

Oh read over Doctor John Bridges, for it is worthy work.

Or an epitome of the first book of that right worshipful volume
written against the Puritans in the defence of the noble clergy by as worshipful a priest,
John Bridges, presbyter, priest or elder, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Sarum,
wherein the arguments of the Puritans are wisely prevented
[in] that, when they come to answer Master Doctor,
they must needs say something that hath been spoken.

Compiled for the behoof and overthrow
of the unpreaching parsons, ficars, and currats
(that have learnt their catechisms and are past grace)
by the reverend and worthy Martin Marprelate, gentleman,
and dedicated by a second epistle to the terrible priests.¹

In this epitome, the foresaid ficars, etc. are very insufficiently furnished with notable inability of
most vincible reasons to answer the cavil² of the Puritans.

And lest Master Doctor should think
that no man can write without sense but his self,
the senseless titles³ of the several pages
and the handling of the matter throughout the epitome
show plainly that beetle-headed⁴ ignorance must not live and die with him alone.

Printed on the other hand of some of the priests.

Martin Marprelate, gentleman,
primate⁵ and metropolitan of all the Martins in England,
to all the clergy masters wheresoever, saith as followeth.

¹ The first three paragraphs of the *Epitome* are virtually identical to the first three paragraphs of the *Epistle*, apart from the words 'dedicated by a second epistle to the terrible priests'. In the *Epistle*, the final words of the third paragraph are 'dedicated to the Confocation House'.

² Cavil: A captious, quibbling, or frivolous objection. (OED, p.301)

³ Each page in the *Epitome* has a headline or, as Martin refers to it, a 'title'. These headlines offer commentary on the text similar to that found in Martin's marginal notes. In this edition, the headlines are reproduced in the final footnote at the end of the tract.

⁴ Beetle: An instrument with a heavy head and a handle of stock, used to drive wedges, ram paving stones, etc. (OED, p.174) In the *Epitome*, Martin refers to Dean Bridges three times as 'beetle-headed'.

⁵ Primate: An archbishop, or sometimes a bishop, holding the first place among the bishops of a province. (OED, p.1669)

Why, my clergy masters, is it even so with your terribleness? May not a poor gentleman signify his goodwill unto you by a letter, but presently you must put yourselves to the pains and charges of calling four bishops together - John Canterbury, John London, Thomas Winchester, William of Lincoln⁶ - and posting⁷ over city and country for poor Martin? Why, his meaning in writing unto you was not that you should take the pains to seek for him. Did you think that he did not know where he was himself? Or did you think him to have been clean lost, that you sought so diligently for him? I thank you, brethren. I can be well, though you do not send to know how I do. My mind towards you, you shall from time to time understand by my pistles - as now, where you must know that I think not well of your dealing with my worship and those that have had of my books in their custody. I'll make you rue that dealing of yours, unless you leave it. I may do it, for you have broken the conditions of peace⁸ between us. I can do it, for you see how I am favoured of all estates⁹ (the Puritans only excepted).¹⁰ I have been entertained at the court.¹¹ Every man talks of my worship. Many would gladly receive my books if they could tell where to find them. I hope these courtiers will one day see the cause tried between me and you. I have many sons¹² abroad that will solicit my suit. My desire is to have the matter tried whether your places ought to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth. I say they ought not. And I say John Canterbury and all ought to be out of his place. Every archbishop is a petty pope; so is every lord bishop. You are all, the pack¹³ of you, either hirelings or wolves.¹⁴ If you dare answer my reasons, let me see it done. Otherwise, I trow, my friends and sons will see you one day deposed.

The Puritans are angry with me (I mean the Puritan preachers).¹⁵ And why? Because I am too open. Because I jest. I jested because I dealt against a worshipful jester,¹⁶ Doctor Bridges, whose writings and sermons tend to no other end than to make men laugh. I did think that Martin should not have been blamed of the Puritans for telling the truth openly. For may I not say that John of Canterbury is a petty pope, seeing he is so? You must then bear with my ingramness.¹⁷ I am plain. I must needs call a spade a spade, a pope a pope. I speak not against him as he is a Councillor,¹⁸ but as he is an archbishop, and so Pope of Lambeth. What? Will the Puritans seek to keep out the Pope of Rome, and maintain the Pope at Lambeth? Because you will do this, I will

⁶ I.e., John Whitgift (1530?-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury; John Aylmer (1521-1594), Bishop of London from 1577-1594 (DNB, v.1, pp.753-55); Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester from 1584-1594 (DNB, v.4, pp.1074-1076); and William Wickham (1539-1595), Bishop of Lincoln from 1584-1595 (DNB, v.21, pp.1146-7).

⁷ Post: To travel with speed or haste. (OED, p.1636)

⁸ Martin's conditions of peace are found in the *Epistle*.

⁹ Estate: A class or order in a community or nation. (OED, p.683)

¹⁰ It is evident throughout the Marprelate tracts that the Puritans disapprove of Martin and his methods.

¹¹ Robert, Earl of Essex (1567-1601) is known to have had one of the Marprelate tracts in his possession. According to Pierce, when Elizabeth spoke severely against Marprelate, whose writings had just been officially prohibited by a royal proclamation of February 13, 1589, Essex pulled a copy from beneath his cloak saying, 'What then is to become of me?' (HIMT, p.159; MT, p.357)

¹² This is the first of several references by Martin to his 'sons', the two most prominent being 'Martin Senior' and 'Martin Junior'.

¹³ A play on the words 'pack' and 'pact'?

¹⁴ John 10:12-14: *But an hireling, and he which is not the shepherd, nether the shepe are his owne, seeth the wolfe coming, & he leaveth the shepe, and fleeth, and the wolfe catcheth them, and scattereth the shepe. So the hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the shepe. I am the good shepherd, and knowe mine, and am knowen of mine.* (GB, p.48)

¹⁵ This reference, and those in the preceding paragraphs, to the meeting of four bishops and the reception of the *Epistle* at Court, indicate that the *Epitome* was not finished until after the printing and distribution of the *Epistle*.

¹⁶ An echo of Martin's references in the *Epistle* to Dean Bridges as a 'patch'.

¹⁷ Ingramness: Ignorance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁸ Although he makes a distinction here between Whitgift's roles as an archbishop and as a member of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council, Martin later makes the general argument that church officials should not be 'civil magistrates'.

tell the bishops how they shall deal with you. Let them say that the hottest¹⁹ of you hath made Martin, and that the rest of you were consenting thereunto, and so go to our magistrates²⁰ and say, *Lo, such and such of our Puritans have, under the name of Martin, written against your laws* - and so call you in and put you to your oaths whether you made Martin, or no. By this mean, Master Wigginton²¹ - or such as will refuse to take an oath against the law of the land - will presently be found to have made Martin by the bishops, because he cannot be gotten to swear that he made him not. And here is a device to find a hole²² in the coat of some of you Puritans. In like sort,²³ to find the printer, put every man to his oath - and find means that Schilders²⁴ of Middelburg shall be sworn, too - so that, if any refuse to swear, then he may be thought to be the printer. But bishops, let your fatherhoods tell me one thing. May you put men to their oath against law? Is there any law to force men to accuse themselves? No. Therefore, look what this dealing will procure at the length: even a plain *praemunire* upon your backs for urging an oath contrary to statute, which is a piece of the foreign power banished by statute.²⁵

For the rest - that will needs have my books, and cannot keep them close²⁶ - I care not how the bishops deal with such open²⁷ fellows. And, bishops, I would I could make this year 1588 to be the wonderful year²⁸ by removing you all out of England. Martin hath told the truth - you cannot deny it - that some of you do injuriously detain true men's goods (as John of London). And some have accounted²⁹ the preaching of the Word to be heresy (as John of Canterbury, etc.). All of you are in an unlawful calling, and no better than a brood³⁰ of petty popes. It will be but folly for you to persecute courtier Martin until you have cleared yourselves (which you can never do) of the crimes he hath laid to your charge. Alas, poor bishops, you would fain be hidden in a net,³¹ I perceive. I will grow to a point³² with you. Dare but a free disputation with the Puritans for the unlawfulness of your place and, if you be not overthrown, I will come in and do unto you what you think good, for then I will say that you are no popes.³³ There was the *Demonstration Of Discipline*³⁴ published

¹⁹ Hot: Fervent. (OED, p.989)

²⁰ Magistrate: A civil officer charged with the administration of the laws, a member of the executive government. (OED, p.1257)

²¹ In 1584 and 1586, Giles Wigginton (fl.1564-1597) was imprisoned for his refusal to take the oath *ex officio mero*. See Martin's *Epistle*.

²² Hole: A fault, flaw, ground for blame. 'If I find a hole in his coat, I will tell him my mind.' *H5 III vi 89* (OED, p.974)

²³ Sort: Manner, method, way. (OED, p.2053)

²⁴ Richard Schilders, alias Painter, came from Hainault to England in 1567. According to Pierce, he printed many of the works of English Puritans. By 1584, he was established in Middelburg in Holland. (MT, p.119) Martin appears to be attempting to throw the pursuivants off the tracks by raising the possibility that the tracts were being printed by Schilders in Middelburg.

²⁵ Martin alludes to the fact that prosecution of offences under a writ of *praemunire* originated in statutes 'framed to encounter the papal usurpations in England, the original meaning of the offense called *praemunire* being the introduction of a foreign power into the kingdom and creating imperium in imperio by paying that obedience to papal process which constitutionally belonged to the king alone'. (BLD, p.1337) See also references to *praemunire* in the *Epistle*.

²⁶ Close: Shut up from observation; concealed, occult, hidden secret; secluded. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁷ A pun on 'close'?

²⁸ Pierce points out that the Armada year was regarded as the *annus mirabilis*, as evidenced by the opening lines of Strype's *Annals* for 1588: 'the wonderful year as it was commonly and deservedly called, with respect to this nation especially'. (MT, p.120)

²⁹ Account: To estimate, value, hold (a thing to be so and so). (OED, P.13)

³⁰ Brood: A race, a kind. (OED, p.242)

³¹ To dance (or march) in a net: To act with practically no disguise or concealment, while expecting to escape notice. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³² Compare with *Midsummer Night's Dream* I ii 10: 'Say what the play treats on, then read the names of the actors, and so grow to a point'.

³³ I.e., Martin will admit his errors if the bishops win the disputation with the Puritans.

³⁴ Robert Waldegrave printed John Udall's *A demonstration of the trueth of that Discipline* in July, 1588. It is interesting that Martin says that the *Demonstration* was printed 'together with' Martin's *Epistle*,

together with mine epistles,³⁵ which is a book wherein you are challenged by the Puritans to adventure your bishoprics against their lives in disputation.³⁶ You have gotten a good excuse to be deaf³⁷ at that challenge under colour³⁸ of seeking for Martin. Your dealing therein is but to hold my dish while I spill my pottage.³⁹ You defend your legs against Martin's strokes while the Puritans, by their *Demonstration*, crush the very brain of your bishopdoms.⁴⁰ Answer that book, and give the Puritans the overthrow by disputation, or else I see that Martin hath undone⁴¹ you. Be packing,⁴² bishops, and keep in the pursuivants,⁴³ or, if you will needs send them abroad to molest good men, then pay them their wages, and let them not pull it out of poor men's throats like greedy dogs⁴⁴ as they do.⁴⁵ You strive in vain; you are laid open already. Friars and monks were not so bad. They lived in the dark; you shut your eyes, lest you should see the light. Archbishop Titus and Timothy will never maintain your popish callings.⁴⁶ I have pulled off your vizards.⁴⁷ Look to yourselves, for my sons will not see their father thus persecuted at your hands. I will work your woe and overthrow, I hope. And you are already clean spoiled⁴⁸ unless you will grant the Puritans a free disputation and leave your persecuting.

*Either from country or court
Master Martin Marprelate will do you hurt.
Any doggerel⁴⁹
Is good enough for bishops, I can tell
And I do much marvel*

since it is generally accepted that the latter was not printed until October. Martin's remark also indicates his awareness that the secret press was printing tracts other than his own.

³⁵ Quare why Martin refers to 'epistles' in the plural.

³⁶ Pierce quotes Udall's words in the *Demonstration*: 'Venture your byshoppricks upon a disputation, and wee will venture our lives, take the challenge if you dare'. (MT, p.120)

³⁷ The only opportunity for disputation afforded by Whitgift to the Puritan controversialists was the Lambeth Conference of 1584. (MT, p.19)

³⁸ Under colour of: Under pretext or pretence of, under the mask or alleged authority of. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁹ Pottage: A dish composed of vegetables, alone or with meat, boiled to softness in water, and seasoned; often used figuratively with reference to Esau's 'mess of pottage'. (OED, p.1641) In a subsequent tract, the *Just Censure*, Martin refers to Whitgift as 'Esau'. See also Romans 9:13: *As it is written, I have loved Jacob, & have hated Esau.* (GB, p.74)

⁴⁰ Martin's point appears to be that the real issue for the bishops is to answer the arguments which have already been raised by the Puritans. Martin does not seem to consider that he himself has raised any new theological arguments.

⁴¹ Undo: To ruin, cause the downfall of. (OED, p.2413)

⁴² Pack: To take oneself off with one's belongings, be off. (OED, p.1491)

⁴³ Pursuivant: A royal or state messenger with power to execute warrants. (OED, p. 1714)

⁴⁴ *Isaiah 56:11: And these gredie doggs can never have ynough; and these shepherds can not understand; for they all loke to their owne way, everie one for his advantage, & for his owne purpose.* (GB, p.303)

⁴⁵ Pierce notes that 'the practice of making persons arrested, guilty or innocent, as might afterwards be proved, pay the cost of their arrest was a source of great injustice and corruption', and quotes from Dudley Fenner's complaint with respect to this practice in his *Defence of the godlie Ministers*: '[Y]et upon everie irreligious mans complaint in such things as many times are incredible, to be by pursuivants sent for to pay two pence for everie myle to find messengers, to defraye their owne charges, to such as can hardlie with what they have, clothe and feede themselves and their families, it is not only grivous, but as farre as a worldly trouble may be, a verie hart-burning. It is grievous to a freeman borne, and to a free Minister to be brought into a slavish subjection to a Commissaire, as at his pleasure upon every trifling complainte to be summoned; and coming there at the least with unnecessarie expenses, masterlike answeres, yea, and sometimes with open revylinges to be sent home agin'. (MT, p.121; HIMT, pp.81-2)

⁴⁶ Martin here anticipates the argument he will make later in the *Epitome* that Titus was not an archbishop.

⁴⁷ Vizard: A mask or disguise. (OED, p.2483)

⁴⁸ Spoil: To affect injuriously or detrimentally, especially to an irretrievable extent. (OED, p.2083)

⁴⁹ The word 'doggerel' echoes Martin's use in the tracts of epithets such as 'greedy dogs', 'dumb dogs', 'currat', etc.

*If I have not given them such a spell⁵⁰
As answer it how they cannot tell.
Doctor Bridges up and down
Writeth after this fashion.⁵¹*

⁵⁰ Spell: A discourse or sermon; a narrative or tale. (OED, p.2070)

⁵¹ In the text, this is 'fashown'. Martin has an excellent ear for rhythm and balance in prose, and he deplores the lack of these qualities in Bridges' work.

The epitome of the first book of this worthy volume written by my brother Sarum, Dean John. *Sic feliciter incipit.*⁵²

The whole volume of Master Dean's containeth in it 16 books, besides a large preface and an epistle to the reader. The epistle and the preface are not above 8 sheets of paper, and very little under 7. You may see, when men have a gift in writing, how easy it is for them to daub⁵³ paper. The complete work - very briefly comprehended in a portable book (if your horse be not too weak)⁵⁴ of an hundred and threescore and twelve sheets of good demy⁵⁵ paper - is a confutation of the *Learned Discourse Of Ecclesiastical Government*.⁵⁶ This *Learned Discourse* is a book allowed⁵⁷ by all the Puritan preachers in the land who would have all the remnants and relics⁵⁸ of Antichrist banished out of the church, and not so much as a lord bishop (no, not his Grace⁵⁹ himself), dumb minister (no, not dumb John of London his self),⁶⁰ non-resident, archdeacon, abbey-lubber,⁶¹ or any such loiterer tolerated in our ministry. Insomuch as - if this stronghold of theirs be overthrown - ho! then, all the fat is run to the fire⁶² with the Puritans. And therefore hath not the learned and prudent Master Dean dealt very valiantly (how wisely, let John Cant. cast his cards⁶³ and consider) in assaulting this fort of our precise⁶⁴ brethren, which he hath so shaken with good vincible⁶⁵ reasons very notably out of reason, that it hath not one stean in the foundation mear then it had.⁶⁶

Trust me, truly, he hath given the cause⁶⁷ sicken a wipe in his brick,⁶⁸ and so lambskinned⁶⁹ the same, that the cause will be the warmer a good while for it. The reasons that moved him to take this pains was that, at the first coming out of the *Learned Discourse*, the Dean in a sermon of his at Paul's Cross,⁷⁰ did not only confute a great part of this book, but by his said learned sermon⁷¹ made many of the Puritans relent⁷² and distrust their own cause. What cannot a smooth tongue and a scholarlike wit bring to pass? Some other of the Puritans, indeed, being more untoward⁷³ to learn

**Ah, brother Dean,
that you are such
a doer!**

⁵² Sic foeliciter incipit : Thus prosperously he begins. (MT, p.122)

⁵³ Daub: To soil. (OED, p.4910)

⁵⁴ The *Defence* totals 1401 pages.

⁵⁵ Demy printing paper measures 17 1/2 x 22 1/2 inches; demy writing paper 15 1/2 x 20. (OED, p.517)

⁵⁶ *A Briefe and plaine declaration, concerning the desires of all those faithfull Ministers, that have and do seeke for the Discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande: Which may serve for a just Apologie, against the false accusations and slaunders of their adversaries.* (1584) Commonly referred to as the *Learned Discourse*, it is usually attributed to William Fulke (1538-1589). It was ready for the press in 1573, but was not published until 1584. (RCEA, p.79)

⁵⁷ Allow: To praise, commend, approve of, sanction. (OED, p.50)

⁵⁸ Relic: A surviving trace of some practice, fact, idea, quality, etc. (OED, p.1788)

⁵⁹ I.e., Whitgift.

⁶⁰ I.e., Aylmer.

⁶¹ A lazy monk; a reproachful name in regular use after the Reformation. (OED, CD ROM ed.)

⁶² All the fat is in the fire: The design has irremediably failed. (OED, p.730)

⁶³ Quare whether the phrase 'cast his cards' is related to the casting of a horoscope, etc.

⁶⁴ Precise: Strict or scrupulous in religious observance; in 16th and 17th c., puritanical. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶⁵ Vincible: Of material or immaterial things, obstacles, arguments, etc.: That may be overcome; conquerable, surmountable. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶⁶ Dialect for 'not one stone in the foundation more than it had'.

⁶⁷ I.e., the cause of reformation in the Church of England.

⁶⁸ Dialect for 'such a blow on his breeches'.

⁶⁹ Lambskin: To beat, to thrash. (OED, p.1170)

⁷⁰ Pierce points out that the publication of the *Learned Discourse* in 1584, and Bridges' sermon of 1585 in response, gave rise to the Marprelate controversy. In his sermon, Bridges promised to refute the *Learned Discourse* in print: the *Defence* was the result. Martin's *Epistle* and *Epitome* were written in reply. (HIMT, pp.135-140)

⁷¹ A play on the title of the *Learned Discourse*.

⁷² Relent: To yield, give way. (OED, p.1787)

⁷³ Untoward: Averse to, not ready or disposed for something; disinclined. (OED, p.2432)

than the rest, stood stiff⁷⁴ in their former opinions concerning the government of bishops (notwithstanding this sermon of Master Doctor's) and challenged him for his sermon, offered him the disputation (yea, and the nonplus, too, or else I am deceived). Here Master Dean promised them a large confutation of the *Learned Discourse* which, in this book, he hath now performed, wherein he hath behaved himself very scholarlike. His style is as smooth as a crab-tree cudgel.⁷⁵ The reader cannot choose but have as great delight therein as a jackanapes⁷⁶ hath in a whip. He hath so thumped the cause with cross⁷⁷ blows that the Puritans are like to have a good and sound cause of it as long as they live. In this one thing, I dare prefer him before any that ever wrote: to wit, that there be not 3 whole periods for every page in the book that is not graced with a very fair and visible solecism.⁷⁸ O, most excellent and surpassing eloquence! He speaketh everything so fitly to the purpose that he never toucheth the matter in question. A rare gift in a learned writer. He hath used such variety of learning that very often he hath translated out of one man's writing 6 or 7 pages together (note here a new, sound manner of book-making).⁷⁹ And (which is more strange), he bringeth those testimonies⁸⁰ for his purpose whose very words, translated and set down by him, are as flat against the purpose whereto he bringeth them as fire in quality is contrary to water. Had not he a right use of his wits, think you, while they were thus bestowed?⁸¹ Not to stand long in this place of those qualities in him whereof before I have made some mention to his praise in the former epistle, whatsoever might be for the ornament and furthering of an honest cause, he hath in this book so defied them all that elsewhere you are to seek for them, for here they are not to be found. Wherein he hath very wisely and prudently observed the decorum of the cause in hand. *Like lips, like lettuce*,⁸² as it is in the proverb. The goodness and honesty of the matter he handled required such good and honest proofs as he brought. Let those that handle honest and godly causes labour to bring good proofs and a clear style. Presbyter John defended our church government - which is full of corruptions - and therefore the style and the proofs must be of the same nature that the cause is. The priest leaves not so much as the title of the *Discourse* unexamined: the title, forsooth, is *A Learned Discourse*, etc. A saucy⁸³ title - but what saith the learned Bridges unto it? O, you know he is good at a stale⁸⁴ jest, ever since he played my Lord of Winchester's fool in his sermon at Sir Mary's church in Cambridge,⁸⁵ and therefore he jesteth at the title.⁸⁶ I us⁸⁷ the Puritans have

⁷⁴ Stiff: Inflexible of purpose, steadfast, resolute, firm, constant. (OED, p.2127)

⁷⁵ Crab: Name of the wild apple, especially connoting its sour, harsh quality. (OED, p.446) Martin's poem, above, parodies Bridges' style.

⁷⁶ Jackanapes: Name for a tame ape or monkey. (OED, p.1124)

⁷⁷ Martin probably intends a pun on two meanings of 'cross': 'transverse' and 'adverse, thwarting; contrary to one's desire or liking'. (OED, p.460)

⁷⁸ Solecism: An impropriety or irregularity in speech or diction; a violation of the rules of grammar or syntax. (OED, p.2044) In the *Epistle*, Martin used a similar phrase ('foul salecism').

⁷⁹ Book-making: The compilation of books. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁸⁰ Testimony: Personal or documentary evidence or attestation in support of a fact or statement; hence, any form of evidence or proof. (OED, p.2270)

⁸¹ Bestow: To apply, to employ (in an occupation); to devote for a purpose. (OED, p.185)

⁸² Nares identifies this as 'an obsolete proverb from the Latin, *Similes habent labra lactucas*, noticed and explained in Erasmus' *Adagio*, p.664. It means bad things suit each other, coarse meat suits coarse mouths, as an ass eat thistles for his salad.' (MT, p.124)

⁸³ Saucy: Presumptuous. (OED, p.1890) As Pierce notes, Fulke's title was *A Brief and Plain Declaration*; the title *A Learned Discourse* was added as a running headline by the printer. (HIMT, p.136)

⁸⁴ Stale: That has lost its freshness, novelty, or interest; hackneyed. (OED, p.2102)

⁸⁵ See Martin's *Epistle* for a note on this sermon.

⁸⁶ Bridges begins the first book of the *Defence* with this 'jest'; see *Defence*, p. 53-4: *A learned discourse of ecclesiasticall government, proved by the worde of God. This is the Title commendatorie of this booke, besides the other title which they set before it: A brief or plaine declaration concerning the desires of al those faithfull ministers, &c. But because this latter title like them better: our brethren take the former part of this title, & prefixe over everie leafe of all their treatise this commendation, A learned discourse of eccl. government. I referre the judgement of the learning to the learned. Me thinketh our brethren should have done better to let the discourse commende it selfe, whether it be learned or unlearned: vino vendibili non opus haedera. But what soever the reader can judge of learning: let him stil have his ayme to this point, that is here avouched, but not likewise set up over every leafe, proved by the word of*

nothing to do with that sermon; why should they hit their brother in the teeth therewith? He hath made their betters to laugh at him for his sermon since that time. And why should he not? For his Grace will allow him, because he is content that bishops should be lords.⁸⁸ He hath subscribed, weareth a corner cap and a tippet, and would gladly come to the honour to wear that which might make him a Lord Spiritual⁸⁹ - and if it were a shaven crown⁹⁰ or a coxcomb⁹¹ which his Grace's *Articles*⁹² would enjoin⁹³ him to wear, what hurt could that do unto him?

*Now I wonder what our brethren will say to this, that their book is scoffed at, at the first dash.⁹⁴ I am sure their noses can abide⁹⁵ no jest.⁹⁶ What say they, man? Do you make any question of that? I warrant you, they will affirm that the author of the *Learned Discourse* - and 500 green heads⁹⁷ more that are on their side - within 2 syllogisms would set the Dean of Sarum at a flat nonplus and answer his whole work in a threepenny book. *Are they so good at disputing and writing, indeed? I hope his Canterburiness will look to this gear and suffer them to have liberty neither to write nor to dispute. The black ox hath trodden on his foot,⁹⁸ he hath had some trial by woeful experience what small credit and less gain there is to be had either in writing or disputing with these fellows.⁹⁹**

To the matter. The state of the whole controversy between my brethren bishops and my brethren the Puritans - and so between this worthy Doctor and these discoursers¹⁰⁰ - is whether the external government of the church of Christ be a thing so prescribed by the Lord in the New Testament as it is not lawful for any man to alter the same, any more than it was lawful to alter that form of regiment prescribed in the law in the Old Testament.¹⁰¹ And so whether, if there be any

God. For, be it learned or unlearned, prove that: & we yeelde. And if our brethren prove it not by the word of God: then we crave of them, that they will cease these contentious discourses, and not stande so much upon their learning. But both their learned discoursing of Eccl. government, and their proving the same by the word of God shall appeare (God willing) to the Reader, by the discoursing.

⁸⁷ Quare whether 'I us' is a printer's error for 'iwis'. Pierce renders this as 'Aye, we the Puritans'. (MT, p.125) However, it is clear from Martin's comments throughout the tracts that he does not include himself among the Puritans.

⁸⁸ One of the principal causes of Martin's discontent with the bishops.

⁸⁹ Lords Spiritual: The bishops who are lords of parliament, and, formerly, the mitred abbots. (OED, p.1239)

⁹⁰ Crown: The tonsure of a cleric. (OED, p.463)

⁹¹ Coxcomb: A cap worn by a jester, like a cock's comb in shape and colour. (OED, p.446)

⁹² I.e., Whitgift's *Articles* of 1584, to which ministers were required to declare their assent.

⁹³ Enjoin: To impose a penalty, duty, etc., said especially of a spiritual director; hence, to prescribe authoritatively and with emphasis. (OED, p.660)

⁹⁴ Dash: A violent blow, stroke, impact, or collision. (OED, p.490)

⁹⁵ Abide: To put up with. (OED, p.4)

⁹⁶ As in the *Epistle*, Martin here has an imaginary bystander interject himself into the discussion.

⁹⁷ Green head: A young, immature, or untrained intellect. (OED, p.888)

⁹⁸ Black ox has trod on his foot: Misfortune, adversity; used proverbially. (OED, p.1488) Pierce quotes from Lyly's *Euphues and his England*: *When the black crows foote shall appeare in their eie, or the black ox tread on their foote, who will like them in their age who liked them in their youth?*

⁹⁹ I.e., the Whitgift-Cartwright controversy of 1572-1577. See also Martin's *Epistle*.

¹⁰⁰ I.e., the Puritans. Martin mimics Bridges' use of the epithet 'discoursers'. See *Defence: Even so, this booke which our bretheren commende unto us to be, A learned discourse of Ecclesiasticall government, proved by the worde of God: wee shall finde in the discourse thereof, that the learned discoursers learned not all the orders prescribed there-in, out of Gods holie worde; but somewhat else-where.* (p.56) *But whereas they make these three foresaid propositions, to be the foundation of all their building of this house of God: (the reverence reserved to so learned discoursers) me thinketh they should have laide a more sure foundation, whether it be of this house of Gods church, or of their platforme of building this their ecclesiasticall governement.* (p.57) *And if these our brethren, the learned discoursers, did alwayes search the holie scriptures, with this diligence and reverence (as both they and we, and all ought to doo) they should finde, that in their urging of this their ecclesiasticall government, as appertaining to salvation, they offer to great an injurie, both to all us their brethren, & to the most ages, and peoples (if not to all Gods church) besides themselves.* (p.59)

¹⁰¹ Bridges sets out his view of the Puritan position at the beginning of Book I. See *Defence*, p.54: *The Church of God is the house of God, & therefore ought to be directed in al things, according to the order*

government in the church (as necessarily there must be, or else all confusion will ensue), the same must be by those offices and officers alone - and by no other - which the Lord hath set down and limited¹⁰² in his Word. Or else whether man may alter these offices and officers at his will and pleasure, and make new offices and officers, as he may in the civil governments. The Puritans say that these offices and officers which our Saviour Christ and his apostles did ordain are unchangeable, and that it is not lawful for any prince¹⁰³ to alter them - no, not though the circumstances of times, places, and persons should seem, in regard of convenience, to enforce¹⁰⁴ him thereunto. The Doctor - with all the lordly priests in the land - hold the contrary, and swear it to be lawful for the magistrate to ordain what government he will in the church - yea, that the church governors, contrary to the flat commandment of our Saviour Christ (Luke 22:25-6),¹⁰⁵ may be lords. And that the church government prescribed by our Saviour Christ, and enjoined by the apostles, was not immutable as the regiment under the law¹⁰⁶ was. Inasmuch as, in the opinion of Master Bridges and the rest of the clergy, Paul was deceived (Ephesians the 4:13) in saying that pastors and doctors were to continue in the church until we all meet together - that is, unto the end of the world. Here, then, is the Puritans' Aye for the permanency of this government, and Master Doctor's No.¹⁰⁷

Deut. 22:21
I Kings 8:29
II Chron. 6:5
Numb. 3:3
Levit. 8:9
I Kings 28:32,
Levit. 9:24,
Numb. 3:12, 35.

Our brethren (for so of his mere¹⁰⁸ courtesy it pleaseth Master Dean to call them whom men commonly call Puritans and Precisians),¹⁰⁹ to make their party¹¹⁰ good, propound the cause by a like¹¹¹ example after this sort.

The sacrifices of the old law, after the building of the Temple, were to be offered only at Jerusalem¹¹² by a Levite¹¹³ of the line of Aaron only,¹¹⁴ unless a prophet extraordinarily

prescribed by the housholder himselfe: which order is not to be learned else-where, but in his holie word. The first of these principles or propositions, is the very worde of the holy Ghost uttered by Paul: The second followeth necessarily of the first. The third is a manifest trueth, beleaved of all them, that acknowledge the scripture of God, to be a perfect rule of all our life, and able to make the man of God perfect, prepared to all good workes. On these three principles, our brethren lay their ground of al their learned discourse.

¹⁰² Limit: To appoint a person to an office. (OED, p.1215)

¹⁰³ Prince: A sovereign ruler; a monarch, king. (OED, p.1671)

¹⁰⁴ Enforce: To compel, constrain. (OED, p.657)

¹⁰⁵ 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)

¹⁰⁶ I.e., the law of the Old Testament.

¹⁰⁷ In the preceding eight sentences of this paragraph, Martin defines and summarizes the issue which he will address in the balance of the *Epitome*. As Pierce points out, 'the main dispute is ecclesiastical and not theological. (MT, p.126)

¹⁰⁸ Mere: Absolute, entire, sheer, perfect. (OED, p.1309)

¹⁰⁹ Precisian: One who is precise in religious observances; in the 16-17th centuries, synonymous with 'Puritan'. (OED, p.1651)

¹¹⁰ Party: Side in a dispute. (OED, p.1517)

¹¹¹ Like: Similar. (OED, p.1212)

¹¹² While the errata at the end of the *Epitome* suggest that Martin proof-read the printed text, he overlooked a number of misprints in the citations given for passages in the Old Testament. These misprints make it difficult in some cases to identify with certainty the passages to which Martin intended to refer. Deuteronomy 22:21, for example, is irrelevant to the point that sacrifices were to be offered only at Jerusalem, and the verse to which Martin refers is probably Deuteronomy 12:11: *When there shalbe a place which the Lord your God shal chose, to cause his Name to dwel there, thether shal ye bring all that I commande you: your burnt offrings & your sacrifices, your tithes, and the offering of your hands, and all your special vowes which ye vow unto the Lord.* (GB, p.86) I Kings 8:29 is not relevant to the issue of where sacrifices were to be offered, and it is difficult to locate a verse in Kings specifically on that point. II Chronicles 6:5-6: *Since the day that I broght my people out of the land of Egypt, I chose no citie of all the tribes of Israel to buylde an house, that my Name might be there, nether chose I anie man to be a ruler over my people Israel. But I have chosen Jerusalem, that my Name might be there, and have chosen David to be over my people Israel.* (GB, p.193)

Levit. 30:10
Ezek. 44:8
II Sam. 6:7
Numb. 16:1, 35.

ordained¹¹⁵ it otherwise, as Elijah did.¹¹⁶ And the said sacrifices were to be consumed and burned only by a fire proceeding from the Lord.¹¹⁷ Briefly, none were to meddle with the Tabernacle or anything belonging to the service of God but the sons of Levi, whom the Lord appointed for his own service.¹¹⁸ So that if any sacrifice were offered out of Jerusalem by any other than a son of Aaron, consumed by any strange fire,¹¹⁹ or any service about the Tabernacle performed by a stranger not appointed by the Lord,¹²⁰ then an horrible breach of God's ordinance was committed - and punished very memorably by the Lord in Uzzah,¹²¹ Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and the two hundred and fifty captains of the congregation¹²² who, not being of the sons of Aaron, would needs offer incense before the Lord.¹²³

Ephes. 4:12
Acts 20:17, 28 & 14:23
I Tim. 5:17
Titus 1:5
Rom. 12:8.

In like sort, Christ Jesus ordained that, when there should be any ministers in his church, they should be able to gather together the saints,¹²⁴ and that those in their proper and limited places should be either pastors or doctors. In like sort, he ordained that some should bear rule and oversee the flock with the minister, and they should be elders;¹²⁵ that the oversight of the church treasury

¹¹³ Levite: One of that portion of the tribe of Levi who acted as assistants to the priests in the temple-worship. (OED, p.1204)

¹¹⁴ Numbers 3:3: *These are the names of the sonnes of Aaron the annoined Priests, whome Moses did consecrate to minister in the Priests office.* (GB, p.62) Leviticus 8:9: *Also he put the mitre upon his [Aaron's] head, and put upon the mitre on the fore fronte the golden plate, and the holy crown, as the Lord had commanded Moses.* (GB, p.49)

¹¹⁵ Ordain: To decree as a thing to be observed; to enact. (OED, p.1459)

¹¹⁶ There is no verse 28:32 in I Kings; Martin presumably intended I Kings 18:32: *And with the stones he [Elijah] buylt an altar in the Name of the Lord; & he made a ditche rounde about the altar, as great as wolde contene two measures of sede.* (GB, p.162)

¹¹⁷ Leviticus 9:24: *And there came a fire out from the Lord and consumed upon the Altar the burnt offering and the fat, which when all the people sawe, thei gave thankes & fel on their faces.* (GB, p.50)

¹¹⁸ Numbers 3:12: *Beholde, I have even taken the Levites from among the children of Israel for all the firstborne, that openeth the matrice among the children of Israel, & the Levites shall be mine.* (GB, p.62) Numbers 3:35 does not appear to be particularly applicable to the point at issue, and '35' is perhaps a misprint here, since Numbers 16:35 is referred to a few sentences later with respect to the fate of the 250 Captains of the Congregation.

¹¹⁹ There is no verse 30:10 in Leviticus; it appears that Martin may have intended Leviticus 10:1: *But Nadab and Abihu, the sonnes of Aaron, toke either of them his censor, and put fire therein, and put incens thereupon, and offred a strange fire before the Lord, which he had not commanded them.* (GB, p.50)

¹²⁰ Ezekial 44:8: *For ye have not kept the ordinances of mine holie things; but you your selves have set other to take the charge of my Sanctuarie.* (GB, p.355)

¹²¹ II Samuel 6:7: *And the Lorde was very wrothe with Uzzah, & God smote him in the same place for his faute, & there he dyed by the Arke of God.* (GB, p.138)

¹²² Congregation: In the Old Testament, the collective body, or an actual assembly, of the Israelites in the wilderness; also, used by Tyndale and by the 16th century Reformers instead of 'Church'. (OED, p.399)

¹²³ Although it is possible that Martin intended Numbers 16:1 (which gives the names of Korah, Dathan and Abiram) it is perhaps more likely that he intended the verse which deals with their fate, Numbers 16:31: *And as sone as he [Moses] had made an end of speaking all these wordes, even the grounde clave asunder that was under them.* Numbers 16:35: *But there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundreth and fiftie men that offred the incens.* (GB, p.70)

¹²⁴ 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)

¹²⁵ Acts 20:17: *Wherefore from Miletum he sent to Ephesus, & called the Elders of the Church.* Acts 20:28: *Take hede therefore unto your selves, and to all the flocke, whereof the holie Gost hath made you Overseers, to fede the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his owne blood.* (GB, p.65) Acts 14:23: *And when they had ordeined the Elders by election in everie Church, and praid, and fasted, they commended them to the Lord in whome they beleved.* (GB, p.62) I Timothy 5:17: *The Elders that rule wel, are worthie of double honour, specially they which labour in the worde and doctrine.* (GB, p.99) Titus 1:5: *For this cause left I thee in Creta, that thou shuldest continue to redresse the things that remaine, and shuldest ordeine Elders in everie citie, as I appointed thee.* (GB, p.101) Romans 12:8: *Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicitie; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercie, with cherefulness.* (GB, p.75)

Acts 6:6
 Rom. 12:8
 Phil. 1:1
 I Tim. 3:8.
 I Tim. 5:22 &
 3:10
 Rom. 12:3
 Titus 1:6, 7, I
 Tim. 3:8 & 5:11,
 Acts 14:23 & 6:6
 I Tim. 1:6.

and the care for the maintenance of the poor should be committed unto deacons, under which also the widows and church servants are contained.¹²⁶ He farther ordained that before these officers should be instituted and, as it were, invested into their offices, there should be had due examination of their fitness¹²⁷ to execute the same and their unreprouable life.¹²⁸ And that their ordination should be by imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer.¹²⁹ And by these 4 officers (say our brethren) - pastors, doctors, elders and deacons - God hath appointed that all matters of the church should be decided and determined. For these officers only (and none else) must have to do with the preaching of the Word, administering the sacraments, making of ministers, excommunicating, and administering of all other church censures and punishments. But as for civil government, punishment and censures,¹³⁰ they must not meddle with them, because these things only belongeth to the civil magistrate, whose office is not to be usurped by any of the former. Thus, our brethren set down the whole state of the controversy, and thus by scripture they confirm their *Aye* and overthrow Master Doctor's *No*. Parlous fellows, I assure you. For believe me, it would put a man to his trumps¹³¹ to answer these things soundly by scripture again.¹³²

Page 54.

Well, Master Dean, on the other side, very stoutly¹³³ proveth his *No* page 54 of his [book] by a connex¹³⁴ axiom¹³⁵ to begin withal in this manner:

**A very fit reason
 to prove the
 mutability of the
 church
 government.**

*If this church government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons be necessary, then the church in some age and place either had this government or hath laboured for it.*¹³⁶ A most true and tried

¹²⁶ Acts 6:6: Which they set before the Apostles; and they praied, and laid their hands on them. (GB, p.57) Romans 12:8: See above. Philippians 1:1: Paul & Timotheus the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the Saintes in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons. (GB, p.92) I Timothy 3:8: Likewise must Deacons be honest, not double tongued, not given unto much wine, nether to filthie lucre. (GB, p.98)

¹²⁷ I Timothy 5:22: Lay hands suddenly on no man, nether be partaker of other mens sinnes; kepe thy self pure. (GB, p.99) I Timothy 3:10: And let them first be proved; then let them minister, if they be founde blameles. (GB, p.98)

¹²⁸ Reprouable: Deserving of reproof or censure. (OED, p.1802) Romans 12:3: For I say through the grace that is given unto me, to everie one that is among you, that no man presume to understand above that which is mete to understand, but that he understand according to sobrietie, as God hath dealt to everie man the measure of faith. (GB, p.75) Titus 1:6-7: If anie be unreprouable, the housband of one wife, having faithful children, which are not sclandered of riote, nether are disobedient. For a bishop must be unreprouable, as Gods stewarde, not frowarde, not angrie, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthie lucre. (GB, p.101) I Timothy 3:8: See above. I Timothy 5:11 does not appear to be applicable to the topic of 'unreprouable life'; perhaps, Martin intended I Timothy 6:11: But thou, O man of God, flee these things; and followe after righteousnes, godlines, faith, love, pacience, & meeknes. (GB, p.99)

¹²⁹ Acts 14:23: See above. Acts 6:6: See above. II Timothy 1:6: Wherefore, I put thee in remembrance that thou stirre up the gifte of God which is in thee, by the putting on of mine hands. (GB, p.100)

¹³⁰ Censure: A judicial sentence; a condemnatory judgment. (OED, p.304)

¹³¹ Put a man to his trumps: To oblige a card-player to play out his trumps; figuratively, to put to the last expedient. (OED, p.2373) Martin's colloquial comment is slightly sceptical in tone, suggesting that he himself does not find the Puritan case entirely unassailable.

¹³² The preceding paragraph comprises Martin's summary of the Puritan position (which is not necessarily identical with Martin's own views, since Martin is not himself a Puritan).

¹³³ Stout: Valiant, brave; undaunted in conflict. (OED, p.2140)

¹³⁴ Connex: In logic, connexive, conditional, hypothetical. (OED, p.402) Thus, Martin draws attention to the fact that Bridges' 'proof' is in the form of a hypothetical proposition.

¹³⁵ Axiom: In logic, a proposition (true or false). (OED, p.141)

¹³⁶ Quotations from Bridges' *Defence* (as well as dialogue between Bridges and the Puritans, etc.) are rendered in italics to differentiate them from Martin's own comments. As Pierce points out, the foregoing paragraph is a paraphrase of Bridges' argument on page 54 of the *Defence*. (MT, p.128) See *Defence*, p.54: *If this government that our brethren urge be so necessarie, and of so great moment to the house or church of God: then it is likely that the Church of God, though it hath not always and in all places, yet for the most part of time and places, or at leastwise, in some ages and places, had this government maintained & kept it or strived for it: or else belike it was not thought so necessarie.*

Now good Doctor,
send me the
measure of thy
head, that I may
provide thee a
good nightcap.

truth. What then, brother Sarum, do you assume from this true government? *Nay, soft*¹³⁷ *there*, ka Mass Dean. *I know the Puritans will not drive me to make syllogisms in this book. That is no part of mine intent, for if I had thought they would drive me to such pinches*¹³⁸ *I would not have meddled with them. Nay, by their leave, if the assumption or proposition be either more than I can prove, or be against myself, I will omit them. Pardon me, I pray ye, my masters. I will set down nothing against myself. I have brought in a true proposition, and that is enough for one man, I think. Let me see what you can say to that. Mine assumption*¹³⁹ *shall be brought forth at leisure.*¹⁴⁰

Is the wind at that door with you, brother Dean? I perceive you will be of the surer side, howsoever it goeth. But brethren, what then say you to Master Dean's reason? Your answer, I know, may be of 3 sorts. First, you may say that the reason is popish. Secondly, you may demand whether it be midsummer moon¹⁴¹ with him or no, because he bringeth in a connex proposition and assumeth nothing. Can you blame him in so doing? For the assumption must have been either affirmative or negative. Now, if he had assumed affirmatively, he had overthrown himself. If negatively, then you, brethren, would have denied the assumption, which Master Dean would never have been able to prove. So a man might put himself to a peck¹⁴² of troubles indeed. And this is a point for your learning, closely¹⁴³ to pass by that wherewith a man shall have no honesty to deal. Thirdly, you may grant the proposition to be very true (to what end, then, did Sarum bring it in?) because Geneva (and other the Helvetian churches) have this government, and you labour for it.

Page 55.

Silly fellows, can you say no more?¹⁴⁴ Then upon them again, Master Dean, with your second reason, thus concluded (page 55) with 4 good substantial¹⁴⁵ terms: *No government is an uniform prescript that cannot be altered but that which God, in his Word, prescribeth to be such. But the Lord hath not prescribed the church government to be such as all things appertaining thereunto is an uniform prescript that cannot be altered. Therefore the church government is not an uniform prescript which cannot be altered.*¹⁴⁶

¹³⁷ Soft: Used as an exclamation with imperative force, either to enjoin silence or deprecate haste. (OED, p.2042)

¹³⁸ Pinch: A strait, exigency, extremity. (OED, p.1586)

¹³⁹ Assumption: In logic, the minor premise of a syllogism. (OED, p.120)

¹⁴⁰ Martin points out in humorous fashion the fact that Bridges ignores one of the cardinal rules of rhetorical argument, that a connex axiom must be following by an assumption, and proven.

¹⁴¹ Midsummer moon: The lunar month in which Midsummer Day comes; a time when lunacy is supposed to be prevalent. (OED, p.1322) Pierce renders this as 'midsummer noon'. (MT, p.129)

¹⁴² Peck: Loosely, a large quantity or number; chiefly used figuratively in phrase 'a peck of trouble'. (OED, p.1536)

¹⁴³ Closely: Secretly, covertly. (OED, p.352)

¹⁴⁴ Martin disposes of Bridges' connex axiom by alleging that (1) the axiom is 'popish', (2) Bridges has not proven the axiom according to the rules of rhetorical argument, or (3) the axiom is true, and assists in establishing the Puritan case.

¹⁴⁵ Substantial: Not imaginary, unreal, or apparent only. (OED, p.2172)

¹⁴⁶ Pierce points out that Martin is not quoting Bridges exactly, but rather summarizing the argument on pp.54-56 of the *Defence*. (MT, p.129) See *Defence*, pp.54-5: *The second principle (they say) followeth necessarily of the first. And so it doth, which seconde was this: and therefore (this Church or house of God) ought to be directed in all thinges, according to the order prescribed by the housholder himselfe. Which principle is true within the boundes thereof, that is to say, in all thinges that he hath prescribed. But if he have not prescribed all thinges appertayning to the externall government of his Church or house: then are those thinges which are not prescribed by the housholder himselfe, not to be so urged, as that they ought necessarily, this way or that way to be alwayes directed. . . . Here againe, we see that this faithfulness in all his house, (as Moses was faithful,) is not to be reckoned, as though he went about to shewe us, that all pointes of the externall regiment of the house or Church of Christe, have a prescribed order, by which they ought to be directed in all thinges. . . . And this is necessarie to be observed, because this principle is here set downe in such captious order, as insinuating, that Christ had prescribed an order in all thinges, in his house or Church: according to the prescription whereof, all thinge ought to be directed.*

Thou knowest not how I love thee for thy wit and learning's sake, brother John (as for thy godliness, I might carry it in mine eye and see never a whit¹⁴⁷ the worse). Notwithstanding, methinks your syllogism should¹⁴⁸ have four terms: (1) the church government, (2) all things belonging to church government, (3) an uniform prescript, etc. (4) a government prescribed in the Word.

The bishops' wonted manner in this controversy, to run from the consideration of those things that are moral unto things indifferent.

And (ten to one),¹⁴⁹ brother, you never dreamt to have met with your brother Martin when you wrote this volume. Well, seeing we are now come together, let me (about this point of church government) father-millerly¹⁵⁰ spur¹⁵¹ a question unto you. Tell me, then, bethout¹⁵² dissimblation,¹⁵³ what the bishops and you mean - when the question is concerning church government - to run by and by¹⁵⁴ into the controversy of things appertaining¹⁵⁵ to church government which, for the most part, are indifferent,¹⁵⁶ and not set down in the Word but left to the discretion of the church,¹⁵⁷ as though there were no difference between the questions by what and how many offices and officers the church is to be governed, in what causes is it lawful for church governors to employ themselves, whether it be lawful for one of them to meddle with the office of another or for one to do that action wherein the whole church should be an agent, whether they may be magistrates and church governors both at one time - as though (I say) there were no difference between these questions which are grounded upon the certain¹⁵⁸ prescript¹⁵⁹ rule of the Word that cannot be changed, and other questions which, although they belong to the service of God and the outward government of the church, yet depend not upon anything prescribed and exactly set down in the Word but upon the grounds of what, in regard of the changeable circumstances of time and place, may be most comely,¹⁶⁰ most decent,¹⁶¹ most orderly, and best belonging to edification.¹⁶² Of this latter sort are these points: whether it be most convenient¹⁶³ that prayer should begin at 8 or 9 of the clock, whether the sermon should continue an hour or an hour and a half, whether the pulpit should be of wood or of stone, etc. - concerning which the Word hath expressly set down nothing, but commanded that all of them should be squared¹⁶⁴ according unto the rule: *Let all things be done honestly by order and to edification.*¹⁶⁵

I Cor. 14:40.

Now, reason with one of our corrupt bishops - or any other that defend their corruptions - and say that our church government is wicked and unlawful because it is not expressly set down in the Word.

¹⁴⁷ Perhaps a glancing reference to Whitgift?

¹⁴⁸ I.e., 'methinks your syllogism has four terms'. A syllogism is, of course, limited to three terms.

¹⁴⁹ Ten to one: Ten chances to one, odds of ten times the amount offered in a bet; hence, an expression of very strong probability. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁵⁰ Perhaps a play on the words 'father' and 'familiarly'? Father: In ecclesiastical use, a confessor or spiritual director; a priest, a superior of a monastic house; applied to bishops. (OED, p.730)

¹⁵¹ Speer: To put a question or questions; to make inquiries, to ask. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁵² Bythout: Altered form; apparently produced by the substitution of 'by' for 'wi' in 'without. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁵³ Martin appears to have combined 'dissimulation' and some other word to produce 'dissimblation'.

¹⁵⁴ By and by: Straightaway, at once. (OED, p.260)

¹⁵⁵ Appertain: To pertain, relate. (OED, p.91)

¹⁵⁶ Indifferent: Things indifferent; non-essentials. (OED, p.1057)

¹⁵⁷ Martin suggests that Bridges and the bishops have sidetracked the discussion of the real issue by introducing a red herring.

¹⁵⁸ Certain: Not to be doubted, established as a truth or fact. (OED, p.307)

¹⁵⁹ Prescript: Prescribed or laid down beforehand as a rule; ordained, appointed. (OED, p.1659)

¹⁶⁰ Comely: Pleasing to the moral sense; becoming, proper. (OED, p.373)

¹⁶¹ Decent: Seemly. (OED, p.499)

¹⁶² Edification: A building up in faith and holiness of life. (OED, p.630)

¹⁶³ Convenient: Suitable, appropriate. (OED, p.417)

¹⁶⁴ Squared: Figuratively, to regulate, frame, arrange, or direct according to some standard or principle of action. (OED, p.2095)

¹⁶⁵ I Corinthians 14:40: *Let all things be done honestly and by order.* (GB, p.82) Martin adds the words 'and to edification' which appear to derive from a source other than the Geneva Bible.

They will by and by demand whether anything belonging to the service of God be lawful but that whereof there is express mention made in the Word, and whether anything belonging to church causes be changeable. As, whether it may be lawful for the minister to preach in his gown, whereas there is no express mention that our Saviour Christ and his apostles did so. Or whether it may not be lawful for the church of Geneva to begin his sermon at 8 of the clock, whereas it may be the church of Helvetia¹⁶⁶ beginneth at 9, or at 10. So the worshipful Dean of Lincoln¹⁶⁷ (sometimes unlearned John Whitgift), not being able to deny but that the ministers ought to be chosen by voice,¹⁶⁸ demandeth whether women (forsooth) were not to have a voice in their election or no.¹⁶⁹ And thus all the pack of them run from the matter in controversy unto the question of things indifferent, by this means thinking they may blear the eyes¹⁷⁰ of men if they can bring any cavil - though never so impertinent¹⁷¹ - to the matter. As who say¹⁷² all men were so ignorant, unlearned, and blinded with the world¹⁷³ as non-residents and bishops are. I'll besire¹⁷⁴ them to leave this order, or else they are like to hear of it. And I'll besire you, presbyter Bridges, not to bring four terms in your syllogisms again for, an you do, it shall cost me the setting on.¹⁷⁵ My brethren, the Puritans, in this place,¹⁷⁶ it may be, would grant your syllogism to have but 3 terms in it, and so would say that the words *all things* in the assumption may be taken ambiguous, for if thereby your worship mean all things appertaining to the circumstances of the outward service of God - as the hours of prayers, the number of communicants in one congregation, etc. (as you set down your meaning to be, page 56, section 3), *Then*, they say, *your assumption is nothing to the matter in question*. The question,¹⁷⁷ my masters? Why, what a question is that? Did not I warn you aforehand that Master Dean had made a vow not to meddle with the question? *But if*, say they, *you mean the church officers and their subjects*¹⁷⁸ *concerning which the controversy is instituted* - *then we deny the assumption*.¹⁷⁹

Page 55.

And, I warrant you, brethren, he proveth the assumption by 2 reasons (page 55): *First, Christ is the owner and governor of his house - which is the church - concerning the inward and spiritual government of the heart. Therefore, he hath not prescribed the outward government thereof*.¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁶ I.e., Zurich.

¹⁶⁷ Whitgift was Dean of Lincoln from 1571-7. (DNB, v.21) Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594) was Bishop of Lincoln from 1571 to 1584. (DNB, v. 4, pp.1074-5)

¹⁶⁸ Quare whether Martin means that ministers ought to be chosen by election of the congregation.

¹⁶⁹ Martin here gives a specific example of a red herring raised by Whitgift when he was Dean of Lincoln.

¹⁷⁰ Blear the eyes: To deceive, hoodwink. (OED, p.202)

¹⁷¹ Impertinent: Not pertaining to the matter in hand; irrelevant. (OED, p.1031)

¹⁷² I.e., as if to say.

¹⁷³ Blind: Lacking in intellectual, moral, or spiritual perception. (OED, p.203) Martin here alludes to a central issue in his attack on the bishops, that they are worldly and corrupt.

¹⁷⁴ The OED glosses this as 'a bad form for *desire*'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁷⁵ Set on: To make an attack. (OED, p.1954)

¹⁷⁶ Place: A subject or topic, especially in logic and rhetoric; locus. (OED, p.1595)

¹⁷⁷ I.e., the issue.

¹⁷⁸ Subject: In logic, that which has attributes; the thing about which a judgment is made. (OED, p.2166)

¹⁷⁹ Martin says that the Puritans have disposed of Bridges' argument because, even granting Bridges' syllogism to have only three terms, the words 'all things appertaining to Church government' are (1) irrelevant to the central issue if they refer to 'things indifferent', or (2) false, if the words 'all things appertaining to Church government' refer to the central issue, the form of Church government.

¹⁸⁰ Martin closely follows Bridges' own words on page 55 of the *Defence*: *Here againe, we see that this faithfulness in all his house, (as Moses was faithful,) is not to be reckoned, as though he went about to shewe us, that all pointes of the externall regiment of the house of Churche of Christe, have a prescribed order, by which they ought to bee directed in all thinges: but that in the inwarde and spirituall regiment thereof, we should acknowledge Jesus Christ the sonne of God to be the Lord and owner of this house, and to consider him, as the Apostle and high Priest of our profession, that is, of our Christian faith and religion, and to confirme our faith in him, that wee are his house or church, if wee holde fast (not to this or that externall forme of Ecclesiastical government) but the confidence and rejoycing of hope unto the ende.* See also MT, p.132.

**The Bishop of
London's book.**

Surely, brother John, I marvel upon what topic¹⁸¹ place¹⁸² this reason is grounded, for scripture is not the foundation (you know) of the established government you defend.¹⁸³ *As though, will Master Bridges say, you are ignorant, brother Martin, whence I drew this argument. You would make the world believe that you know not that I reasoned as my brother London did, in his Harbour Of Faithful Subjects.*¹⁸⁴ *I tell you, I drew mine argument from that place whence he drew his, which you shall find set down page 42 of his book (for I am sure, Master Marprelate, your book hath the pages set down in it, although the printed book hath them not).* O, I remember well indeed, brother Sarum, the place you mean, and I remember that John Elmar's reason is very like yours. *For, saith Elmar, the scripture meddleth with no civil policy any farther than to teach obedience; therefore, it teacheth not what persons should bear rule.*¹⁸⁵ And, again, page 44: *The minister's office is over the soul; therefore, a minister must not reprehend disorders in the civil state.*¹⁸⁶ Page 47: *Paul's commission*¹⁸⁷ *is to teach obedience; therefore, he hath nothing to do to call for a redress of matters in civil policy.*¹⁸⁸ Yea, at this 47th page, line 19, John of London hath these words which, to his commendation, I will set down as followeth:

*And this being a great matter of policy, saith he, as it is the greatest (for it containeth the whole), it cannot be within the compass*¹⁸⁹ *of Paul's commission, and so it followeth that Paul in this place meant no such matter as they gather or, if he did, he did it without the compass of his commission, etc.*¹⁹⁰

¹⁸¹ Topic: A kind or class of considerations suitable to the purpose of a rhetorician or disputant. (OED, p.2328)

¹⁸² Place: Locus (a subject, head, topic). (OED, p.1231)

¹⁸³ Martin states that Bridges bases only this single aspect of his proof in scripture, while the principal part of his argument in defence of the established church government is not drawn from scripture.

¹⁸⁴ John Aylmer's *Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects* (1559) was written in response to John Knox's attack on Queen Elizabeth in his *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558). Pierce offers the following assessment of it: *The Harbour, though subsequently repudiated by Aylmer, is thoroughly characteristic of the man, violent and extravagant in its language, but with a keen sense of the real issues of the ecclesiastical controversy, where personal aggrandisement and advantage do not corrupt his judgment. . . . No Puritan could speak more contemptuously of everything pertaining to Popery; its doctrine is 'develishe', the Host is 'the God in the boxe', the Eucharist a 'blestered masse'. Here and there he angles for the favour of Elizabeth, though he can be disdainful enough of women in general; and the worst sort of them, after a dozen or more strong expression of disparagement, he declares to be 'in every wise doltified with the dregs of the Devils dunghil'.* Pierce notes that most of the reformers' scriptural arguments against the episcopacy were originally propounded by Tyndale, and that Aylmer quoted many of them (to his later discomfiture) in his *Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects*. Pierce also quotes a patriotic passage in the *Harbour* to which Aylmer added the marginal comment 'God is English!'. (MT, pp.133, 312)

¹⁸⁵ Pierce gives Aylmer's words from the *Harbour* as follows: *Saynte Paule, nor none of the reast of Christes Garde meddle not with cyvill pollycie, no further than to teach obedience, not [sic] have no commission thereunto in all the whole scripture.* (MT, p.134)

¹⁸⁶ In the margin of the *Harbour*, the words are 'Priestes office is over the soule'. (MT, p.134)

¹⁸⁷ Commission: Authoritative charge or direction to act in a prescribed manner; order, command, instruction. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹⁸⁸ According to Pierce, Martin has here paraphrased the following passage from the *Harbour*: *It falleth not unto a disciples, an apostles, or churche mans office, to meddle with such matters: thei have their princes, guides and governours, the churche men be no suche: For Nemo militans deo implicat se mundanis negotiis II Tim. 2:4).* *It is enough for them to wayte upon one office, to attende as soule priestes and not erraunt baylifes.* (MT, p.134)

¹⁸⁹ Compass: Bounds, limits; range, reach, scope. (OED, p.381)

¹⁹⁰ This passage is virtually identical to the corresponding passage in the *Harbour*: *The. iii. reason of this argument is oute of Sainte Paule, wherby, women be forbidden to speake in the congregacion, for it is an unsemely thinge for them to speake. This is mervelouslye amplefied and urged, as thoughe it were so sounde as no faulte, nor cracke coude be founde in it. This is the Hercules clubbe that beateth all downe before it. Theese bee Sampsons lockes, that make him so stronge, wherefore there muste be taken some paines in the confutinge of it: fyrste therefore, I laye this foundacyon which I laide before, that Saynt Paule, nor none of the reast of Christes garde, meddle not with Cyvill pollycie, no further then to teach obedience, nor have no commission thereunto in all the whole scripture: And this beinge a greate matter*

Page 55.

Now, truly, brother Bridges, I thank you heartily for putting me in mind of this point. I hope my brother London cannot be offended with us for quoting him for our authority. I see now it is no marvel though Paul be put to silence within the diocese of London, for I perceive there is an old grudge between my Lord and him.¹⁹¹ Yet I commend your fatherhood¹⁹² better than his Lordship in this point. For in the 57th page of your book you allow Paul a larger commission where you say that the Word of God is able to make the civil government perfect - yea, and that the perfection of the civil government must be out of the Word, and in the Word inclusively.¹⁹³ But for all this you must give me leave to doubt how this reason of yours followeth: *Christ hath prescribed the inward government; therefore, he hath not prescribed the outward.* It may be your second reason will make the matter more clear unto me, which is in the same page and thus framed: *We are his church if we hold fast the confidence of our hope unto the end; therefore there is no external government of the church set down in the Word.*¹⁹⁴ This reason, to omit what ground it hath in the Word, is very plausible even in nature, is it not, think you? A man is a man, though he go naked. Therefore, by Master Dean's reason, the Lord hath ordained no covering for his nakedness. Again, a man is a man if he be once born, though he never eat meat; therefore, it is not the ordinance of God he should eat meat. Let our cavilling brethren go see now what may be brought to reproach the credit of such enforceable¹⁹⁵ proofs. Master Doctor doubtless will stand to his tackle, whatsoever they bring. If they should be so ignorant as to deny the consequent¹⁹⁶ of both these reasons, they must stay until Master Dean hath read over his predicables¹⁹⁷ and predicaments¹⁹⁸ with Friar Tittleman's rules *De inveniendis mediis*¹⁹⁹, - viz., until he hath gotten a bishopric - before he prove either of them. And

of pollicie, yea the greatest (for it conteigneth the whole) it can not be within the compasse of Pauls commission, and so followeth it, that Paul either in this place ment no such matter as they gather: or if he did: he did it wythout the compasse of his commission, but that is unlike. See also MT, p.134.

¹⁹¹ I.e., between Aylmer and St. Paul.

¹⁹² I.e., Bridges.

¹⁹³ Martin uses Bridges' claim that civil government derives its perfection from scripture to refute Aylmer's claim in the *Harbour* that civil government is separate from Scripture. However, in the *Harbour*, Aylmer had made this point in connection with an argument that John Knox, as a minister, had no authority to interfere with civil policy by claiming that women in general, and Queen Elizabeth in particular, were unfit to rule. Martin takes advantage of the contradiction between Aylmer's and Bridges' views, but does not pursue the point for obvious reasons.

¹⁹⁴ On p.55 of the *Defence*, Bridges quotes from Hebrews 3:1: *Therefore (sayeth he) holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly vocation, consider the Apostle and high Priest of our profession Christ Jesus: who was faithfull to him that hath appointed him, even as Moses was in all his house. For this man was counted woorthie of more glorie than Moses, in asmuch as he that hath builded the house, hath more honour than the house. For every house is builded of some man, and hee that hath built all thinges, is God. Nowe Moses verelie was faithfull in all his house, as a servant, for a witnesse of the thinges which should be spoken after: but Christe is as the sonne over his owne house, whose house wee are, if we holde fast the confidence, and the rejoycing of the hope, unto the ende.* Bridges then continues: *Here againe, we see that this faithfulness in all his house, (as Moses was faithful,) is not to be reckoned, as though he went about to shewe us, that all pointes of the externall regiment of the house or Churche of Christe, have a prescribed order, by which they ought to bee directed in all thinges: but that in the inwarde and spirituall regiment thereof, we should acknowledge Jesus Christ the sonne of God to be the Lord and owner of this house, and to consider him, as the Apostle and high Priest of our profession, that is, of our christian faith and religion, and to confirme our faith in him, that wee are his house or Church, if wee holde fast (not this or that externall forme of Ecclesiastical government) but the confidence and rejoycing of hope unto the ende.*

¹⁹⁵ Enforceable: Strong, powerful; telling; convincing. (OED, p.786)

¹⁹⁶ Consequent: Consequence: a logical result or inference. (OED, p.404)

¹⁹⁷ Predicable: In Aristotelian logic, the classes or kinds of predicates viewed relatively to their subjects, to one or other of which classes every predicated thing may be referred; second intentions of predicates in relation to subjects. (OED, p.1652)

¹⁹⁸ Predicament: In logic, the ten categories affirmed by Aristotle. (OED, p.1652)

¹⁹⁹ Martin refers to the *Compendium* (1543) of the Franciscan monk Francis Titelman, on page 20(b) of which is found the heading 'Quatuor regulae ad inventionem medii utiles'. (MT, p.135) (*Compendium Dialecticae Francis. Titelmanni, ad libros logicorum Arist. admodum utile, ac necessarium. Nuper recognitum. Cui accessit tabula universam philosophiae partitionem continens. Parisiis: Ex officina Prigentii Calvarini ad Geminas Cyppas in Clauso Brunello.*)

it may be, then, too, that he will prove what they deny, as Master Canterbury hath proved that which Master Cartwright confuted.²⁰⁰

Page 56.

In the meantime, mark how stoutly Master Dean goeth forward. And although (page 56) he meet by the way with his known sweet friend Bellarmine's²⁰¹ (a popish writer's) distinction²⁰² of *agreeable and not contrary to the Word*²⁰³ (the papists affirming all their traditions to be agreeable, and none of them contrary, to the Word), yet his answer (page 57) to the place of Paul (II Timothy 3:7)²⁰⁴ is as good and as canonical as any of the former reasons, concluded thus: *The place of scripture which doth not deny but that the civil government - which must be inclusively according to the Word - may be elsewhere prescribed than in the Word, that place also doth not forbid the church government to be fetched from some other fountain than the prescription of the Word. But this place (II Timothy 3:7) doth not deny but that civil government (being a government not²⁰⁵ prescribed in the Word) may be learned elsewhere than out of the Word, and yet be according to the Word. Also, he doth not deny but that the church government may be a church government according to the Word which is not therein prescribed.*²⁰⁶

Page 57.

Your consequent is false, Master Dean.

It is a hard matter, I tell you, to conceive²⁰⁷ all the wisdomness of this syllogism. For if you mark the proposition²⁰⁸ very well, you shall therein find the errors (as Master Doctor accounteth them) of Peter and Paul very notably overthrown. The one of them calleth the civil government an human ordinance;²⁰⁹ the other affirmeth our Saviour Christ to have ordained every minister and church officer that were at any time to be in the church, and to have tied²¹⁰ the ministry unto two

I Peter 2:13
Ephes. 4:12
Rom. 12:8
I Cor. 12:28.

²⁰⁰ Another reference to the Whitgift/Cartwright controversy of 1572-1577.

²⁰¹ The lectures of the Jesuit theologian Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) were published in Latin in three large tomes in 1586 under the title *Disputationes Roberti Bellarmini Politiani, Societatis Jesu, De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos, Tribus Tomis Comprehensae*. (RCEA, p.153) Martin's knowledge of Bellarmine demonstrates that his interest in theology was not confined to the 'Puritan' point of view. It is also worth noting that Martin would have read the *Disputationes* - and a number of other volumes mentioned in the tracts - in Latin, since English translations were unavailable.

²⁰² Quare where in Bellarmine's works this distinction is to be found.

²⁰³ See *Defence*, p.56: *But it followeth not heere-upon, that all generall or particuler orders in the externall governement of the Church, are not else-where to bee learned, but in Gods holie woorde: except they meane by Gods holie worde, such as are inclusively comprehended, and not expresselie specified in his holie worde. For, they their selves have not all their orders expressely mentioned, and in all things prescribed in Gods holy worde. For example, their owne communion booke, entituled: The forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacramentes, &c. They dare not avowe, that all things therein conteyned, have not benee learned else-where, but in his holie worde, and are there to be founde eyther in plaine woordes, or necessarie implication; but because they thinke, that they are not contrarie: they dare avouch thus farre, to call them, Agreeable to Gods worde. And yet, as though the agreeablenesse also might be called in question: they adde heere-to, And the use of the reformed Churches. And as their owne booke of Common prayers useth all these helps, to save all upright, for feare they might be chalenged in this poynt: even so, this booke which our bretheren commende unto us, to be, A learned discourse of Ecclesiasticall government, proved by the worde of God: wee shal finde in the discourse thereof, that the learned discoursers learned not all the orders prescribed there-in, out of Gods holie worde: but somewhat else-where. Except they will likewise say, it is agreeable, or not contrarie to Gods holie worde.*

²⁰⁴ II Timothy 3:7: There may be a misprint here for II Timothy 3:17 (see below)

²⁰⁵ In the text, the word is 'nor', presumably a misprint.

²⁰⁶ Martin is correct in claiming that Bridges makes this analogy between civil government and church government. As Pierce points out, Martin here summarizes Bridges' arguments on pages 56-7 of the *Defence*. (MT, p.136) See *Defence*, p.57: *Neither doth this text of S. Paule. 2.Tim. 3.17 anie more infringe everie order in the churches governement, that it maye not be learned elsewhere, but in Gods holie worde: then it doth infringe everie other order in the civill Policie, or administration of everie mans morall behaviour: that their orders also are not to be learned else-where, but in Gods holie word.*

²⁰⁷ Conceive: To apprehend. (OED, p.388)

²⁰⁸ Proposition: Either of the premises of a syllogism, especially the major premise (opposite to 'assumption'). (OED, p.1689)

²⁰⁹ I Peter 2:13: *Submit your selves unto all maner ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, as unto the superiour.* (GB, p.109)

²¹⁰ Tie: To limit, confine, restrict. (OED, p.2305)

ordinary²¹¹ functions of pastors and doctors.²¹² But his worship, lighting upon William Woodcock's divinity,²¹³ putteth in the propositions both that the church government is an ordinance of man, invented and ordained by man, and also that there may be as many sorts of ministers in the church (if the magistrate will have it so) as there be degrees of civil officers in a commonwealth. *For the church government is no more prescribed in the Word, saith the Dean, than the civil government is.*²¹⁴

**Another course at
you, brother
London.**

You may see, then, how heady²¹⁵ and perverse²¹⁶ these our brethren²¹⁷ are, that had rather stick²¹⁸ unto a poor fisherman and tent-maker²¹⁹ - Peter and Paul - in a matter of truth than embrace the manifest falsehood of so plain an untruth with a fat²²⁰ dean and all the brave spiritual lords²²¹ in the land. Well fare our clergymen yet who - being like the priest whereof John of London maketh mention of in his foresaid book (page 32, line 3),²²² that sware by his priesthood that if the Trinity were not in his portas,²²³ he would not believe it - will allow of nothing but that which is in the Bishop of Canterbury's *Articles*, be it never so often read in Paul's writings.

And, I trow, Master Doctor's reasons following will make the Puritans stoop²²⁴ unto his Grace, and leave their peevishness²²⁵ and running beyond their commission (after the example of Paul) in speaking against any established government - yea, and a government established by act of parliament.²²⁶ I think my Lord of London gave Paul enough, as we heard before, for meddling with state matters.²²⁷ And his Grace admonisheth the Puritan preachers often enough that, howsoever they have truth of their side, yet they must not run beyond a law and without law.²²⁸ If they do - though they have Peter and Paul to speak for them - yet, by your leave, he hath in his hand that which will tame them and all their fautors,²²⁹ if the abusing of the High Commission²³⁰ and an

²¹¹ Ordinary: Conformable to order or rule. (OED, p.1461)

²¹² Ephesians 4:12: See above. Romans 12:8: See above. 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 gifts of healing, helpers, governours, diversitie of tongues.* (GB, p.81)

²¹³ Divinity: The science that deals with the nature and attributes of God, his relations with mankind, etc. (OED, p.586) The individual to whom Martin alludes as 'William Woodcock' is unidentified. In the *Epistle*, Martin claimed that Bridges' books 'seem to proceed from the brains of a woodcock'.

²¹⁴ Martin here deals as rationally as possible with Bridges' leaps in logic, pointing out that Paul's statement that the form of civil government is not prescribed in scripture does not give rise to the inference that the form of Church government is not prescribed in scripture.

²¹⁵ Heady: Headstrong. (OED, p.938)

²¹⁶ Perverse: Incorrect; wrong. (OED, p.1563)

²¹⁷ I.e., the Puritans.

²¹⁸ Stick: To remain firm, continue steadfast. (OED, p.2126)

²¹⁹ Acts 18:3: *And because he [Paul] was of the same craft, he abode with them and wrought (for their crafte was to make tentes).* (GB, p.64)

²²⁰ Fat: Well supplied with what is needful or desirable. (OED, p.730) Presumably, a contrast between the 'poor fisherman' and the 'fat Dean'.

²²¹ Lords Spiritual: The bishops who are peers of the realm, and (in England before the Reformation) the mitred abbots. (OED, ED-ROM ed.)

²²² I.e., *A Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects*.

²²³ Portas: A portable breviary in the medieval church. (OED, p.1632) Pierce quotes from the *Harbour: Like to a certain Sir John which said, by my priesthoode, if the Trinitie were not in my portase, I wold not beleve it.* (MT, p.137)

²²⁴ Stoop: To bow to superior power or authority; to yield obedience. (OED, p.2137)

²²⁵ Peevish: Perverse, headstrong, obstinate. (OED, p.1540)

²²⁶ Quare which act of parliament Martin has in mind.

²²⁷ I.e., in the *Harbour*.

²²⁸ Martin here seems to be quoting Whitgift verbatim.

²²⁹ Fautor: A partisan, abettor. (OED, p.732)

²³⁰ In the statute 1 Elizabeth, chapter 1 of 1559, provision was made for the Queen to assign commissioners by letters patent under the Great Seal to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Many of the abuses of which Martin complains relate to the manner in which the High Commission went beyond these statutory powers.

Page 57.

whole popedom be able to do it. But all this while we go not on forward with you, brother Sarum. Therefore, in the next page, let us hear how you fetch your brethren over the coals²³¹ with your next reason whereof, trust me, I know not almost (though it were to gain a bishopric) how I should make a good syllogism, but I will do my best, after this manner:

*It sufficeth that such orders as are not prescribed in the Word as things necessary to salvation - be they civil or ecclesiastical - be only folded up within those that are prescribed, and to make them as things expedient to edification, order, and comeliness for obedience' sake, although they be none of those things that appertain to any necessity of our salvation or to any absolute necessity of our obedience. But such is the church government, as it is not prescribed in the Word as necessary to salvation or of any absolute necessity of our obedience. Therefore it is sufficient that the church government be only folded up with the things prescribed in the Word, and be of the nature of the things that only belong to edification, order and comeliness.*²³²

Luke 23:43.

I was never so afraid in my life that I should not come to an end till I had been windless!²³³ Do you not see how I pant?²³⁴ Our brethren now are to come to their answer concerning *necessary to salvation*.²³⁵ 'Then,' say they, 'we would know, brother Bridges - and thrice learned brother Bridges - we would know what you mean, whether such a necessity as without which men cannot be saved?' 'I mean even the same,' saith Master Dean, 'as it appeareth page 60, lines 21-22 of my book.'²³⁶ 'Then we reply that nothing is of this necessity but only justifying faith, and we deny the sacraments to be of this necessity. For the thief on the gallows²³⁷ was saved without them.²³⁸ And we think, moreover, your impiety and ignorance (Master Dean) to be outrageous and intolerable,' say they, 'in that you go about to teach the Holy Ghost what he shall prescribe in the Word. Because by this proposition of yours nothing should be prescribed therein concerning the sacraments, for they are not there prescribed as things necessary to salvation in such sort as men cannot be saved without them.'

*But if you meant not this necessity, then we would know if you can tell yourself what you would have' (forsooth, brethren, a bishopric he would have - and all such troublesome fellows as you are banished the land). Ho, you mean such a necessity as every church is not bound to observe the same order upon their obedience? For example, you mean that every church or several congregation in Europe professing the truth is not bound to have their church covered with lead, as the monastery*²³⁹

Master Dean, my friend, is not so precise as he thinks it necessary for them to have a sermon upon the Sabbath.

²³¹ Haul over the coals: To reprimand, call to task; originally in reference to the treatment of heretics. (OED, p.356)

²³² See *Defence*, p.57: *But it sufficeth for such orders as are not prescribed, nor specified as things necessarie to salvation, both in life and manners, to levell all such orders (be they ecclesiasticall, civill, or morall) according to the analogie of those, that are specified & prescribed: and to receive them, either as folded up or unfolded, in those generall specifications and prescriptions: and so to esteeme them in their degrees, as necessarie or expedient to edification, for order, comelinesse or obedience sake, although they be none of those things, that directlie apperteine unto the necessitie of our salvation, or to anie absolute necessitie of our obedience.* See also MT, p.138.

²³³ Windless: Breathless, out of breath. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²³⁴ A criticism of Bridges' lengthy sentences.

²³⁵ Martin seizes on the key to Bridges' argument, namely that the form of Church government is not prescribed in scripture because it is not a thing 'necessary to salvation'.

²³⁶ See *Defence*, p.60: *For the true church is onlie of the elected; and therefore either all that have not had (since Christ's time) this prescribed forme of government were not the church of Christ at all, or els, this prescribed forme of government is not necessarilie apperteining to the salvation of us men. And if not necessarie, then unnecessarie to our salvation.* See also MT, p.139.

²³⁷ Luke 23:43: *Then Jesus said unto him, Verely I say unto thee, to day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* (GB, p.42)

²³⁸ Martin says that the Puritans answer Bridges' argument by stating that there is only one thing necessary to salvation, 'justifying faith'. Other things, which may not be 'necessary to salvation', are nonetheless defined in scripture, such as the sacraments and the form of Church government.

²³⁹ Monastery: A place of residence of a community of persons living secluded from the world under religious vows; a monastic establishment. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin makes frequent jests about Bridges'

of Sarum is? For they may lawfully have it covered with slate or tile? You mean that they are not bound - every one of them - to have a sermon upon the Wednesday, for they may lawfully have it upon any other day in the week? That every church is not bound to have a pulpit 4 foot high, for they may without sin have one lower or higher if expedience and edification require the same?' ' That is even my meaning, indeed, and so I would (page 59),' saith Master Dean, 'that these things should be urged no otherwise than Paul doth urge them; that is, not placing the perfection of religion in them, or making them orders necessary for the building but rather for the ornaments of the building, and so squaring them all according unto the rule: Let all be done honestly, and by good order.'²⁴⁰

Is this your meaning, Master Doctor? You have spun a fair thread.²⁴¹ Can you tell your brother Marprelate - with all your learning - how to decline what is Latin for a goose?²⁴² Why, this every one of your brethren his self will grant to be true, and they never denied it at any time.²⁴³ But this is not the question. For it is neither concerning church officer, office or any part of church government whereof the question is instituted,²⁴⁴ but it is concerning matter of circumstance.²⁴⁵ Yet (brother John) what do you mean by these contrarieties in this point? For you have heard²⁴⁶ (page 59) you mean by *things necessary to salvation* matters of indifference,²⁴⁷ and page 60, lines 21-22, you mean *an absolute necessity without which men cannot be saved*. Do you think that you can answer men by saying that you, indeed, wrote page 59 but Doctor Perne wrote page 60, the which you had no leisure to oversee?²⁴⁸ This is a pretty answer is it not, think you? Let me take

'cloister' or 'monastery' of Sarum. Martin obviously has some familiarity with Salisbury, since he knows that the roof of Bridges' 'monastery' there is made of lead.

²⁴⁰ I Corinthians 14:40: *Let all things be done honestly and by order.* (GB, p.82) These lines are a summary of Bridges' argument on page 58-9 of the *Defence*: *And as this is true of our brethrens building, so likewise of ours, or of anye others, if we should make anye building on Christe, of the outward order of ecclesiasticall government, otherwise then as S. Paule the wise maister builder doth: not to urge them as matters of salvation, or as though the perfection of religion laye in them: nor yet to give leave to every private congregation, to dispose of them, as they list: but so to urge and reteine them, as orders necessarie, not of the building it selfe, but of the ornaments of the building, of which orders he giveth his generall rule, I.Cor. 14.40. Let all things be doone honestlie and by order, as we shall (God wiling) see further in this discourse thereon.* See also MT, p.140.

²⁴¹ The OED glosses 'spin a fair thread' as an ironical phrase based on 'spin': To form or fabricate (a thread, etc.) by the process of drawing out (and twisting) some suitable material. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁴² Pierce notes that this passage is alluded to at page 843 in *A Second Part of a Register: When he [Munday, the pursuivant] came to Lambeth he accused G.W. [Giles Wigginton] treacherously as having read the Second Booke of Mar[tin] and as having told the tale of Spell Goose out of it.* (MT, p.140) Since the Latin word for 'goose' is 'anser', it is possible that Martin here makes a glancing allusion to Whitgift's *An Answer to a Certain Libel*, a work which formed part of the controversy in print between himself and Thomas Cartwright from 1572-1577. Schmidt also has an interesting note on the meaning of the term 'Winchester goose': *Cant term for a certain venereal sore, thought to have originated from the public stews in Southwark being under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester.* (Schmidt, p.1374)

²⁴³ The Puritans' second answer to Bridges' argument is that he is once again dealing with 'things indifferent'; the Puritans readily grant that many things not prescribed in scripture are covered by the rule in I Corinthians 14:40.

²⁴⁴ Institute: To set on foot, initiate, start (an inquiry, etc.) (OED, p.1085)

²⁴⁵ Circumstance: That which is non-essential, accessory, or subordinate. (OED, p.340)

²⁴⁶ A misprint for 'you have said you mean' or 'we have heard you mean'?

²⁴⁷ Indifferency: Absence of difference in respect of consequence, effect, significance, or importance; the fact of its making no difference, or of being of no consequence or importance either way. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁴⁸ Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (DNB, v.15, pp.896-7) Martin seems quite certain that Perne wrote portions of Bridges' *Defence*; in the *Epistle*, for example, he makes a similar remark: *As concerning the treason written page 448, it may be the fox Doctor Perne who helped him, as they say, to make this worthy volume was the author of it.* If Perne did have a hand in the writing of the *Defence*, his involvement probably came about as a result of his close friendship with Whitgift.

you again in such a prank, and I'll course²⁴⁹ you as you were better to be seeking Gammer Gurton's needle²⁵⁰ than come within my fingers. *And, learned Master Doctor, say the Puritans, we will give you leave to take either of these 2 necessities to be your meaning.* If you mean (as page 59) *be necessary to salvation*, then they deny the assumption.

And yet they will have one course more at the proposition before they go, because it came from Rome and will bring forth a Jesuit²⁵¹ unless betimes²⁵² it be had to the house of correction.²⁵³ They say, then, that you still join with Bellarmine. For in the state of the question concerning tradition,²⁵⁴ he hath the same cavil (cap. 3, liber 2) against Calvin, Luther and Kemnitius²⁵⁵ which you have concerning comeliness and order in this place against your brethren. What a saucy fellow was that Bellarmine, that must needs publish his work for the Pope one just²⁵⁶ year before you published yours for the archbishop! Could he not keep it in²⁵⁷ until both your books might be published together? For now these Puritans do shake you very shrewdly²⁵⁸ for borrowing popish stuff from Bellarmine and overthrowing her Majesty's supremacy, whereas I am persuaded that, although Bellarmine had never written, yet the master that taught him would in time have fully instructed you in all these points that are forged upon his anvil.²⁵⁹ And although (as I think) he saved you a great deal of study, yet, I pray you, let Doctor Perne²⁶⁰ write unto him that he may know his fault,²⁶¹ and you be certified²⁶² when he writeth again, that both your books may come forth together.

*Now if in your assumption, say our brethren, if you mean by 'necessity to salvation' that without which men cannot be saved, as before, it is true that the church government is not of this necessity, for in that sense, as was said, the sacraments are not necessary to salvation or of any absolute necessity unto our obedience. Nay, to be no traitor, no idolater, no whoremonger, is not of that absolute necessity to salvation but that he may be saved which hath been (so that now he be none) sometimes an idolater, etc. If you mean that other necessity, whereby all they that will have any government in the church are bound to have that only and none else which God hath prescribed in the Word, or else transgress that inviolable prescript ordinance of God concerning the government of his church, then they deny the assumption.*²⁶³

²⁴⁹ Course: To hunt game with hounds; specifically, to hunt hares with greyhounds by sight. (OED, p.442) Martin here repeats a similar threat made in the *Epistle*.

²⁵⁰ In the comedy *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 'Doctor Rat our curat' is beaten by Dame Chat while seeking for the needle. (Creeth, pp.365-8) It seems likely that Martin intends a pun on Bridges' surname (breeches/britches/Bridges). The association of Bridges with the country bumpkins in the play also has the effect of reducing Bridges to a comic figure.

²⁵¹ Jesuit: A member of the Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic order founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534. The object of the Society was to support and defend the Roman Church against the 16th century Reformers. (OED, p.1131)

²⁵² Betimes: In a short time, speedily. (OED, p.186)

²⁵³ I.e., Bridewell.

²⁵⁴ Tradition: In the Christian Church, any one, or the whole, of a body of teachings transmitted orally from generation to generation since early times; held by Roman Catholics to comprise teaching derived from Christ and the apostles, together with that subsequently communicated to the Church by the Holy Spirit, and to be of equal authority with Scripture. (OED, p.2340)

²⁵⁵ Martinus Chemnitius. (Carlson, p.255)

²⁵⁶ Just: Exact, as opposed to approximate. (OED, p.1144)

²⁵⁷ I.e., stay publication.

²⁵⁸ Shrewdly: Seriously, 'sorely'. (OED, P.1985)

²⁵⁹ By Bellarmine's 'master', Martin presumably means the Pope.

²⁶⁰ Quare whether, in suggesting that Dr. Perne should write to Bellarmine, Martin implies that Perne has Catholic leanings.

²⁶¹ Fault: A misdeed, transgression, offence. (OED, p.731)

²⁶² Certify: To give (a person) legal or formal attestation (of). (OED, p.307)

²⁶³ The Puritans here distinguish between two meanings of 'necessary': (1) things which are 'necessary' because men cannot be saved without them (which things do not include the form of Church government)

Here is a pretty matter, that one poor syllogism must be thus handled.²⁶⁴ I would his worship²⁶⁵ knew who they were that thus deal with him. I hope it should not be long ere Watson²⁶⁶ the pursuivant (as unnatural a sour-faced knave as ever was in that office)²⁶⁷ should trudge²⁶⁸ for them. They shall be met²⁶⁹ with one day, I doubt not.

Page 58.

Master Dean (page 58) showeth very wisely that men must warily take heed how they build²⁷⁰ (for the bishops have these 30 years so built that they are almost come to dig at the foundation of the church), lest belike²⁷¹ men should, by building after the manner of the apostles, overthrow the monastery of Sarum. And that were pity, seeing from thence these natural²⁷² reasons following have issued.

Everything that is prescribed in the Word containeth in it the perfection of religion. But the church government doth not contain in it the perfection of religion. Therefore, the church government is not prescribed in the Word. No, brother John, nor baptim²⁷³ neither. For baptim doth not contain the perfection of religion in it and, therefore, as you may wisely conclude, it is not prescribed in the Word. We may alter what we will now, so that the part which we alter contain not the perfection of religion in it and be agreeable unto my Lord of Cant.'s *Articles*. For they must be altered in no case. And what reason is this, that the Lord's Supper should be received under both kinds,²⁷⁴ if the civil magistrate and the church will otherwise ordain? For no sacrament containeth in it the perfection of religion and, therefore, by Master Dean's proposition, the celebration thereof is not prescribed in the Word. A man might keep good stir²⁷⁵ in the pulpit or in writing, having but this ground²⁷⁶ allowed him. And (I think) of such a preacher as this should be, John of London spake in his foresaid book (page 49, line 2)²⁷⁷ where he describeth his preacher after this manner, that *he*

and (2) things which are 'necessary' because they are prescribed in scripture (among which the form of Church government is included).

²⁶⁴ Handle: To treat of, discuss. (OED, p.922)

²⁶⁵ I.e., Bridges.

²⁶⁶ Pierce notes that 'Watson the Pursuivant' was one of those who travelled to Kingston Upon Thames in June, 1588 in what turned out to be a fruitless attempt to arrest the printer Robert Waldegrave. (MT, pp.85, 142)

²⁶⁷ This remark suggests that Martin has lived in London for many years..

²⁶⁸ Trudge: To walk laboriously, wearily, or without spirit, but steadily and persistently. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁶⁹ Meet with: To encounter, experience (a certain fortune or destiny); to receive (reward, punishment, etc.). (OED, p.1302)

²⁷⁰ Bridges quote from, and discourses at length upon, I Corinthians 13. See *Defence*, p.58: *Let everie man take heed how he buildeth upon it. For if any man building upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble: everie mans worke shall be made manifest. For the daie shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by the fire, and the fire shall trie everie mans worke, of what sorte it is.*

²⁷¹ Belike: Possibly. (OED, p.178)

²⁷² Martin seems to play on two senses of the word 'natural', i.e. 'without spiritual enlightenment' and 'one naturally deficient in intellect'. ('Like a great natural that runs lolling up and down to hide his bauble in a hole' (*Romeo and Juliet* II iv 91, OED, p.1387) It is interesting to observe the way in which words linger in Martin's mind to be re-used in slightly altered form a few lines later, as in this case in which he uses 'unnatural' and 'natural'.

²⁷³ Baptism. The controversy surrounding the sacrament of baptism is indicated by Cooper's comment in the *Admonition* at pp.95-6: *Private baptism, yea and publike also, if it be ministered by one that is no preacher, hath bin so impugned, as if it were no sacrament at al: whereby questions have bin raised by sundry persons, what is become of them that were never baptized otherwise: Or whether it were not necessary, that all such persons, as are certainly knowen, not to have receyved any other baptisme, then that was privately done, ought not to be baptized againe, because the other is esteemed as no Sacrament?*

²⁷⁴ In both kinds: Referring to each of the elements (bread and wine) used in the Eucharist. (OED, p.1154)

²⁷⁵ Stir: Commotion, disturbance, tumult; general excitement; fuss. (OED, p.2131)

²⁷⁶ Ground: A fundamental principle. (OED, p.895)

²⁷⁷ I.e., *A Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects*.

John Elmar, you must know, was very good with a two-hand sword in his youth.

should be no milksop,²⁷⁸ no white-livered²⁷⁹ gentleman that, for the frowning and cloudy countenance of every man in authority, will leave his flock and cry 'Peccavi'.²⁸⁰ And, again, in this page: When they come to handgrips,²⁸¹ they must not only flourish,²⁸² but they must know their quarter-strokes²⁸³ and the way how to defend their head, etc.²⁸⁴ Such a preacher (I say) as this would quickly - with his quarter-strokes²⁸⁵ - overturn all religion, and with very good reasons, if Dean John's proposition be true that everything which is prescribed in the Word containeth in it the perfection of religion.²⁸⁶

**Matthew 28:19,
20**

Will you have any more of these blows, brethren? Then touch²⁸⁷ them again, parson John, with the second reason in this page. *Everything that is prescribed in the Word is of the substance of the building. The church government is not of the substance of the building. Therefore, it is not prescribed in the Word.* Nothing but paralogsms!²⁸⁸ Sir Bridges, do you not know before whom you speak? You think now that you play my Lord of Winchester's fool, do you?²⁸⁹ Or that you are in the monastery of Sarum among your roaring²⁹⁰ choristers? I would advise you, learn this of me: that the church government is a substantial point of religion, and therefore of the substance of the building. That it is a substantial point, it appeareth because it is included within the commandment which our Saviour Christ gave unto his apostles when he sent them to build his church,

²⁷⁸ Milksop: An effeminate, spiritless man or youth; one wanting in courage or manliness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁷⁹ White-livered: Having (according to an old notion, still surviving locally) a light-coloured liver, supposed to be due to a deficiency of bile or 'choler', and hence of vigour, spirit, or courage; feeble-spirited, cowardly, dastardly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁸⁰ Peccavi: I have sinned. (OED, p.1536)

²⁸¹ To come to handgrips: To come to close combat. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁸² Flourish: To brandish (a weapon, etc.). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁸³ Quarter: *Fencing*. Some kind of stroke or blow. Quarter-stroke: = quarter-blow. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

²⁸⁴ Martin has followed the text of the *Harbour* closely, although in fairness to Aylmer he should perhaps have quoted the final sentence in its entirety: *If heresies arise, they must have their tooles ready to mete with thadversary and to overthrowe hym: whiche he can not have, onles he have travayled in many sciences, harde and redde much, which thinges (because they be huswyves) women can not have commonly, and therefore they be unmete hereunto. Yea, God knoweth so be many men to: for it is not inough for a man to tell a fayre tale in the pulpit, and when he commeth downe is not able to defende it. If preachers and spirituall ministers be suche; where be we when we come to handgripes, (They must not only florishe, but they must know their quarter strookes, and the waye how to defende their head, their head Christe I saye, and his crosse. See also MT, p.143.*

²⁸⁵ Quarterstaff: A stout pole, from 6 to 8 feet long and tipped with iron, formerly used as a weapon by the English peasantry. (OED, p.1726)

²⁸⁶ See *Harbour*, p.10: *But lest this author should thinke that I make to longe a floryshe before I come to hande strokes with him, as an evil fenced man, that can make a better bragge of his cuning, then when nede is, use it: I mynde before I saye any more of this matter, to buckle with him in his argumentes, and to trie what blowes he gyveth.* Thus Aylmer, speaking of how he will tackle's Knox's arguments re *Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Knox's arguments are summarized by Aylmer on pages 11-12: *1. The argumentes as I remember, bee these, not many in nomber, but handsomlye amplified. Fyrst that what so ever is agaynste nature the same in a commonwealth is not tollerable, but the government of a woman in against nature. Ergo it is not tolerable. 2. The second, what so ever is forbidden by scripture is not lawfull. But a woman to rule is forbidden by scripture. Ergo it is not lawfull. 3. The third, if a woman may not speke in the congregation: muche lesse she may rule. But she may not speake in the congregacion, ergo she may not rule. 4. The fourth, what the civil lawe forbiddeth, that is not lawfull: but the rule of a woman the Civill law forbiddeth, ergo it is not lawfull. 5. The fift, seing ther foloweth more inconveniencee of the rule of women then of mens government: therefore it is not to be borne in a commonwealth. 6. The last, the Doctors and Canonistes forbidde it, ergo it can not be good. These (as I remember) be the Proppes that hold up this matter, or rather the pikaxes to under mynde the state.*

²⁸⁷ Touch: To strike or hit lightly (especially with the spur, or in fencing). (OED, p.2333)

²⁸⁸ Paralogsms: A faulty syllogism; a fallacy of which the reasoner is himself unconscious. (OED, p.1509)

²⁸⁹ Martin makes reference to this incident earlier in the *Epitome*.

²⁹⁰ Roaring: Behaving or living in a noisy, riotous manner. (OED, p.1839)

Rom. 12:6
 I Cor. 12:8, 28
 Acts 15:6
 Ephes. 4:12
 Acts 6:6 & 14:23
 I Cor. 23:1
 Tim. 5:17
 Sam. 5:14
 Titus 1:5.

Paul commanded
 Archbishop Titus
 in his own
 diocese.

A worthy note.

commanding them not only to teach and baptize all nations²⁹¹ (which are the things that you think only to be substantial unto the building - nay, wicked bishops will not acknowledge preaching to be of the substance of the building), but also to teach them to observe whatsoever he commanded them.²⁹² Now he ordained, he commanded, that the church should be governed by these 4 offices,²⁹³ or else the apostles would never have observed them and prescribed them unto the church.²⁹⁴ Was there nothing wanting unto the building in Crete while they wanted elders there?²⁹⁵ If there was not, why should Titus stay there to ordain elders in every city? If there was, what a dunce art thou to deny the church government to be of the substance of the building. Paul saith in that place (Titus 1:5) that he appointed that Titus should ordain elders there. Paul (belike) in that place but appointed these things to be ordained which were not of the substance of the building. You were best to say that Paul had nothing to do with church government but to teach obedience, and therefore went beyond his commission in meddling with these matters. Archbishop Titus, belike, whereof you speak now, should be all the doer in church matters. Yet I am glad of one thing, that Paul was so bold as to command Archbishop Titus and to enjoin him what he should do in his own diocese. I say in his own diocese, for Master Doctor proveth anon²⁹⁶ that Titus was Archbishop of Crete. Now, if Titus - who, I doubt not, was as good an archbishop as his Grace of Canterbury (if ever he was any, as he was not),²⁹⁷ and might every day in the week go cheek by jowl²⁹⁸ with his Grace - did yet suffer in his own diocese to be commanded by Paul, and presumed to do nothing but that which Paul commanded him to do, then I see no reason why Paul should not bear a little more sway in Canterbury diocese than he doth. And I see no reason why his Grace should presume to do things so flat contrary to Paul's mind²⁹⁹ as he doth, whereas he ought to do nothing but by Paul's commandment. And you, Dean John, go forward. I am content to let you pass my fingers at this time.

Page 60.

*If any were saved, saith the Doctor (page 60), without this government, then it is not necessary to salvation. But many were saved without this government that our brethren would have; therefore, it is not necessary to salvation.*³⁰⁰ John of London, with his two-hand sword, could have quitted himself no better than this. Our brethren grant all this, brother John, because you mean by *necessity to salvation* such a necessity as without which men cannot be saved. The next reason is for the golden pen.³⁰¹ *Either necessary or unnecessary, but not necessary to salvation. Ergo,*

²⁹¹ Matthew 28:19: *Go therefore, and teach all nacions, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the holie Gost.* (GB, p.17)

²⁹² Matthew 28:20: *Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, until the end of the worlde.* (GB, p.17)

²⁹³ Romans 12:6: *Seing then that we have giftes that are divers, according to the grace that is given unto us, whether we have prophecie, let us prophecie according to the proportion of faith.* (GB, p.75) 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.* (GB, p.81) I Corinthians 12:28: See above. Acts 15:6: *Then the Apostles and Elders came together to loke to this matter.* (GB, p. 62) Ephesians 4:12: See above.

²⁹⁴ Acts 6:6: See above. Acts 14:23: See above. The reference to I Corinthians 23:1 must be a misprint since Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians has no 23rd Chapter. Timothy 5:17: See above. James 5:14: *Is anie sicke among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them praye for him, and anoint him with oyle in the Name of the Lord.* (GB, p.108)

²⁹⁵ Titus 1:5: *For this cause left I thee in Creta, that thou shuldest continue to redresse the things that remaine, and shuldest ordeine Elders in everie citie, as I appointed thee.* (GB, p.101)

²⁹⁶ Anon: Soon, in a little while. (OED, p.76)

²⁹⁷ I.e., Martin refuses to accept Bridges' claim that Titus was an archbishop.

²⁹⁸ Cheek by jowl: Side by side; in the closest intimacy. (OED, p.320)

²⁹⁹ Mind: One's view or opinion. (OED, p.1326)

³⁰⁰ See *Defence*, p.60: *But none are of the true church of God, but are pertakers of salvation. For the true church is onelie of the elected: and therefore either all that have not had (since Christs time) this prescribed forme of government, were not the church of Christ at all, or else, this prescribed forme of government, is not necessarilie appertaining to the salvation of us men.* See also MT, p.145.

³⁰¹ This allusion has not been traced.

unnecessary. Thus, Master Doctor carrieth away³⁰² the matter very clearly. Only he straineth a little courtesy³⁰³ with the *Learned Discourse* in putting *necessary to salvation* for *appertaining to salvation*. You know he that can - with a guilty conscience - have a faculty³⁰⁴ for two livings³⁰⁵ may as well be dispensed³⁰⁶ with for a lie or two. And iwis³⁰⁷ these fellows need not to be so precise of swearing by faith and troth, and straining³⁰⁸ out a final lie³⁰⁹ for a benefit.³¹⁰ They commit grosser sins many times. And thus Master Doctor hath overthrown their whole building in general.³¹¹ Now he cometh to the spoiling of every particular part thereof.

But before I come to these points, I care not - inasmuch as there hath been often mention made of my Lord of London's book between our brother Bridges and me - if I set down some part of my judgement concerning that book.

Here is an indecorum personae in this speech, for the Doctor should not give me this warning. But you know my purpose is to play the dunce after his example.

O, but Master Martin, will my brother Bridges say, will you meddle with that book which Master Aylmer wrote in the defence of her Majesty's government? So you will give me and the bishops just cause to say that you are a seditious³¹² fellow, and one that disliketh of her Majesty's government. And by this means you will incense many against you that otherwise could not but favour your worthiness and learning. I would they durst say - even any bishop of them all³¹³ - say that I dislike her Majesty's government. I would make poor bishops³¹⁴ of them or³¹⁵ I had done with them if they should slander me in this sort. And they dare but raise up this slander against me, I will persecute the whole generation³¹⁶ of them and make them weary of slandering while they live. Shall they deal with me as you do, brother Bridges (think you), with Danaeus³¹⁷ in your book, whom you bring as an enemy to her Majesty's government, whereas he - by name and in manifest words - commendeth and praiseth very highly her Majesty's regiment above all others?

³⁰² To carry it away: To gain the day. *Hamlet* II ii 377: 'Do the boys carry it away?' (OED, p.289)

³⁰³ To strain courtesy: To act or treat with less than due courtesy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁰⁴ Faculty: A dispensation, a licence granted by an ecclesiastical superior to someone to do something which otherwise he could not legally do. (OED, p.718)

³⁰⁵ Living: A benefice. (OED, p.1226) Martin is quite specific about the fact that Dean Bridges has two livings, and it is clear that for most of his career he had at least that many. In 1565, Bishop Horne bestowed 'three rich parsonages' in Hampshire and Berkshire on Bridges (HIMT, p.140), while the *DNB* states that at about the same time he was 'beneficed at Herne in Kent'. (DNB, v.2, p.1228)

³⁰⁶ Dispensation: The granting of licence by a pope, archbishop, or bishop, to a person, to do what is forbidden, or omit what is enjoined by ecclesiastical law, etc. (OED, p.572)

³⁰⁷ Iwis: Certainly, indeed. (OED, p.1122)

³⁰⁸ The phrase 'strain out' may be a reference to *Matthew 23:24: Ye blinde guides, which straine out a gnatte, and swallow a camel*. (GB, p.14) In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, Martin mentions 'blind guides' and 'the blind leaders of the blind'.

³⁰⁹ Quare what Martin means by a 'final lie'.

³¹⁰ I.e., non-residents are not as punctilious as the Puritans about swearing, or taking the oath *ex officio mero*.

³¹¹ This appears to relate to Martin's earlier statement that 'the bishops have these 30 years so built that they are almost come to dig at the foundation of the Church'. Thus, Bridges has overthrown, not the Puritans' arguments, but his own.

³¹² Sedition: A concerted movement to overthrow an established government. (OED, p.1927) Earlier in the *Epitome*, Martin backed away from this very point because of the danger that, in attacking the *Harbour*, he would give his opponents the opportunity to make the very accusation which he now hypothetically raises.

³¹³ Quare whether Martin here reproduces one of Aylmer's habits of speech. The same expression ('any of them all') is put into Aylmer's mouth in a speech in the *Just Censure*.

³¹⁴ Quare why Martin uses the phrase 'poor bishops'.

³¹⁵ Or: Ere. (OED, p.1456)

³¹⁶ Generation: Breed, race, class, kind or set of persons. (OED, p.841)

³¹⁷ Lambert Daneau (1530?-1594), French Huguenot divine.

**A horrible part,
and an ungodly.
Confer the
English with the
Latin copy.**

Or will they deal with me as they have done with Master Beza?³¹⁸ Master Beza (chapter 44 of his *Confessions*,³¹⁹ written in Latin) saith that he disliketh their judgements who think it unlawful for women to bear rule. This book is translated into English, but it hath all this point left out in the English copy, to the end they may (as it is reported) bear³²⁰ her Majesty in hand that Master Beza is against her regiment,³²¹ and so that her Majesty may be brought in detestation of the church government which Master Beza favoureth, as being a church government that cannot stand with the civil government of women. What say you to this gear, bishop?³²² Have you dealt well with Master Beza? Deal thus with me, an you dare. If you will say that you had no such intent as to slander Master Beza in leaving out the said point, then I say that you are enemies unto her Majesty's government in that you will wipe out of a printed and a translated book that which was written in her defense, especially suffering the rest of the book to be printed.

Page 23.

**The prelates have
time of
repentance.**

**Note, you
prelates.**

To return to John of London's foresaid book. I say, although he hath therein spoken against bishops - even our bishops now living, and so against himself, as being now a bishop - yet that his book is a carnal and unlearned book, smelling altogether of earth,³²³ without rime and without reason. And that his speaking against bishops therein was but a snare to catch a bishopric, as it now appeareth. The particular sentences and marginal notes shall be set down, and where I set any note upon your book there shall be an 'M' for difference³²⁴ sake added thereunto. We will begin with your own words unto the bishops - that is, unto yourself and your brethren (page 23).

Oh, they may thank God, say you, that they have this time to breathe them, and bethink them of their naughty and hellish cruelty, and to call daily and hourly for pardon and forgiveness, for let them think that if they be not punished in this life nor repent, God accounteth their deeds so vile and their faults so heinous that no temporal pains be enough for such offences, and therefore reserveth them to eternal damnation. Oh, howl and wail, you priests and prelates, - not for the danger you stand in, of losing your bishoprics and benefices, your pride and your pomp, your dignities and honours, your riches and wealth, but for that hell hath opened her mouth wide and gapeth to swallow you for the shedding of so much innocent blood, for murdering so many martyrs (though this be true in our bishops, yet let me in stead thereof say, for imprisoning so many innocents and murdering the souls of so many in ignorance) and spoiling Christ's church of so many glistering and glorious ornaments, commended of all for their learning and discommended of none for their living. Now, lest any man should think that he writeth these things to popish bishops, you are to know that he wrote them unto such as were bishops in the reign of her Majesty, unto bishops professing the gospel in name, but in deed denying the power thereof. And in the next page, line 10, he hath these words against those bishops - and now against himself:

**The Queen
deceived by her
churchmen.**

Page 24.

Cor. 12.

**Spiritual men
should not meddle
with policy.**

But Christ, knowing the bounds of his office, would not meddle with extern policies, translating of realms, and depriving of true inheritors. No, when he was desired to be arbiter betwixt two *brethren*, he asked not how the plea stood, but who made him an officer?³²⁵ *Divines (methinks) should, by this example, not give themselves too much the bridle and too large a scope to meddle with matters of policy, as this is, whereupon dependeth either the welfare of ilfare of the realm. If these two*

³¹⁸ Theodore Beza (1519-1605), Calvin's successor at Geneva from 1564.

³¹⁹ Beza's *Confession de foi du Chretien*, published in French in 1558, was translated into Latin in 1560.

³²⁰ Bear in hand: To delude. *Much Ado IV i 305*: 'What! Bear her in hand until they come to take hands'. (OED, p.169)

³²¹ Regiment: Rule or government, especially royal or magisterial authority. (OED, p.1782)

³²² Quare whether Martin refers here to Whitgift.

³²³ Earth: Used for the body. (OED, p.623) Martin may also allude to 'The hole or hiding-place of a burrowing animal, as a fox, etc. An example occurs in the *Epistle*, where Martin claims that he will 'kindle such a fire in the holes of these foxes'.

³²⁴ Martin plays on several meanings of the word 'difference': (1) a diversity of opinion; (2) an alteration of or addition to a coat of arms, to distinguish a junior member or branch from the chief line; (3) in logic, differentia. (OED, p.546) Five of the subsequent marginal comments bear this 'M'.

³²⁵ See *Luke 12: 13-4*.

offices - I mean ecclesiastical and civil - be so jumbled together as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions, here can be no quiet, nor well-ordered commonwealth.

**Mark this well,
you that are state
men. 'M'**

**Advice to the
bishops.**

Bishops' lands.

**Will you be
content, Bishop,
it shall be so
now? 'M'**

**In any case, let
there be one
minister above
the rest of his
brethren. 'M'**

I Sam. 21.

**And I would mine
Epistomastix
were in print.
There should you
see that would not
like you. 'M'**

Thus, the reader may see what a pattern³²⁶ of hypocrisy this wicked bishop - since he wrote this book - hath showed himself to be, in taking upon him not only that calling which in his own judgement is unlawful, but also in joining these two offices together, the coupling whereof he confesseth to be joined as well with the most vile disorder as with the dangerous disquietness³²⁷ of the commonwealth. And yet he hath not here left off speaking against bishops. Therefore, as before in the *Epistle*³²⁸ hath been touched, he dealeth more roundly³²⁹ with them (page 103) than before, in these words: *Come off, you bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with your hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike and not princelike. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities*³³⁰ *and other lands to maintain these wars - which you procured and your mischief left her - and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm, that every parish church may have his preacher, every city his superintendent,*³³¹ *to live honestly and not pompously*³³² *- which will never be unless your lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one. Remember that Abimelech, when David in his banishment would have dined with him, kept such hospitality that he had no bread in his house to give him but the shewbread.*³³³ *Where was all his superfluity to keep your pretended hospitality? For that is the cause you allege why you must have thousands, as though you were commanded to keep hospitality rather with a thousand than with a hundred. I would our countryman Wycliffe's book which he wrote - *De Ecclesia* - were in print,*³³⁴ *and there should you see that your wrenches*³³⁵ *and cavillations*³³⁶ *be nothing worth.*³³⁷

Hitherto you see that this Balaam³³⁸ - who hath, I fear me, received the wages of unrighteousness³³⁹ - [hath] spoken in general as well against the callings of bishops and their usurping of civil offices as against their pride, pomp and superfluity.³⁴⁰ Must not he, think you,

³²⁶ Pattern: An example. (OED, p.1530)

³²⁷ Disquietness: The state or quality of being disquiet; want of quiet; unrest; disturbance. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³²⁸ I.e., in Martin's *Epistle*.

³²⁹ Roundly: Plainly, outspokenly, bluntly. (OED, p.1854)

³³⁰ Temporality: Temporal or material possession, especially of the church or clergy. (OED, p.2259)

³³¹ Superintendent: Adopted as an etymological rendering of Greek 'overseer' of the N.T.; used controversially instead of 'bishop' by extreme Protestant reformers of the 16th century and subsequently by Catholics with reference to bishops of the Church of England. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³³² Pompously: In a pompous manner; with magnificence or splendour; in pomp or state. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³³³ Shewbread: The twelve loaves that were placed every Sabbath 'before the Lord' on a table beside the altar of incense, and at the end of the week were eaten by the priests alone. (OED, p.1973) I Samuel 21:6: *So the Priest gave him halowed bread; for there was no bread there save the shewbread that was taken from before the Lord, to put hot bread there, the day that it was taken away.* (GB, p.131)

³³⁴ John Wycliffe (c.1329-84), English religious reformer. It would appear from Martin's remark that Wycliffe's *De Ecclesia* was not in print in England in 1588. In *De Ecclesia*, Wycliffe had denounced the whole Catholic sacerdotal system, and had laid down the Protestant doctrine that men could come into contact with God without the aid of priests.

³³⁵ Wrench: A strained or wrested meaning; a forced or false interpretation. (OED, p.301) In the text of the *Harbour*, this is 'wrinches'.

³³⁶ Cavillation: The use of legal quibbles, so as to overreach or defraud. (OED, p.301)

³³⁷ Nothing worth: Of no value. (OED, p.1416) According to Pierce, this part of the *Harbour* was 'widely quoted against [Aylmer] by his contemporaries'. (MT, p.149)

³³⁸ Balaam: Name of the prophet used connotatively; one who follows religion for gain. (OED, p.148)

³³⁹ Peter 2:15: *Which forsaking the right way, have gone astraye, following the way of Balaam, the sonne of Bosor, which loved the wages of unrighteousness.* (GB, p.111)

³⁴⁰ Martin's delight in being able to use Aylmer's words against him is very evident.

Page 34, line 15.

Doth he mean
Watson the
pursuivant, trow
you? 'M'

have either a most seared³⁴¹ or a most guilty conscience, that can find of his heart to continue in that calling - yea, and in the abuse of that calling - which his own conscience, if he would but awake it, telleth him to be unlawful? The Lord give him repentance - if he belongeth unto him - or speedily rid his church of such a scourge.³⁴² And may not all the former speeches be fitly applied unto him? Is,³⁴³ without doubt. But the next he may be thought to have written to himself, which he hath set down page 34: *As if you should say, my Lord Lubber of London³⁴⁴ is a tyrant; ergo, he is no bishop. I warrant you, though he granted you the antecedent³⁴⁵ (which he can hardly³⁴⁶ deny) yet he would deny the consequent, or else he would call for wily Watson³⁴⁷ to help him.* Here, brother London, you have crossed yourself over the costard³⁴⁸ once in your days. I think you would have spent 3 of the best elms which you have cut down in Fulham,³⁴⁹ and 3 pence halfpenny besides, that I had never met with your book. But unless you and John of Exeter,³⁵⁰ with Thomas Winchester³⁵¹ - who have been in times past hypocrites as you have been - leave off to hinder the Word and vex godly men, I will make you to be noble and famous bishops forever. And might not a man well judge you three to be the desperate Dicks³⁵² which your brother London (page 29) affirm to be good bishops in England? For to allude unto your own words (pages 28, 29): Whereas other bishops in the land, for the most (only John Canterbury excepted) - lest they should one day answer for their proceedings unto her Majesty and gain the evil will of the noblemen and gentlemen that favour the sincerity of the gospel - will not seem to be such dealers as you 3 are (though they serve at an inch³⁵³ in their place to maintain his Grace's pride and cruelty, to stay the course of the gospel, and to fetch in men within the compass of subscription),³⁵⁴ yet are they those for the most part that will imprison none and trouble very few, unless it be for fear that if they should tolerate too much they should have a check³⁵⁵ of their worshipful paltripolitan.³⁵⁶ But you three, like furious and senseless brute beasts, dread no peril, look no farther than your feet, spare none, but with

³⁴¹ Martin presumably alludes to *I Timothy 4:2: Which speake lyes through hypocrisie, and have their consciences burned with an hote yron.* (GB, p.98) Interestingly, in the King James version, the verse is rendered as follows: *Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron.*

³⁴² Scourge: Figuratively, a thing or person that is the instrument of divine chastisement. (OED, p.1909)

³⁴³ The OED glosses this as an obsolete form of 'yes'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁴⁴ It would appear that when the *Harbour* was published, Edmund Grindal was Bishop of London. He was nominated on June 22, 1559 and consecrated December 21. (Kinney, p.19)

³⁴⁵ Antecedent: In logic, opposite to consequent; the statement upon which any consequence logically depends; hence, the premises of a syllogism; the first part of a conditional proposition. (OED, p.77)

³⁴⁶ Hardly: Not easily. (OED, p.926)

³⁴⁷ According to Pierce, Aylmer refers to Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln from 1557-9, 'one of Stephen Gardiner's most industrious agents in the work of combating and persecuting the reformers'. (MT, p.150) In his marginal comment, Martin slyly suggests that Aylmer, the current Bishop of London, has his own 'wily Watson' working for him.

³⁴⁸ Costard: Applied derisively to the head. (OED, p.434)

³⁴⁹ The historical records show that Aylmer was in trouble with the authorities in 1579 and 1585 for cutting down his woods, and Richard Bancroft, his successor in the episcopal see of London, alleged that Aylmer 'made £6000 of his woods, and left scarce enough to find the present bishop yearly fuel'. (MT, p.47; Strype, *Annals*, II, pt. 2, pp.693-5)

³⁵⁰ John Wolton (1535?-1594), Bishop of Exeter from 1579-1594. (DNB, v.21, pp.910-11)

³⁵¹ Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), Bishop of Winchester.

³⁵² Dick: A familiar form of Richard; hence, fellow, lad, man. (OED, p.543) Pierce points out that Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, refers to Martin's use of the term 'desperate Dick' in the *Admonition*, thus showing that a copy of the *Epitome* was in his possession when he completed that work prior to its publication in January, 1589. (MT, pp.71-2, 150; *Admonition*, p.50)

³⁵³ At an inch: Close at hand; (ready) at any instant; in immediate readiness. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁵⁴ Subscription: A declaration of one's assent to articles of religion by signing one's name; specifically, in the Church of England, assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles. (OED, p.2171) In the Marprelate tracts, 'subscription' usually refers to assent to Whitgift's *Articles* of 1584 which included assent to the contents of *The Book of Common Prayer*.

³⁵⁵ Check: A reproof, reprimand, rebuke. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁵⁶ Although not excusing them entirely, Martin exempts most of the Elizabethan bishops from the accusations of cruelty and inhumanity which he directs at Aylmer, Wolton, Cooper ('you three') and Whitgift.

tooth and nail cry out, *Down with that side that favoureth the gospel so. Fetch them up with pursuivants to the Gatehouse, to the Fleet, to the Marshalsea, to the Clink, to Newgate, to the Counter*³⁵⁷ with them. It makes no matter with you (I follow your own words, brother London) so you may show yourselves (in show, though not in truth) obedient subjects to the Queen and disobedient traitors to God and the realm.

Thus far I have followed your words, howbeit I think you are not well pleased with me because you mean not to stand to anything you have written. Nay, you hold it unlawful now for a preacher, as far as the Two Tables of the Law³⁵⁸ do reach, to speak against bishops (much less any ungodly statute) and yet you say (page 49, line 7) that *Preachers must not be afraid to rebuke the proudest - yea, kings and queens - so far forth as the Two Tables of the Law do reach, as we see in Samuel, Nathan, Elias, John Baptist and many other. They may not stoop to every man's beck, and study to please man more than God.*³⁵⁹ Thus far are your words, and they are as far from your practice as you are from the imitation of these godly examples which you have brought. I see a bishopric hath cooled your courage, for in those days that you wrote this book you would have our Parliament to overrule her Majesty, and not to yield an inch unto her of their privileges. Your words I will set down.

Page 53, line 19.

The Parliament resisted King Henry VIII.

*In like manner, say you (page 53), if the Parliament use their privileges, the King can ordain nothing without them. If he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their folly in permitting it. Wherefore, in my judgement, those that in King Henry VIII's days would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute were good fathers of their country, and worthy of commendation in defending their liberty, etc.*³⁶⁰

I assure you, brother John, you have spoken many things worthy the noting, and I would our Parliament men would mark this action done in King Henry VIII's days, and follow it in bringing in reformation and putting down lord bishops, with all other points of superstition.³⁶¹ They may, in your judgement, not only do anything against their King's or Queen's mind that is behooveful to the honour of God and the good of the commonwealth, but even withstand the proceedings of their sovereign.

Women capable of the ministry in regard of their sex by the Bishop of London's judgement.

But methinks you have a palpable³⁶² error in the 48th, 49th, and 50th page of your book, which is that women are incapable of the ministry, not in regard of their sex, but of certain wants and imperfections in their sex, viz., their want of learning and courage, so that if a woman should be brought up in learning, and trained in disputations, and were not milder in nature than men (of all which wants in women you speak, page 48) but knew their quarter-stroke (which knowledge you require in the minister, page 49), then by your reason they might preach in your diocese. Whosoever will read your 50th and 51st pages shall find this to be your judgement.

³⁵⁷ London prisons.

³⁵⁸ The two division of the decalogue, relating to religious and moral duties respectively, held to have occupied the two 'tables of stone'. (OED, p.2229)

³⁵⁹ See *Harbour: For those that be preachers, must be no mylke soppes, no whitelyvered gentlemen, that for the frowning and cloudy countenance of every man in authoritie, will leave his tackle and crie peccavi. They must be of such nature, as the Poet saieth of Crito, in vultu gravitas, in verbis fides. They may not be afrayed to rebuke the proudest, no not kynges and quenes so farfurth as the two tables reacheth. As we see in Samule, Nathan, Elie, John Babtist, and many other. They may not stoupe to every mans becke, and study to please man more then God. If heresies arise, etc.*

³⁶⁰ See *Harbour: In like maner, if the parliament use their privileges: the King can ordein nothing without them. If he do: it is his fault in usurping it, and their follye in permitting it: wherefore in my judgement those that in King Henry the viii daies, would not graunt him, that his proclamacions shuld have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the countri, and wurthy commendacion in defending their liberty. Wold God that that court of late daies, had feared no more the fearcenes of a woman, then they did the displeasure of such a man.*

³⁶¹ Superstition: An irrational religious system; a false, pagan, or idolatrous religion. (OED, p.2194)

³⁶² Palpable: Easily perceived; plain, evident, apparent, obvious. (OED, p.1499)

Pages 110, 111.

Yes, we have such plenty of calves in England that we have calves to our bishops.

Page 112, line 27.

Besides all this, the reader shall find such earthly³⁶³ and carnal stuff³⁶⁴ in all these pages that you must needs give this judgement of the whole book: surely flesh³⁶⁵ - even a lump³⁶⁶ of mere³⁶⁷ flesh - writ it. For there you shall see the Englishman preferred before other people only because he feedeth upon, and hath in his possession, plenty of sheep, oxen, kie,³⁶⁸ calves (I keep John Aylmer's words), conies,³⁶⁹ fish, and whereas other nations feed upon roots,³⁷⁰ raw herbs, oil, grapes, etc.³⁷¹ In the last place, against the French King, he railleth and outrageth³⁷² in this wise: *That Turkish*³⁷³ *Valesius*,³⁷⁴ *that French tyrant. Is he a king or a devil, a Christian or a Lucifer, that by his cursed confederacy with the Turk, [etc.]*³⁷⁵ Page 113, line 4: *O wicked caitiff*³⁷⁶ *and firebrand of hell.* And, line 8: *O foolish Germans*,³⁷⁷ *which conspire not together with the rest of Christian princes to pull out such a traitor to God and his kingdom by the ears out of France, and hang him against the sun a-drying.*

The discreet reader of that which hath been spoken may apparently see the indiscreet brutishness that was in you even then - when you were best worthy to be accounted of - and thereby may gather what you are now, when you have bidden farewell not only unto the sincerity of religion - which then you seemed to embrace - but even unto all humanity and civil behaviour. And yet you do not thus leave the French King, but in this page 113 (line 13) you say that the devil hath none of his side now but him, to maintain both the spiritual and the temporal Antichrist. In the same page: *Wherefore, seeing he hath forsaken God, like an apostata*,³⁷⁸ *and sold himself to the devil, etc.* And lines 27, 28: *Proud Holofernes*.³⁷⁹ *Oh, blessed is that man that loseth his life against such a termagant*.³⁸⁰ Again (page 114, line 2): *But this Julia*³⁸¹ *the Apostata is named a devil's name, Christianissimus*.³⁸² Line 3: *And, like a traitorous Saracen*,³⁸³ *is Christ's enemy.* Here he leaveth the French King, and here I leave his book.

³⁶³ I.e., 'material', as opposed to 'spiritual'.

³⁶⁴ Stuff: Worthless ideas, discourse or writing; nonsense, rubbish. (OED, p.2159)

³⁶⁵ Flesh: The sensual appetites and inclinations; in theological language, the depraved nature of man in its conflict with the promptings of the Spirit. (OED, p.767) Martin presumably alludes here to Paul's epistle to the Romans, and in particular to *Romans 8:4-9*. (GB, p.73)

³⁶⁶ Lump of clay: The human body; a soulless person. (OED, p.1248)

³⁶⁷ Mere: Pure, unmixed, undiluted. (OED, p.1309)

³⁶⁸ Kie: Plural of 'cow'. (OED, p.1153)

³⁶⁹ Cony: A rabbit. (OED, p.420)

³⁷⁰ Root: The turnip or carrot and, by extension, any plant of this kind. (OED, p.1846)

³⁷¹ See *Harbour: They eat hearbes: and thou Beefe and Mutton. Thei rotes: and thou butter, chese, and egges. Their drinck commonly water: and thou good ale and beare.*

³⁷² Outrage: To do violence to; to wrong grossly; treat with gross indignity or insult. (OED, p.1476)

³⁷³ Turkish: Resembling the Turks or their character; cruel, savage, barbarous. (OED, p.2383)

³⁷⁴ Latin for the French house of Valois.

³⁷⁵ Francis I (1494-1547), King of France from 1515-1547. During his wars with the Habsburgs, he allied himself with the Muslim Turks.

³⁷⁶ Caitiff: A base, mean, despicable wretch; a villain. (OED, p.266)

³⁷⁷ Aylmer appears to refer here to the German Protestant princes who were allies of Francis I during his wars with the Habsburgs.

³⁷⁸ Apostate: A turncoat, a renegade. (OED, p.88)

³⁷⁹ The story of Holofernes, the commander of the Assyrian army, is told in the book of Judith in the Apocrypha.

³⁸⁰ Termagant: An imaginary deity held in medieval Christendom to be worshipped by Moslems; in the mystery plays representing a violent overbearing personage; also, a savage, violent, boisterous, overbearing, or quarrelsome person; a blusterer, bully. (OED, p.2266)

³⁸¹ A misprint for Julian? Julian the Apostate was Flavius Claudius Julianus, 331?-363, Roman emperor (361-63), nephew of Constantine I and successor of Constantius II. Sometime in the course of his studies, Julian abandoned Christianity. Although as emperor he issued an edict of religious toleration, he tried unsuccessfully to restore paganism.

³⁸² Catholicus, a title inherited by the King of Spain, as the monarch of England is entitled *Fidei Defensor*, and the King of France was styled 'Christianissimus'.

Now I entreat the reader to consider these things that I have set down out of his book, and judge whether such things as he wrote could proceed from a religious heart, and whether the book be not an offspring proceeding from a lump of earthly flesh. This book is almost all the tokens³⁸⁴ of Christianity that ever he showed. Since that time he became bishop, he hath been a continual oppressor of the church of God. His practices against God and his saints was the only cause why I have taken this pains³⁸⁵ with his book, and he shall be more beholding³⁸⁶ unto me unless he leave his tyranny.

But now, alas, alas, brother Bridges! I had forgotten you all this while. My brother London and I were so busy that we scarce thought of you. Why could not you put me in mind³⁸⁷ that you stayed³⁸⁸ all the while? But it is no matter. We will make the quicker dispatch of our business. You shall see I will be the more favourable³⁸⁹ to you. And let me see how roundly you overturn these Puritans, for you are now to overthrow the several parts of their discipline.³⁹⁰ Our brethren say that our Saviour Christ ordained an holy ministry of men for the building of his church, and prove the saying by the place of Paul (Ephesians 4:11,12). Your mastership 3 manner of ways show the place they allege³⁹¹ to make nothing³⁹² for their purpose. *First*, say you, *Paul speaketh of divers functions*,³⁹³ *therefore nothing of ecclesiastical government*.³⁹⁴ This reason, brethren, is a very sound one. If you should deny it, then indeed I must think you not to be altogether so leaden-headed³⁹⁵ as your brother Bridges. For do you think that a man entreating³⁹⁶ of the Mayor of London, the two Sheriffs, and their offices, speaketh by and by of some part of the order and government of the City of London or of some of the governors of the City? As though my Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs³⁹⁷ were now become to be any of the governors of the City of London,

³⁸³ Saracen: A non-Christian; a heathen or pagan; an infidel. (OED, p.1886)

³⁸⁴ Token: Something serving as proof of a fact or statement; an evidence. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

³⁸⁵ Take pains: Trouble taken in accomplishing or attempting something. (OED, p.14949)

³⁸⁶ Beholding: Under obligation. (OED, p.176)

³⁸⁷ Put in mind: Remind. (OED, p.1326)

³⁸⁸ Stay: To wait for, await (a person, an event, etc.). (OED, p.2116)

³⁸⁹ Favourable: Well-disposed; gracious. (OED, p.732)

³⁹⁰ Discipline: *Eccles.* The system by which the practice of a church, as distinguished from its doctrine, is regulated. *spec.*, in *Eng. Ch. Hist.*, The ecclesiastical polity of the Puritan or Presbyterian party (thence styled Disciplinarians) in the 16th and 17th centuries. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) As Pierce notes, at the time of the Marprelate tracts, the word 'discipline' was a 'current and recognized name for the form of church government which the Puritans were seeking to establish' as, for example, in the title of John Udall's *A Demonstration of Discipline*. (MT, p.270)

³⁹¹ Allege: To cite, quote for or against. (OED, p.48)

³⁹² Make nothing: To have a low value. (OED, p.1263)

³⁹³ Function: The kind of action proper to a person as belonging to a class, especially to the holder of any office; hence, the office itself. (OED, p.817) Bridges' argument thus appears to be that scripture prescribes certain duties which are required to be performed in the church, rather than a form of church government.

³⁹⁴ See *Defence*, p.61: *Now onelie to the present purpose, for the which our brethren heere alledge this place, the Apostle heere citeth it not for anie orders of ecclesiasticall government, concerning externall discipline or jurisdiction, in what prescribed manner it should be observed, directed, set foorth, and perpetuallie continued in Christs church: yea, the chiefest part of those governours, which the Apostle setteth downe, is altered, by taking awaye the three principall named persons, Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists. But S. Paule speaking there, of their diverse gifts and functions: to what purpose doo our brethren say, Christ gave them: To the building up (saye they) of the body of Christ in the unitie of faith and knowledge. What is this to the matter that we now search to finde in the scriptures, that is to saie, for some orders prescribed and set foorth, concerning the externall forme of ecclesiasticall governement for the church, to be directed by, in all things? Can we finde this, in this testimonie of the Scripture?*

³⁹⁵ Leaden: Figuratively, of base quality. (OED, p.1189)

³⁹⁶ Entreat: To treat of a person. (OED, p.666)

³⁹⁷ Sheriff: The City of London annually elects two sheriffs. (OED, p.1973) In late 1588, when the *Epitome* was printed, the Mayor was Sir Martin Calthorp (*Aldermen of the City of London*, v.1, p.102); the Sheriffs were Hugh Offley (v.1, p.208) and Richard Saltonstall (v.1, pp.11, 201).

or their offices any part of that government! Who seeth not, by this example, the folly of our precise brethren's reason evidently declared? *The apostle, say they, speaketh of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, doctors and their functions (for this Master Doctor confesseth); therefore, he speaketh of some ecclesiastical governors, and of some part of ecclesiastical government.* Apostles, prophets, pastors and doctors are church governors with them, and their office a part of ecclesiastical government! Let them learn, let them learn, simple figgins³⁹⁸ as they are, that the apostle speaketh in this place of ecclesiastical functions, and not of any part of ecclesiastical government. For so Master Doctor in this 61st page (compare line 17 with line 22) teacheth us to speak English, making an ecclesiastical function to be a thing altogether differing in nature from every part of ecclesiastical government. A very proper and pleasant distinction!

You see that cozenage is likely within a while to be the steward of my brother Lichfield's house.

In the second place, this testimony brought in by our brethren is proved to make nothing to their purpose by two reasons. And what bomination³⁹⁹ omberty⁴⁰⁰ of reasons here be to perceed⁴⁰¹ forth one head, and yet every one fause,⁴⁰² as it is true that my good brother Overton,⁴⁰³ the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, sold his chancellorship at one time unto two several men, to wit, to Doctor Becon⁴⁰⁴ and the good Chancellor, Master Zachary Babington. Well, parson Bridges' 1st reason is after this sort: *That place which showeth gifts and functions to be ordained in the church to the building up of the Body of Christ in the unity of the faith and knowledge, maketh nothing to prove that there is an ecclesiastical government prescribed in the Word.* Thou sayest even true, parson John. For what hath the functions of pastors, doctors, apostles, etc. to do with church government? A pretty matter! Every beggarly apostle, pastor, doctor or evangelist - that cannot spend, no, I am sure, not 40 marks⁴⁰⁵ yearly by all the spiritual living he hath in his hand - must now be a church governor with our brethren,⁴⁰⁶ and their offices be a part of church government. Why, brethren, what mean you by this place you have brought? Do you think that the apostle by those functions and those persons spoken of (Ephesians 4:12) meaneth that any of them⁴⁰⁷ functions should be a lordlike function, or any of the persons lord? You say he doth not. No, doth not? Then out of your own grant⁴⁰⁸ he speaketh nothing of ecclesiastical government and governors. Because every ecclesiastical governor must needs be a lord, and so ecclesiastical government a lordly government. If this be not true, ask my brother Bridges. For should God ordain great men and great lords to be rulers in commonwealths - over whom he hath not so great care as he hath for his church - and ordain none but beggarly fellows (not able to spend 200 marks by the year - nay, nor 20, neither) to bear rule in his church?

³⁹⁸ Undefined.

³⁹⁹ The OED glosses this as an aphetic form of 'abomination'. Martin also uses the word in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*: 'By reason of his bomination learning'.

⁴⁰⁰ Omberty: A variant of umberty, 'abundance'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Pierce traces the derivation of 'omberty' to 'umber', a dialect form of 'number'. (MT, p.155) The word is also used in the Langham *Letter* of 1575: 'az I may gess by the omberty of hiz books'. (Kuin, p.53)

⁴⁰¹ In the original, this is 'perceede'.

⁴⁰² Fause: Dialect for 'false'. (OED, p.732)

⁴⁰³ William Overton (1525?-1609), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1579-1609. (DNB, v.14, pp.1283-4) According to Pierce, Overton first sold the chancellorship to Dr. Becon, who had assisted him to the bishopric of Lincoln through his influence with the Earl of Leicester. Afterwards, for a consideration from his son-in-law, Zachary Babington, he made Becon and Babington joint chancellors. Later, he made Babington sole chancellor, which resulted in 'endless lawsuits'. Pierce recounts several other incidents in Overton's career which show him to have been avaricious and unprincipled, the most telling of which is Lord Burghley's statement to the Queen that Overton 'made lxx Ministers in one day for Money, some Taylors, some shoemakers and others Craftsmen', to which he added the comment, 'I am sure the greatest part of them are not worthy to keep horses'. (MT, pp.156-7)

⁴⁰⁴ John Becon. (Carlson, p.292)

⁴⁰⁵ Mark: A money of account, originally representing the value of a mark weight of pure silver. (OED, p.1280)

⁴⁰⁶ I.e., the Puritans.

⁴⁰⁷ A misprint in the original, which Pierce renders as 'the' (MT, p.157). Perhaps 'those'?

⁴⁰⁸ Grant: Admission. (OED, p.880)

I grant, indeed, that you brethren Puritans say the truth as it ought to be, that bishops or ministers ought not to be lords in any wise, either as ministers or as civil magistrates.⁴⁰⁹ Thus, indeed, it ought to be, I and my brethren the bishops do grant unto you. And you know, we would it were so. But you know, also, that our laws will have church governors to be lords, and what should our bishops (good noble⁴¹⁰ men) refuse that which the law would have them take? Get you the law to be against their lordly callings, and see whether they will not give over⁴¹¹ their lord bishopdoms whensoever law compelleth them. And whensoever they give over, they shall have no cause to thank such envious brethren as you are. Howsoever it be, you see the apostle - speaking of all sorts of ministers by your own confession - speaketh nothing of any lord or lordly government among them all, and therefore speaketh nothing of church government. Again, all those functions whereof the apostle maketh any mention (as my brother Bridges hath well noted) are ordained to the building of the Body of Christ in the unity of faith and knowledge.⁴¹² Now I would any Puritan of you all⁴¹³ durst say that our church governors - that is, our venerable and worshipful lord bishops - are ordained of God for the building of his Body, which I know you will say to be done by preaching. As though lord bishops - being civil governors - should preach! Were it meet⁴¹⁴ (I pray you) to see Steven Gardiner⁴¹⁵ - being then of the Privy Council⁴¹⁶ - in the pulpit? Councillors now must have something to do with pulpit matters, must they, I pray you? Will you allow that civil governors should be ordinary preachers in your new platform⁴¹⁷ of a reformed church? I know you will not. And what reason is it, then, that you should require bishops to be ordinary preachers, seeing every bishop is a civil governor?⁴¹⁸ I tell you true, I am so far from thinking that bishops ought to be ordinary preachers (seeing they are civil governors) that I hold it a sin for them to preach ordinarily. And, brethren, you do not well therefore in urging civil governors to preach, especially seeing you yourselves, in your platforms, are against this point.

And because it shall be seen that I deal uprightly⁴¹⁹ between you and the P. P.⁴²⁰ prelates, I will set down⁴²¹ my reason, and answer it when you can. It shall be concluded, I warrant you, in mood⁴²² and figure.⁴²³ But indeed I have invented a new mood of mine own (for I have been a great Schoolman⁴²⁴ in my days) which containeth in it a great mystery. The mystery I will expound, it may be, in a book for the purpose. In the meantime, if you resort⁴²⁵ to my son Martin Senior (that

⁴⁰⁹ Martin's third iteration of this point; it is clearly one of his primary concerns.

⁴¹⁰ Martin's reference to the 'noble clergy' in the *Epistle* is tinged with the same sarcasm.

⁴¹¹ Give over: To give up, resign, surrender. (OED, p.853)

⁴¹² See *Defence*, p.61: *But S. Paule speaking there, of their diverse gifts and functions: to what purpose doo our brethren say, Christ gave them: To the building up (saye they) of the body of Christ in the unities of faith and knowledge.*

⁴¹³ Martin here uses this distinctive locution a second time.

⁴¹⁴ Meet: Fitting, proper. (OED, p.1302)

⁴¹⁵ Stephen Gardiner (c.1483-1555), Bishop of Winchester, an arch-persecutor of Protestants under Queen Mary.

⁴¹⁶ An allusion to Whitgift's position on the Privy Council.

⁴¹⁷ A plan or draught of church government or discipline. (OED, p.1602)

⁴¹⁸ In the PermeCanterburyKenold syllogism which follows, Martin credits Whitgift with the statement 'Every lord bishop is a civil magistrate'.

⁴¹⁹ Uprightly: With strict observance of justice, honesty. (OED, p.2437)

⁴²⁰ In the *Epistle*, Martin speaks of 'proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent and pernicious prelates', and it may be two of these adjectives which he intends by the initials 'P.P.'.

⁴²¹ Perhaps a play on 'uprightly'.

⁴²² Mood: In logic, any one of the classes into which each of the four figures of valid categorical syllogisms is subdivided with reference to the quality and quantity of the constituent propositions. (OED, p., 1352)

⁴²³ Figure: In logic, the form of a syllogism as determined by the position of the middle term in the premises. (OED, p.749)

⁴²⁴ Schoolman: One of the writers, from about the 9th to the 14th centuries, who treat of logic, metaphysics, and theology as taught in the medieval 'schools' or universities; a medieval scholastic. (OED, p.1903)

⁴²⁵ Resort: To betake oneself, repair or go, to a person for aid. (OED, p.1809)

worthy wight)⁴²⁶ he, it may be, shall be able to unfold⁴²⁷ the secrecy thereof. This is the syllogism; the mood answereth⁴²⁸ unto celarent,⁴²⁹ elder daughter to barbara,⁴³⁰ and I will have it called CanterburyKenold.⁴³¹

Perne No civil magistrate can be an ordinary preacher without sin. ce

Canterbury Every lord bishop is a civil magistrate. Therefore, la

Kenold⁴³² No lord bishop can be an ordinary preacher without sin. rent

What say you now, brethren? Would you have civil governors (such as our bishops are) to preach? I hope not. For although I cannot deny but some of our bishops are very great break-pulpits,⁴³³ and have as marvellous raw⁴³⁴ gifts in preaching as any that ever came to Paul's Wharf,⁴³⁵ yet surely I cannot see what warrant⁴³⁶ you have to urge civil officers to preach. Wherefore also you do not well in crying out against civil governors because they preach not, as though their function were an ecclesiastical function, or as though you would have any to preach who had not an ecclesiastical function. If you demand, then, whether bishops be ecclesiastical or civil governors, they themselves say beath, and ai say, brethren, that for the stopping of your meathes⁴³⁷ and other causes I wad counsel them, if they wad be ruled bai me, to be nether nother. Now if yaw⁴³⁸ demand again whether bishops sin in being ministers (seeing they are civil officers) or in bearing civil offices (seeing they are ministers), I have already showed that civil officers must be no ministers. And my brother London hath long since affirmed it to be dangerous for the commonwealth that ministers should be civil governors. And therefore, brethren, to answer this question of yours, you are to know that I am fully of your brother London's mind, who saith (page 14,⁴³⁹ line 19 of his *Harbour*): [*If these 2 offices, I mean the ecclesiastical and civil, be so jumbled together as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions, there can be no quiet, nor any well-ordered commonwealth.* Now, brethren, you must not think the worse of this learned man's judgement because he is a bishop himself. For even [sic?] since he hath joined these 2 offices together, he hath proved his own saying to be true for his part, in that his whole endeavour hath been, ever since he

⁴²⁶ Wight: A human being, man or woman; person. (OED, p.2547)

⁴²⁷ Unfold: To disclose or reveal by statement or exposition. (OED, p.2415)

⁴²⁸ Answer: To correspond with (in any respect). (OED, p.77)

⁴²⁹ Celarent: A mnemonic word designating the second mood of the first syllogistic figure, in which a universal negative major premise and a universal affirmative minor give a universal negative conclusion. (OED, p.302) The syllogism designated by the mnemonic 'Celarent' is of the form 'no M are P/ all S are M/ no S are P'. (Engelbretzen, p.21) Martin's Pernecanterburykenold syllogism is of this form.

⁴³⁰ Barbara: A Latin word taken as a mnemonic term for its three A's: 'A' indicating a universal affirmative proposition; designates the first mood of the first syllogistic figure, in which both premises and the conclusion are universal affirmatives. (OED, p.156) The syllogism designated by the mnemonic 'Barbara' is of the form 'all M are P/ all S are M/ all S are P'. (Engelbretzen, p.21)

⁴³¹ Presumably, the statements which form the three terms of the syllogism are taken from the writings of Perne, Whitgift (Canterbury) and Kennall.

⁴³² In the *Epistle*, Martin calls Dr. John Kennall a 'turncoat'.

⁴³³ Martin presumably alludes to the silencing of Puritan preachers.

⁴³⁴ Raw: Inexperienced, unskilled, untrained. (OED, p.1752)

⁴³⁵ Paul's Wharf: 'A large landing place with a common stair upon the river of Thames, at the end of a street called Paule's wharf hill, which runneth down from Paule's chain.' (*Stow's Survey of London*, p.325) Martin substitutes 'Paul's Wharf' for 'Paul's Cross', where sermons were preached in the pulpit on the south side of St. Mary Spital in Bishopsgate Ward.

⁴³⁶ Warrant: Command or permission of a superior which frees the doer of an act from blame or legal responsibility; authorization, sanction; an act of authorization. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁴³⁷ I.e., the bishops' silencing of Puritan preachers.

⁴³⁸ The preceding sentence is in dialect.

⁴³⁹ A misprint for page 24. See *Harbour*, p.24: *If those. ii. offices, I meane Ecclesiastical and civil, be so jumbled together, as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions: there can be no quiet, nor any wel ordered common welth.*

was bishop,⁴⁴⁰ that we should have no quiet nor any well-ordered church or commonwealth. I hope by this time you see it plain that bishops sin both because they are civil governors and, being civil governors, because they are bishops.⁴⁴¹

Your 2nd reason is page 61, line 39: *Paul speaketh of these gifts, and of this building, and of the orders and ends thereof; therefore, he speaketh nothing of ecclesiastical government.*⁴⁴² This is put home,⁴⁴³ I trow, and overthroweth the Puritans out of all cess.⁴⁴⁴ It is altogether as good a reason as an old man yielded⁴⁴⁵ sometimes to Sir Thomas More concerning the cause of Goodwin Sands⁴⁴⁶ and the stopping⁴⁴⁷ of Sandwich Haven,⁴⁴⁸ which was that Tenterden⁴⁴⁹ steeple was the cause of Goodwin Sands.⁴⁵⁰ Master Doctor's 2nd reason to show that the place of Paul maketh nothing for ecclesiastical government is after this sort: *Paul, in reckoning up these gifts, referreth all to the unity in doctrine of faith, and to the holy conversation* ⁴⁵¹*of life; ergo, he maketh no mention of ecclesiastical order of government.*⁴⁵²

That were a pitiful hearing indeed, sir, that the apostle should speak of ecclesiastical government and speak not a word of any lordlike government, that the apostle should make any mention of ecclesiastical governors and not name a lord among them all. Fie, fie! This were too bad, and my Lord of Canterbury would never abide such scripture.

*'But in good sadness,'*⁴⁵³ saith the Puritans, *'presbyter John Bridges, will this place of Paul prove no part of this government which you oppugn? Will it not prove that God hath ordained pastors and doctors to continue in his church unto the world's end?' 'No, forsooth, will it not,'* quoth the Dean. *'And I am so far from thinking that God hath ordained your preaching pastors and doctors to continue always in his church, that I have made a prayer (page 655, line 28 of my book) - as my brother Martin, you know, hath noted already*⁴⁵⁴ *- that we might never see that day in England wherein preaching might be had in all places. His Grace of Canterbury (I tell you) hath condemned the preaching of the Word (as being the only ordinary means to salvation) to be an heresy.*⁴⁵⁵ *This*

**In the Epistle to
the terrible
priests.**

⁴⁴⁰ Aylmer became bishop of London in 1577. Martin thus seems to have followed Aylmer's career for at least twelve years.

⁴⁴¹ Martin has used the bishops' own words against them to prove this point, through the PerneCanterbuyKenold syllogism and Aylmer's statements in the *Harbour*.

⁴⁴² See *Defence*, p.61: *This is all that S. Paule in this place speaketh, of these gifts, and of this building, and of the order and ends thereof.*

⁴⁴³ Put home: To thrust or plunge a weapon home or into a body. (OED, p.1715)

⁴⁴⁴ Cess: Assessment, estimation. (OED, p.308)

⁴⁴⁵ Yield: To return (an answer, greeting, or the like). (OED, p.2590)

⁴⁴⁶ Goodwin Sands are shown on Norden's map of Kent in Camden's *Britannia*. See also *Merchant of Venice* III i 4: '[T]he Goodwins, I think they call the place; a very dangerous flat, and fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried.'

⁴⁴⁷ Stop: To fill up, plug, close up. (OED, p.2137)

⁴⁴⁸ One of the Cinque Ports.

⁴⁴⁹ Tenterden is situated in Kent, approximately 40 miles from Sandwich Haven.

⁴⁵⁰ The source of this story about Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) has not been identified.

⁴⁵¹ Conversation: Behaviour; manner of life. (OED, p.418)

⁴⁵² See *Defence*, p.61: *So that, heere he referreth all to unities in doctrine of faith, and to holie convesation fo life, and not to the externall orders of the churches ecclesiasticall government.*

⁴⁵³ Sad: Serious. (OED, p.1872)

⁴⁵⁴ See *Defence*, p.655: *Our Brethren nowe, to close up all this part, against our Divine Service and publike prayer, conclude it also with a prayer of their making and say: God graunt therefore, that in steede of ordinary formes of prayers, we may have preaching in all places. And in place of Amen, God forbid say I, with an other prayer to the contrarie: (if it be his good will) not so muche (good Lorde) to punishe us, that this our brethrens prayer should be graunted. For then, not onely this that nowe we have, but simply all other formes of prayers, should be quite and cleane abolished and taken from us.* See also Martin's *Epistle* for Bridges' prayer.

⁴⁵⁵ Martin claims in the *Epistle* that this statement was made during Whitgift's examination of John Penry; however, Whitgift at least partially repudiates the statement in the *Admonition* at p.38: *That*

scripture of Paul - that God hath appointed preaching pastors to continue in his church unto the world's end - is a chief ground of the former heresy. I will allow of no such scripture, I trow, as may impeach the opinion which my Lord of Canterbury conceived of the preaching of the Word.'

You see, therefore, my friends, that Master Dean in this point will have nothing to do with you or Paul's testimony. And you are not ignorant, I am sure, how soon all lords would be out of the ministry if we had none in England but the pastors spoken of by Paul, and therefore Master Doctor hath prayed against this order. Yea, and he hath brought such a reason against this your platform of government as is just *secundum usum Sarum*.⁴⁵⁶ For indeed it is popish, and therefore you might smell it afar off. *If the Lord, saith he (page 62), had thought this government needful for his church, then he would not have suffered his church to be without the same. But he suffered his church of a long time to be without this government. Ergo, he thought it not needful.*⁴⁵⁷

Ah, craft,⁴⁵⁸ craft! Craft and subtlety,⁴⁵⁹ that can, in jest, deceive his brethren with a popish reason in this sort. But, my masters, you must not think that our brother Sarum bringeth this in good earnest,⁴⁶⁰ but only to try⁴⁶¹ whether you be so simple⁴⁶² as you cannot know a popish reason when you see it. And, to this purpose, I think that both his worship and John Whitgift's Grace have brought in their writings many things that are palpable popish, that they might try whether of knowledge, or of peevish and choleric rashness, you speak against their government. Now if so be that you could not discern their popish reasons (whereof indeed you shall find great store⁴⁶³ - every third reason, I warrant you, in all their books), then they would have this advantage against you, that you were not able to know truth from popery. *For, might they say, we brought in popish reasons of purpose but, silly fellows, their skill is so small in all kind of learning that they cannot know a popish reason, especially if we can face it out with a brag that we have old and new writers of our side.* Now, brethren, you must not then dislike⁴⁶⁴ your brother Bridges' purpose in bringing in the popish syllogism. This I speak to the end you should not cry out (as some of you have done) that

heathenish untruth uttered divers times in this booke, that the Archbishophe should accompt preaching of the word of God to be heresie, and mortally abhorre and persecute it, is rather to be pitied then answered. If man punish not such sycophants, God will do it, to whose just judgement the revenge of this injurie is referred. He doth bridle factious and unlearned Preachers, such as the more part of that sect are, who notwithstanding crie out for a learned Ministerie, themselves being unlearned and so would be accounted of all men, if it were not propter studium partium. I say with S. Hierome, Nunc loquentibus et pronunciantibus plenus est orbis; loquuntur quae nesciunt, docent quae non didicerunt, magistri sunt cum discipuli ante non fuerint. The world is full of them that can speak and talke; but they speake the thinges they knowe not; they teach the thinges they have not learned; they take upon them to teach before they were schollers to learne. Indeede our Church is too full of such talkers, rather then sober teachers, whome hee professeth himselve greatly to mislike. Otherwise he defieth all Martinistes in Englande, and doeth appeale unto the whole State of the learned and obedient Clergie for his innocencie therein. (MT, p.66)

⁴⁵⁶ Sarum use: The order of divine service used in Salisbury from the 11th century to the Reformation. (OED, p.1887)

⁴⁵⁷ See *Defence*, p.62: *Albeit we must not thinke heerupon, that bicause this government is not heere mentioned among the gifts, which our Saviour Christ gave to his church on earth, when he ascended into heaven: He was unmindfull of his church: or that S. Paule was unmindfull of his giftes: or that the church having not had this now desired government, for so manye hundreth yeares, should have been so long time unmindfull or destitute of the same, if it had beene any matter wherein the perfection of the church consisted: or the want therof had beene any impediment to those ends, that the Apostile heere citeth. But we may rather thinke the contrarie, that it was no such important matter, and therefore not necessarie to be minded.* See also MT, p.162

⁴⁵⁸ Craft: Guile, fraud, cunning. (OED, p.448)

⁴⁵⁹ Subtlety: Craftiness, cunning, especially of a treacherous kind. (OED, p.2174)

⁴⁶⁰ Earnest: Seriousness, as opposed to jest. (OED, p.623)

⁴⁶¹ Try: To ascertain the truth or right of (a matter, a quarrel, etc.) by test or endeavour. (OED, p.2375)

⁴⁶² Simple: Deficient in knowledge or learning. (OED, p.1998)

⁴⁶³ Store: A stock (of anything material or immaterial) laid up for future use. (OED, p.2139)

⁴⁶⁴ Mislike: Dislike. (OED, p.1335)

our bishops have no better warrant for themselves than the Pope hath for their government.⁴⁶⁵ I grant indeed that, if you should take Master Dean at the worst, you might say that he might herein reason as well for the Mass as he doth for the established government. As, for example, he might thus argue: *If the Lord had thought the Mass to have been a false worship of him, then he would not have suffered it so long to have continued, where any weak one should be endangered of being enforced to be present thereat. But he suffered it to continue a long time, etc. Therefore, he thought it not to be a false worship.* I say you must not mistake Master Doctor in this sort, but know that he dealt after the manner of the Schools,⁴⁶⁶ wherein it is lawful (as Thomas Cartwright, who hath been Professor of Divinity both in Cambridge and in Geneva knoweth well enough) for men to argue *pro* and *contra*⁴⁶⁷ as well with, as against, the truth. And all is to try out the truth, which is only the sole meaning that Master Doctor hath not at all thought of.

But, I pray you, let us pass from hence unto the 64th page, where you shall find the calling of an archbishop most notably proved out of our brethren's own words. *Our brethren*, ka the cloister-master⁴⁶⁸ of Sarum,⁴⁶⁹ *affirm that Paul and Barnabas*⁴⁷⁰ *ordained presbyters, priests or elders* (for thus Master Doctor, to his neverlasting⁴⁷¹ fame, hath full often in his book translated the Greek word *presbyteros*)⁴⁷² *at Derbe, Iconium and Lystra.*⁴⁷³ *Ergo, some of these priests or elders were ordained over whole towns, some over regions.*⁴⁷⁴ And what could be more aptly spoken to the purpose, or more fitly prove an archiepiscopal calling? But the reason following proveth it yet more evident, and that is the ilsample⁴⁷⁵ of Archbishop Titus, who the Doctor of Divinity⁴⁷⁶ in this 65th page affirmeth to have been Archbishop of Crete.⁴⁷⁷ Nay, good Master Doctor, not many archbishops in the person of Titus, I pray you. Titus was an evangelist;⁴⁷⁸ therefore, no

**But truly, I think,
brother Bridges,
that Titus was
neither
archbishop nor
dean of Sarum.**

⁴⁶⁵ After his preamble on the use of 'popish' reasons, Martin shows that Bridges' statement is so general as to be capable of being turned into an argument in favour of the Roman Catholic Mass.

⁴⁶⁶ The Schools: The Schoolmen, the scholastic philosophers and theologians collectively. (OED, p.1903)

⁴⁶⁷ Pro and contra: For and against (the motion, etc.) (OED, 413)

⁴⁶⁸ Cloister: A place of religious seclusion; a monastery or nunnery; a convent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's use of cloister-master is not noticed in the OED.

⁴⁶⁹ Sarum was formerly a monastery.

⁴⁷⁰ Barnabas: See Acts 11:22-30 and Galatians 2:1 & 2:13 for references to Barnabas.

⁴⁷¹ Martin appears to have coined the word 'neverlasting'.

⁴⁷² Presbyteros: Elder. (OED, p.1658) Martin must have been confident in his knowledge of Greek, or he would not likely have taken Bridges to task in this fashion.

⁴⁷³ Cities in Asia Minor at which Paul and Barnabas preached.

⁴⁷⁴ See *Defence*, pp.63-4: *For we read that Paule and Barnabas, ordeined at Derby, Lystra, Iconium, and Antiochia, &c.: elders by election in everie church, with praier and fasting, and so commended them to the Lord, in whome they beleaved. . . . And these certeine places or particuler churches, are to be assigned or appointed unto these diverse offices or officers, according to the divisions of regions, cities and townes: that is to say, some of these diverse offices or officers, to wit, Governors, Pastors, & Teachers, to be distributed and limited; some over regions, other over cities, and other over townes.*

⁴⁷⁵ Ilsample: A perversion of 'ensample' to suggest 'ill sample', 'ill example'. The word appears to be of Martin's coinage, and is also found in the *Epistle*.

⁴⁷⁶ I.e., Bridges, who received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1575. (HIMT, p.140). In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, Martin claims that Bridges, on page 140 of the *Defence*, has proven the bishops to be 'bishops of the devil'. Since Martin has just referred to Thomas Cartwright as a Professor of Divinity, the title he bestows on Bridges is the more ironic.

⁴⁷⁷ See *Defence*, p.65: *Neverthelesse, they proove, that he had authoritie, and that a continuing authoritie, to redresse such ecclesiasticall matters, as were amisse, or not yet established among them. So that, heere, is a manifest jurisdiction Episcopall, yea, Archi-episcopall, not onele over Pastors and Teachers, being elders in everie particuler church: but also over Bishops having authoritie over whole cities: Titus being above them all, through-out the whole Ile, as a Regionall or Provinciall Bishop, which we usuallie call by the auncient terme, Metropolitane or Archbishop.*

⁴⁷⁸ Evangelist: One of a class of teachers mentioned in Ephesians 4:11 after 'apostles' and 'prophets'. (OED, p.689)

The reason of
Archbishop Titus
is no popish
reason.

archbishop. 'Yea,' saith he, 'Titus was a very ⁴⁷⁹ archbishop, and there is plain scripture to prove it, which is the subscription⁴⁸⁰ of the epistle to Titus.⁴⁸¹ 'Whoop! papist,' say the Puritans, 'is that become scripture with you? Why Master Beza ⁴⁸²hath long since proved this to be no scripture, but an uncertain and false guess added by some Scholiast.⁴⁸³ You know, also, that your brother Turrian⁴⁸⁴the Jesuit, bringing in this for scripture, was soundly confuted by Master Sadel⁴⁸⁵and dare you, Dean John, bring this in for scripture?' 'Yes, that I dare,' saith he, 'and prove Titus to have been an archbishop even by this reason: because Paul gave him the authority to be the ordinary⁴⁸⁶ of all the bishops in Crete. And this I prove because Crete, where my Lord Archbishop Titus' Grace was primate and paltripolitan, had many famous cities in it. This is my very reason (page 65, line 21),⁴⁸⁷ and I'll stand to it.⁴⁸⁸

Now - master ficars, parsons, and currats - if ever I heard better proof in my life, I would all dumb dogs⁴⁸⁹ were whipped out of the church. Now, truly, this is sport alone. But, brother parson Bridges, I pray you tell me, was there canonical obedience⁴⁹⁰ sworn to Archbishop Titus? What else, man? Did they call him my Lord's Grace, too? Do you doubt of it? Did his gentleman-usher⁴⁹¹ go bareheaded before him? As though he could not be as popelike and pontifical as my Lord of Canterbury. But I hope a poor hedge-priest might have his letters of orders⁴⁹² of him, though he would give no bribes unto his secretary, cook, butler, etc.⁴⁹³ Might he so, goodman

⁴⁷⁹ Very: In emphatic use, denoting that the person or thing may be so named in the fullest sense of the term, or possesses all the essential qualities of the thing specified. (OED, p.2468)

⁴⁸⁰ The subscription to Paul's Epistle to Titus in the Geneva Bible reads 'To Titus, elect the first bishope of the Church of the Cretians, written from Nicopolis in Macedonia'. (GB, p.102) Pierce states that the inscription is 'interpolated'. (MT, p.164)

⁴⁸¹ See *Defence*, p.64: *For, first, what ecclesiasticall office Titus had, the verie subscription of S. Paules epistle unto him, dooth declare: To Titus the first elected bishop of the church of the Cretenses. Which subscription, what it inferreth, we shall (God willing) have further occasion to note againe heereafter.*

⁴⁸² Quare which of Beza's books contains this proof.

⁴⁸³ Scholiast: One who writes explanatory notes upon an author, especially an ancient commentator upon a classical writer. (OED, p.1902)

⁴⁸⁴ Franciscus Turrianus, Spanish Jesuit. (Carlson, p.256)

⁴⁸⁵ Antoine Sadel (Antoine La Roche Chandieu). (Carlson, p.256)

⁴⁸⁶ Ordinary: One who has, of his own right and not by deputation, immediate jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases, as the archbishop in a province, or the bishop or bishop's deputy in a diocese. (OED, p.1461)

⁴⁸⁷ See *Defence*, p.65: *Heere, of these Bishops and Presbyters, preests or Elders, S. Paule giveth to Titus the authoritie or jurisdiction to be their ordinarie, or the ordeiner of them, in their Episcopall and presbyterall office, without anye mention at all, of any others election of them, besides himselfe, to appoint and ordeine such, as he should see, to be sufficientlie qualified for those offices. And that he should thus doo in everie citie in Creta, which Iland at that time, had many famous Cities.*

⁴⁸⁸ Pierce gives a useful summary of the argument found on pages 64-66 of the *Defence*. (MT, p.165)

⁴⁸⁹ *Isaiah 56:10: Their watchemen are all blinde; they have no knowledge; they are all comme doggs; they can not barke; they lie & slepe and delite in sleping.* (GB, p.303) That the phrase 'dumb dogs' was in common currency may be deduced from Cooper's use of it in the *Admonition: Moreover, many persons, both undiscreete and unlearned, because they will not bee accompted Dumbe dogs, have taken upon them to preach without license or triall.* (p.95)

⁴⁹⁰ Canonical obedience: The obedience to be rendered by inferior clergy to the bishop, and others, according to the canons. (OED, p.277)

⁴⁹¹ Gentleman-usher: A gentleman acting as usher to a person of superior rank. (OED, p.843) Presumably, Whitgift's gentleman usher went bare-headed before him.

⁴⁹² In the *Admonition*, Cooper refers, in a slightly different context, to the charge of simony in connection with 'letters of orders': *The Clarke or Register, I knowe, hath his fee allowed for the writing of letters of Orders: but that ever Bishop did take any thing in that respect, I never heard, neither thinke I, that their greatest enemies be able to prove it upon many of them.* (p.82)

⁴⁹³ Martin suggests that such bribes were given to Whitgift's secretary, cook, butler, etc.

noddy?⁴⁹⁴ Then how should his men, I pray you, be able to live? As though bishops should give their men any wages! Their blessing, I trow, will serve their men instead of wages.⁴⁹⁵

In page 66,⁴⁹⁶ Master Doctor demandeth a question, and that is whether one man might not have divers of these offices and gifts which were in the apostles' time.⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, brother parson, we read of never an apostle that was a non-resident but of one Judas, one Simon Magus⁴⁹⁸ and one Diotrephes⁴⁹⁹ in all that time. The reason, belike, was that men wrought miracles in those days, which gift the noble lords of our clergy have now bestowed upon their horses. For in the apostles' time a horse usually carried not above one or two men at the most, whereas you know that Master Doctor Humphrey and Doctor Matthew had two horses between them that never carried under 14 men whensoever their masters were on their backs.⁵⁰⁰ And our bishops are so expert in adorning horses with those miraculous gifts, that they are no sooner on their horse backs than presently the horse whereon they ride is able to carry as many as either of the 2 former, besides their boots, 2 or 3 pair of trolling⁵⁰¹ square dice, and so many pair⁵⁰² of cards.

**Or so many
simoniacal
promotions.**

Parson Bridges (page 68) saith there are more gifts and callings than 4 - pastors, doctors, elders and deacons - remaining.⁵⁰³ *Because, saith he (page 69), the gifts of doing miracles, prophecy, the gifts of healing, divers among the papists have and do enjoy; and, especially, the gift of tongues,⁵⁰⁴ not attained unto by study, had divers of them, as Anthony, etc.⁵⁰⁵ Anthony among the papists had the gift of tongues⁵⁰⁶ without study! Now what a goodyear⁵⁰⁷ was that Anthony. The god of the*

⁴⁹⁴ Noddy: The knave in various card games. (OED, p.1408) Pierce terms the epithet 'a somewhat good-humoured way of calling a man a simpleton'. (MT, p.165)

⁴⁹⁵ Pierce suggests that Martin alludes here to the story told in the *Epistle* of the 'blessing' which Aylmer bestowed on the executors of George Allen. (MT, p.166)

⁴⁹⁶ Page 67. (MT, p.166)

⁴⁹⁷ See *Defence*, p.67: *Or doo they thinke, that as there were so manye diverse giftes or offices, that they were all of them: or all those persons that were of some one office, of like measure in these giftes: or of like authoritie in that office? or that, although they were diverse giftes or officers, one man might not have diverse of them, all at one time without confusion?*

⁴⁹⁸ Simon, a magus, or sorcerer, of Samaria was converted to Christianity by Philip. The origin of the connection between his name and the offence of simony is found in Acts 8:18-9: *And when Simon sawe, that through laying on of the Apostles hands the holie Gost was given, he offred them money, Saying Give me also this power, that on whomesoever I lay the hands, he may receive the holie Gost.* (GB, p.58)

⁴⁹⁹ 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) III John: 9-10: *I wrote unto the church; but Diotrephes which loveth to have the preeminence among them, receiveth us not. Wherefore if I come, I wil declare his dedes which he doeth, prateling against us with malicious wordes, and not therewith content, nether he him self receiveth the brethren, but forbiddeth them they wolde, and thrusteth them out of the Church.* (GB, p.114) Diotrephes was also familiar to Martin's readers through Udall's *State of the Church of England Laid Open*, popularly known as *Diotrephes' Dialogue*.

⁵⁰⁰ Pierce suggests that the individuals referred to are Laurence Humphrey and Tobias Matthew. (MT, p.166). Martin's image of 14 men on 2 horses indicates that Humphrey and Matthew were among the worst of the pluralists.

⁵⁰¹ Troll: To throw (dice). (OED, p.2368)

⁵⁰² Pair: A pack of cards. (OED, p.1495)

⁵⁰³ See *Defence*, pp.68-9: *For first, where they saye: Some were temporall, serving onelie for the first planting and foundation of the churche among the Heathen:(and of this former sorte, they reckon up the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, men indued with graces of powers, of healings:) and so they enter into their particuler proves, of the ceasing of these functions: I thinke they maye better be-thinke themselves, that all these giftes and offices, which their selves have heere named, did not so cease, but that they have since the firste planting and foundation of the churche among the Heathen, continued longer time among the Christians.*

⁵⁰⁴ Gift of tongues: The knowledge or use of a language, especially in reference to the Pentecostal miracle and the miraculous gift in the early Church. (OED, p.2323)

⁵⁰⁵ This sentence is also quoted in the *Epistle*, as an example of Bridges' diffuse style. (MT, p.166)

⁵⁰⁶ Tongue: The knowledge or use of a language. Esp. in phrases 'gift of tongues', 'to speak with a tongue' (tongues), in reference to the Pentecostal miracle and the miraculous gift in the early Church. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

There is a book of this name which Master Doctor made, as they say.

pigs,⁵⁰⁸ trow ye? Indeed, Master Doctor quoteth no author for his warrant.⁵⁰⁹ He is read,⁵¹⁰ you know, in the *Legend of Lies*.⁵¹¹ There it is. What have the Puritans to do where he found it? Let them answer to it. What if he found it in Hodge's breeches,⁵¹² seeking for Gammer Gurton's needle? Is the reason worse than the rest of his book because it is without authority?⁵¹³

As for the matter contained in the 70th, 71st and 72nd pages, Master Doctor confirmeth it by the authority of a Puritan writer which wrote (as he saith) *A Fruitful Sermon*⁵¹⁴ upon the I Corinthians 12, printed by Robert Waldegrave, 1584. *A sermon upon the I Corinthians 12, printed by Robert Waldegrave?* say our brethren. *Why, there was never any sermon upon that text* ⁵¹⁵ *printed by Robert Waldegrave. Master Doctor belike meaneth the sermon upon Romans 12.*⁵¹⁶ Tush,⁵¹⁷ brethren, what should you tell us of Master Doctor's meaning? He meaneth the sermon upon I Corinthians 12. If you do not believe me, look the 255th page of his book, and there you shall see the sermon upon I Corinthians 12 twice cited. Master Doctor, if he were more beetle-headed than he is, could not possibly miss so often in the naming of the sermon upon Romans 12, which is so commonly known. It may be, indeed, you never saw any sermon extant upon that text but, I warrant you, Dean John knoweth the way to Salisbury, so do not many thousands of you Puritans.⁵¹⁸ Why, you never saw the Syriac Testament⁵¹⁹ translated by Junius⁵²⁰ (for that which

⁵⁰⁷ Goodyear: A meaningless expletive, chiefly in 'What a goodyear'. (OED, p.871) According to Pierce, the word is said to be derived from the French name of an evil disease. (MT, 167)

⁵⁰⁸ Anthony: The patron saint of swineherds, to whom one of each litter was usually vowed. (OED, p.79)

⁵⁰⁹ Warrant: Justifying reason or ground for an action, belief, or feeling. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵¹⁰ Read: In predicative use: Experienced, versed, or informed *in* a subject by reading. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵¹¹ *The Legenda Sanctorum* (Lives of the Saints) of Jacopo de Voragine (1230-98), archbishop of Genoa. Historically unreliable, it was nonetheless enormously popular as a book of devotion, and soon became universally known as *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend). Caxton's English version, published in 1483 under the title *The Golden Legend*, was his most popular production and was also printed by his successor, Wynken de Worde. It may have been John Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments* who popularized the derogatory epithet, *Legend of Lies: By this church story he meaneth belike Legenda Aurea, otherwise called The Legend of Lies*. Pierce notes that Bridges, in the *Defence*, makes a passing reference to the *Legenda Aurea* as authority for the view that miracles are not restricted to the age of the Apostles. (Drabble, p.400; MT, p.167)

⁵¹² In the comedy *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, the needle is found when Baster Baylye gives Hodge a blow on the breeches. (Creeth, p.380)

⁵¹³ Authority: The quotation or book acknowledged, or alleged, to settle a question or give conclusive testimony. (OED, p.134)

⁵¹⁴ *A Fruitful sermon, upon the 3.4.5.6.7. and 8. verses of the 12. Chapter of the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romaines. very necessary for these times to bee read of all men, for their further instruction and edification, in all things concerning their Faith and obedience to Salvation.* (1584) Attributed to Laurence Chaderton (1536?-1640), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (RCEA, p.79)

⁵¹⁵ Text: A short passage from the Scriptures, especially one quoted as authoritative, as a motto, to point a moral, or as the subject of an exposition or sermon. (OED, p.2273)

⁵¹⁶ Modern scholars credit Robert Waldegrave (1554?-1604) with the printing of *A Fruitful Sermon*. (RCEA, p.79) Martin's quibble is not about whether or not Waldegrave was the printer, but whether the sermon was on I Corinthinas 12 or on Romans 12. It is also both interesting and puzzling that, in both the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*, Martin makes overt reference to Waldegrave who, of ocourse, had printed both tracts on the secret press.

⁵¹⁷ Tush: An exclamantion of impatient contempt or disparagment. (OED, p.2387)

⁵¹⁸ The reference to the Puritans as 'you Puritans' is a clear indication that Martin himself is not a Puritan, although sympathetic to certain aspects of their cause. Throughout the tracts, he distances himself from the Puritans in many subtle ways. For example, elsewhere in the *Epitome* he refers to them as 'these fellows'. Martin often refers to the Puritans as 'our brethren'; however, this cannot be taken as an indication of his religious beliefs since, when addressing the episcopalian apologist Bridges, he refers to the Puritans as 'your brethren'.

⁵¹⁹ Syriac Testament of Our Lord, a late-fourth or early-fifth century church order, or handbook of church government.

⁵²⁰ Franciscus Junius (Du Jon) (1545-1602), Protestant divine and professor of theology at Leyden.

is abroad⁵²¹ was done by Tremellius⁵²² alone), but Master Doctor hath quoted Junius' *Syriac Testament*. Why then may he not as well find a sermon upon I Corinthinas 12 printed by Robert Waldegrave as a Syriac Testament of Junius' translation? Now, say the Puritans, *what a notorious block⁵²³ is this Dean who, inasmuch as he hath heard that Master Tremellius and Master Junius were joined together in that translation of the Bible, thinketh therefore that Junius translated the Syriac Testament which was done by Tremellius only.*

**For Antichrist,
and against the
government of
Christ.**

**This is the D.
reason in very
deed.**

For shame, my masters, deal more charitably, and bear with the infirmities of your brethren. I grant, indeed, it was Master Doctor's oversight in naming Junius' *Syriac Testament* and the sermon upon I Corinthians 12 instead of Romans 12. But what then? Should you therefore take him up for it as though he were the veriest ass in a country? Learned men may easily commit such oversights, especially quoting authors upon other men's reports, as Master Doctor hath done.⁵²⁴ But it is no marvel that you deal thus with Master Dean, when you dare abuse Antichrist and say, as the author of the *Learned Discourse* hath done, that this government of yours continued in the church until Antichrist brought in all kind of false doctrine and confusion. *Nay, whoa there, masters mine, quoth Master Dean (for these be his own words),⁵²⁵ take my reason with you, you slander Antichrist. For if your government had continued in the church until all kind of false doctrine came in, it had been exercised without interruption until this day (especially until the year 1587, wherein you made this book). For I doubt me whether all kind of false doctrine hath been yet sown. But your government hath been interrupted long since. Therefore, you slander Antichrist.⁵²⁶*

They slander him, indeed, John o' Sarum, if they say that he brought in all kind of false doctrine. And you have never proved proposition better in your life than you have proved this. For any man that will read your book, or John Whitgift's, will say that Antichrist brought not in all kind of false doctrine: if he had, your book, I am sure, had not been sold for 7 shillings as it is.

In the 78th page, Master Doctor showeth that the office of archbishops and lord bishops are in nature pastoral,⁵²⁷ though in dignity they are of another office and ministry.⁵²⁸ And what say you to that, brethren? *Even this, say they. In dignity, they are popes; in office, proud prelates; and in ministry, plain dumb dogs for the most part. This is proved, hath been proved, and will be proved to the proudest of the bishops' teeth if they do dispute with us in these points.* I would wish you, my Puritan masters, to keep you well while you are well. It may be you shall answer this sauciness of yours to offer disputation to my Lord's Grace before the High Commissioners.

Master Doctor hath confuted all the pack of you in the 82nd page by a tale or 2 of a foxtail,⁵²⁹ and another of the ass loaden with sponges⁵³⁰ (page 83). From the 90th page to the end of the book, he goeth so readily to work about the office of the civil magistrate that I marvel that men will not say

⁵²¹ Abroad: Current. (OED, p.7)

⁵²² Tremellius, Immanuel (1510-1580). (Carlson, p.255)

⁵²³ Block: A blockhead. (OED, p.204)

⁵²⁴ This and the preceding paragraphs discredit Bridges' scholarship and repeat the accusation of plagiarism.

⁵²⁵ Pierce points out that Martin is here imitating Bridges colloquial style on p.76 of the *Defence: Nay, who there (Masters mine,) not so.* (MT, pp.169, 257)

⁵²⁶ According to Pierce, this is not a verbatim quotation. (MT, p.169)

⁵²⁷ Pastoral: Of or pertaining to a pastor or shepherd of souls; having relation to the spiritual care to a 'flock' of Christians. (OED, p.1525)

⁵²⁸ *Defence*, p.78: *Everie Bishoppe or Archbishophe is in his office and kinde of ministerie a pastor and teacher . . . Sithe hee is their ordaynor or ordinarie . . . he is in dignitie of an other office and kind of ministerie.* (MT, p.169)

⁵²⁹ This anecdote has not been identified.

⁵³⁰ The story given on page 86 (not 83) of the *Defence* is that of the ass laden with sponges drowned through following the example of its fellow, who got rid of its burden of salt by lying down in a river. Bridges' moral is: *Non omnia conveniunt omnibus. Experience is not always good upon examples. Legibus non exemplis indicatur.* (MT, p.170)

**Simply I'll be
sworn, thou goest
simply to work.**

that he deserveth to be cased in a good motley⁵³¹ cloak-bag⁵³² for his labour. In the 93rd page, he proveth that no man ought to direct the magistrate in anything. *For, saith he, brethren, I go plainly and simply to work. He that directeth, he governeth.* Alas the day, brother, do the Puritans say indeed that the magistrate should be directed by any within his own dominions? Belike, then, if they should find a magistrate out of his way, they would go about to direct him, would they? And that in his own dominions, too? Why, brother Bridges, can this stand with the duty of a good subject? Why? *He that directeth, he governeth.* I perceive it is time that such fellows were looked unto. We should never have done with them, I perceive, if we should still stand answering their absurd fancies. By this time, I hope, they see their folly. They have been sufficiently confuted, or else let Andrew Ambo⁵³³ judge between you; he is an indifferent⁵³⁴ man. From the 99th page unto the 130th (just 31 pages - at which game o' the cards⁵³⁵ Doctor Redman,⁵³⁶ Archdeacon of Canterbury, is very good, besides his rare skill in juggling)⁵³⁷ - and to the end of this book - they agree with you in anything that lawfully belongeth to the office of the civil magistrate.⁵³⁸

Doctor Perne.

How say you now, master country parsons and ficars? Are you not by this time able to withstand the cavils of the Puritans? Do you not see upon what good ground our church government and my Lord of Canterbury's chair is built? I would you did else. And let the learned reader judge whether other men cannot play the ignorant sots as well as you, brother Bridges. Tush, tush, I would not have you claim all the skill in barbarisms⁵³⁹ and solecisms unto yourself. Other men can behave themselves with commendations that way as well as you, though indeed not so naturally,⁵⁴⁰ I grant. Farewell, sweet Doctor, and make much of the courtier Martin.

*Errata, or faults escaped.*⁵⁴¹

1 Wheresoever the prelates are called 'my Lords', either in the epistle to the Confocation House or in this *Epitome*, take that for a fault.⁵⁴² Because they are none of Master Martin's lords; neither shall any priest of them all⁵⁴³ be my Lord. For I tell thee true, I think foul scorn⁵⁴⁴ they should be my lords, or the lords of any of my sons.

⁵³¹ Motley: Diversified in colour; parti-coloured; especially, of a fool's dress. (OED, p.1361) Martin's reference to 'motley' reduces Bridges to the status of fool or jester.

⁵³² Perhaps a passing allusion to Martin's claim in the *Epistle* that Whitgift was Perne's 'boy' at Cambridge, and carried his cloak-bag.

⁵³³ I.e., Dr. Andrew Perne. Ambodexter: A double-dealer. (OED, p.57)

⁵³⁴ Indifferent: Unbiased; impartial. (OED, p.1057)

⁵³⁵ Thirty-one: The name of a game (or games) of cards. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁵³⁶ William Redman became bishop of Norwich in 1595. (Kinney, p.21) Pierce states that he was involved in cases which came before the High Commission, particularly the Cawdry case. (MT, pp.170-1)

⁵³⁷ Juggler: A jester, buffoon; also, one who deceives by trickery. (OED, p.1141)

⁵³⁸ Martin thus dispenses summarily with the remainder of Bridges' 1401-page *Defence*, having dealt in detail with only a few pages of it.

⁵³⁹ Barbarism: The use of words or expressions not in accordance with the classical standard of a language. (OED, p.156)

⁵⁴⁰ Probably a pun on 'natural' (one naturally deficient in intellect).

⁵⁴¹ Escape: To issue unawares from (a person). (OED, p.680)

⁵⁴² Fault: A deficiency. (OED, p.731) A play on 'fault' (a printing error) in the heading 'errata, or faults escaped'.

⁵⁴³ A third repetition of this distinctive locution.

⁵⁴⁴ To think scorn of: To despise. (OED, p.1907) A completely characteristic statement, and an important clue as to Martin's identity and the perspective from which he wrote the tracts.

2 There is nothing spoken at all of that notable hypocrite Scambler, Bishop of Norwich.⁵⁴⁵ Take it for a great fault. But unless he leave his close dealing against the truth, I'll bestow a whole book of him. And let the rest of you hypocrites take heed of persecuting.

3 But the greatest fault of all is that I could say against our ungodly priests; but unless they mend, I see fully amend this fault, and I can do it with a small warning. And I would devise⁵⁴⁶ them not to persecute men for my worship's book as they do.⁵⁴⁷

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⁵⁴⁵ Edmund Scambler, Bishop of Norwich from 1585-94. (Kinney, p.21) Pierce says that Scambler condemned one Francis Kett for heresy on October 7, 1588, citing Lands. MS 57/75. (HIMT, pp.313-4) It may have been this incident which provoked Martin's postscript concerning Scambler.

⁵⁴⁶ A play on 'advise'?

⁵⁴⁷ As mentioned in footnote 3 supra, the pages of Martin's *Epitome* have headlines or 'titles' which are here reproduced:

A very portable book; a horse may carry it if he be not too weak.
 Challenged for his sermon. A smooth style.
 How M.D. played my L. of Winchester's fool in his sermon.
 Black ox hath trodden on his Grace's foot. State of the question.
 Ministers of the Old Testament. Ministers of the New Testament.
 What offices and officers the Church is to be governed by.
 M.D. prudency in omitting that which he cannot prove.
 What offices and officers the Church is to be governed by.
 Dean of Lincoln (sometimes unlearned John Whitgift) his question.
 John Elmar, the B. of London his book.
 Paul hath gone beyond his commission, saith John of London.
 Bellarmine's opinion and the M.D. all one in this point.
 William Woodcock's divinity. Peter and Paul confuted.
 His Grace now able to make the Puritans to stoop, I warrant you.
 William Woodcock's divinity.
 A proposition fet from Rome, and like to breed a Jesuit.
 M. Doctor's collection out of popish writers.
 Anything in religion may be altered by the bishops' divinity.
 John Elmar the B. of London's preacher with his quarter blows.
 Archbishop Titus controlled by Paul in his own diocese.
 A lie may be dispensed with as well as M.D. faculty of two benefices.
 The bishops' dealing with M. Beza and Danaeus.
 The bishop of London against Protestant bishops.
 John Elmar, the B. of London his prophecy.
 John of London, John of Exeter, and Thomas Winchester hypocrites.
 John of London against bishops, and so against himself.
 Parliament men are to resist their kings or queens.
 John of London's railing speeches.
 John of London's tyranny.
 A cozening trick of a bishop.
 Of ecclesiastical government and governors.
 A syllogism concluded in PerneCanterburyKenold.
 No good order where ministers are civil magistrates, saith John London.
 Dean John's prayer against the preaching of the word.
 Dean John cozeneth his brethren with popish reasons.
 The bishops have no better warrant for themselves than the Pope.
 Titus neither archbishop, nor yet dean of Sarum.
 The bishops' horses work miracles.
 M.D. found Anthony in Hodge's breeches.
 M.D. in defence of Antichrist against Christ's government.
 Lord B.'s in dignity popes; in office, proud prelates, etc.
 All beetle-headed ignorance lieth not in M. Doctor.

- Anthony of Padua, St. (1195-1231), 39
 Aylmer, John (1521-1594)
 author of *Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects*, 15, 25, 26, 34
 cuts down elms at Fulham, 28
 two-hand sword, 24
 Babington, Zachary
 purchases chancellorship, 32
 Becon, John
 purchases chancellorship, 32
 Bellarmine, Robert (1542-1621)
 author of *Disputationes*, 17, 21
 Beza, Theodore (1519-1605), 38
 author of *Confessions*, 26
 Bible, references to
 Aaron, 9
 Abiram, 10
 Balaam, 27
 Barnabas, 37
 captains of congregation, 10
 Corinthians, 40
 Dathan, 10
 Diotrephes, 39
 Elias, 29
 Ephesians, 9, 31, 32
 Holofernes, 30
 John the Baptist, 29
 Judas, 39
 Korah, 10
 Levi, 10
 Luke, 9
 Nathan, 29
 New Testament, 8
 Old Testament, 8
 Paul, 9, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38
 Peter, 18
 Samuel, 29
 Simon Magus, 39
 Syriac Testament, 40
 Timothy, 4, 17
 Titus, 4, 24, 38
 Two Tables of the Law, 29
 Uzzah, 10
 Bridges, John (d.1618)
 and Bellarmine, 21
 errs re sermon on Corinthians, 40
 plagiarism, 7
 plays the fool, 7
Brief and Plain Declaration (Learned Discourse), 6, 7, 8, 25, 41
 Calvin, John (1508-1564), 21
 Cambridge University, 37
 Cartwright, Thomas (1535-1603)
 professor of divinity, 37
 Chemnitius, Martinus, 21
 Colloquial expressions
 all the fat is run to the fire, 6
 cast his cards, 6
Compendium Dialecticae, 16
Confessions, 26
 Cooper, Thomas (1517?-1594)
 Bridges plays his fool, 7
 Daneau, Lambert (1530?-1594)
 mentioned in Bridges' *Defence*, 25
De Ecclesia, 27
Demonstration Of Discipline, 3
Disputationes Roberti Bellarmini, 17, 21
 Elizabeth I (1533-1603), 29
 Francis I (1494-1547)
 reviled in *Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects*, 30
Fruitful Sermon, 40
 Fulham, 28
Gammer Gurton's Needle, 21, 40
 Gardiner, Stephen (c.1483-1555)
 of Privy Council, 33
 Goodwin Sands, 35
Harbour For Faithful And True Subjects, 15, 25, 26, 34
 Henry VIII (1491-1547)
 Parliament resists his proclamations, 29
 Humphrey, Laurence (1527?-1590)
 benefices, 39
 Julian the Apostate (c.331-363), 30
 Junius (Du Jon), Franciscus, 40
 Kennall, John
 Martin's syllogism about, 34
 Latin expressions
 errata, 42
 nonplus, 7, 8
 pro and contra, 37
 secundum usum Sarum, 36
 sic feliciter incipit, 6
 Legal references
 Church government established by act of parliament, 18
 praemunire, 3
 urging oath contrary to statute, 3
Legenda Aurea, 40
 London
 mayor of, 31
 Paul's Cross, 6
 Paul's Wharf, 34
 prisons
 Clink, 29
 Counter, 29
 Fleet, 29
 Gatehouse, 29
 Marshalsea, 29
 Newgate, 29
 sheriffs of, 31
 Luther, Martin (1483-1546), 21
 Marprelate, Martin
 courtier, 3, 42
 knowledge of Latin, 26
 references to fools and jesters, 7, 8, 24, 42
 references to gambling
 cards, 39
 dice, 39
 thirty-one, 42
 trumps, 11
 references to sports
 hunting, 21, 26, 41

-
- schoolman, 33
 - verses, 4
 - Matthew, Tobias
 - benefices, 39
 - Middelburg, 3
 - More, Thomas (1478-1535), 35
 - Overton, William (1525?-1609)
 - bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 32
 - sells chancellorship, 32
 - Parliament, 18, 29
 - Particulars of which Martin is aware
 - Aylmer's cutting down of elms at Fulham, 28
 - Bridges' sermon at Cambridge, 7
 - Dr. Humphrey's benefices, 39
 - Dr. Matthews' benefices, 39
 - Dr. Redman's card-playing, 42
 - Overton's sale of chancellorship, 32
 - Tremellius' translation of Syriac Testament, 41
 - Waldegrave's printing of sermon on Romans, 40
 - Whitgift's gentleman-usher, 38
 - Wigginton's refusal to take oath, 3
 - Perne, Andrew (d.1589)
 - and Bellarmine, 21
 - Andrew Ambo, 42
 - Martin's syllogism about, 34
 - writes part of Bridges' *Defence*, 20
 - Printing, references to
 - demy paper, 6
 - Privy Council, 33
 - Proverbs
 - Like lips, like lettuce, 7
 - Puritans, 33
 - arguments against Bridges' *Defence*, 9, 12, 14, 19, 21, 35, 38, 42
 - bishops' refusal to dispute with, 4, 7
 - displeased with Martin, 2
 - Martin distinguishes himself from, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 18, 31, 33, 35, 40, 41
 - Martin finds fault with, 2
 - Redman, William (d.1602)
 - archdeacon of Canterbury, 42
 - card-playing, 42
 - Religious issues
 - articles of subscription, 8, 18, 22
 - baptism, 22
 - communion, 22
 - form of church government, 2, 8
 - High Commission, 18, 41
 - Trinity, 18
 - Sadel, Antoine, 38
 - Sandwich, 35
 - Scambler, Edmund (d.1594)
 - Bishop of Norwich, 43
 - Schilders, Richard
 - of Middleburg, 3
 - Society of Jesus, 21
 - St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, 7
 - State of the Church (Diotrephes Dialogue)*, 39
 - Tenterden, 35
 - Titleman, Francis
 - author of *Compendium Dialecticae*, 16
 - Tremellius, Immanuel (1510-1580)
 - translator of Syriac Testament, 41
 - Turrianus, Franciscus, 38
 - Waldegrave, Robert (1554?-1604)
 - prints *Fruitful Sermon*, 40
 - Watson, a pursuivant, 22
 - Watson, Thomas, 28
 - Whitgift, John (1530?-1604)
 - Dean of Lincoln, 14
 - gentleman-usher, 38
 - Martin's syllogism about, 34
 - member of Privy Council, 2
 - unlearned, 14
 - Wigginton, Giles (fl.1564-1597)
 - refuses oath, 3
 - Wycliffe, John (c.1329-1384)
 - author of *De Ecclesia*, 27