultre as they call it, or supper of the lorde as the scripture nameth it. Anno do. 1538.* (MT, p.326)

¹⁹⁰ A phrase similar in meaning to 'stand to (one's) tackling' used elsewhere in the tracts.

¹⁹¹ I.e., Rome. (MT, p.327) *Revelations 13:2: And the beast which I sawe, was like a leopard, and his fete like a beares, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power and his throne, & great autoritie.* (GB, p.119)

¹⁹² I.e., Tyndale et al.

¹⁹³ Pompous: Characterized by pomp; magnificent. (OED, p.1626)

she will then enquire whether she had not any faithful preachers in her kingdom that would stand to the defence of the truth until she saw further into it.¹⁹⁴

As for the bishops, they may herein see - to their woe - what wicked caitiffs they are, in maintaining themselves and their thrice-cursed popedom against such clear light. But the beasts, I fear, were born to no other end than to be the Lord's scourge,¹⁹⁵ to chastise his church, and then to be burnt in hell. And - out upon them!¹⁹⁶ - they are as unlike Christ, his apostles, his holy martyrs, which were the planters of our church, as the wretches are like unto themselves. A man would have thought - if they had not been desperate in their wickedness - that, by the warning which Martin gave them, they would have been restrained from their villainy in some sort. But, as though their very reason had been clean gone, the more they are threatened to have their proceedings displayed,¹⁹⁷ the more wicked do they manifest themselves, as if they would declare unto the world that they will not be made known unto posterity but upon the condition that they may be the most wicked that ever were in the church of God. They will be so many Judases, so many Diotrepheses,¹⁹⁸ so many Simon Maguses,¹⁹⁹ as now they are wicked bishops of England, or else they think not themselves well dealt with. Wherefore, reverend father, if you be as yet on your seat and have escaped out of the danger of gun-shot,²⁰⁰ begin again to play the man. Fear none of these beasts, these pursuivants, these Mar-Martins,²⁰¹ these stage-players,²⁰² these prelates, these popes, these devils, and all they can do. Quit²⁰³ you as like a man as you have done in *Hay Any Work*, and I doubt not but you will make these roguish priests lie in the kennel. The report abroad goeth that you are drawn dry²⁰⁴ and can say no more. They are fools that so think, I say. Let these conclusions be judge, whereby - I tell you true - I hope you shall be able to empty every bishopric in England, if weight of truth can do it. There be that affirm the rimers²⁰⁵ and stage-players to have clean put you out of countenance,²⁰⁶ that you dare not again show your face.²⁰⁷ Alas! poor hagglers,²⁰⁸ their fathers are too young to outface²⁰⁹ the least of your sons. And I do think that (lay aside their tyranny)²¹⁰ all the bishops of England are too weak to deal with a scarecrow²¹¹ that hath but the name of reverend Martin written upon

¹⁹⁴ Martin's remarks against the feeble spirit and laxness of the Puritans in championing the cause serve, along with other similar statements in the tracts, to make it clear that he does not consider himself one of them.

¹⁹⁵ Scourge: A thing or person that is an instrument of divine chastisement. The title 'flagellum dei' ('the Scourge of God') was, for example, given to Attila the Hun in the 5th century. (OED, p.1909)

¹⁹⁶ Out upon: An exclamation expressing abhorrence or reproach. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁹⁷ Display: To exhibit, make manifest, cause to be observed or perceived. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁹⁸ Diotrephes: The name of a man mentioned in [III John 9-10](#); hence, used typically of persons loving to have the pre-eminence in the church. (OED, p.553)

¹⁹⁹ Simon Magus offered money to Peter and John for the gift of conferring the Holy Ghost ([Acts 8:18](#)).

The term 'simony' (the buying and selling of benefices, ecclesiastical preferments, or other spiritual things) derives from his name. (OED, p.1998)

²⁰⁰ Martin is referred to as a horseman who has managed to maintain his seat in a battle.

²⁰¹ Pierce refers to the seven-page *Mar-Martine* verses published in May, 1589 as 'doggerel' and 'dull rubbish'. (MT, p.329; HIMT, pp.224-5) Bond assigns its authorship to John Lyly. (v.3, pp.423-6)

²⁰² As Pierce notes, references to stage performances against Martin are found in *Pap With An Hatchet* (1589), *The Return of Pasquil* (1589), *Martin's Month's Mind* (1589), and *An Almond For A Parrot* (1590). (HIMT, p.222)

²⁰³ Quit: To do one's part, behave, bear oneself (usually in a specified way). (OED, p.1733)

²⁰⁴ To draw dry: To empty or exhaust of liquid. Also *fig.* (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁰⁵ Rimer: A maker of rimes; a poet; a rimester. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁰⁶ To put out of countenance: To disconcert. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁰⁷ A pun on 'out of countenance'.

²⁰⁸ Haggler: A clumsy, awkward workman; a bungler. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁰⁹ Outface: To outdo or overcome in facing or confronting; to look (a person) out of countenance; to face or stare down; hence, to put out of countenance, put to shame or to silence, generally; esp. by boldness, assurance, impudence, or arrogance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²¹⁰ I.e., if the instruments of their tyrannical oppression were laid aside.

²¹¹ Scarecrow: *Fig.* Something (not really formidable) that frightens or is intended to frighten; a 'bogy'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

it.²¹² *And therefore I persuade myself that they theirselves are thoroughly so persuaded,*²¹³ ka my nuncka Bridges, that you condemn such kennel-rakers²¹⁴ and scullions²¹⁵ as, to their shame, in the time of your silence have sold themselves for pence apiece, to be derided of come who so will to see a company of disguised asses.

Concerning Mar-Martin, if he be a Londoner or a university man, ten to one but you shall see him, one of these odd days, carried out of the town²¹⁶ for his honesty of life.²¹⁷ Why, that rime²¹⁸ of his showeth that he had no other bringing up than in a brothel-house.²¹⁹ And herein I would crave pardon of the universities, and the famous city of London, if I should be thought to give out that such a ribalder²²⁰ as this is were there maintained. To speak what I do think of the youth, I cannot be induced to think that he hath had his bringing up at any other trade than in carrying Long Meg of Westminster's handbasket,²²¹ and in attending upon some other of his aunts²²² at her appointment²²³ while she lived. After her death, it may be he hath been promoted unto the service of some laundress²²⁴ in a bishop's house where, in hope to be preferred²²⁵ by his good lords, he hath undertaken to mar rimes, in publishing bawdry²²⁶ and filthiness for the defence of these honest bishops.

The stage-players - poor silly, hunger-starved wretches - they have not so much as an honest calling to live in the commonwealth.²²⁷ And they, poor varlets,²²⁸ are so base-minded as, at the pleasure of the veriest rogue in England - for one poor penny - they will be glad, on open stage, to play the ignominious fools for an hour or two together. And therefore, poor rogues, they are not so much to be blamed if, being stage-players, that is, plain rogues (save only for their liveries)²²⁹ they, in the action of dealing against Master Martin, have gotten them many thousand eye-witnesses of their witless and pitiful conceits.²³⁰ And indeed they are marvellous fit upholders²³¹ of Lambeth Palace²³² and the crown of Canterbury. And therefore men

²¹² This remark is typical of Martin, and seems to put it beyond question that Job Throckmorton, who hid in his outhouse when the pursuivants came to arrest him, was not Martin Marprelate. (Carlson, p.115; HIMT pp.214-5)

²¹³ Presumably a parody of Bridges' style in the *Defence*.

²¹⁴ Kennel-raker: A raker of the gutter; a scavenger; also used as a term of abuse. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²¹⁵ Scullion: A domestic servant of the lowest rank in a household, who performed the menial offices of the kitchens; hence, a person of the lowest order, especially as an abusive epithet. (OED, p.1915)

²¹⁶ Perhaps on a hurdle?

²¹⁷ Quare why Mar-Martin would suffer this fate only if he were a Londoner or a university man.

²¹⁸ Rime: A riming poem or piece of riming verse. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) I.e., the poem *Mar-Martine*.

²¹⁹ In the *Just Censure*, Martin Senior makes a similar allegation, calling Mar-Martin a 'brothel-beast'.

²²⁰ Ribalder: = a ribald. One who uses offensive, scurrilous, or impious language; one who jests or jeers in an irreverent or blasphemous manner. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²²¹ According to Pierce, Long Meg of Westminster was a procuress, known for her sharp tongue, who lived during the reign of Henry VIII. A play named after her was acted by Henslowe's company in 1594. (MT, p.329) Martin's remark suggests that the play was known five years earlier, in 1589.

²²² Aunt: A bawd or procuress, a prostitute. (OED, p.132) The first usage of 'aunt' in this sense recorded in the OED is from 1607, but it seems likely that this is the sense which Martin intends.

²²³ Appointment: The action of ordaining or directing what is to be done; direction, decree, ordinance, dictation. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²²⁴ Pierce suggests that 'laundress' is a term for a procuress such as Long Meg of Westminster. (MT, p.329)

²²⁵ Prefer: To promote to a position or office. (OED, p.1653)

²²⁶ Bawdry: Obscenity, unchaste language. *Winter's Tale* IV, iv 194: 'The prettiest love-songs for maids, so without bawdry'; *Hamlet* II ii 522: 'He's for a jig or a tale of bawdry'. (Schmidt, p.81)

²²⁷ Since Martin is not a Puritan, his view that stage-playing is not an 'honest calling' is interesting, as is his comment that the players are 'hunger-starved wretches'. Martin is clearly sympathetic to the players, recognizing that they have parodied him out of necessity.

²²⁸ Varlet: A person of a low, mean, or knavish disposition; a knave, rogue, rascal. (In later use, frequently without serious implication of bad qualities). (OED, p.2454)

²²⁹ Stage-players were required to wear the liveries of noblemen.

²³⁰ Conceit: A fanciful, ingenious, or witty notion or expression. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²³¹ Upholder: A supporter, sustainer, or maintainer (of a thing or person). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²³² The London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

should not think - of all other things - that they should anyways make Master Martin or his sons to alter their course. And hereof, good Master Canterbury, assure yourself.

Well, to grow to a point²³³ with you. If you have any of your side - either in the universities, or in your cathedral churches, or anywhere within the compass of all the bishopdoms you have - that dare write or dispute against any of these points set down by my father, here I do, by these my writings, cast you down the glove²³⁴ in my father's name and the names of the rest of his sons. If my father be gone, and none else of my brethren will uphold the controversy against you, I myself will do it. And take my challenge if you dare. By writing you may do it, and be sure to be answered. By disputations - if you will appoint the place, with promise that you will not deal *vi et armis*,²³⁵ - you shall be taken²³⁶ also by me, if I think I may trust you; otherwise the Puritans will, I doubt not, maintain the challenge against you.²³⁷

But here, by the way, John Canterbury, take an odd advice of your poor nephew, and that is this. First, in regard of yourself, play not the tyrant as you do in God's church. If you go on forward in this course, the end will be a woeful reckoning. Thou hast been raised up out of the dust - and even from the very dunghill²³⁸ - to be President of her Majesty's Council, being of thyself a man altogether unmeet for any such pre-eminence, as neither endued with any excellent natural wit nor yet with any great portion of learning. The Lord hath passed by many thousands in this land far meeter for the place than is poor John Whitgift. Well, then, what if thou, having received so great blessings at the Lord's hand (being of all others in no comparison anything near the fittest for it, or the likeliest to obtain it), shalt now show thyself ungrateful unto thy merciful Lord God, or become a cruel persecutor and a tyrant in his church, a cruel oppressor of his children? Shall not all that thou hast received be turned into a curse unto thee, even into thine own bosom? Yea, verily. For the Lord in one day is able to bring more shame upon thee - and that in this life - than he hath heaped blessings upon thee now for the space of thirty years and upward. But when I do consider thy pre-eminence and promotion, I do sensibly²³⁹ acknowledge it to be joined with a rare curse of God - even such a curse as very few (I will not say none) in God's church do sustain - and that is thy wicked and antichristian prelacy, the consideration of which popedom of thine maketh me think that thy other place in the civil magistracy, being in itself a godly and a lawful calling, is so become infectious that it will be thy bane,²⁴⁰ both in this life and in the life to come. And I am almost fully persuaded that that archbishopric of thine, together with thy practices therein, show verily that the Lord hath no part nor portion in that miserable and desperate caitiff, wicked John Whitgift, the Pope of Lambeth. Leave therefore both thy popedom and thy ungodly proceedings, or look for a fearful end.²⁴¹

²³³ Grow: To come by degrees *to, upon*; to arrive at, draw to (an agreement, conclusion, point, etc.) (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²³⁴ To throw down the glove: A pledge or challenge to battle. *Henry V* IV i 226: 'Here's my glove: give me another of thine.' (OED, p.860) Martin issues his challenge in the approved feudal form by throwing down his gauntlet. However, he cannot be sure that the bishops will respond in kind by meeting him in a fair fight. He therefore stipulates that he will respond in writing if they take up his challenge that way, and will meet them in open disputation as well, but only if the bishops agree not to use unlawful force against him.

²³⁵ Force: Unlawful violence offered to persons or things. *by force and arms*: translation of Law Latin *vi et armis*. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²³⁶ Take: To receive (something offered), not to refuse or reject; to receive willingly; to accept. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²³⁷ Again, Martin's choice of words suggests the distance between himself and the Puritans.

²³⁸ Dunghill: Used figuratively as the type of the basest station. (OED, p.617) Compare with Chief Justice Tresilian's rise in *Thomas of Woodstock*: 'Canst thou remember, Nimble, how by degrees I rose, since first thou knew'st me.' (Armstrong, p.178)

²³⁹ Sensibly: In a manner perceptible to the senses; so far as can be perceived. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁴⁰ Bane: That which causes ruin or woe; the curse. (OED, p.153)

²⁴¹ The supreme self-confidence with which Martin upbraids Whitgift suggests that Martin's social status was not inferior to the Archbishop's.

My second and last advice is this, in a word. Suffer no more of these haggling²⁴² and profane pamphlets to be published against Martin and in defence of thy hierarchy. Otherwise thou shalt but commend²⁴³ thy folly and ignorance unto the world to be notorious. Mar-Martin, Leonard Wright,²⁴⁴ Frégeville,²⁴⁵ Dick Bancroft,²⁴⁶ Tom Blan. o' Bedford,²⁴⁷ Kemp,²⁴⁸ Underhill,²⁴⁹ serve thee for no other use but to work thy ruin and to bewray their own shame and miserable ignorance. Thus far of these matters.

And methinks you see, nuncle Canterbury, that - though I be but young - yet I begin pretty well to follow my father's steps for, I promise you, I am deceived unless I have a pretty smattering²⁵⁰ gift in this pistle-making, and I fear in a while I shall take a pride in it. I pray you, if you can, now I have showed you my mind, that you would be a means that my vather or my brethren be not offended with me for my presuming this of my own head. I did all of a good meaning, to save my father's papers; and it would have pitied your heart to see how the poor papers were rain and weather-beaten, even truly in such a sort as they could scant be read to be printed. There was never a dry thread in them. These sea journeys are pitiful, I perceive.²⁵¹ One thing methinks my father should like in me, and that is my modesty, for I have not presumed to publish mine in as large a print or volume as my father doth his. Nay, I think it well if I can dribble²⁵² out a pistle in octavo now and then.²⁵³ Farewell, good nuncle, and pay this bearer for the carriage.²⁵⁴ July 22, 1589.²⁵⁵ With as great speed as I might.

²⁴² See Martin's earlier use of 'haggler'.

²⁴³ Commend: To present as worthy of favourable acceptance, regard, consideration, attention, or notice; to direct attention to, as worthy of notice or regard; to recommend. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁴⁴ Leonard Wright was the author of three anti-Martinist tracts (which Milward calls 'tedious'): *A Summons for Sleepers. Wherein most grievous and notorious offenders are cited to bring forth true frutes of repentance, before the day of repentance, before the day of the Lord now at hand. Hereunto is annexed, A Patterne for Pastors, deciphering briefly the duties pertaining to that function, by Leonard Wright* (1589); *The Hunting of the Antichrist. With a caveat to the contentious. By Leonard Wright* (1589); *A Friendly Admonition to Martine Marprelate, and his Mates. By Leonard Wright* (1590). (Milward, RCEA, p.93) The last of these was entered on the Stationers' Register on January 19, 1590, which suggests that it appeared after the publication of Martin's *Protestation*.

²⁴⁵ John Frégeville was the author of *The Reformed Politicke*, dedicated to Henri III of France and published in England in 1589. Frégeville did not write against Martin, but *The Reformed Politicke* would be susceptible to the charge of being published 'in defence of [Whitgift's] hierarchy' since Frégeville was of the view that, if Reformation should come to the Church in France, 'the state of the Clergie ought to be preserved: for equalitie would be hurtful to the state and in time breed confusion' and that 'France is bound to Queen Elizabeth for shewing the way how to come to Reformation without endomaging the clergie'. As Pierce suggests, Frégeville's book could not have been long in print when Martin obtained a copy, since it contains an appendix on the assassination of the Duke of Guise, which took place on December 23, 1588. (MT, p.332)

²⁴⁶ Martin refers to the publication of Bancroft's sermon of February 9, 1589 at Paul's Cross.

²⁴⁷ According to Pierce and Carlson, the reference is to Tobias Bland, chaplain to Lord St. John of Bletsoe, who had been criticized by a writer calling himself 'Momus' and had responded in June or July, 1589 with a tract entitled *A Bait For Momus so called Upon occasion of a sermon at Bedford injuriously traduced by the factions*. (MT, p.333; Carlson, p.63) Martin's 'Tom Blan o' Bedford' seems to be a play on Tom o' Bedlam: 'a madman, a deranged person discharged from Bedlam and licensed to beg'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁴⁸ Pierce conjectures that this is a reference to Will Kempe, the comedian. (MT, p.333) However, it is not known that Will Kempe published anything at the time, and it is to the publication of 'haggling and profane pamphlets' that Martin specifically refers.

²⁴⁹ Dr. John Underhill (d.1592), rector of Lincoln, College, Oxford from 1577-1589, was consecrated Bishop of Oxford on December 14, 1589. According to Pierce, he was 'an extensive pluralist'. (Kinney, p.21; MT, p.333) If Underhill published pamphlets against Martin or in defence of the bishops, they do not appear to have survived.

²⁵⁰ Smattering: Slight, superficial, imperfect. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁵¹ The suggestion that the manuscript of the *Theses* was weather-beaten, and the mention of sea journeys, relate back to the claim that Martin might have been on Drake's expedition to the Groyne in Portugal.

²⁵² Dribble: *Fig.* To let (anything) flow or fall in drops or a trickling stream; to give forth or emit in driblets. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁵³ This passage provides evidence of Martin's knowledge of details connected with the actual management of the secret press. He was clearly aware that Waldegrave had taken with him the elegant 'Dutch letter' type used in

Your worship's nephew,
Martin Junior.

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printing the first four Marprelate tracts, and that the secret press was now using a Roman font which Waldegrave had used in March for the printing of Penry's *Supplication*; he was also aware that the *Theses* would be issued in octavo, whereas the previous tracts (with the exception of the *Minerals*, which was a broadside) were issued in quarto. (MT, pp.3, 334, 337) According to Carlson, the type used in printing the *Theses* and the *Just Censure* 'was probably cast by the house of Les Haultin in La Rochelle'. Waldegrave printed three books in La Rochelle (likely at the shop of Les Haultin) in the spring and summer of 1589 using a very similar type - Penry's *Appellation*, and two anonymous tracts, *A Dialogue Wherein Is Plainly Laid Open The Tyrannical Dealing Of Lord Bishops and Master Some Laid Open In his Colours*. Copies of all three books were delivered to Job Throckmorton's manor of Haseley by Waldegrave in September, 1589. (pp.88-9, 110-1, 159)

²⁵⁴ Carriage: Carrying or bearing from one place to another; conveyance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁵⁵ This date would necessarily have been inserted by the printers, rather than Martin.

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