

Certain mineral¹ and metaphysical² school-points³
to be defended⁴ by the reverend bishops
and the rest of my clergy masters of the Convocation House
against both the universities and all the reformed churches in Christendom.⁵
Wherein is laid open the very quintessence of all cater-corner⁶ divinity.

And, withal, to the preventing of the cavils of these wrangling⁷ Puritans.
the persons by whom and the places where these mysteries⁸ are so worthily maintained
are, for the most part, plainly set down to the view of all men,⁹
and that to the eternal praise of the most reverend Fathers.¹⁰

¹ Mineral: Deeply buried; recondite. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED calls this a ‘nonce-use’, and cites, as the sole example of usage of ‘mineral’ in this sense, a line from Donne’s *Essayes in Divinity* (1651): ‘Nothing was too Minerall, nor centrick for the search and reach of his wit’. Carlson concurs with this view, although without citing any authority. He states that ‘mineral’ means ‘hidden’, ‘abstruse’, ‘recondite’, as well as ‘profound’ in an ironic sense. (p.347) Pierce says Martin uses ‘mineral’ in the sense of ‘material’, as opposed to ‘metaphysical’. (MT, p.185)

² Metaphysical: Applied with more or less of reproach to reasoning, ideas, etc. which are considered over-subtle or too abstract. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Although the OED cites the first instance of this usage as 1646, it may well be one of the senses in which Martin uses the term.

³ School-point: A point taught or debated in the schools. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) According to Pierce, ‘the school-point was the theme which the university scholar exhibited and was prepared to defend, according to the methods of formal logic, against all comers.’ (MT, p.177) Martin’s ‘school-points’ consist of statements made by the apologists for the established church, and it may be that they are the *Lambethisms*, or ‘flowers of errors’, referred to in the *Epistle*. In the *Epistle*, it is clear that Martin envisioned his *Lambethisms* as restricted to the errors of Whitgift and Bridges; however, the publication of Cooper’s *Admonition To The People Of England* in January, 1589 afforded Martin the opportunity of plucking a number of additional ‘flowers of error’ and, indeed, the majority of the school-points are culled from that work. As Pierce points out, the publication of the *Minerals* as a broadside (a large sheet of paper printed on one side only) in February, 1589 kept Martin’s readers occupied until *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, his full-scale reply to the *Admonition*, was ready, while at the same time serving as a preliminary attack on the *Admonition*. In his examination of October 15, 1589, the bookbinder Henry Sharpe deposed that the *Minerals* was in print by about February 20, 1589. Sharpe had copies of *Hay Any Work For Cooper* in his hands by Palm Sunday, which fell on March 23rd in 1589. (Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.97-9)

⁴ Defend: To support or uphold by speech or argument, maintain, vindicate; to speak or write in favour of (a person or thing attacked). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) As he lists each school-point, Martin names the individual charged with its defence. Thomas Cooper, author of the *Admonition*, is given the task of defending sixteen points independently, as well as a further three in conjunction with the other bishops. Of the remaining school-points, five are given to Bridges, four to Whitgift, three to Aylmer, two to Some, and a single point each to Middleton, Freake, Overton, Goodman, Cosins and Boleyn.

⁵ In naming ‘both the universities’ and ‘all the reformed churches in Christendom’ as the bishops’ opponents, Martin suggests that all informed opinion is against their views.

⁶ ‘Cater-corner’ is not defined in the OED. Martin’s coinage is a play on the four-cornered cap worn by divines. This symbol of ecclesiastical office is satirized throughout the tracts.

⁷ Wrangle: To dispute or discuss publicly, as at a university, for or against a thesis, etc. (OED, p.2577) The considerable distance between Martin and the Puritans can be inferred from the insouciance of his reference to ‘these wrangling Puritans’.

⁸ Mystery: A religious truth known only by divine revelation; usually a doctrine of the faith involving difficulties which human reason is incapable of solving. (OED, p.1380)

⁹ Martin does not identify his sources for school-points 6, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 27 and 33. Of these, school-points 12, 19 and 33 were of such general acceptance in the established church that Martin required that they be defended by ‘all the twenty-four orders of bishops’ and ‘all the clergy masters of the Convocation House’. With respect to school-points 6, 7, 14, 17 and 27, Martin’s failure to specify the times and places at which these statements were made was probably deliberate, and designed to shield his identity.

¹⁰ The ‘Romanism’ of the prelates’ views is a fairly insistent theme throughout the tracts, as here, where Martin associates the ‘defendants’ with Catholic views by referring to them as ‘Fathers’.

1. That the Puritans may as well deny the Son of God to be *Homoouseos*,¹¹ that is, consubstantial¹² with God the Father, as they may deny the superiority of archbishops and bishops to be lawful. The defendant in this point is Father John of Fulham,¹³ in his preface before Barnardeus¹⁴ de Loque's *Book of The Church*, published in English.¹⁵
2. That a lord bishop may safely¹⁶ have two wives *in esse*¹⁷ at once. The defendant in this point is Father Marmaduke, Bishop of St. David's,¹⁸ who has two now living, the one Elizabeth Giggs,¹⁹ the other Alice Prime.²⁰ Proved against him before the High Commission.²¹
3. That our Saviour Christ in soul descended into hell.²² The defendant in this case is Father John of Lambeth²³ (T.C., page 44). But you must not take this T.C. of mine for Thomas Cartwright. This is profane T.C.²⁴

¹¹ Homoousian: One who holds the three persons of the Trinity to be of the same essence or substance. (OED, p.979) According to Pierce, 'in the great controversy concerning the person of Christ, Arius held that His nature, though not the same, yet was like that of God the Father (*homoiousia*), while his opponent Athanasius held that the nature was the same, or consubstantial (*homoousia*).' (MT, p.185)

¹² Consubstantial: *Theol.* Said of the Three Persons in the Godhead; esp. of the Son as being 'one in substance' with the Father. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

¹³ John Aylmer (1521-1594), Bishop of London from 1577-1594. Aylmer's school-points are assigned to him as 'Father John of Fulham' and 'Father John Mar-Elm'.

¹⁴ Martin has 'Barnardeus'; however, the title of de Loque's book gives his first name as 'Bertrand'.

¹⁵ The English translation of De Loque's *Les Principaux abus de la Messe* (1579), was published in 1581 as *A Treatie of the Churche, containing a true discourse, to knowe the true Church by, and to discerne it from the Romish church, and all other false assemblies, or counterfet congregations. Written by M. Bertrand de Loque of Dolphinee, and dedicated unto my Lord the Vicount of Turenne. And faithfully translated out of French into English, by T.W.* (1581) (MT, p.185; RCEA, p.45) The British Library catalogue suggests that 'Bertrand de Loque' was the pen-name of Francois de Saillans, and that the work was translated into English by the Puritan divine, Thomas Wilcox, co-author of the anonymous 1572 *Admonition to Parliament*. The relevant passage from the 'Admonition to the Reader' in *A Treatie of the Churche* is as follows: 'Now whereas many make much adoe about the titles of Bishops Metropolitans and Archbishops and the Scripture is still alledged as an adversarie in this quarell: and containing expressly no such name. Thus may they make our Saviour Christ inferiour to his father concerning his divinitie because the title [the Greek word is misprinted] is no where literally expressed, although the same by sundrie places may be well and justly gathered.' (MT, p.186)

¹⁶ Safe: In theology, delivered from sin or condemnation. (OED, p.1873)

¹⁷ In esse: In being. (OED, p.682)

¹⁸ Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. David's from 1582-1590.

¹⁹ The Giggs family seems to have been one of some prominence in the Tudor period. Margaret Giggs (b.1508) was brought up in the household of Sir Thomas More; she married Dr. John Clement, at one time a tutor to More's children and later a successful doctor and President of the College of Physicians. Their daughter Winnifed Clement and her husband William Rastell were the poet John Donne's great-grandparents on the maternal side. (Gosse, pp.6-7)

²⁰ Dr. Prime, who may have been a relation of Middleton's wife Alice, is mentioned in *Hay Any Work For Cooper* and the *Just Censure*.

²¹ Pierce notes that this serious charge against Middleton is not denied in the *Admonition*. (MT, p.186) In 1590, Middleton was deprived of his bishopric for publishing a forged will. (Arber, *Martin Marprelate: The Epistle*, p.xii)

²² See *Admonition*, p.36: *Hee firmly beleeveth that Christ in soule descended into hell. All the Martinists in Christendome are not able to prove the contrary: and they that indeavour it, doe abuse the scriptures, and fall into many absurdities.*

²³ I.e., John Whitgift. Whitgift's school-points are assigned to him under the names 'Father John of Lambeth', 'John Cant.' and 'Father Canterbury'.

²⁴ In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, Martin also distinguishes between 'plain T.C.' (Thomas Cartwright) and 'profane T.C.' (Thomas Cooper).

4. That our Saviour Christ in his sermons usually sware by his faith, for he said 'Amen, Amen', which is as much to say as 'By my faith'.²⁵ The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T.C.²⁶ (page 62).
5. That Moses, in giving a bill of divorcement (Deuteronomy 24),²⁷ brake the moral law of God. The defendant in this point is Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T.C. (page 111).²⁸
6. That papistry is better than the sincere profession of the gospel which, falsely, men call Puritanism. The defendant in this point is Father Edmund of Worcester.²⁹
7. That the public fasts and the prayers of the Puritans were the cause of the invasion of the Spaniards and of all other troubles and turmoils within the land. The defendant in this point is Father William of Lichfield and Coventry, alias parson of Solihull.³⁰
8. That the long prayers of the Puritans before and after their sermons are nothing else but 'beeble-babble, beeble-babble'.³¹ The defendant in this point is Father John of Fulham, in Master Cawdry's examination.³²
9. That there is no other way of trial before the High Commission but by appeaching³³ and accusing a man's self, and that no state can stand without such answering and swearing.³⁴ The defendants in this

²⁵ See *Admonition*, p.48: *It is omitted, that Episcopomastix had a fling at the Bishoppe of London for swearing by his faith, wherefore he termeth him a Swag. What hee meaneth by that, I will not divine: but as all the rest is lewd, so surely herein he hath a lewde meaning. It is to be thought, that the Bishop will take profit thereby, being a man that hath diligently read Plutarke, De utilitate capienda ab inimico. If it bee an othe, as this gentleman hath censured it, it is not to be doubted, but that he wil amend it: but if it were lawful, as it may bee for any thing Martin can say, to ask his brotherhood, what Amen signifieth, or whether it be an othe: then in his wicked and malicious wishes for the overthrow of the Clergie, how oft is he to be found to say Amen? for in the phrase of our speech, by my faith signifieth no more, but, in very truth, bona fide, in trueth, assuredly, id est, Amen.*

²⁶ Martin assigns school-points to Cooper under a variety of names: 'Father Thomas of Winchester', 'profane T.C.', 'Thomas Cooper', 'Mistress Cooper's husband', 'Father Thomas of East Meon', and 'the tub-trimmer of Winchester'.

²⁷ Deuteronomy 24:1: *When a man taketh a wife, and marieth her, if so be she finde no favour in his eyes, because he hath espied some filthines in her, then let him write her a bil of divorcement, and put it in her hand, and send her out of his house.* (GB, p.91)

²⁸ See *Admonition*, p.89: *Heere wee learne that our gracious and mercifull God, for the shunning and avoiding of a greater mischiefe among stubborne people, suffered his servaunt Moses to give foorth a more favourable interpretation of his just and perfect Lawe, and to suffer divorcements in such cases, as the right and rigor of his justice in it selfe, had forbidden.* Martin likely anticipated that this school-point would discredit Cooper with Queen Elizabeth, whose legitimacy depended on the validity of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon.

²⁹ Edmund Freake, Bishop of Worcester from 1584-1591. Pierce suggests that this reference dates from the years 1575-1584 when Freake was Bishop of Norwich, a center of the Puritan movement.

³⁰ William Overton (1525?-1609), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1579-1609, also mentioned in both the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*. The reference to him as 'parson of Solihull' suggests that he held a benefice there.

³¹ Bibble-babble: Idle or empty talk; prating. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) See Twelfth Night IV ii 105: 'Endeavour thyself to sleep, and leave thy vain bibble-babble'; Henry V: IV i 71: 'There is no tiddle taddle nor pibble pabble in Pompey's camp'. (Schmidt, p.70)

³² Robert Cawdry, who had served for twenty years as rector of Luffenham in Rutlandshire, was convented before Bishop Aylmer, Dr. Stanhope and Dr. Walker of the High Commission in December 1596 for, inter alia, refusing to make the sign of the cross in baptism. He refused to take the oath *ex officio*, and was deprived. During the examination, Aylmer made the comment that 'the long prayer which you use before your sermons is nothing but *bibble babble, bibble babble*'. (MT, pp.187-8)

³³ Appeach: To inform against (a crime, etc.). (OED, p.90)

³⁴ Pierce describes the High Commission's use of the *oath ex officio mero*: 'In connection with the High Commission and other ecclesiastical Courts, there was nothing more cruelly oppressive, more abhorrent to an Englishman's native sense of justice, than the oath introduced by Whitgift for the first time into the operation of

point are Thomas Cooper, John Cant. and some others at the examination of Master Wigginton at Lambeth in December last, 1588.³⁵

10. That it is as lawful for our lord bishops to make bad ministers as it was for the disciples of our Saviour to pluck the ears of corn on the Sabbath to slake their hunger.³⁶ The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T.C.³⁷

11. That reading is preaching.³⁸ The defendant in this point is Father John a' Bridges³⁹ (page 564, 565).

12. That the magistrate may lawfully maim and deform the Body of Christ, to wit, the church. The defendants in this point are all the twenty-four orders⁴⁰ of bishops, and especially Father Canterbury.⁴¹

an ecclesiastical Commission. It is called in the Queen's Articles of authorisation a 'corporal oath' - an oath taken with the hand upon the New Testament - but is commonly described as the *oath ex officio mero*, an oath, that is, not regulated and restricted by legal usage and enactment, but administered, unconditionally, to every one convented before the Commission. Without a clear understanding of this *ex officio* oath, the fire and indignation of the Marprelate Tracts, the resentment of many of the chief officers of the State, and the intense hatred of the common people towards Whitgift and the Bishops, cannot be understood. . . . The *modus operandi* was simple in the extreme. A man was convented before the High Commission. According to the Prelates' interpretation of their powers, no legal writ or warrant was really required; multitudes of men and women were apprehended against whom no lawful writ had been issued. . . . Arriving at the Court, the Commissioners command the convented person to be sworn, his oath being given that he will answer any questions put to him truly. Charge against him or any other there is none, nor are there witnesses; the questions to be answered upon oath are not restricted to any specific allegation. As a matter of fact the interrogatories framed by Whitgift were of the most minutely inquisitorial character; the whole confessed intention of this outrageous tyranny being identical in character to the use of torture - to compel a man to accuse himself'. (HIMT, pp.80-83) Corporal oath: An oath, the external solemnity of which consists in laying one's hand upon the Gospels while the oath is administered to him. (BLD, p.408)

³⁵ Giles Wigginton's account of his December 6th, 1588 trial at Lambeth before Whitgift, Cooper, Goodman, Cosin and Dr. Aubrey is found in the *Second Parte of a Register*. Pierce summarizes the discussion at the trial with respect to the legality of the proceedings against Wigginton as follows: 'Later on in this trial a further conversation took place concerning the justice and lawfulness of the examination without indictment or witnesses, and by the *ex officio* oath. The Archbishop, Bishop Cooper, and others affirmed 'that it was lawful for him [Wigginton] to answer as they demanded; that there was no other way of tryall; that no estate could stand without such answering and swearing'. Wigginton denied that it was English law, or that their procedure was the usage of good courts. Whitgift, who stuck at nothing, roundly affirmed that it was English law'. (MT, p.188; HIMT, p.86) See also the reference made to Wigginton in the *Epistle*.

³⁶ Mark 2:23: *And it came to passe as he went through the corne on the Sabbath day, that his disciples, as they went on their way, began to plucke the eares of corne.* (GB, p.18)

³⁷ Cooper responds in the *Admonition* to the Puritans' complaint that the established church maintains an 'unlearned ministry', qualifying Paul's dictum that a minister must be 'apt to teache' (I Timothy 3:2) by giving examples of situations in which necessity has condoned breaches of God's law. He then concludes, at p.90: *This have I written, not of purpose to incourage men to breake and alter the Lawes and ordinances of God, but rather to comfort those consciences, which in this case may bee troubled, and to put away that opinion, wherewith some are led to thinke that that Congregation is not worthie the name of a Christian Church, nor meete wherein a good Christian man should abide as Minister, where all things are not reformed, to the perfect rule of Gods holy word.*

³⁸ Pierce summarizes Bridges' argument, which is that when the sacraments are administered 'without a sermon but with the liturgical forms, which include scriptural extracts', they are sufficient, and 'the best preacher in the world cannot say more'. (MT, p.188)

³⁹ Martin's references to John a' Bridges may derive from the origin of the name of the Bridges family, later the Lords Chandos. Sir Simon de Brugge was lord of the manor of Brugge in Herefordshire in the time of Henry III and Edward I, and members of the family are sometimes referred to as 'of Brydges' or 'a Brydges', as for example, where Machyn states, in an entry for August 10, 1553 that 'The x day of August was drounyd vii men at L bryge by folii; on was master Thomas of Brygys the leyff-[tenants] sune and heire, and iii gentyllmen more, be-syd odur' (Banks, p.161; Nichols, pp.41, 332, 398) Bridges is referred to later in the *Minerals* as John o' Sarum.

⁴⁰ Order: A grade or rank in the Christian ministry, or in an ecclesiastical hierarchy. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's comment implies that there is a hierarchy in which each of the 24 Elizabethan bishops has his respective position. In the anti-Martinist tract *Pap With An Hatchet*, the anonymous author speaks of Martin robbing the church of 'xxiiij bishops at a blow'. Bond says that the 24 bishops are enumerated, as they sat in the Parliament

13. That more good may be wrought by our ordinary service than by preaching.⁴² The defendant in this point is Father John a' Bridges (page 652).

14. That the cross in baptism and organs in cathedral churches are as necessary as a preaching ministry. The defendant in this point is Father Goodman of Westminster.⁴³

15. That our lord bishops in England are the bishops of the devil.⁴⁴ The defendant in this point (I thank him) is Father John o' Sarum (pages 339, 340).

16. That true baptism may be out of the church. The defendant in this point is Father Robert Some (page 158 of his book against John Penry).⁴⁵

17. That it is no more unlawful for a minister to have many benefices than for a temporal⁴⁶ man to have many lordships.⁴⁷ The defendant in this point is Father Richard Cosins.⁴⁸

of 1563, in Harrison's *Description of Britain*, prefixed to Holinshed, Book II, chapter 5, p.165. (Bond, v.3, pp.407, 584)

⁴¹ See *Hay Any Work For Cooper* for Martin's arguments on this point.

⁴² Pierce has the following note: 'The contention in the *Defence* is that the *service* achieves all that the 'Brethren' claim for preaching; possibly 'all this and more too'. Rather than be condemned, 'it may better be called a fruitfull kynde of preaching'. (MT, p.189)

⁴³ Gabriel Goodman (1529?-1601), referred to also in Martin's *Epistle*. Pierce notes that Goodman defended the use of the sign of the Cross in baptism and the use of organs in churches when the Six Articles were presented to the Lower house of Convocation by the reformers in 1562. (MT, p.189)

⁴⁴ Pierce explains the method by which Martin arrives at this logical inference: 'Bridges quotes, in the Fourth Book of his *Defence*, Beza's division of Bishops into three classes: Bishops of God, of man, and of the devil; he then declares dogmatically that there is no Bishop of man; every Bishop, he says, being of necessity either a Bishop of God, or a Bishop of the devil. Martin upon this shows that the Bishops owe their election not to any divine right; a claim which Elizabeth could be trusted, if ever it were made by those who owed their position and emoluments entirely to her benevolence, to meet in her own vigorous way. Bridges indeed does not make any such claim. Now, says Martin, if the Dean says that the Bishops are not of man, and for fear of her Majesty dare not say that they are of God, he means to say that they are of the devil'. (HIMT, pp.258-9) Martin offers a syllogistic proof of this point in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*.

⁴⁵ John Penry and Dr. Robert Some (1542-1609) had been engaged in a controversy in print during the year prior to the publication of the *Minerals*. Penry published his *Exhortation* in February or March, 1588, and in May of that year Dr. Some published his *Godly Treatise*. Penry responded to Some's *Godly Treatise* in *A Defence Of That Which Hath Bin Written*, printed by Waldegrave on the secret press at East Molesey in July or August, 1588. Dr. Some replied with an expanded edition of his *Godly Treatise*, the full title of which mentions his attack on Penry: *A Godly Treatise . . . After the ende of this Booke you shall finde a defence of such points as M. Penry hath dealt against: and a confutation of many grosse errors broched in M. Penries last Treatise* (1588). Penry wrote a reply which he hoped Waldegrave would print immediately on the secret press; instead, in October Waldegrave printed Martin's *Epistle*. A few months later, in a raid on the house of Penry's father-in-law in Northampton on January 29, 1589, Penry's manuscript reply to Dr. Some was seized by the pursuivant Richard Walton. (RCEA, pp.84-5; Carlson, p.57-8, 132-57, 285-6) In his examination of October 15, 1589, Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder of Northampton, claimed that Penry had read to him from the manuscript of the *Minerals*. When Sharpe later saw the printed copy, he was surprised to find 'taunts' against Dr. Some in it, 'which he did not remember were in the written Copy, which he had heard read before'. Sharpe deposed that the *Minerals* was printed soon after the press was moved to the White Friars at Coventry, and 'came out in print . . . about the 20th of February [1589]'. (Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, pp.97-8) Since the loss of Penry's manuscript reply to Dr. Some had occurred only a few weeks before the printing of the *Minerals*, Penry may not have been able to resist adding something against Some to what Martin had originally written.

⁴⁶ Temporal: Lay, as distinct from clerical. (OED, p.2259)

⁴⁷ Any suggestion of equality between ecclesiastics and the nobility appears to have been particularly galling to Martin.

⁴⁸ Cosin, Richard (1549?-1597), Dean of the Arches and Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury.

18. That one priest or elder may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the church.⁴⁹ The defendant in this point is Father John a' Bridges (page 448, line 3).

19. That St. Paul erred very grossly (1 Corinthians 1:21, Romans 10:14)⁵⁰ in holding the preaching of the Word to be the only ordinary means of salvation.⁵¹ The defendants in this point are all the clergy masters of the Convocation House.

20. That the people ought to have as much to do in matters of state as in the election of their ministers.⁵² The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T.C. (page 43).⁵³

21. That our *Common Book of Prayer* is without all suspicion of error.⁵⁴ The defendant is Father John o' Sarum (in his preface, and page 652).⁵⁵

22. That the surplice⁵⁶ is her Majesty's badge⁵⁷ and cognizance.⁵⁸ The defendant in this point is Father John Mar-Elm, in Master Cawdry's examination.⁵⁹

23. That the bishops gather up sums of money beforehand against the time of the necessary service of their country.⁶⁰ The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T.C. (page 148).

⁴⁹ See *Defence: Doth S. Peter then forbid, that any one Elder should have and exercise any superior government over the cleargy, understanding the cleargy in this sense? If he doth not, but alloweth it, and his self praised it, then howsoever the name both of governing and of clergy may be abused, the matter is cleare, that one Priest or Elder, among the residue, may have a lawfull superior auth. and government over the cleargy; (that is) over all the universal body of the church, in every particular or several congregation; and so not over the people, but also over the whole order of Minist. (MT, p.190)* Pierce points out that Bridges has, with this argument, inadvertently justified the papacy.

⁵⁰ *I Corinthians 1:21: For seing the worlde by wisdom knewe not God in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to save them that beleve. (GB, p.77) Romans 10:14: But how shal thei call on him, in whome they have not beleved? and how shal they beleve in him, of whome they have not heard? and how shal they heare without a preacher? (GB, p.74)*

⁵¹ See *Hay Any Work For Cooper* for Martin's discussion of this point.

⁵² A point guaranteed to be unfavourably received by Queen Elizabeth.

⁵³ Pierce notes that the reference in the text to page 43 of the *Admonition* is incorrect. It may be that Martin refers to the following sentence in the *Admonition* at p.70: *For by the same reasons, they shall be induced to thinke that they have injurie, if they have not as much to do in civill matters, as they have in matters of the Church, seeing they also touch their commoditie and benefite temporally, as the other doeth spiritually.*

⁵⁴ In the *Epistle*, Martin comments on misprints in *The Book of Common Prayer*, as well as on its 'corruptions' dealing with the churching of women, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, etc.

⁵⁵ Pierce suggests that this view of the *Book of Common Prayer* is implied, rather than stated, in the pages cited from Bridges' *Defence*. (MT, p.190)

⁵⁶ Cooper alludes to the controversy over vestments in the *Admonition* at pp.119, 123: *At the beginning, some learned and godly Preachers, for private respects in themselves, made strange to weare the Surplesse, Cap, or Tippet, but yet so, that they declared themselves to thinke the thing indifferent, and not to judge evil of such as did use them. Shortly after rose up other, defending that they were not thinges indifferent, but distayned with Antichristian idolatrie, and therefore not to bee suffered in the Church. (p.119) For, what doe men meane when they say, It is not lawfull for a Christian man to weare a square Cappe, to use a Surplesse, to kneele at the Communion? (p.123)*

⁵⁷ Badge: A distinctive device, emblem, or mark, originally synonymous with 'cognizance' in heraldry. (p.146)

⁵⁸ Cognizance: In heraldry, a device borne for distinction by all the retainers of a noble house. (OED, p.363)

⁵⁹ Aylmer's remarks were as follows: 'Suppose you were able to keep four or six servants in livery, and one or two should refuse to wear your livery, would you take it in good part? Are we not the queen's servants? And is not the surplice the livery which she hath appointed to be worn? And do you think she will be content if we refuse to wear it?' (HIMT, p.77)

⁶⁰ See *Admonition*, p.113: *He that shall charitably consider the state of Bishops, as they are by the authoritie of the Prince and lawes of this Realme, will not thinke it impiety in them, against the time of necessary service of*

24. That he may be a lawful and good minister of the gospel which is not fit to teach.⁶¹ The defendant is Father Thomas of Winchester, T.C. (pages 109, 110).

25. That the Archbishop of Canter. etc., in holding baptism administered by women⁶² to be the seal of God's covenant, is an absurd heretic.⁶³ The defendant in this point is Father Robert Some, in his table of Master Penry's errors (page 3).

26. That the Archbishop of Cant. is a giddy head, and to be bridled, because he allowed the defacing of the Apocrypha.⁶⁴ Master Doctor Whitaker in his readings⁶⁵ against Bellarmine.⁶⁶ The defendant is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T.C. (page 49).

27. That without two benefices a minister cannot well furnish himself of books. The defendant in this point is Father Boleyn of Lichfield.⁶⁷

28. That all reformed churches are to be condemned, and the popish church only to be embraced in these points, viz., first, in the descending of Christ's soul into hell; secondly, in the superiority of ministers over their fellow brethren; thirdly, in attributing the name 'priest' unto the ministers of the New Testament.⁶⁸

their country, to have some reasonable summe of money before hand, gathered in honestie and just using of their owne.

⁶¹ See *Admonition*, p.88: *If they wil admit no Ministers as lawfull, but such as shall have fully all these properties: Surely they will cut from Churches the greatest part, or all the Ministers that they have. Even that one propertie which they so greatly call upon, as of all other most necessarie, that is, that hee shoulde be apt to teach: that is, as Saint Paul expoundeth himselfe, to be sufficiently able to teach them that be willing, and to convince the adversarie: If it be pressed to the extremitie and rigour thereof, it comprehendeth so much, as it will exclude a great many of Ministers and Preachers, which in their measure doe good service in the Church of God.*

⁶² Quare in which of Whitgift's books this position on baptism is set out. Private baptism is one of the points mentioned in Anthony Gilbey's *A Pleasaunte Dialogue*, referred to by Martin in the *Protestation*.

⁶³ As Pierce points out, Some had written in the second edition of *A Godly Treatise* that Penry's doctrine of baptism was 'a most absurd heresie' in its implication that 'the outwarde and bare element delivered by him, which in M. Penryes judgement is no minister, is the seale of Gods covenant'. Thus, Martin analogizes that Whitgift's position that women might baptize, though not ministers, is equally, by Some's definition, 'a most absurd heresie'. (MT, pp.189, 191)

⁶⁴ Martin's contention that Cooper considers Whitgift a 'giddy head' is based on the remark in the *Admonition* that 'all learned men have from the beginning, given to the Apocrypha authoritie, next to the Canonicall Scriptures [a]nd therefore such giddie heads, as seeke to deface them, are to be bridled' (p.39). As Pierce points out, by authorizing the publication of *Disputatio De Sacra Scriptura*, in which Whitaker 'defaced' the Apocrypha, Whitgift himself falls within the *Admonition's* definition of a 'giddie head'. (MT, p.191)

⁶⁵ Reading: The act of lecturing or commenting upon some subject, esp. a law text; also, the matter of such lecture or comment, a commentary or gloss. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

⁶⁶ Martin refers to William Whitaker's *Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura, contra huius temporis Papistas, in primis Robertum Bellarminum Jesuitam, Pontificium in Collegio Romano, & Thomam Stapletonum, Regium in Schola Duacena Controversiarum Professorem: Sex Quaestionibus proposita et tractata a Guilielmo Whitakero Theologiae Doctore, ac Professore Regio, & Collegii D. Joannis in Cantabrigiensi Academia magistro* (1588). Robert Bellarmine's *Disputationes Roberti Bellarmini* are also referred to in the *Epitome*.

⁶⁷ George Boleyn (d.1603), Dean of Lichfield from 1576-1603. Pierce calls him a 'hasty man' who once threatened to 'nail' the Dean of Canterbury to the wall with his sword, and who refused to pay a toll of twelve pence in the pound exacted by his bishop, William Overton. (MT, p.156) Martin ends the *Protestation* with a parting shot at Boleyn.

⁶⁸ Martin had earlier laid these three points to Whitgift's charge in the *Epistle*, and Whitgift had thus already had an opportunity to respond to them in the *Admonition*. See p.36: *Hee [Whitgift] firmly believeth that Christ in soule descended into Hell . . . hee is likewise perswaded that there ought to be by the worde of God a superioritie among the Ministers of the Church . . . [and] hee hath shewed sufficient reason in his book against T.C. why Ministers of the Gospel, may be called Priests.*

The defendant in this point against all men is Father John of Lambeth, *cum privilegio profane T.C.* (page 44, 45).⁶⁹

29. That the state of England at this present is so disordered that whatsoever an ecclesiastical officer may do by authority, the same a private subject thinketh he may do at his own will and pleasure.⁷⁰ The defendant in this point is Mistress Cooper's husband,⁷¹ alias profane T.C. (page 94).

30. That it is the general disease of Englishmen to have in admiration the persons and states of other countries and to loathe their own.⁷² The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of East Meon,⁷³ alias profane T.C. (page 105).

31. That her Majesty and our governors cannot take away bishops' livings from them⁷⁴ unless they be entrapped by the devil's sophistry⁷⁵ to suffer him to work mischief in the church and to trouble the commonwealth. The defendant is the tub-trimmer of Winchester,⁷⁶ profane T.C. (page 155).

32. That the doctrine of our Saviour Christ concerning the equality of ministers (Luke 22:25)⁷⁷ and the doctrine of St. Paul concerning the perpetuity of the church government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons (Romans 12:6-8, Ephesians 4:13, I Timothy 6:13-14)⁷⁸ is too great a bridle unto Christian

⁶⁹ Martin, in using the words '*cum privilegio profane T.C.*', perhaps alludes to the fact that, although to all outward appearances the *Admonition* was written wholly by Cooper, Whitgift and Aylmer were personally responsible for those portions of it which refute the charges made against them by Martin in the *Epistle*.

⁷⁰ See *Admonition*, p.78: *For such is now the state of this time, that whatsoever an Officer, specially Ecclesiasticall, may do by lawful authoritie, the private subject thinketh he may doe the same, at his owne will and pleasure. And if he be brided thereof, why then it is Lordlinesse, Symonie, Covetousnesse, and Crueltie. And I pray God, the like boldenesse growe not towarde other Officers and magistrates of the Common weale also. Surely, we have great cause to feare it: for the reasons whereon they ground their doings, may be applied as well to the one, as to the other.*

⁷¹ Martin likely alludes to Cooper's well-known marital difficulties. His wife, it appears, was 'utterly profligate', but Cooper repeatedly condoned her unfaithfulness and refused a divorce which the heads of the university offered to arrange for him. Mistress Cooper's temper is illustrated by Aubrey's account of the occasion on which she tore up and threw into the fire half the manuscript of the thesaurus on which her husband was at work. (DNB, v.4, p.1074)

⁷² See *Admonition*, p.85: *But this is the generall disease of us Englishmen, to have in admiration the persons and states of other foreine countreys, and loath their owne, bee they never so commendable or good.* As Pierce notes, the practice of the continental reformed churches had, in the Puritan pamphlets, been favourably contrasted with the 'deplorable state' of the established church in England. (MT, p.192) Martin's rejection of Cooper's claim that the English were in envy of other countries was well calculated to appeal to Englishmen so soon after their victory over the Spanish Armada.

⁷³ Martin's reference to Thomas Cooper as 'Father Thomas of East Meon' derives from the fact that the vicarage of East Meon was under his patronage as Bishop of Winchester. In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, Thomas Cooper is referred to as 'the bouncing parson of East Meon'.

⁷⁴ Queen Elizabeth could be expected to react unfavourably to any suggestion that her powers were limited, in this or any other respect.

⁷⁵ Sophistry: Specious but fallacious reasoning; employment of arguments which are intentionally deceptive. (OED, p.2051)

⁷⁶ Although the most obvious source for the epithet 'the tub-trimmer of Winchester' is Cooper's surname, since the London residence of the Bishops of Winchester was on the Bankside, there may also be an allusion to the 'sweating tub formerly used in the treatment of venereal disease'. (OED, p.2376)

⁷⁷ Luke 22:25-26: *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 shal not be so: but let the greatest among you be as the least; & the chiefest as he that serveth.* (GB, p.41)

⁷⁸ Romans 12:6-8: *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; Or an office, let us waite on the office: or he that teacheth, on teaching: Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicitie: he that ruleth, with diligence: he that sheweth mercie, with cherefulness.* (GB, p.75) Ephesians

liberty. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T.C. (page 135), and all the terrible priests.⁷⁹

33. That Christ Jesus, the Son of God, was not so faithful in the government of his own house as Moses was, for Moses ordained a government that might not be changed by man; so did not Christ.⁸⁰ The defendants in this point are all the twenty-four orders of bishops, and all the clergy masters.

34. That the Creed⁸¹ of the Apostles, and of Athanasius,⁸² the Nicene,⁸³ etc., contain many palpable lies in them, for the Apocrypha (which hath many outrageous lies in it,⁸⁴ as in 2 Esdras 14:21;⁸⁵ Judith 11: 5,18;⁸⁶ Tobit 5:12)⁸⁷ is in authority next to the canonical scriptures.⁸⁸ The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T.C. (page 49).⁸⁹

35. That it is not lawful for her Majesty to bestow the bishops' livings upon laymen.⁹⁰ The defendant in this point is Father Thomas Winchester, profane T.C. (page 252).

4:13 alone is not precisely on point, and may be a misprint for Ephesians 4:11-13: *He therefore gave some to be Apostles, and some Prophetes, & some Evangelistes, and some Pastours, and Teachers, For the gathering together of the Saintes, for the worke of the ministerie, and for the edification of the bodie of Christ, Til we all mete together (in the unities of faith & knowledge of the Sonne of God) unto a perfite man, & unto the measure of the age of the fulnes of Christ.* (GB, p.91) I Timothy 6:13-14: *I charge thee in the sight of God, who quickneth all things, & before Jesus Christ which under Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, That thou kepe this commandement without spot, and unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.* (GB, p.99)

⁷⁹ In the *Admonition* as first printed, Cooper accepted the Puritan position as to the form of government which existed in the primitive church, saying 'I will not deny it'. He then qualified this statement by arguing that the form of government of the primitive church was not meant to apply for all time: 'But let them struggle while they lust, they shall never find a commandement in the Scriptures charging that it should for ever be so. It were too great a bridle of Christian liberty in things external, to cast upon the church of Christ'. (p.105) In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, Martin takes the bishops to task for pasting 'That is not yet proved' over Cooper's original words 'I will not deny it' in the printed copies of the *Admonition*.

⁸⁰ Martin deals with this point in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*.

⁸¹ Creed: A brief summary of Christian doctrine. (OED, p.453)

⁸² Athanasian Creed: That beginning 'quicumque vult', which has been attributed to Athanasius (293-373), Bishop of Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. (OED, p.124)

⁸³ Nicene Creed: The creed used in the Eucharistic services of the Eastern and the Western Church, being that received at Constantinople in A.D. 381, which is an expanded form of the formula set forth by the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. (OED, p.1401)

⁸⁴ The parenthetical remark that the Apocrypha contain outrageous lies is, of course, Martin's view, not Cooper's. At the Lambeth Conference in 1584, Whitgift, in disputing with Travers, asserted that 'You cannot shew that there is any error in the apocrypha'. (MT, p.79)

⁸⁵ II Esdras 14:21: *For thy Law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the workes that shalbe done.* (GB, p.403)

⁸⁶ Judith 11: 5: *Then Judeth said unto him, Receive the wordes of thy servant, & suffer thine handmaide to speake in thy presence, and I wil declare no lie to my lord this night.* Judith 11:18: *And I wil come and shewe it unto thee: then thou shalt go forth with all thine armie, & there shalbe none of them that shal resist thee.* (GB, p.414)

⁸⁷ Tobit 5:12: *Then he said, I am of the kinred of Azarias & Ananias the great, & of thy brethren.* (GB, p.407)

⁸⁸ See *Admonition*, p.39: *I knowe there is great difference betweene the one and the other: yet all learned men have from the beginning, given to the Apocrypha autoritie, next to the Canonickall Scriptures.*

⁸⁹ In Pierce's view, the defendant should be Whitgift, who was responsible for the statement in the *Admonition*. (MT, pp.78, 193)

⁹⁰ See *Admonition*, p.179: *But whatsoever is the cause of this reprovving of the liberalitie of our gracious Prince and soveraigne: if the time did now serve, I coulde with better reason and autoritie proove the Contrary Proposition to that which they take upon them to maintaine: that is, 'That it is not lawfull to bestow such livings upon Laymen, as are appointed by godly lawes for Ministers and Preachers of the worde of God.'* Pierce notes that Martin Marprelate 'was not in favour of alienating church property', and that a strong statement of his position is found in the *Protestation*: 'And I may safely say, it is so far from me to bring the church livings into the hands of any but the ministers and officers thereof, that I can no more abide church-robbery in a temporal man than I can brook sacrilege in a presumptuous priest; as I hate the one, so I abhor the other.' (MT, pp. 194, 407) Martin had

36. That it may be accounted for one of our bishops' great faults that they have not hitherto, by excommunication,⁹¹ constrained our prince and magistrates to do that which, by persuasion, they would not do.⁹² The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T.C. (page 137).

37. That the state of England cannot possibly stand without lord bishops; and so, that the Crown of England cannot stand without the crown of Canterbury.⁹³ The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T.C. (page 78), and all the twenty-four orders of bishops, upon whom I bestow this odd⁹⁴ point.

Good reader, if thou know of any that dare argue or dispute against any of the former points - that is, if thou know of any that dare defend Christ Jesus and his prerogative, the truth of his Word, the credit of St. Paul, the verity of the Apostles' Creed, her Majesty and her prerogative, and stand to the received truth in the reformed churches, and gainsay popish errors - briefly, if thou know of any that dare defend the state of England not to be so disordered as before set down (Article 29) and dare withstand the public general dishonour and slander of the whole English nation (Article 30), let him set up⁹⁵ his name and we will send a pursuivant for him. Whosoever he be, the matters shall be, according unto order, quietly tried out between him and the bare walls in the Gatehouse or some other prison.⁹⁶

planned to discuss the point more fully in *More Work For Cooper*; however, the manuscript of this latter work was seized by the Earl of Derby's men when the printers were arrested in August, 1589.

⁹¹ Excommunication: The action of excluding an offender from the sacraments (lesser excommunication), or from all communication with the Church or its members (greater excommunication). (OED, p.698)

⁹² See *Admonition*, p.106: *They can not say, that any Bishoppe of this Church, ever since the restoring of the Gospell, indevoured to excommunicate the Prince and governours, of purpose to make them subject to their authoritie in the Church. And happily that may bee a fault, yea and a great fault that is found with them in these dayes, that they doe not so, and constraine the Prince and Rulers to doe that, which by perswasion they will not doe.* Cooper is clearly not serious in implicitly congratulating the bishops on their restraint in not excommunicating Queen Elizabeth. However, as Pierce notes, his irony is 'a clumsy weapon', which Martin here turns against him. (p.194)

⁹³ See *Admonition*, p.67: *The lawes of Englande to this day, have stode by the authoritie of the three Estates: which to alter now, by leaving out the one, may happily seeme a matter of more weight, then all men doe judge it. If there were no more then this one thing, which hitherto I have spoken of, that is, the alteration of the state of all the lawes of this Realme: I thinke there is no wise man but seeth what daunger may followe in these perillous times, not onely by fulfilling the thing, but also by offering to doe it.* This final point of Martin's is one calculated to move the Queen to anger against the bishops. As Pierce notes, the bishops' claim to be considered one of the three estates of the realm is 'discussed with much legal knowledge and acumen', and refuted, by 'the very able and learned writer of *A petition directed to her most excellent Majestie, wherein is delivered 1. A meane howe to compound the civill dissention in the church of England. 2. A prooffe that they who write for the Reformation, do not offend against the stat. of 23 Eliza. c.2. and therefore till matters be compounded, deserve more favour. Hereunto is annexed: Some opinions of such as sue for Reformation: by which it maie appeare howe unjustlie they are slaundered by the Bishops, &c. pag. 53. Together with the Authours Epistle to the Reader. pag. 58. Also: Certayne Articles wherein is discovered the negligence of the Bishoppes, their Officials, Favourers and Followers, in performance of sundrie Ecclesiasticall Statutes Lawes and Ordinances Royall and Episcopall, published for the governement of the Church of England. pag. 60. Lastlie: Certayne Questions or Interrogatories drawn by a favourer of Reformation, wherein he desireth to be resolved by the Prelates, pag.74 (1592?).* (RCEA, p.100) It has earlier been suggested that the individual who called himself Martin Marprelate did not enter the fray with the publication of Martin's *Epistle* in 1588, and was, in fact, the author of the *Abstract Of Certain Acts Of Parliament*, published in 1584. It is also quite probable that he did not cease to write against the bishops with the publication of Martin's *Protestation*, and was the author of the *Petition* of 1592. In the British Library catalogue, the *Petition* is attributed to the reformer Henry Barrow, and is said to date from 1590.

⁹⁴ Perhaps a pun on two meanings of 'odd': 'peculiar, eccentric', and 37 as an odd number?

⁹⁵ Set up: To post up (a paper or notice); to give notice of, advertise. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin suggests that the reader might issue a formal written challenge as Martin himself does in the *Protestation*.

⁹⁶ Martin's comment is a wry, but accurate, assessment of the measures likely to be adopted by the bishops against anyone rash enough to offer to dispute the views expressed in the 'school-points'.

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