

---

The Protestation<sup>1</sup> of Martin Marprelate.

Wherein, notwithstanding the surprising<sup>2</sup> of the printer,<sup>3</sup> he maketh it known unto the world that he feareth neither proud priest, antichristian pope, tyrannous prelate, nor godless catercap, but defieth all the race of them by these presents,<sup>4</sup> and offereth conditionally, as is farther expressed herein, by open disputation to appear in the defence of his cause against them and theirs.

Which challenge if they dare not maintain against him, then doth he also publish that he never meaneth, by the assistance of God, to leave the assailing<sup>5</sup> of them and their generation<sup>6</sup> until they be utterly extinguished out of our church.

Published by the worthy gentleman, Doctor Martin Marprelate, Doctor in all the faculties,<sup>7</sup> primate and metropolitan.

---

<sup>1</sup> Protestation: A solemn affirmation of a fact, opinion, or resolution; a formal public assertion or asseveration. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>2</sup> Martin's use of 'surprising' is the first recorded in the OED.

<sup>3</sup> The press was captured by the agents of Henry Stanley (1531-1593), 4th Earl of Derby, on August 14, 1589, at a rented house in Newton Lane near Manchester, where John Hodgkins and his assistants Valentine Simms and Arthur Thomlyn had just begun printing *More Work For Cooper*. After interrogation by the Earl, the prisoners were sent to London. (HIMT, p.318; Carlson, pp.38-9)

<sup>4</sup> By these presents: The phrase 'these presents' is used in any legal document to designate the instrument in which the phrase itself occurs. (BLD, p.1348)

<sup>5</sup> Assail: To attack by speech or writing. (OED, p.116)

<sup>6</sup> Generation: Offspring, progeny. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>7</sup> Faculty: The whole body of Masters, Doctors (and, occasionally, students) in any one of the studies, Theology, Law, Medicine, Arts. (OED, p.718)

---

The Protestation Of Martin The Great.

Thou canst not lightly<sup>8</sup> be ignorant, good reader, of that which hath lately fallen<sup>9</sup> unto some things of mine which were to be printed, or in printing<sup>10</sup> - the press, letters, workmen and all, apprehended and carried as malefactors<sup>11</sup> before the magistrate, whose authority I reverence, and whose sword I would fear, were I as wicked as our bishops are.<sup>12</sup> These events, I confess, do strike<sup>13</sup> me, and give me just cause to enter more narrowly<sup>14</sup> into myself to see whether I be at peace with God or no. But utterly to discourage me from mine enterprise, a greater matter than that comes to I hope shall never be. The state of the poor men that are taken I do bewail, not because they can hurt me (for, I assure thee, they know not who I am),<sup>15</sup> but inasmuch as I fear the tyranny of our wicked priests will do that against them which neither the Word of God doth warrant, nor law of the land doth permit.<sup>16</sup>

For as their hatred unto the cause is without ground, so their cruelty to those that profess the same is without measure. Therefore, good reader, if thou hear of any mean<sup>17</sup> or compassionate<sup>18</sup> punishment inflicted upon them (who, to say the truth, have deserved none at all - I mean the printers), I would never have thee stand to expostulate with our bishops for this untimely lenity of theirs, for whom I dare take mine oath (for I know them so well) that if there fall out any good to those poor men through the providence of God and the gracious clemency of her Majesty they, for their parts, are no more guilty or accessory<sup>19</sup> unto it than the Spanish Inquisitors<sup>20</sup> themselves. For indeed in this one point they are of my mind, viz., that reformation cannot well come to our church without blood,<sup>21</sup> and that no blood can

---

<sup>8</sup> Lightly: Probably. (OED, p.1212)

<sup>9</sup> Fall: Of an event, etc.: To come to pass; to happen, to occur. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>10</sup> Martin's use of the words 'were to be printed, or in printing' suggests that the printers were in the process of printing one tract, and had another in their possession ready to be printed at a later time. This tallies with the evidence of Hodgkins, whose confession, extorted by 'racking and great torments' included the information that *More Work For Cooper* was in two parts, the first of which the printers had been working on for approximately three hours when surprised by the Earl of Derby's men. The second part, 'which should serve them at another time' was, according to Hodgkins, 'almost as bigge agayne'. (Carlson, pp.39, 110, 171-2)

<sup>11</sup> Malefactor: One guilty of a heinous offence against the law; a felon, a criminal. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>12</sup> Pierce notes that Martin refers to *Romans 13:4*: *For he is the minister of God for thy wealth: but if thou do evil, feare: for he beareth not the sworde for noight: for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doeth evil.* (GB, p.75; MT, p.397)

<sup>13</sup> Strike: To prostrate mentally; in weaker sense, to shock, depress. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>14</sup> Narrowly: Carefully, closely, with close attention. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>15</sup> It seems clear that Hodgkins and his two assistants did not know Martin's identity, although they were acquainted with Penry and Throckmorton. Hodgkins was in close contact with John Penry, and both he and Penry spent the night of July 13, 1589 at Job Throckmorton's manor at Haseley. The two assistant printers, Simms and Thomlyn, also knew Penry, and may have spoken briefly with Job Throckmorton on July 18, when an unidentified man arrived at Wolston Priory while they were printing the *Theses*. At the time, however, Simms and Thomlyn did not know the man in question to be Throckmorton ('The Friday after as they do think a gentleman came unto them as they were printinge whom since they understand to be Job Throckmorton'). (Carlson, p.47)

<sup>16</sup> Martin's concern for the printers was justified and, in fact, Hodgkins had already been racked by the time Martin's words appeared in print. The confessions of Simms and Thomlyn also appear to have been extracted by torture. (Carlson, pp.39, 41) It is interesting to compare the harsh treatment meted out to the printers of the Marprelate tracts with Martin's account in the *Epistle* of Whitgift's lenient treatment of the printers of 'popish' books.

<sup>17</sup> Mean: Petty, unimportant; inconsiderable. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>18</sup> Compassionate: Inclined to compassion; pitiful, compassionate. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>19</sup> Accessary: Of persons: Acceding or adhering *to*; assisting as a subordinate. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>20</sup> Inquisition: An ecclesiastical tribunal (officially styled the Holy Office) for the suppression of heresy and punishment of heretics, organized in the 13th century under Innocent III, under a central governing body at Rome called the Congregation of the Holy Office. The Inquisition existed in Italy, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. The Spanish Inquisition, reorganized 1478-83, became notorious in the 16th century for its severities. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>21</sup> This is the first occasion on which Martin expresses this view.

handsomely be spilt in that cause unless they themselves be the butchers and horse-leeches<sup>22</sup> to draw it out. Thou seest evidently<sup>23</sup> they claim that as a piece and portion of their inheritance.<sup>24</sup> But tell them from me that we fear not men who can but kill the body, because we fear that God who can cast both body and soul into unquenchable fire.<sup>25</sup> And tell them also this: that the more blood the church loseth, the more life and blood it gets. When the fearful sentence pronounced against the persecutors of the truth is executed upon them, I would then gladly know whether they who go about thus to shed our blood, or we, whose blood crieth for vengeance against them, shall have the worst end of the staff.<sup>26</sup> We are sure to possess our souls in everlasting peace whensoever we leave this earthly tabernacle,<sup>27</sup> and in the meantime we know that an hair of our head cannot fall to the ground<sup>28</sup> without the will of our heavenly Father who, of his great mercy loveth us in, and for, our Saviour Christ Jesus - and that with a love as far passing the love of a natural father toward his children as he, who so loveth us, excelleth all earthly parents. This persuasion, being steadfastly engrafted<sup>29</sup> in their hearts who either now or hereafter shall be troubled<sup>30</sup> for this cause, will be a comfort to them in the midst of all their distresses.

And good reader, whosoever thou art, I would not have thee discouraged at this that is lately fallen out. Reason not from the success of things unto the goodness of the cause, for that savoureth too much of the flesh. If in beholding the state of the Low Countries and of France thou wouldst have so reasoned with thyself, thou mightest easily have given the holy religion of God the slip<sup>31</sup> 20 years ago.<sup>32</sup> Thou must think that in these successes<sup>33</sup> - though they be many times lamentable to the children of God - yet the Lord himself hath a special hand to try (it may be) who they are that with a double face, and who with a single<sup>34</sup> heart, do affect the cause. As to the present action, howsoever there may escape me some corruption in the handling, let them be well assured it was not undertaken to be intermitted<sup>35</sup> at every blast of evil success. Nay, let them know that by the grace of God the last year of Martinism - that is, of the descrying and displaying of lord bishops - shall not be till full 2 years after the last year of Lambethism - that is, so joining godless proceedings unto the maintenance of an [sic?] antichristian and unlawful callings in God's church against the known truth (for that, indeed, is rightly called Lambethism or Cooperism, choose you whether).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Horse-leech: A horse-doctor, farrier; veterinary surgeon. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>23</sup> Evidently: Without possibility of mistake or misunderstanding; clearly, distinctly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>24</sup> Pierce notes that Cooper (in the *Admonition*), Sandys (in a letter of 1564 to the Privy Council) and Some (in his *Godly Treatise* of 1588) defend religious persecution. (MT, p.398)

<sup>25</sup> Matthew 10:28: *And feare ye not them which kil the bodie, but are not able to kil the soule: but rather feare him, which is able to destroye bothe soule and bodie in hel.* (GB, p.7; MT, p.398)

<sup>26</sup> To have the worst end of the staff: To come off worst in a contest, disputation, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>27</sup> Tabernacle: Applied to the human body regarded as the temporary abode of the soul or of life. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>28</sup> Luke 21:18: *Yet there shal not one heere of your heades perish;* Acts 27:34: *For ther shal not an heere fall from the head of anie of you.* (GB, pp.40, 69; MT, p.398)

<sup>29</sup> Engraft: *Fig.*: To implant (virtues, dispositions, sentiments) in the mind. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>30</sup> In the original text, this is 'trodled', which Pierce suggests is a misprint for 'troubled'. (MT, p.398) There are numerous 'overturned letters, wrong fonts, and misspellings' in signature A of the *Protestation*, suggesting that the work was begun by amateurs. The printing of the last three signatures was done by Waldegrave, who arrived at Haseley sometime before September 29, 1589 on his way to Scotland. (Carlson, pp.109-10, 137)

<sup>31</sup> To give (one) the slip: To evade or escape from (a person); to elude, steal off, or slip away from unperceived. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>32</sup> This seems to be a personal recollection of events in France twenty years previously, suggesting that Martin would be at least 35-40 years of age in 1589.

<sup>33</sup> Success: The fortune (good or bad) befalling anyone in a particular situation or affair. (OED, p.2176)

<sup>34</sup> This is misprinted in the original text as 'siuule'. Pierce suggests 'single'. (MT, p.399)

<sup>35</sup> Intermit: To leave off, give over, discontinue (an action, practice, etc.) for a time; to suspend. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>36</sup> Whether: Whichever of the two. (OED, p.2535)

And be it known unto them that Martinism stands upon another manner of foundation than their prelacy doth, or can, stand. Therefore, if they will needs overthrow me, let them go in hand<sup>37</sup> with the exploit rather by proving the lawfulness of their places than by exercising the force of their unlawful tyranny. For once again I fear not their tyranny.<sup>38</sup> And one sound syllogism (which, I tell you, is dainty<sup>39</sup> ware<sup>40</sup> in a bishop's breath) brought in for the proof of their unlawful callings shall more dismay, and sooner induce, me to give over my course than a thousand warrants, a thousand pursuivants, a thousand threats and a thousand racks, which course, because they take not, therefore all their other drifts<sup>41</sup> and devices<sup>42</sup> are to none other end than to show the great care and skill they have to carry away<sup>43</sup> all the blows. But what get they by their tyranny, seeing it is truth and not violence that most uphold their places? Do they not know that the more violence they use, the more breath they spend? And what wisdom were this, trow ye, for a man that had coursed<sup>44</sup> himself windless<sup>45</sup> to attempt the recovery of his breath by running up and down to find air? So you know he might soon have as much life in his members as lord bishops have religion and conscience in their proceedings.

The whole issue of their sore<sup>46</sup> and bloodthirsty attempts doth nothing else but witness against them that they are the children of those fathers who never as yet durst abide to have their proceedings examined by the Word, and methinks they should be ashamed to have it recorded unto ages to come that they have ever shunned to maintain their cause either by open disputation or by any other sound conference<sup>47</sup> or writing. Let me be overthrown by any of these ways, and I do here, by these my writings, publicly protest that I will never molest lord bishops again while I live, but will with very great vehemency, to the uttermost of my endeavour, maintain them and their cause, as ever I did oppugn the same. Otherwise, I do with the like constancy and resolution protest that, by the aid and assistance of God, I will never leave the displaying of them and their proceedings until they be made as odious in our church and commonwealth as that they be thought of all sorts unworthy to be harboured therein.

And this offer of mine - so reasonable, and in every respect so easily to be yielded unto - if they refuse, who seeth not therein a secret implying, and a close granting, of the desperateness and misery of their cause, which shaketh and shivereth and shrinketh, as it were, in the sinews, to think that there should be any buckling<sup>48</sup> towards, and therefore doth wisely shift off all honest and lawful means of trial, as having nothing to uphold it but tyranny and blood.

Now because they would gladly know Martin, I will here set them down a way whereby they may not only know him but (that which is more delightful unto them) they may quench their thirst with his blood if they will, provided that they be able to make their cause good against him by the Word of God.

I do therefore, by this my protestation, make it known to the whole church of England, especially unto our magistrates, more especially unto our gracious sovereign, and unto all posterities to come, that I who do now go under the name of Martin Marprelate do offer personally to appear and there to make myself known in open disputation, upon the danger not only of my liberty but also of my life, to maintain against all our bishops - or any else whosoever that shall dare in any scholastical<sup>49</sup> manner to take their parts - the cause

<sup>37</sup> To go in hand with: To engage or deal with; be about; to proceed with. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>38</sup> Martin presumably refers to his statement in *Hay Any Work For Cooper* ('I fear you not').

<sup>39</sup> Dainty: Precious; hence, rare or scarce. (OED, p.484)

<sup>40</sup> Ware: Articles of merchandise or manufacture. (OED, p.2505)

<sup>41</sup> Drift: A scheme, plot, design, device. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>42</sup> Device: An arrangement, plan, contrivance (often underhand); a plot, stratagem, trick. (OED, p.535)

<sup>43</sup> To carry away: To win, gain for oneself, or as one would have it. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>44</sup> Course: To run as in a race. (OED, p.442)

<sup>45</sup> Windless: Breathless, out of breath. (OED, p.2553)

<sup>46</sup> In the original text, this is 'sorc'. Pierce suggests 'force', as a misprint for 'fierce'. (MT, 400)

<sup>47</sup> Conference: The action of conferring or taking counsel; 'the act of conversing on serious subjects, formal discourse'. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>48</sup> Buckling: The action of closing *with* an enemy; engagement, onset. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>49</sup> Scholastical: Following the teaching of the Schoolmen; pertaining to Scholasticism. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

of the church government which is now in controversy betwixt me and our prelates, so that I may have this condition following inviolably kept and observed, viz., that for appearing, or for anything that I have either published or caused to be published in this cause, I be not dealt with or molested except they overthrow me by the Word of God which, if they do, confusion be upon me if I do not yield. But if in this encounter I overthrow them (as I make no question<sup>50</sup> of it, if they dare abide the push),<sup>51</sup> then they to truss<sup>52</sup> up and be packing<sup>53</sup> to ROME, and to trouble our church no longer. Provided also that if any of the Puritans will join with me and venture their lives in the cause, it may be lawful for them to come in freely against these dragons<sup>54</sup> in disputation.<sup>55</sup>

I call thee here again (good reader) to witness the indifferency<sup>56</sup> of my challenge and offer, and to judge what account thou oughtest to make of our present church government by lord archbishops and bishops upon the refusal of the former condition by them. And whether, thereupon, I may not justly and lawfully proclaim the victory over them in manner following:

*Be it known unto all states, churches, and universities under heaven, and unto all men, either present or to come, of what estate or condition soever, that inasmuch as Master Fenner's<sup>57</sup> and Master Penry's<sup>58</sup> syllogisms (whereby Doctor Bridges' book<sup>59</sup> is confuted, and the cause of reformation unanswerably proved), Master Travers',<sup>60</sup> Master Cartwright's,<sup>61</sup> and Master Gilby's,<sup>62</sup> The Demonstration of Discipline,<sup>63</sup> The Abstract,<sup>64</sup> The Counterpoison,<sup>65</sup> Master Tyndale,<sup>66</sup> Master Frith,<sup>67</sup> Master Barnes,<sup>68</sup> Master Hooper,<sup>69</sup> Master Pilkington,<sup>70</sup> Master Foxe,<sup>71</sup> and Master Martin Marprelate's writings,*

<sup>50</sup> To make no question: To raise or entertain no doubt (*of or about* a thing). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>51</sup> Push: An attack, a vigorous onset. (OED, p.1714)

<sup>52</sup> Truss: To pack up one's clothes etc. in readiness for a journey: = pack. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>53</sup> To be packing: To send away, dismiss summarily. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>54</sup> Dragon: An appellation of Satan, the 'Old Serpent'; also, in the Vulgate and the Septuagint, a large serpent. (OED, p.602) It is also possible that Martin and the Puritans are cast in the role of St. George against the episcopal 'dragons'.

<sup>55</sup> Martin's challenge to the bishops illustrates his idealism, a personal characteristic noticeable throughout the tracts.

<sup>56</sup> Indifferency: Impartiality, equity. (OED, p.1056)

<sup>57</sup> Pierce notes that the third section of Dudley Fenner's *Defence of the Godly Ministers Against the Slanders of Doctor Bridges* (1587) contains syllogistic proof that the church government advocated by the reformers is 'ordinarie, perpetuall, and the best'. (MT, p.402)

<sup>58</sup> It is unclear to which of Penry's books Martin refers.

<sup>59</sup> I.e., the *Defence*.

<sup>60</sup> Walter Travers is credited with the authorship of *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae*, published in Latin in 1574, and *A Defence of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline ordayned of God to be used in his Church. Against a Replie of Maister Bridges*, published in 1588. His *Disciplina Ecclesiae sacra* was also available in manuscript by 1586, but was never published. (RCEA, pp.32, 82; Carlson, p.6)

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Cartwright is credited with the English translation of Travers' *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae* (1574). He also wrote three tracts during the years 1573-1577 in response to publications by Whitgift, and by 1589 had written his *Confutation Of The Rhemists Translations*, although the latter work was not published until after his death. (RCEA, pp.31-2, 50)

<sup>62</sup> Anthony Gilby (d.1585) published several pamphlets, two of which were incorporated into his *Pleasant Dialogue* (1581). (RCEA, p.29)

<sup>63</sup> Printed concurrently with Martin's *Epistle* on the secret press at East Molesey in October, 1588. (Carlson, p.8) The work is credited to John Udall; however, Martin does not name him as the author.

<sup>64</sup> The author of the *Abstract of Certain Acts of Parliament* (1584) has never been identified. Carlson suggests, on stylistic grounds, that Martin Marprelate may have had a hand in it. (p.293) The *Abstract* displays a knowledge of, and emphasis on, the law unusual among reformist tracts, and may well have been written entirely by Martin.

<sup>65</sup> Written by Dudley Fenner, the *Counterpoison* was published in 1584. (RCEA, p.78)

<sup>66</sup> *Obedience Of A Christian Man, Practise Of Prelates*, etc.

<sup>67</sup> *Answer to More*, etc.

<sup>68</sup> *Supplication to Henry VIII*, etc.

<sup>69</sup> Pierce gives the following extract from *The Confession of John Hooper's Fayth* (1550): 'As concerning the ministers of the Church, I beleve that the church is bound to no sort of people, or any

together with other learned discourses more, whereby the corruption and the unlawfulness of the places and proceedings of lord bishops are shamefully laid open unto the world are as yet unanswered, and likely to be no otherwise confuted than with slanders, ribaldry, scurrility,<sup>72</sup> reviling, imprisonment, and torture, and inasmuch as they dare not maintain their cause against me by open and public disputation, that therefore they do manifestly confess their cause and proceedings to be clean foiled, overthrown, and made even with the ground, in such sort as - beside whorish<sup>73</sup> impudency, halter, axe, bonds,<sup>74</sup> scourging and racking, with such other weapons as were bequeathed unto them by their forefathers, the ancient enemies and persecutors of the church - they have not left any instrument to defend themselves.

And let them be sure, seeing they dare come to no lawful way of trial with me, that there shall not be a post<sup>75</sup> in any great street or place of concourse,<sup>76</sup> almost, in the land, but I will make an affix,<sup>77</sup> and set up this my foresaid declaration of the victory had over them, to their shame. And I will also make foreign nations ring of their villainies and ungodliness, if the publishing of their doings in Latin can do it.<sup>78</sup>

And as for myself, my life, and whatsoever else I possess, I have long ago set up my rest,<sup>79</sup> making that account of it as, in standing against the enemies of God and for the liberty of his church, it is of no value in my sight. My life in this cause shall be a gain to the church and no loss to myself, I know right well, and this is all the reckoning<sup>80</sup> which, by the assistance of the Lord, I will make, as long as I live, of all the torments they have devised for me.<sup>81</sup> I am blamed of many in this mine attempt, not only for throwing myself into great danger, but also for the utter undoing of my wife and children.<sup>82</sup> I do thank them with all my heart for their care over those poor souls, and commend them for their secrecy and wisdom that, in knowing my wife and my children, they have not, by showing their unmeasurable love towards them, discovered me. You see what it is when wise men have the handling of a matter. I perceive, if these men were not very provident and wary, that Martin could not be long unknown. For I tell you, if a man's wife and children be once known, it is not possible that he can be secret any long time. And yet methinks that all their wisdom, and all their care over my wife and children, when the matter is well weighed, is scant

---

ordinary succession of bishops, Cardinals, or such like, but unto the only word of god, and none of them should be beleved but when thei speke ye word of god'. (MT, p.403)

<sup>70</sup> James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham from 1561-1576. He was a close friend of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and a contemporary of his at St. John's College, Cambridge. (*Cambridge Connection*, pp.105-6).

<sup>71</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, etc.

<sup>72</sup> Scurrility: The quality of being scurrilous; buffoon-like jocularity; coarseness or indecency of language, esp. in invective and jesting. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Presumably, an allusion to *Mar-Martine* and to some of the stage performances in which Martin was ridiculed.

<sup>73</sup> Whorish: *Fig.*, esp. in religious and controversial use (often = idolatrous). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>74</sup> Bonds: In plural: Anything with which one's body or limbs are bound in restraint of personal liberty; a shackle, chain, fetter, manacle. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>75</sup> Post: A stake, stout pole, column, or the like, that is set upright in or on the ground, for various purposes; e.g. as a boundary mark, landmark, or monument, a stand for displaying public notices, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>76</sup> Concourse: An assemblage of people or things. (OED, p.391)

<sup>77</sup> Affix: A public notice posted up. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first citation in the OED.

<sup>78</sup> If evidence were needed of Martin's superior education, it is provided by his confident claim that he can, if necessary, carry on the ecclesiastical controversy by writing in Latin to a learned international audience.

<sup>79</sup> To set up one's rest: To venture one's final stake or reserve; from the old game of cards called *primero*, in which the loss of the 'rest', i.e. the stakes kept in reserve, and agreed upon at the beginning, terminated the game. (OED, p.1811) Martin's references to card-games throughout the tracts suggest some personal experience with gambling, a trait which sets him apart from the Puritans.

<sup>80</sup> To make reckoning of: To hold or account of, to take heed of. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>81</sup> This passage provides evidence of Martin's personal courage and idealism, and affords an interesting comparison with a speech of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester in *Thomas of Woodstock*: 'Dare I? Afore my God, I'll speak, King Richard/ Were I assured this day my head should off./ I tell ye, Sir, my allegiance stands excused/ In justice of the cause.' (Armstrong, p.184)

<sup>82</sup> Pierce notes that Martin is replying to a sermon of February 9, 1589 at Paul's Cross in which Bancroft claimed that 'if Martin had any consideration for his wife and children he would not have entered upon his dangerous enterprise.' (MT, p.405)

worth three straws.<sup>83</sup> For what if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life? Are they not then something too much overweened<sup>84</sup> in their own conceit, who give out that he hath both? Will you believe me, then, if I tell you the truth? To put you, therefore, out of all doubt, I may safely protest unto you with a good conscience that, howsoever the speech may seem strange unto many,<sup>85</sup> yet the very truth is that hitherto I never had wife nor child in all my life. Not that I never mean to have any; for it may be, notwithstanding all the rage and barking of Lambethical whelps,<sup>86</sup> I may be married, and that ere it be long.

For methinks this should be enough, that two only of the metropolitans of the land should continue maiden<sup>87</sup> (though, I fear, scarce virgin) priests.<sup>88</sup> But whensoever I am married, it would do me good at the heart to see a dozen of good and honest lord bishops dance at my wedding, saving that as Master Tyndale hath very well noted (*Practise Of Prelates*, page 374), it is not possible naturally there should be any good and honest lord bishops.<sup>89</sup> Well, howsoever it goes with me, you see how little cause, as yet, my wife and children have to fear that Antichrist of Lambeth and his instruments.<sup>90</sup>

To omit these matters, will they know, indeed, why I fear them not, and therefore they ought not to terrify thee, good reader (if the Lord hath bestowed upon thee the same mind that he hath vouchsafed me)? Why, surely it is because they against whom I deal have so provoked the anger of God and the prayers of his church against them, as stand long they cannot, if either Lord be true of his promise or the prayers of the church, made in faith, can be heard. Of both which I make no question. Hereunto you may add that I fear them not, inasmuch as the end wherefore I have taken this work in hand was only the glory of God by delivering of his church from the great tyranny and bondage wherewith these tyrants do oppress the same. I dealt not herein, as the Lord knoweth, because I would please myself or my reader in a pleasant vein of writing. If that be the thing I sought, or seek after, then let my writings be buried in the grave of all proud prelates, that is, never mentioned in the church of God without detestation. Even so was it as far from me that, by sharpening my pen against them, I should thereby (as some foolishly give out) make a way for myself, or other great<sup>91</sup> men,<sup>92</sup> unto their livings and promotion.<sup>93</sup> For if the possession and enjoying of

<sup>83</sup> Straw: Often used as a type of what is of trifling value or importance, as in not to care a straw (*two, three straws*), and similar phrases. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>84</sup> Overweened: Conceited, overweening, presumptuous, arrogant. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) In the text, this is 'overwayned'. Martin's usage precedes the first citation in the OED.

<sup>85</sup> Martin lays stress on the fact that his claim to be unmarried 'may seem strange to many', yet offers no reason why people should find it 'strange' to learn that Martin is a bachelor. This suggests that the man behind the pseudonym is a married man with children who has some technical ground for claiming the marriage invalid. Thus, he appears to be married, and many who know him would find it strange that he considers that he is not. In this connection it is interesting to consider Charles Arundel's statement that Edward de Vere, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford 'daily defend[ed] to us all that there was no marriage good in the Queen's [time]'. (PRO SP12/151[49], ff. 109-9v)

<sup>86</sup> Whelp: Applied to the offspring or young of a noxious creature or being. (OED, p.2533)

<sup>87</sup> Maiden: Unmarried. (OED, p.1260)

<sup>88</sup> In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, Martin identified Whitgift and Howland as unmarried bishops and referred to the former's relationship with 'Mistress Toy' and the latter's with the 'hostess of Sibson'.

<sup>89</sup> *Practise of Prelates*: 'Neither is it possible, naturally, that there should be any good bishop.' (MT, p.315)

<sup>90</sup> Instrument: A person made use of by another person or being, for the accomplishment of a purpose. (OED, p.1086) Martin doubtless refers to the fact that Bancroft, in his Paul's Cross sermon, served as Whitgift's 'instrument'.

<sup>91</sup> Great: Eminent by reason of birth, rank, wealth, power, or position. (OED, p.885)

<sup>92</sup> Martin's reference to 'myself or other great men' seems to be a hitherto-unnoticed slip of the pen. If the bishops were deprived of their livings, only the highest in the land could hope to benefit from the Queen's gift of episcopal lands. Martin's use of the phrase 'myself or other great men' indicates that he is a member of this select group.

<sup>93</sup> In his Paul's Cross sermon of February 9, 1589, Bancroft 'accuses the critics of the ecclesiastical establishment of expecting the spoil of bishops' livings and the subversion of the cathedrals and the plundering of Church revenues'. (MT, p.408) Cooper makes a similar claim in the *Admonition* at p.117: *This is the end, why Bishops and other chiefe of the clergie are so defaced, why their doings are so depraved, why such common obloquies is in all mens mouthes upon them raised, that is to say, that the mindes of the Prince and Governours, may thereby be*

a good conscience but for one day alone be not more dear to me than all their ungodly pomp and ambitious pre-eminence, then let mine adversaries prey upon me and let my reward be nothing else but the very bitterness of their malicious hearts. I have, I thank God, of mine own, wherewith I am better content than they are, with all their spoil and robbery. And if I wanted, I could tell how to live in an honest calling,<sup>94</sup> with better credit in the church of God, than all the lord bishops of England do. And, I may safely say, it is so far from me to bring the church's livings into the hands of any but the ministers and officers thereof, that I can no more abide church-robbery in a temporal man than I can brook sacrilege<sup>95</sup> in a presumptuous priest; as I hate the one, so I abhor the other.<sup>96</sup>

But as concerning the laying open of the bishoprics to the spoil of such cormorants<sup>97</sup> as gape for their downfalls thereby only to enrich themselves, I greatly muse that our prelates will be so overseen as to charge me therewith. For it is well known that none of them all - no, not the proudest priest in the land - doth so cumber<sup>98</sup> himself in caring how he should live that comes after him,<sup>99</sup> but that now all of them begin prettily - either of their wonted love to themselves, or of their natural spite to their successors - to take such charitable order as that, if they may have their wills, I hope there shall not be much left in a while to allure any covetous courtier to the spoil. Wherein (no dispraise to any) I must needs commend, for their forecast<sup>100</sup> in this point, a couple of as arrant<sup>101</sup> bishops (for it were pity to bereave the devil of his due commendation) as any the land yieldeth. The men or, rather, beasts that I mean, are John London<sup>102</sup> and Thomas Winchester,<sup>103</sup> whereof the one at Fulham,<sup>104</sup> the other by Whitney in Oxfordshire, have so contended in throwing down elms as if the wager had been whether of them should most have impoverished their bishoprics. And yet I blame not Mar-Elm so much as Cooper for this fact, because it is no less given him by his name to spoil elms than it is allotted him by the secret judgement of God to mar the church. Whereas a man of Master Cooper's age<sup>105</sup> and occupation,<sup>106</sup> so well seen in that trade, might easily know that tubs made of green timber must needs leak out of all cry.<sup>107</sup> And yet now I consider with myself, I do not so greatly marvel at the matter. For he that makes no conscience<sup>108</sup> to be a deceiver and a false

---

*induced to take away the lands and livings from them, and to part the same among themselves, to the benefit (as some thinke) and to the commoditie of their Countrey and commonweale.*

<sup>94</sup> This interesting remark suggests that Martin is possessed of marketable talents which his station in life does not require him to make use of.

<sup>95</sup> Sacrilege: The crime or sin of stealing or appropriating what is consecrated to God's service. In ecclesiastical use, extended to include any kind of outrage on consecrated persons or things, and the violation of any obligation having a sacramental character, or recognized as under the special protection of the Church. In mediaeval writings, the classification of 'sacrilege' as a branch of avarice, which is based on the primary meaning of the term, is somewhat inconsistently combined with an enumeration of the varieties of sacrilege implying the wider sense explained above. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin seems to intend the more restricted meaning of 'avarice'.

<sup>96</sup> Martin's honesty, and his scorn of those who stoop to baseness for financial gain are evident in this passage.

<sup>97</sup> Cormorant: *Fig.* An insatiably greedy or rapacious person. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>98</sup> Cumber: To harass, distress, trouble. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>99</sup> Pierce points out that it was the 'regular practice of each newly-appointed bishop to sue the previous occupant of the see, or his heirs, for dilapidations and for the illegal wastage of the episcopal revenues by bestowing, for merely nominal sums, upon members of his family and others, cathedral manors and farms on long leases'. (MT, p.408)

<sup>100</sup> Forecast: Foresight of consequences and provision against them. (OED, p.787)

<sup>101</sup> Arrant: With the opprobrious force transferred to the adjective: Thoroughly bad, good for nothing, rascally. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>102</sup> I.e., John Aylmer.

<sup>103</sup> I.e., Thomas Cooper.

<sup>104</sup> Aylmer had a palace at Fulham, a few miles up-river from London. (Strype, *Aylmer*, p.112) See the *Epistle and Hay Any Work For Cooper* for Martin's anecdote about Aylmer's cutting down of the elms at Fulham.

<sup>105</sup> Martin's frequent references to aspects of Cooper's personality and physical appearance - such as his age, choleric disposition and satin gown - suggest personal acquaintance.

<sup>106</sup> I.e., the occupation of cooper.

<sup>107</sup> Martin also uses the phrase 'out of all cry' at the beginning of *Hay Any Work For Cooper*.

<sup>108</sup> To make conscience: To make it a matter of conscience to have scruples about. (OED, p.403)

prophet<sup>109</sup> in the building of the church will not stick, for his gain, to be a deceitful workman in making of tubs.

Well, concerning the care that our prelates have in leaving of things behooveful for their successors, I may truly say that, were it not more for fear of law than for any conscience of the maintenance of the ministry, the whole bishopric, even today before tomorrow,<sup>110</sup> would not yield a lord bishop so much as might purchase him a handsome halter to hang himself with, as the poet saith. Therefore never let them talk more for shame (as their T. C. doth) of the care they have that the church's maintenance should not decay.<sup>111</sup> And as herein their spoil and robbery is apparent, so, on the other side, their tyranny and bloodthirsty proceedings against good men is inexcusable. And yet is the manner of their proceedings more intolerable and dangerous to the state than their very practices themselves.

First, you see, they may examine of what they will.<sup>112</sup> For who can let them, when they be both sole judges and sole witness themselves - and none other by, but the poor examinee.<sup>113</sup> To which effect, what is the seat of justice they commonly use in these cases, but only some close chamber at Lambeth or some obscure gallery<sup>114</sup> in London Palace<sup>115</sup> where, according to the true nature of an evil conscience that flieth and feareth the light, they may juggle<sup>116</sup> and foist<sup>117</sup> in what they list<sup>118</sup> without controlment,<sup>119</sup> and so attempt (if they will) to induce the party examined to be of a conspiracy with them to pull the crown off her Majesty's head. And I put case they should do so (as here, you see, is a way laid open for them, to broach any conspiracy in the world), what remedy should the party that stands there alone have, by appeaching<sup>120</sup> or complaining? Any other, trow you, than this: *He lies like a Puritan knave. I'll have his ears. I'll have the scandalum magnatum<sup>121</sup> against him, for he hath slandered the High Commission and the President of her Majesty's Council, namely, my Lord of Canterbury's worship?* And here behold the poor man's reward.

Secondly, you must lay your hand on the book, and not know whereunto you must be sworn - yea, they be so honest that they will compel you to accuse yourself, or else you shall lie<sup>122</sup> by it, which ungodly practice of theirs savoureth so rankly of the Spanish Inquisition that it is flat contrary to all humanity, the express laws of the land, and the doctrine of our church.<sup>123</sup> For the law is so far from compelling any to

<sup>109</sup> *Matthew 24:11: And many false prophetes shal arise, & shal deceive manie. Matthew 24:24: For there shal arise false Christs, & false prophetes, and shal shewe great signes and wonders, so that if it were possible, they shulde deceive the verie elect.* (GB, p.14)

<sup>110</sup> Martin uses the phrase 'tonight before tomorrow' in the *Just Censure*, another indication that all seven Marprelate tracts were written by a single individual.

<sup>111</sup> Martin refers to passages in the *Admonition*.

<sup>112</sup> Lord Burghley (1520-1598) found Whitgift's interrogatories to be framed 'in a Romish style, of great length and curiosity . . . the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and entrap their priests'. (HIMT, pp.82, 86)

<sup>113</sup> Examinee: A person under examination, either as a witness or an accused person. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>114</sup> Gallery: A long, narrow corridor. (OED, p.826)

<sup>115</sup> Martin's observations indicate his knowledge of the secretive physical conditions under which the hearings of the High Commission were held, as well as his familiarity with the layout of Lambeth Palace and the Bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's Cathedral. Throughout the tracts, Martin demonstrates his awareness of information which was probably not widely available with respect to the proceedings of the High Commission, as, for example, in the *Epistle*, when he states that he has seen 'the notes of their conference', referring to Penry's examination before the High Commission in March, 1587.

<sup>116</sup> Juggle: To play tricks so as to cheat or deceive. (OED, p.1140)

<sup>117</sup> Foist: To palm a die so as to be able to introduce it when required; thus, to cheat. (OED, p.779)

<sup>118</sup> List: Desire, like, wish or choose. (OED, p.1222)

<sup>119</sup> Controlment: Restraint, check = control. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>120</sup> Appeaching: The action of impeaching; accusation. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>121</sup> Scandalum magnatum: In English law, scandal or slander of great men or nobles; words spoken in derogation of a peer, a judge, or other great officer of the realm, for which an action lies. (BLD, p.1510)

<sup>122</sup> Lie: To be kept in prison. (OED, p.1207)

<sup>123</sup> Lord Burghley characterized the proceedings of the High Commission as 'too much savouring of the Romish Inquisition and . . . a device rather to seek for offenders than to reform any'. Historians confirm Burghley's view. Hume terms the High Commission 'a real Inquisition, attended with similar iniquities and cruelties', and Lingard

appeach himself in a cause wherein either life, goods, or good name is called in question, that it altogether condemneth those for oppressors of the common liberty of her Majesty's subjects and for unreasonable violators and wresters<sup>124</sup> of all good order of justice, that will urge or require any such thing at their hands, as may more at large appear in a plain statute of the 25th of Henry VIII in the title of heresy.<sup>125</sup> And therefore men may see what account they ought to make of those shameless speeches of that worthy greyhead,<sup>126</sup> Mistress Cooper's husband, who, as he hath been long since too old to blush, so did he not let openly to avouch that before God there was no other way of trial, nor no state could stand and continue without it.<sup>127</sup>

To conclude this point. It is too manifest that (1) by these their private whispering<sup>128</sup> examinations in corners, (2) by the oath thus administered at random, (3) by the enforcing of men to accuse themselves, our bishops, with their wretched favourers, may in time (as it is not unlikely but they will) bring one of their mischievous inconveniences upon her Majesty's best subjects,<sup>129</sup> viz., either perpetual imprisonment, loss of ears or some other limb, or else (as I said before) an enforcement to conspire the overthrow of her Majesty's crown and dignity. Whether these matters be not worthy the consideration of the gravest councillors in the land, I leave it to the judgement of every true Englishman that loveth his prince and the liberty of his country. But Martin is an intolerable busy fellow for molesting the state of the clergy in this sort.

Now I haste to other matters, where it may be, good reader, thou wilt ask what was in that pistle of mine?<sup>130</sup> To tell thee true, I sigh to remember the loss of it, it was so pretty, and so witty. And I know if thou hadst it, thou wouldst lay it up,<sup>131</sup> among other thy honest recreations, for thy delight.

First then, there was set down for thy learning the true, proper, and natural definition, or rather description, of Martinism, to this effect: that to be a right<sup>132</sup> Martinist indeed, is to be neither Brownist,<sup>133</sup> Cooperist, Lambethist, schismatic, papist, atheist, traitor nor yet lord bishop, but one that is at defiance with all men - whether he be French, Dutch, Spanish, catercap, pope or popeling - so far forth as he is an enemy to God and her Majesty. Whereupon, I remember, I did then ask the reader whether it were not good being a

---

makes a similar observation: 'Whoever will compare the powers given to this tribunal with those of the Inquisition, which Philip II endeavoured to establish in the Low Countries, will find that the chief difference between the two Courts consisted in their names. One was the Court of Inquisition, the other of High Commission'. (HIMT, pp.76-7)

<sup>124</sup> Wrestler: One who wrests, strains, or deflects the meaning or application of words, etc.; a perverter, distorter. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>125</sup> Pierce says of the oath *ex officio*: 'It was introduced without parliamentary authority by Archbishop Arundel in the reign of Henry IV. It was abrogated by Henry VIII as soon as Cranmer became Primate. It was restored by Mary, and was again abrogated in the first year of Elizabeth'. (MT, p.410)

<sup>126</sup> Greyhead: A grey-headed person. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first citation in the OED by more than a century.

<sup>127</sup> According to Pierce, Cooper made this statement on the occasion of Giles Wigginton's appearance before the High Commission on December 6, 1588. (MT, p.410)

<sup>128</sup> Whispering: Reporting something secretly or confidentially; esp. secretly slanderous, talebearing, backbiting. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>129</sup> As Pierce points out, one of these 'mischievous inconveniences' did befall 'one of her Majesty's best subjects', Attorney James Morrice. After corresponding with the bishops privately to no effect, Morrice made a speech in Parliament against the unlawfulness of the High Commission's proceedings and presented two bills, one against unlawful oaths and subscriptions and the other against unlawful imprisonment. The following day, Morrice was required to appear before the Privy Council and thereafter suffered various persecutions, being deprived of his right to practise as a common lawyer and eventually imprisoned at Tutbury Castle, where he died. (HIMT, pp.87-9)

<sup>130</sup> I.e., *More Work For Cooper*.

<sup>131</sup> Lay up: To deposit or put away in a place for safety; to put by. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>132</sup> Right: Agreeing with some standard or principle; correct, proper. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>133</sup> Brownism: The system of church-government advocated c.1581 by the Puritan Robert Browne. (OED, p.243) Robert Browne (1550?-1633?) was a distant relative of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. (DNB, v. 2, p.57)

Martinist, and as I did then, so do I still heartily rejoice to think that all the honestest and best-affected<sup>134</sup> subjects her Majesty hath will one day become Martinists.

Then, among all the rimers and stage-players which my lords of the clergy had suborned<sup>135</sup> against me, I remember Mar-Martin,<sup>136</sup> John a' Cant's hobby-horse,<sup>137</sup> was - to his reproach - newly put out of the morris (take it how he will) with a flat<sup>138</sup> discharge<sup>139</sup> for ever shaking his shins about a maypole again while he lived. Hereabouts, I placed Doctor Underhill<sup>140</sup> and Doctor Wood of All Souls' College<sup>141</sup> to be chaplains unto a certain chaste Ficar of Hell, called Sir James King, of Herefordshire.<sup>142</sup> And somewhere it was that I so slived<sup>143</sup> Dick Bancroft over the shoulder as his chaplainship<sup>144</sup> is never able to recover his credit, if that pistle of mine be once published. Next to this (as I take it) followed a preamble to an epitaph<sup>145</sup> upon the death of old Andrew Turncoat,<sup>146</sup> to be sung antiphonally<sup>147</sup> in his Grace's<sup>148</sup> chapel on Wednesdays and Fridays to the lamentable tune of *O'er A Whinny, Meg*.<sup>149</sup>

Then there was a certain vulneral<sup>150</sup> sermon of old Lockwood of Sarum<sup>151</sup> upon the sudden and untimely death of his said brother Perne, wherein he did undertake for him that he was never Puritan in his life, but always an orderly man and a maintainer of the state of the clergy.

<sup>134</sup> 'Best-affected' is not noticed in the OED.

<sup>135</sup> Suborn: To bribe, induce, or procure (a person) by underhand or unlawful means *to* commit a misdeed. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>136</sup> Author of the anti-Martinist poem, *Mar-Martine*.

<sup>137</sup> Hobby-horse: (1) In the morris-dance, and on the stage (in burlesques, pantomimes, etc.), a figure of a horse, made of wickerwork, or other light material, furnished with a deep housing, and fastened about the waist of one of the performers, who executed various antics in imitation of the movements of a skittish or spirited horse; also, the name of this performer in a morris-dance; (2) A person who plays ridiculous antics; a frivolous or foolish fellow, jester, buffoon; (3) A lustful person, a prostitute. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>138</sup> Flat: Absolute, unqualified. (OED, p.764)

<sup>139</sup> Discharge: Something that frees from obligation; as, a legal document, an acquittance. (OED, p.560)

<sup>140</sup> Dr. John Underhill (d.1592).

<sup>141</sup> Dr. William Wood (fl.1577-1590).

<sup>142</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>143</sup> Slive: To cleave or split. (OED, p.2021)

<sup>144</sup> 'His chaplainship' may be a mock title patterned on 'his lordship'; similar examples are to be found in the Nashe tracts. Pierce says that at this time Bancroft was chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, while Carlson says he was chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton. (MT, p.412; Carlson, p.59) According to the DNB, Bancroft was not appointed as Whitgift's chaplain until 1592, and it would therefore appear that Bancroft was chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton at the time of publication of the *Protestation* in 1589. (DNB, v.1, p.1029)

<sup>145</sup> In the original text, this is misprinted as 'eblitaph'.

<sup>146</sup> Andrew Perne died April 26, 1589 while on a visit to Whitgift at Lambeth Palace, and was buried in the parish chapel there. (DNB, v.15, p.897)

<sup>147</sup> Antiphonically: In an antiphonic or antiphonal manner; antiphonally. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

Martin's use of 'antiphonically' precedes by almost two centuries the first citation in the OED.

Antiphon: A composition, in prose or verse, consisting of verses or passages sung alternately by two choirs in worship. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The singing of passages alternately by two choirs is doubtless an allusion to Dr. Perne's notorious alterations in religion.

<sup>148</sup> I.e., Whitgift.

<sup>149</sup> This tune is listed among the ballads in Captain Cox's library in the Langham *Letter* of 1575.

<sup>150</sup> Vulneral = vulnerary (useful in healing wounds). (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The first usage cited in the OED for 'vulneral' is from the anti-Martinist tract, *Pap With An Hatchet* (1589): 'Hee slives one, has a fling at another, a long tale of his talboothe, of a vulnerall sermon, and of a fooles head in souce'. However, the author of *Pap With An Hatchet* is clearly responding to the use of 'vulneral' in Martin's *Protestation*, so the first citation for 'vulneral' in the OED should properly be to the *Protestation*. According to the OED, 'vulneral' is 'an intentional distortion of *funeral*'.

<sup>151</sup> Why this epithet should be applied to Bridges is unclear. Pierce notes that 'old Lockwood of Sarum' is also mentioned in *Dr. Some Laid Open In His Colours* (1589), and that a Dr. Henry Lockwood was a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge in 1545. (MT, p.412) The mention of Lockwood indicates Martin's connection with Cambridge University, which is also evidenced by other references throughout the tracts.

And if his Grace did appoint any other to preach at his old good master's<sup>152</sup> funerals but only this quick-witted Bridges, he was certainly foully<sup>153</sup> overseen. For there would have been such a metal,<sup>154</sup> and such a match, such a pair of saints<sup>155</sup> - the one living, and the other dead - as I believe the *Legenda Aurea* would not yield the like: both old standards,<sup>156</sup> both proculstants,<sup>157</sup> both catercaps, both priests, both deans, both hypocrites, both asses. Why sans<sup>158</sup> mercy, said I, etc., but alas, 'chave<sup>159</sup> half forgotten the rest.

After this, I had a fling<sup>160</sup> at these Puritans, concerning whom my desire is that, wherein I am faulty, the Puritans would set me down the particulars. It is odds<sup>161</sup> I shall some way or other hear of it. For albeit there have been some jars<sup>162</sup> of unkindness betwixt us, yet I would have you know that I take the worst of you,<sup>163</sup> in regard of his calling, to be an honest man than the best lord bishop in Christendom. The report goeth that some of you have preached against me, and I believe it in part. Well, look to it, for I may happen be even with you<sup>164</sup> in this manner. I will not rest till I have learned what it is that ye have said of me and, if I find it to be a just reproof, I will mend my fault, be as angry as ye will; if unjust, trust unto it, I will hold<sup>165</sup> on my course,<sup>166</sup> and there is one rap<sup>167</sup> more than ye looked for.<sup>168</sup>

The next pretty thing to this was, to my remembrance, Chaplain Some<sup>169</sup> confuted with the bald<sup>170</sup> sheath<sup>171</sup> of his own dagger,<sup>172</sup> wherein all his short cuts, Latin apophthegms,<sup>173</sup> and childish pen-and-

<sup>152</sup> Martin refers to the fact that Perne was Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge when Whitgift was a student. (Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, p.57)

<sup>153</sup> Foully: Badly, grievously. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>154</sup> Metal: *Fig.* In 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c. often = the 'stuff' of which a man is made, with reference to character. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>155</sup> The *Legenda Aurea* is also mentioned (as the *Legend Of Lies*) in the *Epitome*. Martin's reference to Bridges and Perne as 'a pair of saints' is doubtless an allusion to the fact that the original title of the *Legenda Aurea* was *Legenda Sanctorum* (Lives of the Saints).

<sup>156</sup> Standard: A flag, sculpted figure, or other conspicuous object, raised on a pole to indicate the rallying-point of an army, or of one of its component portions; the distinctive ensign of a king, great noble, or commander, or of a nation or city. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>157</sup> Both Pierce and the OED consider this nonce-word to constitute a pun on 'Protestant' from the Latin *procul* (afar) and *stare* (to stand). (MT, p.413; OED, CD-ROM ed.) However, if Martin uses 'standard' in the sense of 'rallying point for an army', then 'proculstant' would seem to be an ironical comment suggesting that, rather than being a 'rallying point', Dr. Bridges and Dr. Perne 'stand afar' from the real conflict.

<sup>158</sup> Sans: Without. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>159</sup> West Country dialect.

<sup>160</sup> To have a fling at: (1) A passing attempt at, or attack upon, something; (2) A sarcastic remark thrown out in passing; a gibe, scoff. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>161</sup> Odds: 'Chances' or balance of probability in favour of something happening or being the case; esp. in *it is odds*. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>162</sup> Jar: A dissension, dispute, quarrel. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>163</sup> One of many remarks indicating that Martin is not a Puritan.

<sup>164</sup> Martin also uses the expression 'be even with you' in *Hay Any Work For Cooper*. It may be possible to identify Martin through his use of characteristic phrases of this nature. Like many of Martin's more colloquial phrases, this one is common in Shakespeare: *2 Henry VI* I iii 204: 'He did vow upon his knees he would be even with me'; *2 Henry VI* IV vii 100: 'Nay, he nods at us, as who should say, I'll be even with you'; *Troilus and Cressida* IV v 44: 'And he is even with you'; *Othello* II i 308: 'And nothing can or shall content my soul/ Till I am even'd with him'; *Anthony and Cleopatra* III vii 1: 'I will be even with thee, doubt it not'; *Macbeth* V ix 28: 'And make us even with you'.

<sup>165</sup> Hold: To continue in a state or course; last, endure. (OED, p.973)

<sup>166</sup> Course: Onward movement in a particular path. (OED, p.442)

<sup>167</sup> Rap: A blow or stroke. (OED, p.1746)

<sup>168</sup> Another passage which makes it quite evident that Martin is not a Puritan. The passage also illustrates Martin's ability to deal in a disarming way with personal criticism.

<sup>169</sup> Dr. Robert Some (1542-1609).

<sup>170</sup> Bald: Bare or destitute of ornament or grace; unadorned, meagrely simple. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

inkhorn<sup>174</sup> proverbs were wholly inverted upon himself. I then said, and so say I still, that if it were not for those whom our bishops hate and persecute, it is known they would make a mad<sup>175</sup> piece<sup>176</sup> of confuting of the Brownists and other sectaries amongst them, as may appear by that which they suffer to come out so nakedly<sup>177</sup> and patchedly<sup>178</sup> against them by this Father Robert of theirs.<sup>179</sup> And this is he that hath crazed his brain at Lambeth and his conscience at Girton;<sup>180</sup> whose bald writings - without sap<sup>181</sup> or edge,<sup>182</sup> unworthy of a boy of 12 year old - have (I am persuaded) made and will make (if it be not looked unto)<sup>183</sup> more Brownists in our church than all that ever they have hitherto published themselves.

This (if you know him not) is the very same Doctor that, in publishing 3 pretty treatises, hath so handled the matter by a geometrical<sup>184</sup> dimension<sup>185</sup> that the last (if it be well scanned)<sup>186</sup> is the same with the first, and the middlemost all one with them both.<sup>187</sup> The man, in all likelihood, never goeth without a little sance bell<sup>188</sup> in his pocket, and that doth nothing else but *ting, ting, ting*. And what doth it *ting*? If you give good ear, nothing else, I warrant you, but *my sermons, my writings, my reasons, my arguments*, and all is *my, my, my*, as if the depth of all learning were included in the channel<sup>189</sup> of his brain. This is even he that, let him write as many books as he will (though he should never so much disguise himself, and conceal his name), yet we should be sure to know him by one of these rapping<sup>190</sup> figures: either by

<sup>171</sup> Sheath: A case or covering into which a blade is thrust when not in use; usually close-fitting and conforming to the shape of the blade, esp. of a sword, dagger, knife, etc.

<sup>172</sup> Dagger: A short stout edged and pointed weapon, like a small sword, used for thrusting and stabbing. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The sense of Martin's image seems to be that Dr. Some's own literary weapon (or, rather, its bare sheath) will be turned against him.

<sup>173</sup> Apophthegm: A terse, pointed saying; a pithy or sententious maxim. (OED, p.88)

<sup>174</sup> Pen-and-inkhorn: As writing instruments, carried by clerks, etc. Using or carrying a pen and inkhorn, engaged in writing, clerkly, learned, pedantic. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>175</sup> Mad: Extravagantly or wildly foolish; ruinously imprudent. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>176</sup> Piece: An individual instance, exemplification, specimen, or example, *of* any form of action or activity, function, abstract quality, etc. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>177</sup> Nakedly: Barely, poorly, imperfectly, slightly. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) The OED cites Cooper's *Admonition* as the first usage in this sense.

<sup>178</sup> Patch: To mend, repair, or make whole, in various figurative applications (usually with 'up', implying a hasty, clumsy, or temporary manner. (OED, p.1526) The OED cites no figurative uses of 'patchedly'.

<sup>179</sup> Pierce notes that the chief opponents of Brownism were the Puritans. (MT, p.414) Martin's point is that it is the Puritans who have successfully confuted the Brownists and other sectaries, not representatives of the established church such as Dr. Some.

<sup>180</sup> Robert Some held the living of Girton. (MT, p.414)

<sup>181</sup> Sap: The vital juice or fluid which circulates in plants. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Here used figuratively.

<sup>182</sup> Edge: The thin sharpened side of the blade of a cutting instrument or weapon; opposed to the 'back' or blunt side; or to the 'flat' or broad surface of the blade. *Fig.* Of language: Trenchant force. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's criticisms throughout the tracts demonstrate his interest in literary style.

<sup>183</sup> Quare whether the parenthetical phrases 'I am persuaded' and 'if it be not looked unto' parody Dr. Some's.

<sup>184</sup> Geometrical: Belonging to geometry; determined or constructed according to the methods of geometry. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>185</sup> Dimension: *Geom.* A mode of linear measurement, magnitude, or extension, in a particular direction; usually as co-existing with similar measurements or extensions in other directions. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's image suggests that he had some knowledge of, and interest in, geometry.

<sup>186</sup> In the *Just Censure*, Martin uses the phrase 'if you scan it well'. This is another of many indications that all seven Marprelate tracts were written by the same person.

<sup>187</sup> Robert Some published three books entitled *A Godly Treatise*, two against Penry in 1588, and a third against Barrow and Greenwood in 1589. Pierce notes that they 'cover much the same ground'. (RCEA, pp.84, 97; MT, p.415)

<sup>188</sup> Sanctus bell: A bell, commonly placed in a 'cote' or turret at the junction of the nave and the chancel (but often a handbell), rung at the Sanctus at Mass; in post-Reformation times often used to summon the people to Church. (In 16-17th c. freq. used jocularly or allusively.) (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>189</sup> Channel: That through which information, news, trade, or the like passes; a medium of transmission, conveyance, or communication; means, agency. (OED, p.313) (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>190</sup> Rapping: Uncommonly big or striking. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Martin's usage precedes the first example cited in the OED.

'hitting the white',<sup>191</sup> or by 'missing the butt',<sup>192</sup> or by 'resting on his reason', or by 32 dozen of full points,<sup>193</sup> or by some such broken wooden dish<sup>194</sup> or other.

Then was there recorded a brave agreement which Martin, of his courtesy, is contented to make with the bishops, which agreement was taught once in the pulpit by a certain lame Ficar of Warwick,<sup>195</sup> a chaplain of their own stamp.<sup>196</sup> His text was out of Matthew: *Agree with thine adversary quickly.*<sup>197</sup> 'We have an adversary,' said he. 'Who is that? The devil. How shall we agree with the devil? Even thus,' said he (and, if you mark, it is a good lesson), 'shake him off, never come nigh him, nor have nothing to do with him.' Even so, I'll be bound that myself and all the Puritans shall agree with the bishops while the world stands on this condition - that we shake them off, never come nigh them, nor have nothing to do with them.

'Twere pity to forget Martin's toll-booth,<sup>198</sup> in the midst<sup>199</sup> whereof were many rare conceits, as a great ashen<sup>200</sup> chair, wherein John a' Bridges was placed by patent<sup>201</sup> during his life, and Leonard Wright<sup>202</sup> appointed to keep it clean by scraping and rubbing the feet of it. Round about<sup>203</sup> this toll-booth were placed a foul rank<sup>204</sup> of catercaps, conferring and disputing hotly about the third declension,<sup>205</sup> the churching<sup>206</sup> of women, or suchlike matters of life and death. On the first form<sup>207</sup> sate in rank<sup>208</sup> John, John, and William; on the second, Richard, Richard, and Thomas; on a third, John, William and Marmaduke, etc.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>191</sup> White: *Archery*. The white target usually placed on the butt. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>192</sup> Butt: A mark for archery practice; properly a mound or other erection on which the target is set up. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>193</sup> Full point: Full stop (a dot or other small mark used in writing or printing). (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>194</sup> Perhaps intended to symbolize Dr. Some's prose, which Martin earlier describes as 'bald'. In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, a wooden dish is equated with poverty ('A poor man drinks in a wooden dish, and eats his meat in wooden spoons.').

<sup>195</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>196</sup> Stamp: An instrument used for making impressions, marks, or imprints on other bodies; a stamping-tool, an engraved block or die for impressing a mark, figure, design or the like, upon a softer material. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Here used figuratively.

<sup>197</sup> Pierce notes that the source is *Matthew 5:25*: *Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him, lest thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the serjeant, and thou be cast into prison.* (GB, p.4; MT, p.415)

<sup>198</sup> Toll-booth: A booth, stall, or office at which tolls or customs are collected; a custom-house; *spec.*, a booth at which the toll for the right of passage across a bridge, along a road, etc., is collected. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Quare why Martin situates the bishops around a toll-booth.

<sup>199</sup> Midst: The middle point or part; the centre, middle. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>200</sup> Ashen: Made of the wood of an ash. (OED, p.113) Quare whether 'ash' is a pun on 'ass'.

<sup>201</sup> Patent: In English law, a grant by the sovereign to a subject under the great seal, conferring some authority, title, franchise, or property. (BLD, p.1282)

<sup>202</sup> Leonard Wright is mentioned in the *Theses* and the *Just Censure* as the author of anti-Martinist tracts.

<sup>203</sup> Round about: In a ring or circle about; on all sides of; in all directions from. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>204</sup> Rank: A row or line of persons. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>205</sup> Declension: *Gram.* Each of the classes into which the nouns of any language are grouped according to their inflexions. (OED, CD-ROM ed.) Pierce suggests that Martin refers to the third class of Latin nouns. (MT, p.416) It is unclear what this dispute involved.

<sup>206</sup> Churching: The public appearance of a woman at church to return thanks after childbirth, esp. in accordance with the Anglican ritual. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>207</sup> Form: A long seat without a back, a bench. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>208</sup> Rank: A class (of persons, animals, or things) in a scale of comparison; hence, relative position or status, place. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>209</sup> Pierce suggests that the individuals referred to are John Whitgift (Canterbury), John Aylmer (London) and William Wickham (Lincoln); Richard Fletcher (Bristol), Richard Barnes (Durham) and Thomas Cooper (Winchester); John Bullingham (Gloucester), William Chaderton (Chester) and Marmaduke Middleton (St. David's). (MT, p.416) In Carlson's view, they are John Whitgift (Canterbury), John Aylmer (London) and William Overton (Lichfield); Richard Howland (Peterborough), Richard Rogers (Dover) and Thomas Cooper (Winchester); John Bullingham (Gloucester) or John Young (Rochester), William Wickham (Lincoln) or William Chaderton (Chester), and Marmaduke Middleton

After this followed something, a large confutation of Friar Frégeville and of wrinkle-faced<sup>210</sup> Wright,<sup>211</sup> within which compass were contained (1) a manifest proof that reformation importeth the overthrow of the state of the clergy, and that according unto the doctrine of our church; (2) an antithesis<sup>212</sup> between our Saviour Christ and that cursed pope of Lambeth, John Whitgift; (3) a proof of many of those theses which that unhappy boy of mine published so untimely<sup>213</sup> - but as for him and his elder brother, together with that blind ass, Pasquil,<sup>214</sup> I will have them talked<sup>215</sup> with elsewhere. With these and suchlike points, with an honourable mention of all noble soldiers, a complaint of the loss of my papers,<sup>216</sup> and the misery of sea journeys,<sup>217</sup> I ended my pistle, being the first tome<sup>218</sup> of *More Work For The Cooper*.<sup>219</sup> And here, also, I end this my protestation, desiring thee (good reader), according unto thy place,<sup>220</sup> to be careful of the relief and deliverance of the distressed<sup>221</sup> printers. In requital whereof, if thou canst but learn the day of my marriage (for as I protested unto thee without all fraud and ambiguity, I was never as yet married in my life)<sup>222</sup> thou shalt be better welcome unto me than the best lord catercap of them all, and so tell them from me when thou wilt.

Page 6, line 23: read 'single' for 'sinnle'. Page 21: There is something twice set down; mend that thyself, if thou wilt, for I promise thee I cannot. Yet hear me a word afore thou goest. An thou be a good fellow, commend me to George Boleyn, Dean of Lichfield,<sup>223</sup> by these 4 tokens:<sup>224</sup> (1) *The wind is south, the*

---

(St. David's). (Carlson, p.350) In the *Epistle*, Martin singles out for mention John Wolton (Exeter), John Young (Rochester), William Wickham (Lincoln), and Richard Howland (Peterborough), and one would expect these men to be among those listed. Since Martin is very much aware of precedence, a list of the bishops giving their order of precedence would assist in sorting out the problem. Richard Barnes died August 24, 1587, so it is necessary to eliminate him from Pierce's list. (Kinney, p.21) The most likely substitute would be Richard Howland (Peterborough). Martin obviously intends to go through the entire 24 orders of bishops, although he does not list them all.

<sup>210</sup> Martin's use of 'wrinkle-faced' predates the earliest citation in the OED.

<sup>211</sup> I.e., a confutation of John Frégeville's *The Reformed Politicke*, and Leonard Wright's anti-Martinist pamphlets.

<sup>212</sup> Antithesis: In rhetoric, an opposition or contrast of ideas. (OED, p.83)

<sup>213</sup> Pierce astutely points out that this statement has a bearing on the authorship of the *Theses*. Printing of the *Theses* began July 17 and was completed by July 21, while printing of the *Just Censure* began July 22 and was completed on July 29. On July 18, an individual who visited the secret press (presumably Job Throckmorton), promised Hodgkins that he would shortly receive the manuscript of *More Work For Cooper*, and 'about a week later the manuscript was secretly dropped by Penry or Newman from an upper chamber into a low parlor where Hodgkins worked.' (MT, p.3386; HIMT, pp.336-8, Carlson, pp.47-8, 173) Thus, the manuscripts of the *Theses*, the *Just Censure*, and *More Work For Cooper* were delivered to the printers at roughly the same time, which suggests that Martin himself was the author of all three tracts, and that Martin's reference to Martin Junior, 'that unhappy boy of mine', is a mere fiction.

<sup>214</sup> Pasquil was the pseudonym of the author of the anti-Martinist tract, *A Countercuffe Given To Martin Junior*. The *Countercuffe*, a reply to the *Theses*, was printed in August, 1589. (RCEA, p.91) Pasquil's second tract, *The Returne Of The Renowned Cavaliero Pasquill Of England*, was not published until October, 1589.

<sup>215</sup> Talk: To rebuke, scold, reprimand. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>216</sup> Presumably, Martin here refers to his *Theses*. The reference cannot be to the loss of *More Work For Cooper* since, as he says, the 'complaint of the loss of my papers' was included in *More Work*.

<sup>217</sup> Martin's reference to 'the misery of sea journeys' ties in with earlier suggestions in the *Theses* and *Just Censure* that he took part in Essex's expedition to Cadiz.

<sup>218</sup> Tome: Each of the separate volumes which compose a literary work or book. (OED, p.2322) As noted earlier, *More Work For Cooper* was in two parts.

<sup>219</sup> This is the title given by Martin to the tract in the *Theses*, the *Just Censure* and *Protestation*. In *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, where the first mention of it is made, the title given by Martin is *More Work For Cooper*.

<sup>220</sup> Place: Position or standing in the social scale; rank, station, whether high or low. (OED, p.1595)

<sup>221</sup> Distressed: Afflicted with pain or trouble; in sore straits. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>222</sup> Compare with Martin's comment earlier in this tract.

<sup>223</sup> George Boleyn (d.1603), Dean of Lichfield from 1576-1603.

<sup>224</sup> Token: A sign arranged or given to indicate a person; a word or material object employed to authenticate a person, message, or communication; a password. (OED, p.2320)

---

*wind is south*; (2) that he lately taught in Coventry, that men might fall from grace;<sup>225</sup> (3) that, taking himself with a fault<sup>226</sup> in the same sermon, he said, *There I lied, there I lied*; (4) being at another time in the pulpit, hearing his dog cry, he out with this text: *Why, how now, ho! Can you not let my dog alone, there? Come Spring, come Spring!*

Modern spelling edition copyright Nina Green 1992, 2002.

---

<sup>225</sup> Grace: The divine influence which operates in men to regenerate and sanctify, to inspire virtuous impulses, and to impart strength to endure trial and resist temptation. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

<sup>226</sup> Fault: A failure in what is attempted; a slip, error, mistake. (OED, CD-ROM ed.)

- Abstract Of Certain Acts Of Parliament*, 5
- Aylmer, John (1521-1594)  
cuts down elms at Fulham, 8
- Bancroft, Richard (1544-1610)  
mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 11  
sermon at Paul's Cross, 6
- Barnes, Robert, 5
- Bible, references to  
Acts, 3  
Luke, 3  
Matthew, 3, 14  
Romans, 2
- Boleyn, George (d.1603), of Lichfield  
sermons at Coventry, 15
- Bridges, John (d.1618), 14  
confuted by Fenner and Penry, 5  
to preach at Perne's funeral, 12
- Brownism, 10, 13
- Cartwright, Thomas (1535-1603), 5
- Catholicism, satiric references to  
a pair of saints, 12  
sance bell, 13
- Colloquial expressions  
had a fling at, 12
- Cooper, Mistress, 10
- Cooper, Thomas (1517?-1594)  
age, 8  
cuts down elms at Whitney, 8  
supports oath ex officio, 10
- Counterpoison*, 5
- Coventry, 16
- Dating of events in Marprelate tracts  
1589 (April 26)  
death of Andrew Perne, 11  
1589 (August 14)  
capture of secret press, 1  
1589 (February 9)  
Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, 6
- Defence Of The Godly Ministers*, 5
- Demonstration Of Discipline*, 5
- Elizabeth I (1533-1603), 2
- Fenner, Dudley (1558?-1587)  
author of *Defence Of The Godly Ministers*, 5
- Foxe, John (1516-1587), 5
- France, 3
- Frégeville, John (fl.1589)  
mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 15
- Frith, John (1503-1533), 5
- Fulham, 8
- Gilby, Anthony (d.1585), 5
- Girton, 13
- Godly Treatise*, 13
- Herefordshire, 11
- Hooper, John (1495-1555), 5
- King, James  
mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 11  
of Herefordshire, 11
- Latin expressions  
scandalum magnatum, 9
- Legal references  
by these presents, 1
- discharge, 11
- examine, 9
- illegality of proceedings of High Commission, 9
- oath ex officio, 9
- patent, 14
- protection against self-incrimination, 10
- put case, 9
- scandalum magnatum, 9
- seat of justice, 9
- statute of Henry VIII, 10
- Legenda Aurea*, 12
- Lichfield, 15
- London  
Lambeth, 9  
London Palace, 9
- Low Countries, 3
- Mar-Martin, 11
- Marprelate, Martin  
challenge to bishops, 4  
character qualities  
courage, 1, 4, 6  
patriotism, 10  
could tell how to live in an honest calling, 8  
knowledge of Latin, 6, 12  
printers not aware of his identity, 2  
purpose in writing the tracts, 7  
references to drama, 11  
references to folk customs  
morris-dance, 11  
references to gambling  
foist, 9  
set up rest, 6  
references to his marriage, 6, 7, 15  
references to mathematics, 13  
references to music  
antiphon, 11  
*O'er A Whinny Meg*, 11  
references to sports  
wrestling, 6
- More Work For Cooper*, 10
- Oxford University, 11
- Particulars of which Martin is aware  
Aylmer's felling of elms at Fulham, 8  
Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, 6  
Cooper's felling of elms at Whitney, 8  
death of Andrew Perne, 11  
sittings of High Commission at Lambeth and London Palace, 9  
Some's benefice at Girton, 13
- Pasquil, 15
- Penry, John (1559-1593), 5
- Perne, Andrew (d.1589)  
death of, 11  
Martin's epitaph on, 11
- Pilkington, James, 5
- Practise Of Prelates*, 7
- Privy Council, 9
- Puritans, 9, 11  
have preached against Martin, 12  
Martin finds fault with, 12

- 
- to dispute with Martin against the bishops, 5
  - Religious issues
    - form of church government, 3
    - High Commission, 9
  - Rome, 5
  - Schoolmen, 4
  - Some, Robert (1542-1609)
    - author of *A Godly Treatise*, 13
    - benefice at Girton, 13
    - writing style, 12
  - Spanish Inquisition, 2, 9
  - Travers, Walter (1548?-1635), 5
  - Tyndale, William (c.1494-1536), 5
    - author of *Practise Of Prelates*, 7
  - Underhill, John
    - mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 11
  - Warwick, 14
    - Warwick, a vicar of, 14
  - Whitgift, John (1530?-1604)
    - President of Privy Council, 9
  - Whitney, 8
  - Wood, William
    - mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 11
    - of All Souls College, 11
  - Wright, Leonard (fl.1589), 14
    - mentioned in *More Work For Cooper*, 15
    - physical appearance, 15