

ANTHONY MUNDAY: A MODERN EDITION OF SELECTED EARLY WORK

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a modern edition of two of Anthony Munday's early pamphlets: *A View of Sundry Examples* (1580) and *A Watchword to England* (1584). These pamphlets are examined both as individual pieces of literature and as products of the author's engagement as a political operative in the government of the day. Attention is drawn to how the first pamphlet exhibited the author's potential as a government agent and hints that his ambitions were about to come to fruition, while the second pamphlet was an accomplished demonstration of an established agent using his talents for the benefit of his new employers.

The Introduction gives information on the pamphlets as physical objects as well as their place in Munday's broader career. Each text has been edited for the modern reader with standardized spelling and punctuation. There are footnotes to gloss the text, a Commentary with further information on the people and places Munday writes about and interpretation of the more difficult passages of text, and Textual Notes highlighting significant differences between Munday's text and those upon which he has drawn, or which have been drawn from him.

The Afterword looks beyond the edited texts. Putting these pamphlets into the context of Munday's occupation at the time they were written has unlocked deeper levels of meaning within them. These early pamphlets are the output of a young man on a mission, carefully choosing his stories in order to protect and promote the fragile Protestant hold on power. They were written at the start of a whole lifetime of Munday's engagement in the business of counter-intelligence and government propaganda supporting the Protestant cause. Understanding Munday's personal choices concerning his documented membership of religious communities pointed to an unexpected deduction about Munday's own political preferences in the changing environment of London under the Stuarts.

To my beloved Andrew, Richard, Tristan and Miranda

Look what you made me do.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Section 1 – Anthony Munday	
• Biography and Works	2
• Munday in Context: 1578-1584	24
Section 2 – Bibliographical Information	
<i>Sundry Examples</i>	46
• Production	47
• The Two Copies	51
• Contents of the Sammelband	55
 <i>Watchword</i>	63
• Production	65
• The Bodleian Copy	67
Section 3 – Examining the Texts	
• The Publication of Pamphlets	72
• <i>Sundry Examples (SEQ1)</i>	75
• <i>Watchword (WWQ1)</i>	84
• Paratexts	86
• The Main Text	87
Section 4 – Sources	
• Purpose	95
• <i>Sundry Examples</i> Classical Quotations	96
• <i>Sundry Examples</i> The Bible	100
• <i>Watchword</i> Thomas Norton	104
• <i>Watchword</i> John Stow	109
• <i>Watchword</i> Thomas More	112
• <i>Watchword</i> John Foxe	116

EDITORIAL NOTES	121
 <i>A VIEW OF SUNDRY EXAMPLES</i>	
• Edited Text	127
• Commentary	170
• Textual Notes	210
 <i>A WATCHWORD TO ENGLAND</i>	
• Edited Text	213
• Commentary	384
• Textual Notes	477
 CONCLUSION	 492
 AFTERWORD	 494
• St Giles without Cripplegate	496
• St Stephen's, Coleman Street	503
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 510

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig 1. Marginalia in <i>WWQ2H</i> , sig. N2 ^v	39
Fig. 2. Examples of royal warrants from privileged books	42
Fig. 3. Royal warrant that appears after the title-page, <i>WWQ1</i>	43
Fig. 4. <i>SEQ1L</i> - Original leather covered volume	52
Fig. 5. <i>SEQ1L</i> - Spine	52
Fig. 6. <i>SEQ1F</i> in red goatskin binding	55
Fig. 7. <i>Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murthers</i> , title-page	56
Fig. 8. <i>A View of Sundry Examples</i> , title-page	59
Fig. 9. Examples of Charlewood's decorative borders	60
Fig. 10. Ornate capital letters at sigs A2 ^r , A4 ^r and B1 ^r	62
Fig. 11. John Charlewood's blocks	65
Fig. 12. <i>A Watchword to England</i> , title-page	66
Fig. 13. <i>WWQ1B</i> binding, endpaper and sale catalogue	68
Fig. 14. Marginalia in <i>WWQ1B</i> at sig. C3 ^r (p.7).	69
Fig. 15. Marginalia in <i>WWQ1B</i> at sig. H2 ^v .	71
Fig. 16. Paolo Veronese, <i>Allegory of Virtue and Vice</i> , c. 1565	99
Fig. 17. St Giles without Cripplegate, London	496
Fig 18. Plaque at the site of St Stephen's Church, Coleman Street	508

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

The Bible

Biblical references are taken from three separate versions of the Bible and references to them are abbreviated as follows:

Tyndale *The Byble*, trans. by William Tyndale, John Rogers and Myles Coverdale
(London: Raynalde, 1549)

Geneva *The Bible and Holy Scriptures*, trans. by William Whittingham and others
(Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1560, reproduced in facsimile by Hendrickson
Bibles, Peabody MA, 2016)

Bishops' *The Holie Bible*, trans. by Matthew Parker and others (London: Jugge,
1568)

Tyndale and *Bishops'* were accessed in facsimile online via <<http://www.bibles-online.net/>> [accessed between October 2018 and May 2021]

Other Resources

BCP *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662*,
ed. by Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

CoE *The Chronicles of England [...] 1580* by John Stow (London:
Bynneman, 1580)

Dent R.W. Dent, *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of
Shakespeare, 1495-1616: An Index* (London: University of
California Press, 1984)

Dent (Shakespeare)	R.W. Dent, <i>Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index</i> (London: University of California Press, 1981)
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> accessed online via < https://www.proquest.com/eebo?accountid=8630 > [accessed between October 2018 and May 2021]
ERL	Anthony Munday, <i>The English Roman Life</i> , ed. by Philip J. Ayres (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980)
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> , including updated and corrected information from Pollard, A.W., and G.R. Redgrave and others, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926), accessed online via http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc [accessed between October 2018 and May 2021 – currently unavailable following a cyber-attack]
MoEML	<i>Map of Early Modern London</i> , accessed online via < https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm > [accessed between October 2018 and May 2021]
MT	<i>Main Text</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , accessed online via < https://www.oxforddnb.com/ > [accessed between October 2018 and June 2024]

<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , accessed online via < https://www.oed.com/ > [accessed between October 2018 and June 2024]
om.	omitted by
<i>PT</i>	<i>Paratexts</i>
<i>SE</i>	This edition of <i>Sundry Examples</i>
<i>SEQ1</i>	<i>A View of Sundry Examples</i> by Anthony Munday (1580)
<i>SEQ1F</i>	The copy of <i>SEQ1</i> held at the Folger Library, Washington DC
<i>SEQ1L</i>	The copy of <i>SEQ1</i> held at Lambeth Palace Library, London
sig.	signature (identifying the page of an early modern book)
s.n.	side note
STC	Short Title Catalogue number
<i>this edn.</i>	a reading adopted for the first time in this edition
<i>WW</i>	This edition of <i>A Watchword to England</i>
<i>WWQ1</i>	<i>A Watchword to England</i> by Anthony Munday (1584)
<i>WWQ1B</i>	The copy of <i>WWQ1</i> held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>WWQ2H</i>	The copy of <i>WWQ2</i> held at the Huntington Library, San Marino

INTRODUCTION

One day I decided that I would like to broaden my knowledge of Anthony Munday, a prolifically productive author, by reading some of his less well-known works. On further investigation, I was amazed at how few of Munday's works were readily accessible, let alone properly edited, for the modern reader. Unable to contain my disappointment, I decided that the solution was to do the work myself and create the book that I wanted to read.

My particular interest is in Munday's early work, and I have chosen two pamphlets – *A View of Sundry Examples* (1580) and *A Watchword to England* (1584) – not just because they are intrinsically interesting, but because they are located on either side of an important landmark in Munday's life: the publication of *The English Roman Life* in 1582. The first pamphlet shows how Munday was manoeuvring to capitalize on the huge gamble he took by travelling into the heart of Catholic Rome at a politically sensitive time, and the second shows how that gamble paid off in a way that set the course for the rest of his life.

Pamphlets are not generally great works of literature and anybody reading an early modern pamphlet for the beauty of language contained therein will feel dissatisfied. Pamphlets were the literature of everyday concerns, sold for a few pence to anyone who could read them. That is what makes early modern pamphlets (and Munday's in particular) incredibly exciting.

SECTION 1 – Anthony Munday

Biography and Works

Curiously, the end of Munday's life caused some confusion about the beginning of it.

When he died, a monument dedicated to his memory was put up in St Stephen's Church in Coleman Street, London. That monument no longer exists, but the record of the inscription suggests that he died on 10 August 1633, aged 80 years.¹ This prompts the assumption that he was born in 1553, but that contradicts the records of St Gregory by St Paul's in London, the parish in which Munday swore he was born.² According to those parish records, 'Anthony Monday' was baptised on 13 October 1560. His monument is also recorded as showing his date of death as 10 August 1633, but the entry in the parish registers for St Stephen's notes the burial of Anthony Munday on 9 August. It is reasonable to conclude that either the monument or its transcriber was in error. Here begins the opaqueness and ambiguity that makes Munday so intriguing.

Anthony Munday was the son, and apparently only child, of Christopher Munday and his wife, Jane. Although Christopher Munday was a freeman of the Drapers' Company, he was always described as a stationer.³ Munday's early childhood seems to

¹ A transcript of the inscription can be found in the 1633 edition of the *Survey of London* at sig. 4E1r: John Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. by Anthony Munday, Humphrey Dyson and others (London: Bourne, 1633), STC 23345.

² On 22 May 1598 Munday was examined at the Consistory Court of London where he testified that he was thirty-eight years old, and that he was born in the parish of St Gregory's. The hearing related to Munday's involvement in the drawing up of a friend's will: Mark Eccles, 'Anthony Munday' in *Studies in the English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Josephine W. Bennett and others (New York: New York University Press, 1959), p. 100.

³ It was not unusual for members of the Drapers' Company to become stationers or booksellers. For example, William Barley is described as a 'draper, bookseller and printer': R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 20.

have been comfortable, and his family prosperous: Munday refers to the ‘liberall enpences’ lavished on his ‘verteous educations’.⁴ Unfortunately, the early deaths of first Christopher and then Jane left Munday orphaned at about ten years old.⁵ It is not known how he lived subsequently, or with whom. He does not appear to have attended a prominent school, but was apparently educated by Claudius Hollyband, a Huguenot, who may have encouraged Munday’s interest in foreign languages. Verse written by Hollyband appears in the dedications of *Mirroure of Mutabilitie*, where Munday is described as ‘his scholler’.⁶ Eleven lines of verse are written in French recommending the book’s content, and then ‘Englished’ below into two stanzas of six lines each. It is not clear who performed the translation, but the introduction of a foreign language makes an exotic addition to the volume.

No university education followed; instead, in 1576 Munday became the apprentice of John Alde, a publisher and printer.⁷ During his apprenticeship, Munday began his literary career. His first published work was *The Defence of povertie against the Desire of worldlie riches* (1577, STC 18269.5), entered into the Stationers’ Register on 18 November 1577 and an early example of Munday’s fondness for notionally paradoxical titles.⁸ The title is registered to John Charlewood, a publisher and printer with whom

⁴ Anthony Munday, *Mirroure of Mutabilitie*, (London: Alde, 1579) STC 18276, sig. C3^r.

⁵ David M. Bergeron, ‘Anthony Munday’, *ODNB*.

⁶ Munday, *Mirroure of Mutabilite*, sig. 2C1^v.

⁷ Munday became Alde’s apprentice on 24 August 1576: Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, 2 vols (London: privately printed, 1875), II, p. 69.

⁸ Other examples include *The Paine of Pleasure* (1580, STC 18277), *A Courtly Controversie between Looove and Learning* (1581, STC 18268) and *The Sweet Sobbes and Amorous Complaintes of Shepardes and Nymphes in a Fancie* (1583, now lost).

Munday was to have a close association in his early career.⁹ Charlewood was based at the sign of the Half-Eagle and Key, Barbican, yards from the church of St Giles without Cripplegate.¹⁰ In his 1598 testimony, Munday declared that he had been resident in the parish of St Giles for ‘twenty years and more’, so Charlewood was a neighbour too.¹¹ *The Defence of povertie* was followed by *Mundaies Dream* on 2 August 1578, published by Alde, and *Galien of Fraunce*.¹² All of these early works are now either lost or exist only in fragments.¹³ Munday did not complete his apprenticeship, and had left Alde by 1578.¹⁴

Galien of Fraunce had been dedicated to the Earl of Oxford, and in the dedication to *Mirroure of Mutabilitie* (1579) Munday hints that Oxford advised him to travel abroad in order to improve his language skills and widen his experience (Munday was still only eighteen years old).¹⁵ Munday, together with his friend Thomas Nowell, left London and travelled through France and Italy. Munday wrote an exciting first-person narrative, briefly

⁹ Between 1577 and 1593 Charlewood printed ‘more than a dozen’ of Munday’s works and, together with Alde, would appear to have taken an interest in furthering the careers of Munday and other young writers: Celeste Turner Wright, ‘Young Anthony Mundy Again’ in *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), p. 152-53.

¹⁰ H.R. Tedder, revised by Robert Faber, ‘John Charlewood’, *ODNB*.

¹¹ Eccles, ‘Anthony Munday’, p. 100.

¹² Alde was fined for publishing it without a licence: Celeste Turner, *Anthony Mundy: An Elizabethan Man of Letters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928), p. 201.

¹³ Two leaves of *The Defence of povertie* survive in the Bodleian Library (ESTC).

¹⁴ There is no record of this in the Stationers’ Register, but in *A True Reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion* (1582, STC 4537), Alfield claimed that Munday had absconded from his post as Alde’s apprentice (sigs D4v-E1r). Alde himself added a note to Munday’s *A breefe aunswer made unto two seditious pamphlets* (1582, STC 18262) refuting that statement and confirming that Munday had served him ‘without deceyte’ (sig. D3^v). Alde does not, however, give any detail about how or why Munday quit his apprenticeship.

¹⁵ Munday’s opening remarks in the dedication of *Mirroure* suggest that Oxford had noticed shortcomings in *Galien of Fraunce* that Munday sought to rectify (Munday, *Mirroure of Mutabilite*, sig. C2^r).

in the dedication to *Mirroir of Mutabilitie* (1579), and at length in *The English Romaine lyfe* (1582, STC 18272).

The year *A View of Sundry Examples* was published (1580) was a significant time in Munday's life. He had returned safely from dangerous and formative experiences abroad and was discovering how to sell his observations. *Sundry Examples* was entered into the Stationers' Register on 27 April 1580, before the conclusion of the inquest into the murder of Abel Bourne, one of the incidents it examines.¹⁶ It is characteristic of Munday's earlier work to cut a story off before it had reached fruition, probably in the hope of exciting public interest in another instalment. This happens in *Mirroir of Mutabilitie* (which was later expanded into *The English Romaine lyfe*), *Zelauto* (1580, STC 18283), and *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (acted in 1598, revised in 1601, STC 18271) which was certainly expanded into two, and possibly three, plays.¹⁷ He also advertises at the end of *WWQ1*, touting forthcoming pamphlets in different editions, but neither were published.¹⁸

Munday sought to capitalize on public interest in Bourne's case by reporting events in the coroner's court, quoting witnesses and describing the location and appearance of the body. The writing is urgent and vivid, marking out two of Munday's most valuable skills:

¹⁶ Abel Bourne had been murdered on 15 April 1580.

¹⁷ *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (STC 18271) and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (STC 18269) both survive, but Henslowe mentions another, possibly related play called *Richard Cordelion's Funeral* which is lost. Scholarly speculation on the nature of this play can be found on the *Lost Plays Database* at <https://lostplays.folger.edu/Funeral_of_Richard_Coeur_de_Lion_The> [accessed in 2025].

¹⁸ See *WW MT* 2957-77.

his ability as a visual writer, concerned with conveying the details he had observed and experienced, and his determination to report accurately what he understood to be the truth.

In the same year as *Sundry Examples*, John Charlewood published Munday's only contribution to extended prose fiction. This had been an ambitious undertaking for Munday as he was the first of the early prose fiction writers who had not attended university, and so did not have the contacts or the credentials to make his introduction to the genre easy or expected.¹⁹ *Zelauto, The Fountaine of Fame* (1580) was Munday's first major work, and is early evidence that the author recognised the strength of his writing in the first person.

The book has a sophisticated structure with three layers of narrative. As the author, Munday is telling the whole story to his readers. Within the book itself, which is divided into three parts, the first two sections are a conversation between Zelauto and Astraepho, relating Zelauto's adventures. The third section is a written story that Astraepho gives Zelauto to read. Despite the complex nature of this narrative structure, the book itself has been overshadowed by interest in just the last section, which is the story of a blood-bond reminiscent of that used by William Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice* (1596). Much has been written about whether, and to what extent, *Zelauto* was an influence on *Merchant*, but there is no question that this book is evidence of Munday's innovative flair and growing confidence.²⁰

¹⁹ Anthony Munday, *Zelauto: The Fountain of Fame*, ed. by J. Stillinger (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963), p. ix.

²⁰ For further reading on this see Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), I, pp. 486-90; Donna Hamilton, 'Anthony Munday and the Merchant of Venice' in *Shakespeare Survey 54: Shakespeare and Religions*, ed. by Peter Holland

On 12 January 1581, the Chamberlain of London granted Munday £16 15s 2d in respect of the legacy left to him by his mother and due to him in the year of his majority.²¹ At this time, Munday wrote the first of two anti-Catholic pamphlets, *A Breefe Discourse of the taking of Edmund Campion* (1581, STC 18264), recounting events surrounding the capture of Edmund Campion, a charismatic Catholic priest. This account was challenged by George Elliot, an ‘ordinary yeoman of Her Majesty’s Chamber’, in his pamphlet *A Very True Report of the [...] taking of that arche Papist Edmund Campion* (1581, STC 7629). Elliot was a former Catholic whose activities had been exposed as questionable in *Breefe Discourse*, and who had appealed to the Earl of Leicester for protection.²² Munday addressed the subject again in *A Discoverie of Edmund Campion* (January 1582, STC 18270.5), revisiting Campion’s arrest and adding a description of his execution.²³ This was immediately countered by *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion* (1582, STC 4537), another purportedly first-hand account written by Thomas Alfield, a Catholic priest who used the opportunity to attack both Munday and Elliot.²⁴ For a writer who thrived on giving first-hand reports, the public allegation of falsehood stung Munday

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 89-99 and Turner, *Anthony Munday*, pp. 32-34 amongst many others.

Stillinger notes that a similar complexity of narrative is not seen again until *The Unfortunate Traveller* by Thomas Nashe (STC 18381), published fourteen years after *Zelauto* (Munday, *Zelauto*, p. xii).

²¹ Eccles, ‘Anthony Munday’, p. 98.

²² Turner, *Anthony Munday*, p. 55. Elliot’s reaction was one of self-preservation, but soon he and Munday were working together (Anthony Munday, *A breefe Aunswer made unto two seditious pamphlets* (London: White, 1582), sig. B3^r).

²³ Campion was executed on 1 December 1581 along with two other Catholic priests, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant (Michael A.R. Graves, ‘Edmund Campion’, *ODNB*).

²⁴ Alfield likened Munday’s revisiting the subject matter to having ‘returned home to his first vomite again’ (Thomas Alfield, *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion* (London: Rowlands, 1582), STC 4537, sig. E1^r), and referred to Elliot as ‘Judas’ (sig. E1^v).

into rebuttal and an appeal to the Queen's principal secretary. *A breefe Aunswer made unto two seditious pamphlets* (1582, STC 18262) is dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham and reminds the Queen's spymaster, as well as the reading public, of the 'service' Munday had already performed in revealing the 'secret trayterous intent' which 'notably convicted the adversary'.²⁵ This marked Munday's move away from the aegis of Oxford and into a wider world of professional connections.

Munday married his first wife, Elizabeth, around the time *breefe Aunswer* was published, and there followed five children: Elizabeth (b.1584), Rose (b.1585, died aged three months), Priscilla (b.1587), Richard (b.1588) and Anne (b.1589, predeceased her father). In an age when social mobility was attainable and social status was desirable and acknowledged, Munday, the orphan with no parent to promote him, is described at the baptismal registration of all his children as 'gentleman'.²⁶

In 1582 Munday wrote *The English Romaine lyfe*, published by Nicholas Ling and printed by John Charlewood. Lively and shocking, this work drew on Munday's experiences at the English College in Rome four years earlier. Now an experienced writer, Munday used all his acquired skill in first person narrative to engage his readers in reports of secret letters, imprisonment, flagellation, starvation and riot. The first edition of the book includes passages recording specific threats issued by Catholic scholars against Elizabeth I and prominent ministers in her government.²⁷ Munday had quoted these at

²⁵ Munday, *A breefe Aunswer*, sig. A4^v.

²⁶ Guildhall Library, MS 6418, reproduced in Eccles, 'Anthony Munday', p. 99.

²⁷ Anthony Munday, *The English Roman Life*, ed. by Philip J. Ayres (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) lines 628-70 and 683-702. Walsingham, to whom Munday had appealed just a few months earlier, is included in the list of those held in contempt by the college community. However, Munday quotes only implied threats against him, whereas the privy councillor Sir Nicholas Bacon is the subject of both scorn and

length, no doubt to arouse indignation amongst his readers, but they were removed from the second edition in 1590. Ayres suggests that these alterations were made by Charlewood rather than Munday.²⁸ Munday would more probably have removed condemnatory remarks concerning his travelling companion, Thomas Nowell, who by 1590 was actively working against the Catholic cause; Munday had nothing to gain by making the seminarians less vicious, but Charlewood had much to lose by leaving them as villainous as previously portrayed. Charlewood printed for Catholic authors too, including the Earl of Northampton who had been imprisoned for treason and heresy in 1583 over the contents of a pamphlet Charlewood had printed for him.²⁹ Charlewood was sufficiently alarmed by this to leave most of the next year's presswork unsigned, so he probably wished to review his catalogue with care and exercise some caution to protect both his customers and his income.³⁰

Munday was soon appointed as a Messenger of Her Majesty's Chamber and he became more involved in government business under Sir Francis Walsingham.³¹ Around

hatred. It may be that Munday was balancing truth with diplomacy over the vitriol he chose to repeat, given that he was shortly to enter Walsingham's employ.

²⁸ Munday, *English Roman Life*, pp. xxv-xxvii.

²⁹ Turner Wright, 'Young Anthony Mundy Again', p. 155. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1540-1614) was uncle to the Catholic Earl of Arundel and cousin to Munday's patron, the Earl of Oxford. A highly educated man who sought to further the Catholic cause in England, he was imprisoned five times during his life, including a particularly miserable time in the Fleet prison following the Throckmorton Plot in 1583 (Pauline Croft, 'Henry Howard', *ODNB*). The pamphlet Charlewood printed, *A defensative against the poyson of supposed propheties* (STC 13858), was dedicated to Walsingham, and contrasted what Northampton saw as his own religious orthodoxy with that of some of the Queen's advisers, such as Dr Dee.

³⁰ Charlewood registered nothing at Stationers' Hall in 1584 (Turner Wright, 'Young Anthony Mundy Again', p. 155 and p. 164), although he was still printing. For example, W.W. Greg identified the unsigned 1584 printing of Munday's *Fidele and Fortunio* as Charlewood's work: W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*, 4 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1962), I, p. 86.

³¹ Walsingham was secretary of state and a senior member of the privy council for whom the messengers carried confidential documents (see Introduction, pp. 41-42). Munday dedicated *Breefe Aunswer* to

the time that his first child was born in 1584, Munday wrote *A Watchword to England* (STC 18282a), a piece of government propaganda drawing heavily on his interest in English history and undoubtedly inspired (maybe even commissioned) by his new employer. The pamphlet is concerned with the prevention of treasonous activity by highlighting the calamitous results of failed insurrection. In the over-heated atmosphere of militant religious zealotry that prevailed in the early 1580s, it is easy to see such literature being welcomed by the man whose job it was to protect the monarch and prevent acts of conspiratorial or violent outrage.

Around this time, or shortly after, Munday began writing for the theatre. Despite a possible flirtation with acting when he was very young, there is little evidence for Munday's involvement with the theatre before this time.³² Munday had described himself as the 'servant' of the Earl of Oxford in the dedicatory passages of *Sundry Examples*, which may have indicated an association with Oxford's acting company, not necessarily as an actor but perhaps as a writer; by 1583 he was almost certainly employed in that capacity.³³ Since *Galien of Fraunce*, Munday had improved his linguistic skills in French, Spanish and Italian. He translated a number of courtly romances, which Oxford favoured, and then adapted a play, *Fedele and Fortunio* (1585, STC 19477), from an Italian original. This new version was dedicated to John Heardson, whose older brother, Thomas, was a

Walsingham in 1582, and it was to Walsingham that a complaint was made about Munday's conduct (Turner, *Anthony Mundy*, p. 89).

³² Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 122.

³³ Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 4.

Warden of the Drapers' Company.³⁴ Munday's father had been a freeman of the Drapers, one of the larger and more powerful city guilds; in 1585, Munday was given the freedom of the Drapers' Company, with all the advantageous associations that organisation could offer.³⁵

Between 1585 and 1588, Munday's prolific written output fell away to almost nothing. There is always the possibility that his work from this period has been lost, but it seems more likely that Munday dedicated himself to government business and that he was successful in so doing: it was during this time that Munday was granted leases in reversion of crown property for his 'good services'.³⁶ Such leases could not be granted without Queen Elizabeth's special warrant, so it would appear that Munday had distinguished himself to some degree. In the course of this employment, Munday worked with Richard Topcliffe, later notorious as the Tower of London's most feared torturer, to whom Munday had earlier dedicated a collection of verses and songs called *A Banquet of Daintie Conceits*.³⁷ Topcliffe was a magistrate and a member of parliament with estates in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. He enjoyed particular royal favour, perhaps due to his wife's attendance on Elizabeth during her time at Hatfield.³⁸ As a wealthy and

³⁴ Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p. 87.

³⁵ Christopher Munday had been made a freeman of the Drapers' Company in 1557 which enabled Anthony to become a freeman by patrimony in 1585. Anthony's son, Richard, became a freeman by patrimony in 1613 (Eccles, 'Anthony Munday', p. 97).

³⁶ Bergeron, 'Anthony Munday', *ODNB*. Such a lease allowed the beneficiary to rent land belonging to the Crown at a fixed rate and then sub-let it for profit: David Thomas, 'Leases in Reversion on the Crown's Lands, 1558-1603' in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1977), p. 68.

³⁷ *A Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (1588, STC 18260), sig. A2r. The title was entered into the Stationers' Register on 6 July 1584, so the extant copy may be a reprint (*ESTC*). Munday is the only author to dedicate an entire work to Topcliffe: Franklin B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 184).

³⁸ William Richardson, 'Richard Topcliffe', *ODNB*.

influential man in royal favour, Topcliffe would have been a valuable ally for Munday and therefore a suitable dedicatee. At nearly thirty years older than Munday, from a different social background and famously irascible, Topcliffe would have been an unlikely choice as a friend. But the two men did have one striking thing in common: Topcliffe had been orphaned at the age of twelve.³⁹

Munday's activities as a government agent intensified in 1588 when he was engaged by John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to find 'Martin Marprelate', the pseudonym for what was probably a group of Puritan pamphleteers.⁴⁰ Pamphlets were being circulated that attacked the hierarchy of the established church, and the archbishop mobilized government resources to have the perpetrator stopped. Munday drew confidences from a Puritan preacher named Giles Wigginton, a displaced non-conformist suspected of contributing to the pamphlets, and then arrested him.⁴¹ Whitgift promoted Munday for his service, which in turn led to Munday himself becoming a subject of the pamphleteer's attacks: 'Ah, thou Judas, thou that hast already betrayed the Papists, I think meanest to betray us also.'⁴² In the pamphlet, these words are put satirically into Whitgift's mouth as he worries that Munday's failure to discover Martin's identity is as much a betrayal of the Protestant cause as his evidence against Jesuits had been a betrayal of the

³⁹ Richardson, 'Richard Topcliffe', *ODNB*.

⁴⁰ Bergeron, 'Anthony Munday', *ODNB*. In this thesis the term 'Puritan' is used in accordance with its definition in the *OED* as an umbrella term for the various groups of English Protestants who felt that the Reformation needed to go further in its purge of Catholicism. This embraced a range of views from moderate to extreme but the term 'Puritan' is accurate for all (*OED* Puritan *n.* 1.a). Specific sects within that group, such as Presbyterians or Calvinists, are identified as required.

⁴¹ Donna Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), p. 65.

⁴² Martin Marprelate, *The just censure and reproofe of Martin Junior* (1589, STC 17458). No publication details are given and pages are unsigned.

Catholics.⁴³ But Munday upheld the government's official moderate Protestant position, whatever his personal beliefs may have been. Although the campaign to 'topple the episcopacy' was ultimately unsuccessful, Martin Marprelate left a powerful legacy in English literature.⁴⁴ Martin's skill in the use of satire 'encouraged the general transition in prose style over the 1590s from rhetorical formality to extemporizing colloquialism, and thereby contributed to the development in this period of English comic fiction.'⁴⁵ It was a transition Munday embraced in his next major work.

From 1588, around the time of the birth of his youngest child, Munday ran his parallel careers of writer and government agent more evenly. Most of his great translations belong to this period and, as well as his constant generation of pamphlets, Munday once again became involved in writing plays.⁴⁶ In about 1590, aged thirty, Munday wrote the comedy *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. This survives as a manuscript in Munday's hand and is preserved in the Huntington Library, California. It is not clear for which company the play was intended, but it features wizards at odds with one another and an engaging, cheeky sprite. Once again, academic questions have been raised concerning the relationship of this play to a more famous play by Shakespeare, this time *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595).⁴⁷ The Munday manuscript bears a date, written in a different hand,

⁴³ Joseph L. Black, ed., *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 275.

⁴⁴ Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, p. lxxiv.

⁴⁵ Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, p. lxxv.

⁴⁶ The translations include *Palmerin D'Oliva* (1588, STC 19157), *The Famous, Pleasant, and Variable Historie of Palladine of England* (1588, STC 5541), *The Honourable, Pleasant, and Rare Conceited Historie of Palmendos* (1589, STC 18064) and *Gerileon of England* (1592, STC 17206).

⁴⁷ Similarities between *Zelauto* and *The Merchant of Venice* have already been discussed, and David Womersley makes the case for Shakespeare adapting part of *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (1598) for use in *Macbeth* (1606): David Womersley, 'Shakespeare and Anthony Munday' in *Literary Milieux*:

which can be read as 1596.⁴⁸ This would make the play a somewhat inferior reinterpretation of Shakespeare's work. Other scholars have suggested that the date actually reads '1590', and that the play is possibly even earlier than that, which would mean that Munday's play predated Shakespeare's by several years.⁴⁹ Whichever play inspired the other, *John a Kent and John a Cumber* was an early proponent, perhaps even the originator, of the fashion for 'disguise' plays, which was a device often employed by Shakespeare and many others in ensuing years.⁵⁰

In about 1593 Munday wrote *Sir Thomas More*; the manuscript survives in Munday's hand (Harley Collection, C 7368). There has been much discussion over whether Munday wrote this play alone, in collaboration, or at all, but it should be borne in mind that 'There are no known examples from the period of a dramatist copying a play in which he had no hand.'⁵¹ It is impossible to be certain about the date of the play, which

Essays in Text and Context Presented to Howard Erskine-Hill (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 72-76).

⁴⁸ W.W. Greg, 'The Handwritings of the Manuscript' in *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More: Papers by Alfred W. Pollard*, ed. by Alfred W. Pollard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), pp.48-49. Greg identifies the date as 1596, but suggests that the play may pre-date this by some considerable time. He also affirms that, of Munday's known autographs, *John a Kent and John a Cumber* comes chronologically before *Sir Thomas More* (probably 1590s).

⁴⁹ The date was first challenged by I.A. Shapiro in the article 'The Significance of a Date' in 1955, *Shakespeare Survey* 8, ed. by Allardyce Nicholl (London: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 25-33, a view later supported by Arthur E. Pennell in his 1980 edition of the play, even suggesting that it dates to 'probably the late 1580s': Anthony Munday, *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, ed. by Arthur E. Pennell (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), pp. 43-45). David Womersley agreed in 2008 that *John a Kent and John a Cumber* dates 'probably to 1589' (Womersley, 'Shakespeare and Anthony Munday', p. 77). Grace Ioppolo disagrees with all of these interpretations, believing 'previous scholars have misread the date' and it is actually 1595, but states that the play could be no later than that: Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 101).

⁵⁰ Pennell, *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, p. 197.

⁵¹ Anthony Munday and others, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. by John Jowett (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011), p. 419.

Jowett suggests is likely to have been around 1600.⁵² It is suggested that the play's 'detail correlates strongly with city comedy' which was popular at that time, and that 'the focus on London localities [...] is out of line with any play written before 1599.'⁵³ This is true, but *Sir Thomas More* is a tragedy, not a comedy, and the theory discounts Munday's habit of setting trends, not following them. Repeatedly, Munday was the first to try out new ideas and to be ahead of his contemporaries, sometimes by years: he was the first Elizabethan prose writer to introduce pastoral themes into his writing, and the first to employ themes of chivalric romance.⁵⁴ As already mentioned, he was possibly the earliest dramatist to use disguise as a significant element in his plots. These innovations were often inspired by the European literature Munday was reading and translating and, although *Sir Thomas More* is a play specifically about London, it would have been more characteristic of Munday to develop and adapt a story with origins in Europe than to wait for his fellow dramatists to begin writing about his home city.

Sir Thomas More seems to have been an unsuccessful project as there is no evidence that it was ever performed in Munday's lifetime. It would have required a very large cast, challenging for some theatre companies, and the subject matter, even if it could be counted as history to Munday's audience, was still sensitive.⁵⁵ This remarkable script is

⁵² Munday, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 425. Wiggins gives a broad bracket of 1590-1610, with a best guess at 1601: Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 11 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), IV, p. 279.

⁵³ Munday, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 425.

⁵⁴ Munday, *Zelauto*, pp. xvi-xvii.

⁵⁵ *Sir Thomas More* was long associated with Lord Strange's Men: Scott McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre and the Book of Sir Thomas More* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 57. Theatre companies would have dealt with the large casting requirements by doubling, but Lord Strange's Men (later the Admiral's Men) made it a feature of their playhouse to have actors play many parts in a single production.

famous, however, not only for Munday's contribution but for those alterations and additions made by other familiar literary names: Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood and William Shakespeare.

More translations followed, and Henslowe's diary indicates that Munday was busy writing plays at the Rose Theatre for Lord Strange's Men and then the Admiral's Men. In 1598, Munday was paid for a series of three plays: *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (STC 18271), *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (STC 18269) and *Richard Cordelion's Funeral*. Henslowe provides evidence that Munday wrote the plays, and Chettle was paid to help revise them for performance.⁵⁶ *Cordelion* is lost, but the other two survive in an unrevised form and are unlikely to contain many (or any) of Chettle's alterations.⁵⁷

In this cycle, Munday took a violent and somewhat unpleasant character from English folklore, Robin Hood, and turned him into a hero.⁵⁸ The origins of the character lay in medieval folklore and the traditional English May Games. Such events were

This would make *Sir Thomas More* suitable, even attractive, for them: Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶ There are eight entries in 1598 relating to the *Huntingdon Plays*, dated 15, 20, 25, and 28 February, 8 and 28 March, and 18 and 25 November: *Henslowe's Diary* ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 86-88 and pp. 101-02.

⁵⁷ Meagher feels strongly that the extant texts are not the finished product of two experienced writers and 'it is clearly wrong to assume that these [Chettle's] additions are even present in the extant text, which contains so many contradictions, losses, obsolete passages, and half-made corrections that it is quite impossible that it represents an acting version, let alone a perfected state suitable for presentation at court': Anthony Munday, *The Huntingdon Plays: A Critical Edition of The Downfall and The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*, ed. by John Carney Meagher (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), p. 98. Carson agrees, and comments that 'successive editors and critics have failed to find in it unequivocal traces of his [Chettle's] work.': Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 61. Wiggins shares the opinion that none of Chettle's work survives in *The Downfall*, but catalogues Chettle as co-author of *The Death* (Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642*, pp. 7-18).

⁵⁸ So effective was this conversion that Robin (inexplicably) has his own entry in *ODNB*.

supposed to be sociable, and Robin Hood himself began by being associated with charitable giving and good fellowship, but in time the celebratory and charitable aspects of the events became corrupted into an opportunity for drunkenness, aggression and extortion which became associated specifically with Robin Hood.⁵⁹ It is that unsavoury reputation that followed Robin onto the early modern stage where the character recurred frequently, but in a supporting role. In *Edward I* (1593, STC 19535) by George Peele, Robin appears as a supporter of the king's notorious adversary Lluellin of Wales; in *George a Greene* (1595, STC 12212) he enters mid-way through the play to support the rebellious Earl of Kendall.⁶⁰ The Robin that was presented on the stage was a disorderly ruffian.

So popular were these stories that 'there was not a person in England who had not heard of Robin Hood.'⁶¹ Affection and admiration for such a defiant character would have made Elizabethan politicians uneasy, especially when promoted in public on the stage, so Munday, the government's man, undertook the rehabilitation of Robin, turning him into someone fighting for the crown, not against it, and reorganising the scattered elements around his character into a cohesive story supporting his royalist principles. Munday changed the lawless yeoman into a dispossessed nobleman, thus engaging sympathy for

⁵⁹ Robin was a character representing misrule, at best ambivalent but often threatening: Edwin Davenport, 'The Representation of Robin Hood in Elizabethan Drama: *George a Greene* and *Edward I*' in *Playing Robin Hood: The Legend as Performance in Five Centuries*, ed. by Lois Potter (London: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 45-46.

⁶⁰ *George a Greene* was played by Sussex's Men in December 1593 (*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 20), entered in the Stationers' Register in April 1595, and the earliest surviving copy was printed in 1599. It is sometimes attributed to Robert Greene, who died in 1592. It is impossible to know how much the play changed (if at all) between its earliest recorded performance and the 1599 printing.

⁶¹ William E. Simeone, 'Renaissance Robin Hood Plays' in *Folklore in Action*, ed. by Horace P. Beck (New York: Kraus, 1970), p. 185.

the character and a recognisable right to a position in social hierarchy.⁶² Munday also reversed the perception of Robin's traditional story: Robin was usually an outlaw who was pardoned by the king but chose to remain in the forest, thus an outlaw, then within the law, then outlaw again.⁶³ Instead, according to Munday, Robin was a nobleman who was wronged and sought refuge in the forest, but was then pardoned by the king, so within the law, outlaw, then within the law again.⁶⁴

This reorganisation also affected the characters around Robin. Munday is the first author to have cast Maid Marian as a main character; she was originally just another character from the May Games, quite independent of Robin, and in previous iterations had been offered as a concubine for Friar Tuck.⁶⁵ In the *Huntingdon* plays, Marian has a history of her own as the daughter of a lord and the betrothed of Robin as Earl of Huntingdon before his outlawry, a dignity to which she had never aspired before.⁶⁶ Similarly, Much the Miller's son was plucked from the formless group of Merry Men and made the clown or simpleton, a role that Tudor audiences would have expected to see in

⁶² Jeffrey L. Singman, 'Munday's Unruly Earl' in *Playing Robin Hood: The Legend as Performance in Five Centuries*, ed. by Lois Potter (London: Associated University Presses, 1998), p. 69.

⁶³ This is the format exemplified in *A mery gest of Robyn Hood* (STC 13691), entered into the Stationers' Register on 30 November 1560, but variations of the story and the title are numerous and often very much older.

⁶⁴ For Munday's Robin, being within the law is his normal state. Medieval Robin constantly fought against social norms, but Munday's Robin suffered as a result of the abuse of law until normality was restored by the return of the king (Singman, 'Munday's Unruly Earl', p. 70).

⁶⁵ Munday, *The Huntingdon Plays*, p. 42.

The association of Marian and Tuck is part of the story in *Robin Hood and the Friar*, appended to *A mery gest of Robin Hood* but, like other content, probably much older than the 1560 date suggests: Stephen Knight, Thomas Ohlgren and others, eds, *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales* (Kalamazoo MI: Western Michigan University, 1997), p. 281.

⁶⁶ Munday, *The Huntingdon Plays*, p. 43.

such entertainment as this, and a characteristic that survives in him to this day.⁶⁷ The Sheriff of Nottingham, a holder of public office and therefore potentially respectable, did have a history as Robin's adversary but with no defining characteristics of his own. Such an interpretation cast a character who should be within the law as being against a hero who was outside the law, which was a problem Munday sought to rectify. For Munday, the Sheriff became a treacherous man who was promoted beyond his birth or merit. This shows hierarchy abused and disrupted, so the Sheriff is justifiably a villain.⁶⁸ The King, who had previously been marginal, anonymous, sometimes a Henry, sometimes an Edward, became King Richard I, an identifiable figure with a heroic reputation.⁶⁹ Richard I was also largely absent, thus allowing Munday to keep Robin at the centre of the play.⁷⁰

Munday's reinvention of the legend was extremely important to its continuing popularity and, as Meagher observed, 'his Robin Hood is new.'⁷¹ Henslowe records that the plays were performed at court and, also, others were influenced by his restyling of the hero.⁷² *Robin Hood's Pen'orths* (now lost) was performed the following year, and Munday's version of the character can be seen again in the anonymous *Looke about you*.⁷³

⁶⁷ Before Munday's intervention, the Merry Men were an entirely masculine, homogenous group who had names, but no other character traits: John C. Meagher 'Hackwriting and the Huntingdon Plays' in *Stratford-upon-Avon Studies 9: Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. by John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (London: Edward Arnold, 1974), p. 204.

⁶⁸ Singman, 'Munday's Unruly Earl', p. 70.

⁶⁹ Munday, *The Huntingdon Plays*, p. 44.

⁷⁰ Singman, 'Munday's Unruly Earl', pp. 72-73.

⁷¹ Munday, *The Huntingdon Plays*, p. 47.

⁷² *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 102.

⁷³ *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 137-38.

Looke about you (STC 16799), published by William Ferbrand in 1600.

As Knight observes, ‘Munday not only shaped in those plays a special new political version of the myth, but also established features that would long outlive his own reputation’.⁷⁴ Robin Hood was unquestionably Munday’s most successful contribution to English literature.

This high point in Munday’s work for the theatre is captured in *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury* (STC 17834), written by Francis Meres in 1598. Containing Meres’ musings on philosophy and art, the book describes Munday as ‘our best plotter’, a public acknowledgement of his gift for devising original and entertaining ideas for the theatre.⁷⁵

Munday remained a busy employee of Philip Henslowe until about 1603, but most of his work from that period is now lost. By the end of Elizabeth’s reign Munday received commissions from trade guilds, including the Drapers, to write civic pageants for the City of London.⁷⁶ John Webster, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Dekker and Ben Jonson received similar commissions but Munday outstripped them all in number, contributing to at least fifteen civic pageants between 1602 and 1623; eight of his mayoral pageant texts survive.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Stephen Knight, *Robin Hood: A Complete Study of the English Outlaw* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 129-30.

⁷⁵ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury* (London: Burbie, 1598), sig. 203v. Meres could be using ‘plotter’ to make an arch reference to Munday’s other career as a government agent, but the context does not seem to suggest this.

⁷⁶ These were essentially a series of tableaux, created as a spectacular form of street theatre, which were performed on a processional route through the city to welcome the inauguration of the new Lord Mayor and for other civic occasions.

⁷⁷ Anthony Munday, *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday: A Critical Edition*, ed. by David M. Bergeron (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. xi.

The surviving mayoral pageants are: *The Triumphes of a re-united Britania* (1605, STC 18279), *Camp-Bell or the Ironmongers Faire Field* (1609, fragments, STC 18265), *Chruso-thriambos: The Triumphs of Golde* (1611, STC 18267.5), *Himatia-poleos: The Triumphs of old Draperie* (1614, STC 18274), *Metropolis Coronata: The Triumphs of Ancient Draperie* (1615, STC 18275), *Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing* (1616, STC 18266), *Sidero-Thriambos or Steele and Iron Triumphing* (1618, STC 18278) and *The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece* (1623, STC 18280). Also extant is Munday’s pageant welcoming the Prince of Wales to the

Munday's relationship with Ben Jonson was seldom happy. Munday's name appears in connection with the beginning of Jonson's infamous quarrel with Gabriel Spencer, when Munday and Spencer were witnesses to Thomas Heywood's contract with Henslowe in 1598, a professional relationship that Jonson had rejected.⁷⁸ Shortly after this Jonson fought and killed Spencer, for which Jonson was subsequently imprisoned and branded. During this imprisonment Jonson converted to Catholicism, thus creating in himself the embodiment of disorder and dissent that Munday despised.⁷⁹

In 1602 Munday created his first known mayoral pageant.⁸⁰ Plague prevented a pageant in 1603, but in 1604 Ben Jonson was appointed to create the pageant and he was assisted by Munday. The unlikely collaboration lasted only for this one occasion, after which Jonson withdrew from pageants and turned his attention to masques.⁸¹ Unable to allow his disdain to go unexpressed, Jonson satirised Munday as the character Antonio Balladino in the 1609 revision of Jonson's play *The Case is Altered*.⁸² The characterization

city: *London's Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie* (1610, STC 13159). All surviving pageants are in printed quarto, none in manuscript.

⁷⁸ Jonson and Spencer had been close friends and joined Henslowe's company (the Admiral's Men) together. Turner suggests that when Jonson left the company, he expected Spencer to go with him and was disgusted when Spencer chose allegiance to the Admiral's Men over his friendship with Jonson (Turner, *Anthony Munday*, p. 122). Donaldson believes that the cause of the quarrel is unclear, but could well be a professional disagreement: Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 133.

⁷⁹ Donaldson, *Ben Jonson*, p. 138.

⁸⁰ Bergeron cites payment to Munday in 1602, recorded by the Livery Companies (Munday, *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday*, p. xi), but Turner suggests that he could actually have become involved in civic pageants as early as 1592 because Munday is recorded as being employed by the city in that year (Turner, *Anthony Munday*, p. 124, n. 10).

⁸¹ Munday, *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday*, p. xi.

⁸² Balladino appears in the first scene as 'pageant-poet to the city of Milan', employed 'when a worse cannot be had'. Balladino is introduced to another character, who is described to Balladino as being 'one as right of thy humour as may be' because he is 'a plaine, simple Rascal, a true dunce, marry he hath bene a notable vilaine in his time.': Ben Jonson, *The Case is Altered*, (London: Sutton, 1609), STC 14757, sig. A2^v.

of Balladino as foolish and tedious, coupled with the nominal derisory implication of the inferior poetry of ballads, is a very pointed and unmistakeable insult to Munday's dignity as both a writer and a figure of authority.⁸³ Brilliant and volatile as Jonson was, he saw Munday, the regularizing government official, as an unworthy rival with less talent who enjoyed more material success. Jonson's rebellious nature was reflected in his scathing satires of London life; Munday, a dozen years older than Jonson, directed his energies into celebrating his city, not criticising it.⁸⁴ By 1610, Munday had been a professional writer for more than thirty years, with patronages and fortune to his name; Jonson had every reason to be envious.

At some point in the early 1600s, Munday befriended the chronicler, John Stow. When Stow died in 1605, Munday assumed editorship of his *Survey of London*, updating it for a new edition in 1618. Interspersed with civic pageants, work on the *Survey* consumed Munday's latter years. Stow had been accused of Catholic sympathies but had been careful not to exhibit partiality.⁸⁵ Munday added explicitly Protestant elements to the text, as well as greater detail concerning places familiar to him, such as the church by Alde's shop, and the area of Cripplegate where he lived.⁸⁶

⁸³ The insult is all the more obvious given that Munday was not really known as a balladeer, and certainly not by this stage in his career. There had been a few individual ballads in the early 1580s and the Topcliffe-dedicated *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* in 1588, but by 1609 Munday was well-established as the writer of plays and mayoral pageants that were official commissions: Jonson was, by contrast, in and out of prison for his challenges to authority and constantly battling poverty.

⁸⁴ From *A View of Sundry Examples* through *Sir Thomas More* to the great city pageants, London was a dominating presence in Munday's work. He became integral to the preservation of its memory through his attention to the revision and maintenance of the *Survey of London*. Jonson was appointed City Chronologer in September 1628 but was so negligent of the task that his payment was suspended in November 1631 (Ian Donaldson, 'Ben Jonson', *ODNB*).

⁸⁵ Barrett L. Beer, 'John Stow', *ODNB*.

⁸⁶ Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p. 148; Turner, *Anthony Munday*, p. 151.

Munday's wife, Elizabeth, died in the autumn of 1621 when Munday was sixty-one years old. He married his second wife, Gillian, who brought with her a daughter, Susan.⁸⁷ In 1629, Munday suffered a bout of ill health which left him 'verie weak and feeble.'⁸⁸ He took the opportunity to make his will, in which he left his estate to his wife: 'I have the greater reason to deprive her of nothings, but if it were a Thousand tymes more then it is, I doe thinck all to little for her.' He confessed to having exaggerated his fortune in order to entice her into marriage and sought to rectify his trespass. His three surviving children had already received a fair portion of his wealth on their own marriages, so to them he left twelve pence each as a token. In the event, Munday's widow became a relatively wealthy woman as he left an estate valued at £135 7s 10d at a time when an educated man in London might consider himself well-paid on £30 per year.⁸⁹ Gillian also claimed further payments from various city companies in respect of the *Survey*, as did the widow of the next editor, Thomas Middleton, in subsequent years.⁹⁰

Although somewhat premature in making his will, Munday eventually died in the summer of 1633. Fittingly, he had prepared a new edition of the *Survey* which was published shortly after his death.⁹¹ A monument to him was donated by a respectful and

⁸⁷ The date and location of this second marriage are unknown (Eccles, 'Anthony Munday', p. 105).

⁸⁸ Munday's will, quoted in Turner, *Anthony Mundy*, p. 170. Percy D. Mundy claims to have made a transcription of the original will but does not say where it was kept, only that there was an official copy in Somerset House: Percy D. Mundy, 'Anthony Munday, dramatist', *Notes & Queries*, Series 11, Vol 9 (1914), pp. 182-83. Such documents are no longer kept at Somerset House and no copy of the will is listed in the National Archive. All modern writing on the subject refers either to the Mundy article or Turner's book. It is possible that the original will no longer exists.

⁸⁹ The vicar of Christ's Church near Newgate Market was paid £26 per year (Stow, *Survey*, 1599), sigs R9v-S1r).

⁹⁰ Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p. 83.

⁹¹ The record of his monument was added to this edition before it went to print.

grateful city in recognition of a lifetime of service. It was erected in the church of St Stephen at Coleman Street and was in place for just thirty-three years before the church was razed to the ground in the Great Fire, taking Munday's hard-earned public recognition with it.

Munday in Context: 1578-1584

The time during which *A View of Sundry Examples* and *A Watchword to England* were written was the most formative period of Munday's life. There is much to be learned from the pamphlets themselves concerning Munday's experiences and attitudes, but there is as much, if not more, to understand about the man when the pamphlets are put into the context of Munday's political and social environment. These are the influences that shaped the pamphlets and made them into the works that launched Munday's career.

In 1578, at the age of eighteen, Munday was serving as an apprentice to John Alde, printer of The Poultry in London. As an orphan, with no family to promote his interests, he was following a sensible course for a secure living. Munday, however, was about to give up this apprenticeship and put himself in real physical danger by taking an unnecessary journey into hostile foreign territory. This was an astonishingly risky (and potentially ruinous) action for someone in Munday's position but shortly after his return he became a Messenger of the Chamber, a well-paid position of trust working directly for the members of the privy council at the top of Elizabethan government.⁹² This represents a

⁹² A.G.R. Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1967), pp. 19-20.

huge leap in Munday's professional and social position, accomplished with breathtaking speed. *SEQ1* and *WWQ1*, with *ERL* in the middle, show us how he did it.

Munday tells us that he decided to travel abroad in order to improve his language skills.⁹³ Perhaps this is true: Munday was skilled in modern languages and made many great translations of European scripts later in his career, but if one sought to improve one's Italian one did not have to go to Rome.⁹⁴ At the best of times, this journey would have been fraught with danger, but Munday chose to go to Rome while Protestant England was effectively at war with Catholic Europe. It is difficult to see that Munday's motive was anything but political.

Pope Pius V had excommunicated Queen Elizabeth I in February 1570 and declared that English Catholics should not recognize her as their monarch.⁹⁵ Furthermore, he decreed that any Catholics who remained loyal to Elizabeth were also excommunicated. They could obey the queen or the pope: 'they could not, in good conscience, do both.'⁹⁶ Europe reeled from the shock of this papal order, and other European monarchs, including Elizabeth's former brother-in-law, King Philip II of Spain, recognized it for the diplomatic disaster that it was.⁹⁷ Faced with such hostility, England became more entrenched in Protestantism and suspicious of Catholic practices that had previously been tolerated.

⁹³ Munday, *Mirroure of Mutabilitie* (STC 18276), sig. C2^r.

⁹⁴ Tuscany was considered to be the best place to perfect one's Italian, with Florence and Siena being the most popular destinations. Rome did not rise in popularity until after the mid-seventeenth century (John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 165-166.

⁹⁵ The excommunication was delivered in the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, 25 February 1570.

⁹⁶ Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror & Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014), p. 28.

⁹⁷ King Philip was surprised and angry that he had not been consulted over the wording of the bull, given his intimate knowledge of English politics (Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 29).

Ministers were encouraged to place a copy of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* alongside the Bible in church to remind the congregation of Protestant suffering at Catholic hands.⁹⁸ New treason laws were introduced and fiercely enforced to ensure the safety of the Queen. These included the requirement for public acts of worship, openly demonstrating compliance with Protestant doctrine. Also, importantly for Munday, there were restrictions on travel.⁹⁹ Nobody could enter or leave the island without the proper paperwork: Munday would have needed to be confident that his application to travel would be certain to meet with official approval.

With such restrictions in place, and with undoubted hazards ahead, Munday must have felt that the enormous risk he was taking was worthwhile and his motive for taking it was powerful. It has been suggested by Celeste Turner and Donna Hamilton that Munday was really a Catholic sympathizer who, in common with other young Catholic men, sought a place at a European seminary to join the ranks of those dedicated to sabotaging the Protestant regime.¹⁰⁰ Both have claimed to detect Catholic messages and symbolism in his writing and a web of Catholic contacts through his printers and stationers.¹⁰¹ It is certainly true, as Annabel Patterson observes, that there was a 'cultural code' attached to writing

⁹⁸ Foxe's book became a part of English life: Sir Francis Drake even sailed with a copy aboard his ship and read extracts to his crew (Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 19). Munday was certainly familiar with the content: almost half of *WWQ1* is taken up with the reproduction of Foxe's text.

⁹⁹ The 'Act against Fugitives over the Sea' (1571) demanded the return, within six months, of anybody who had gone abroad without permission since the beginning of the reign in 1558 (Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 30).

¹⁰⁰ See 'Young Anthony Mundy Again' by Celeste Turner and *Anthony Munday and the Catholics* by Donna Hamilton. Both write at length on this subject but offer scant evidence to support their argument beyond alternative interpretations of Munday's acknowledged works and dubious attributions to Munday of otherwise anonymous writing.

¹⁰¹ There is an abundance of evidence that those engaged in the printing trade were not motivated by particular religious affiliations: Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 51.

under censorship and that there was a ‘highly sophisticated system of oblique communication, of unwritten rules whereby writers could communicate with readers’ about matters of a sensitive political or religious nature.¹⁰² There is, however, no evidence to support the suggestion of any Catholic sympathies held by Munday, and no official action or enquiry was ever made in his lifetime concerning the matter. Moreover, proof is observable that his Protestant faith was extremely strong in his later life.¹⁰³ Alternatively, as Munday himself claimed at the trial of Edmund Campion in 1581, he went to Rome in order to gather intelligence against the Catholics.¹⁰⁴ He would not be unique in undertaking such an expedition: others such as Charles Sledd and William Parry also travelled to Rome, later becoming confirmed as spies for Walsingham and giving evidence to convict Catholic priests in England, just as Munday did.¹⁰⁵ It was not difficult to become a spy for the Elizabethan government: Parry had volunteered by writing a letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the most powerful man in government, and offering his services as an informant.¹⁰⁶ In the Elizabethan world of enterprise and social mobility a young man could make his fortune by having the courage to sell his skill to the right buyer.

The question is, what made Munday take this course of action at that time? Was it a spontaneous act of self-realization, or was he recruited? There were people in Munday’s

¹⁰² Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 44-45.

¹⁰³ This is discussed in the Afterword.

¹⁰⁴ Munday, *ERL*, pp. xiv-xv, n. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Penguin, 2012), pp. 81-92 and p. 113. It is difficult to see how a claim for Munday’s Catholicism can be sustained in the face of this behaviour: these are not the actions of a long-term, successful Catholic agent.

¹⁰⁶ Alford, *The Watchers*, p. 81.

immediate environment who were certainly significant in his life, and who could have provided that inspiration. Just a short walk from where Munday was apprenticed was the church of St Lawrence Jewry, where the vicar was the influential preacher Robert Crowley, a Puritan and former Marian exile. Munday later claimed at least acquaintanceship with Crowley, whose name appears on the entry into the Stationers' Register for *SEQ1*.¹⁰⁷ Crowley's presence in Munday's life would reappear very soon on Munday's return from Rome. Crowley was a great friend of John Foxe: they had been at university together and Foxe had even taken over Crowley's duties as a minister during one of Crowley's ideological clashes with church authority.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, as Stephen Alford notes, 'Foxe and Burghley had known each other for a very long time, and Burghley was perhaps his principal patron.'¹⁰⁹ Crowley was also a great friend of the merchant John Quarles, twice master of the Drapers Company.¹¹⁰ Quarles had been Crowley's patron, and the Drapers in general had a reputation as loyal, maybe even radical, Protestants.¹¹¹ Munday was the son of a Draper and soon to become a freeman of the Drapers himself.¹¹² In 1579 Munday was also already a published author who had

¹⁰⁷ Munday, *A breefe and true reporte of the execution of certain traytours at Tiborne* (London: Wright, 1582), STC 18261, sig. C3^r. Munday reports on matters that Crowley had told him personally.

Crowley was the licenser for *SEQ1*. This was one of only two publications Crowley licensed in 1580. Crowley never licensed more than three publications in a single year.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas S. Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 224.

¹¹⁰ T.S. Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), p. 118.

¹¹¹ Brett Usher, 'Backing Protestantism: The London Godly, the Exchequer and the Foxe Circle' in *John Foxe: An historical Perspective* ed. by David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1999) p. 111 and p. 129.

¹¹² Munday became a freeman of the Drapers in June 1585 (Eccles, 'Anthony Munday', p. 100).

dedicated works to the Earl of Oxford who was Burghley's son-in-law and who was (at that time) still living under Burghley's control. These are the connections Munday maintained throughout his life, and they are all present in his environment when he surrendered his apprenticeship and went to Rome. 'It was very easy for Elizabeth's Privy Council [...] through long-established relationships with London's printers to support certain writers', and it is said of Crowley that he 'had the imagination to see the opportunities afforded by the press to mould popular opinion.'¹¹³ Between Crowley, Foxe, Burghley and the Drapers, the path to Munday's future career becomes clear.

The trip to Rome was actually very short: Munday and his companion, Thomas Nowell, left England (presumably from Dover) and crossed to Boulogne, arriving in Rome on 1 February 1579.¹¹⁴ The college was small – no more than forty students – and Munday quickly gathered evidence of their treasonous intentions, including specific threats against both the queen and her privy council, before leaving by the end of April.¹¹⁵ Nowell elected to stay at the college, but Munday was back in London by 23 July 1579.¹¹⁶ Having given up his apprenticeship in The Poultry, Munday did not return to that area of London. He settled instead outside the city wall, in the parish of St Giles without Cripplegate, where he

¹¹³ Alford, *The Watchers*, p. 89.

Basil Morgan, 'Robert Crowley', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁴ Munday, *ERL*, p. xv.

¹¹⁵ Munday, *ERL*, p. xxii.

¹¹⁶ Nowell was still at the college in 1582, when *ERL* was published. He was eventually dismissed as unsuitable for the priesthood and returned to England where he turned informer against Catholics (Munday, *ERL*, p. xv).

Munday, *ERL*, p. xv.

remained for most of his adult life.¹¹⁷ The newly-appointed minister at St Giles was none other than Robert Crowley, and Munday's neighbour in the next street was John Foxe.¹¹⁸

One may have expected Munday to write his monograph about the trip to Rome immediately, but he did not. His next main publication was *Mirroure of Mutabilitie* in October 1579, a moralizing work written in verse and drawing on biblical characters. It is in the dedication, once again to the Earl of Oxford, that Munday began his tantalizing revelation of the information he had to offer. He wrote about how he and his companion faced 'emminent daungers' and perils that 'endamaged our lives.'¹¹⁹ In Catholic Europe, Munday and Nowell had been 'at the mercy of a ravening wolfe', but had lived to tell the tale.¹²⁰ The dedication provides a potted introduction to Munday's adventures, an advertisement to his readers for the greater work to come, but also a reminder to interested parties of what he had to sell.

Just a few months later, in April 1580, *SEQ1* was published. This time there was no dedication to Oxford. Munday signed himself as 'servant' to Oxford in his address to the reader, but the earl was absent from Munday's opening dedications. In truth, Munday was probably losing interest in Oxford because the earl was becoming less useful to him as a

¹¹⁷ This is the church where Munday's children were baptized.

¹¹⁸ Crowley had left St Lawrence Jewry in 1578, just before Munday set out on his journey. By the time Munday returned, Crowley had been installed at St Giles (Morgan, 'Robert Crowley', *ODNB*). For more on the parish of St Giles without Cripplegate and its influence on Munday, see Afterword.

Munday moved to Fore Street, very close to the Church, and Foxe lived in Grub Street (later renamed Milton Street) which ran north from Fore Street but is now largely lost under modern development (Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*).

¹¹⁹ Munday, *Mirroure*, sig. C3^r.

Munday, *Mirroure*, sig. C2^v.

¹²⁰ Munday, *Mirroure*, sig. C3^v.

patron. Oxford was embroiled in his own struggles to regain his ‘ancestral rights’ and distance himself from his father-in-law, Burghley, the very man whom Munday sought to impress.¹²¹ Oxford was also engaged in personal clashes with Sir Philip Sidney and his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, plotting violence against both, which resulted in periods of imprisonment.¹²² For Munday, such an unstable, controversial patron would not help him progress his career and the constant dedications to Oxford fade from Munday’s work from 1580 onwards.

Instead, Munday dedicated *SEQ1* to William Waters and George Baker, both servants of Oxford’s household, but both also with a wider remit than may initially be apparent. These were men who had access to influential people, and who could (and did) make themselves useful in secret matters. In short, this was exactly the line of work Munday was about to enter.

Baker was Oxford’s surgeon. A man of great learning and a sought-after medic, Baker was also a translator (which would appeal to Munday) who published several medical works translated from Spanish. There was, however, a darker side to Baker’s character. He was ‘quick-tempered and violent’ and prone to enter into public squabbles.¹²³ He was also a facilitator in Oxford’s quarrel with Sidney. In a plot that was foiled, Oxford was to have murdered Sidney at Greenwich and then escaped down the river where he would have been met by a ship owned by Christopher Baker, George’s

¹²¹ Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), p.203.

¹²² Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, pp. 195-203.

¹²³ Gustav Ungerer, ‘George Baker’, *ODNB*.

brother, which would have carried Oxford to safety.¹²⁴ Being the ‘servant’ of a great man had its rewards, but could extend to involvement in their unsavoury schemes. That was the price of being close to power.

William Waters was another example of just such a servant, and an illustration of the fluidity between Oxford’s and Burghley’s households. Waters was Oxford’s servant, and in 1590 he was carrying letters between Oxford and his correspondents, as would reasonably be expected of him.¹²⁵ Before that, however, he helped Burghley extricate Oxford from a potential murder charge. On the evening of 23 July 1567, Oxford was in the garden of Cecil House practising fencing with his companion, Edward Baynam. One of Burghley’s servants, a cook named Thomas Bricknell, was wounded by Oxford’s sword and died later that day. An inquest followed where it was determined that Bricknell was drunk and that he had run upon the point of Oxford’s sword. The jury returned a verdict of suicide and Oxford was absolved of any blame, but the jury had been packed with associates and servants from Burghley’s and Oxford’s households, including both Raphael Holinshed (the famous historian) who was under Burghley’s patronage, and William Waters. Burghley himself later admitted that he had tried to influence the jury to return a verdict of self-defence (lessening the financial impact on Bricknell’s widow) and was disappointed that they had gone too far in returning a verdict of suicide. Burghley was not

¹²⁴ Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, p. 200.

¹²⁵ Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, p. 326.

concerned by his own interference in the process of law, and it seems that William Waters accepted complicity in Burghley's actions as part of his duty.¹²⁶

These were the dedicatees of *SEQ1*. Munday finished his message with what would have been a somewhat mysterious sentence for the general reader: 'Yours to command in greater affairs than he minds to make his boast'.¹²⁷ This is a hint at something Munday was not yet prepared to make public, but that would be of interest to his dedicatees: Munday was going to join them within the circle of loyal servants to great men of state and be involved in 'greater affairs' than this little pamphlet could talk about. Munday was about to secure a place of trust serving the privy council, and the income that came with it.

The treason act of 1571 (created following the papal excommunication of Elizabeth I) was extended in 1581 in order to enable easier prosecution of the increased influx of Jesuits from the Continent.¹²⁸ The privy council was at pains to be clear that Jesuits were to be prosecuted for treason, not heresy: a political crime, not a religious one.¹²⁹ This is a recognition that the battle was less about religious ideology, and more about conflict over the loss of revenue being paid into the coffers of the Catholic church and the pope's loss of control over political decisions. The Act of Supremacy was all important: who was acknowledged as the ultimate authority within England – the monarch or the pope? The

¹²⁶ The verdict of suicide meant that Bricknell was buried in unconsecrated ground and all his property was forfeit. This left his widow and one small child with nothing; a second expected child had been lost shortly after Bricknell's death (Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, p. 48).

¹²⁷ *SE PT* 116.

¹²⁸ Lucy Underwood, 'Persuading the Queen's Majesty's Subjects from the Allegiance: Treason, Reconciliation and Confessional Identity in Elizabethan England' in *Historical Research*, Vol. 89, No. 244 (2016), p. 247.

¹²⁹ Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 233.

battle lines were drawn with the privy council representing the monarch on one side and the Jesuit invaders trying to reclaim the country for the pope on the other.

The most prominent Jesuit of the day was Edmund Campion, and Munday was to write extensively over several pamphlets about the arrest, trial and execution of Campion and his companions. Campion therefore became a major political figure and it was essential that the full power of the privy council should be seen to outwit, out-reason and overwhelm him; they needed to show him as weak and demonstrate their ability to contain and control his potentially destabilizing influence. Crowley was involved as one of the churchmen appointed to visit prisons and to argue points of doctrine with Jesuit prisoners at the time Campion and his companions were being held.¹³⁰ One of Campion's interrogators was Thomas Norton, client of Burghley and friend of John Foxe, whose own anti-Catholic pamphlet would resurface in sections of Munday's *WWQ1*.¹³¹ Munday's contribution to this increasingly familiar group around him proved invaluable in accomplishing the conviction of Campion. Not only had Munday's recent trip to Rome given him personal experience of the nature of the Jesuit threat which he used in evidence against Campion, but Munday was also able to write fluently about the events that had led to the trial, all of which were published and eagerly consumed by the public at large.¹³²

¹³⁰ Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p. 34.

¹³¹ Graves, 'Edmund Campion', *ODNB*.

Marie Axton, 'Thomas Norton', *ODNB*.

¹³² Munday, *ERL*, pp. xvii-xviii.

As well as *ERL*, Munday wrote four pamphlets about the events surrounding the Campion affair: *A breefe discourse of the taking of Edm. Campion* (ESTC S94254), *A discoverie of Edmund Campion* (STC 18270), *A breefe aunswer made unto two seditious pamphlets* (STC 18262) and *A breefe and true reporte of the execution of certaine traytours at Tiborne* (STC 18261).

It should not be underestimated how important Munday's pamphlets were in the case of Edmund Campion. Execution was a public event, every bit as theatrical and laden with symbolism as anything performed in a playhouse. What the privy council wanted was the condemned Catholics to recant, preferably in full public view on the scaffold.¹³³ Such a convert was of enormous importance to the Protestant cause and would be treated as a valuable asset.¹³⁴ This is why so many churchmen and government representatives escorted the prisoners to the gallows, each trying to be sufficiently persuasive, and why crowds were so interested to see what would happen. It was also one of the few opportunities in the fundamentally undemocratic Tudor society that the government had to address the people directly and for the people to respond. Crowds gathered for an execution could not stop the process happening, but they did not resist expressing popular opinion if they disagreed with the verdict.¹³⁵ The privy council's dislike of politically motivated crowds was well-founded, as the long history of rebellion found in *WWQ1* attests, so if the crowd could be persuaded to agree that the actions of the privy council were for the public good then there was less likelihood of other political resistance. When 'public opinion needed to be called into being and mobilised', pamphleteers like Munday were useful.¹³⁶ Again, Munday was not unique in providing this service; John Stubbes,

¹³³ Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 264.

¹³⁴ One such was John Nichols, whose recantation was published in pamphlet form (1581, STC 18533).

¹³⁵ The night before the execution of the Catholic Thomas Maxfield at Tyburn in 1616, the gallows was decorated with 'garlands, flowers and branches round about' and the ground beneath strewn with 'sweet herbs.' On the other hand, if the prisoner were unpopular, the crowd were ready to play an impromptu game of football with the newly severed head (Lake and Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 273-74).

¹³⁶ Lake and Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 517.

John Field, Thomas Nashe and Stephen Gosson (who also visited the English College in Rome as a spy), all wrote for court or city establishments on political matters.¹³⁷

The other advantage for the privy council in employing a pamphleteer like Munday was that the name on the pamphlet was not that of a privy council member – it was Munday's. As with any political action (such as the tightening of the treason laws and the execution of Jesuits), not everyone would agree with it. The great benefit for the government was that those who disagreed would attack Munday, and not the queen or her council. This was the price Munday paid for government sponsorship. As Hill observes, 'it is unwise for us simply to "read off" religious and/or political allegiances from his texts', yet it is the response to political pamphlets such as these that made Munday a controversial figure, even into the present day, as readers and observers criticized Munday personally for the role he was employed to play in Tudor politics.¹³⁸

Much of the vitriol aimed at Munday stems from the execution of the Jesuit Luke Kirby in May 1582. Munday covered the event briefly in *WWQ1*, but in greater detail in *A Breefe and True Reporte of the Execution of Certaine Traytours at Tiborne* (1582, STC 18261). Kirby was in a group of four Jesuits executed together. Munday had known Kirby in Rome and had been able to identify him and give evidence for the prosecution. Kirby was the second man in the group to be executed and, as he was brought forward, he challenged the evidence offered by Munday and Charles Sledd (who had also known Kirby in Rome) that had led to his conviction. Munday was watching in the crowd, and a dramatic confrontation followed during which it was revealed that Munday had been

¹³⁷ Lake and Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. 517.

¹³⁸ Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p. 47.

present in the Tower when Kirby was questioned; this would be unusual for a civilian, but not for a member of privy council staff.¹³⁹ Munday and other officials on the scaffold countered Kirby's arguments and the Jesuit was executed. Here, again, we find Munday at the intersection between government policy and the general public. Even at a time of national crisis, there were those who saw Munday's activities as, at best, underhand. This episode exposed Munday publicly as a government informer.

The political arena is a notoriously brutal place where argument is vehement and vicious. A prominent political operative, such as Munday, was an obvious target for those who wished to attack government policy, but not take the dangerous step of attacking the government itself. Of the detractors, there were those who attacked Munday in their own publications, but there were others who vented their feelings through handwritten marginalia.¹⁴⁰ *WWQ2H* bears a typical example at sig. N2^v, calling Munday 'the errant and palpable knave of England', leaving the message for subsequent generations of readers to discover.

Early modern marginalia can be simultaneously enlightening and mystifying, depending upon where and how it appears. An inscription, such as the one in *WWQ2H*, is usually anonymous. It is generally unclear exactly why the author wrote it or to what it refers and it could have been written at any point in the lifetime of the book, but it is there

¹³⁹ Anthony Munday, *A breefe and true reporte of the execution of certaine traytours* (London: Wright, 1582), STC 18261, sigs B4^v-C1^r.

The presence of civilians at a Tower interrogation in 1573 is described as 'without parallel': John Bellamy, *Strange, Inhuman Deaths: Murder in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005), p. 185.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Alfield, *A true reporte of the death and martyrdome of M. Campion, Jesuit*, STC 4537, sigs D3^v-E1^v, where Munday is accused of dishonesty and George Elliot, *A very true report of the apprehension and taking of that arche Papist Edmond Campion*, (London: Dawson, 1581), STC 7629, sig. A2^v where Munday is accused of lying.

for all to see. Marginalia written or drawn on the text of a play can give enticing clues to audience reception and interpretation or the visual impact of a performance. Examples of this can be found in Tracey Hill's discussion of marginalia on a copy of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* or the Peacham drawing of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.¹⁴¹ These notations are in the context of fiction and performance and are therefore useful as record or review. Marginalia in a non-fiction, state-sponsored pamphlet such as *WWQ1*, especially when aimed specifically at the author, takes on a different complexion. This is barbed personal criticism that will remain mysterious because the author's name and motive are unknown, but their words are a public attack.

Sjoerd Levelt makes the observation that early modern marginalia such as this can be compared to the modern social media platform 'Twitter' (now known as 'X'). Like a tweet, marginalia are accessible to any reader, whatever their purpose. The message may be intended to annotate, explain, satirize, praise or 'to make apparently entirely extraneous, sometimes unintelligible comments.'¹⁴² The danger in making (and taking at face value) such notations is that they have an impact on scholarship because the marginalia is obvious to those who read for different purposes and for none, who may laugh at it or who may take it very seriously.¹⁴³ Munday was accused of many things in the course of his employment as a government agent, including theft and betrayal, but an accusation is not a conviction: Munday was never disgraced or dismissed, which was the punishment for

¹⁴¹ Tracey Hill, "'The Grocers Honour' or, Taking the City Seriously in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*" in *Early Theatre*, 20.2 (2017) pp. 171-72 and William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* ed. by Eugene M. Waith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 20-27.

¹⁴² Sjoerd Levelt, 'Early Modern Marginalia and #earlymoderntwitter' in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), p. 234.

¹⁴³ Levelt, 'Early Modern Marginalia and #earlymoderntwitter', p. 237.

corrupt messengers.¹⁴⁴ He never went to prison and he never received any fine or reprimand, as would have happened if anything had been proven against him.

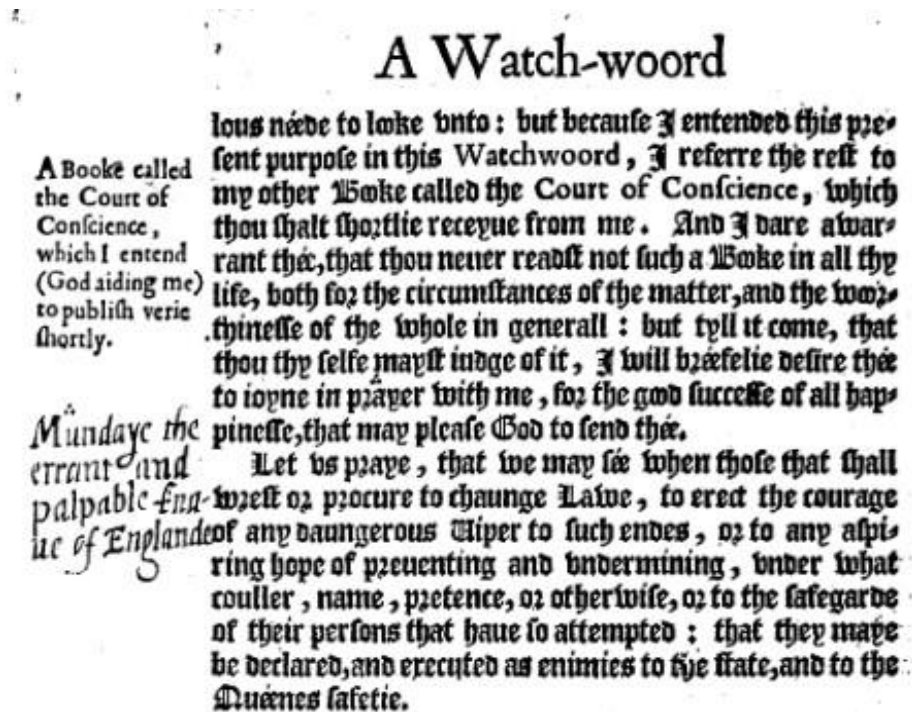


Fig 1. Marginalia in WWQ2H, sig. N2^v. Screenshot of EEBO image.

Indeed, the inscription on his monument referred to him respectfully as ‘that ancient servant to the city’.¹⁴⁵ Despite this evidence to the contrary, writers and commentators appear to be influenced by unfounded accusations, such as those contained in marginalia, and use emotive language to make condemnatory judgements about Munday in modern literature. Peter Lake twice refers to Munday as ‘egregious’, Charles Nicholl calls Munday

¹⁴⁴ Turner, *Anthony Mundy*, p. 89 for theft and Anonymous, *The just censure and reproofe of Martin Junior*, STC 17458, sig. A2^v for betrayal.

Mark Brayshay, *Messengers, Pursuivants and Couriers: Agents of the English State, c. 1512-c. 1640* (2020), pp. 312-13, accessed online via https://www.researchgate.net/publication/346037734_Messengers_Pursuivants_and_Couriers_Agents_of_the_English_State_c1512-c1640 [accessed in February 2024].

¹⁴⁵ Stow, *Survey*, 1633, STC 23345, sig. 4E1^r.

a ‘government thug and gallows-haunter’, and Muriel St Clare Byrne even intended to make the extraordinary claim that Munday ‘liked seeing Jesuits hanged and then drawn and quartered [...] because he was one of those human beings who find a ghastly and secret pleasure in seeing other people hurt [...] or in hurting.’¹⁴⁶ Munday never made any such observation. He was just one of many people who worked for the privy council in the matter of Jesuit prosecution. It is his misfortune that, like most public figures involved in politics from that day to this, he attracted criticism from ideological opponents for what were the political actions of his employers, and a written criticism can last much longer and spread much further than a verbal one. His employers, by contrast, must have been satisfied with his work because he was rewarded for his service. Before making assumptions about Munday’s character based on marginalia such as appears in *WWQ2H*, it would be wise to consider how much credence would be given to the historian who cites Twitter as their source.

A breefe aunswer made unto two seditious pamphlets, A discoverie of Edmund Campion and *ERL* were all published in 1582 and all ran to second printings within the year. The dedications in *ERL* reflect the change in Munday’s professional circumstances. Oxford disappeared, but he was replaced by men who were close to him: Burghley and Sir Thomas Bromley, and another who was actually Oxford’s adversary, the Earl of

¹⁴⁶ Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, p. xxviii and p. 515.

Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), p. 177.

Muriel St Clare Byrne, draft biography of Anthony Munday (unpublished) in Somerville College Library, Oxford.

Leicester.¹⁴⁷ These were the specified dedicatees, followed by the privy council in general. It appears that Oxford was no longer useful and Munday had moved higher up the ladder of political influence.

After the busy activities of 1582, Munday's constant flow of published work reduced to a trickle. *WWQ1* was published in 1584 and almost immediately ran to a second printing. The character of *WWQ1* is quite different to *SEQ1*: there are no coy hints to dedicatees about what the author may do for them, and no entry into the Stationers' Register. The first thing the reader sees on opening the pamphlet is the Queen's coat of arms. The first dedication is to Queen Elizabeth, and Munday signs himself as her 'subject and servant'.¹⁴⁸ This is because *WWQ1* is a privileged book. This means that a patent was granted by the privy council for this book to be published, which is why it bears the royal warrant and why it did not require licensing and registration.¹⁴⁹ The Stationers' Company objected to the publication of privileged books, largely because it meant they could not collect the fee demanded for registration, but also because it meant that these books were not subject to the same scrutiny and financial demands that other books had to meet.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Sir Thomas Bromley (c. 1530-1587) was Lord Chancellor and close to both Oxford and Burghley (N.G. Jones, 'Thomas Bromley', *ODNB*).

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (c. 1532-1588). For his conflict with Oxford, see Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, pp. 200-03.

¹⁴⁸ *WW PT* 65.

¹⁴⁹ Normally, stationers applied to the Stationers' Company and paid a fee for the right to market a text, which was then entered into the Stationers' Register. The crown, however, often interfered with this system by granting patents to favoured stationers who could then operate under royal warrant, sidestepping the Company regulations: Joseph Loewenstein, 'For a History of Literary Property: John Wolfe's Reformation' in *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1988), p. 392.

¹⁵⁰ In 1577, members of the Stationers' Company petitioned William Cecil, complaining that 'privileged books were being shoddily printed and sold at exorbitant prices': Loewenstein, p. 397.

From the government's point of view, privileged books were a useful tool for promoting certain kinds of literature that they felt would be beneficial to their politics. Privileged books were often Bibles, histories or textual learning aids.¹⁵¹ There were certain publishers, such as John Day (whose authors included Thomas Norton, Robert Crowley and John Foxe) who printed and published many privileged books and who were challenged and sometimes fined by the Stationers' Company for so doing.¹⁵² Given that Munday was a civil servant and also the author of the bestselling *ERL*, it is not surprising that he was granted a royal patent for *WWQ1*.

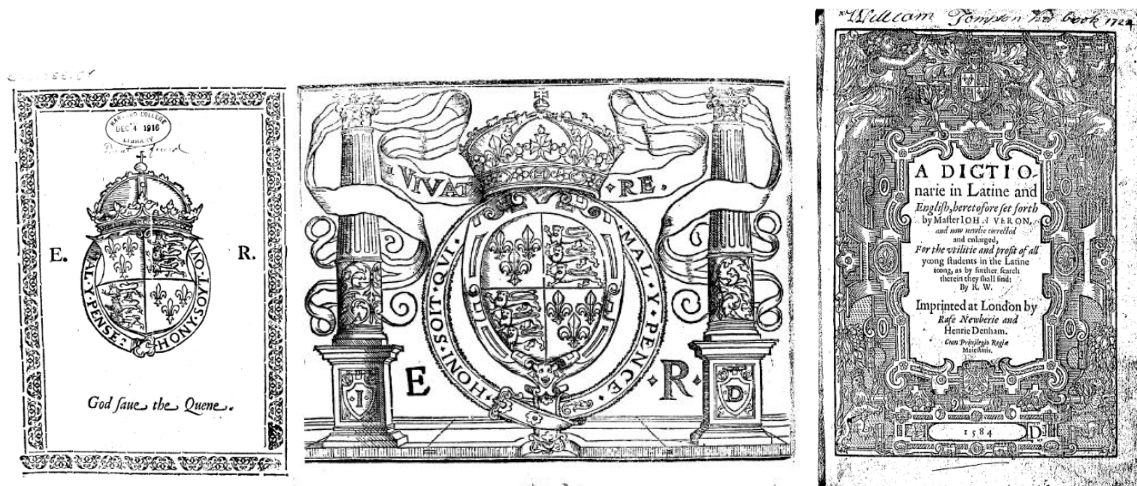


Fig. 2. Examples of royal warrants from privileged books. These are, left to right, *The History of the Church of England* (1565, STC 1778), *The tenor morning and evening prayer and communion* (1565, STC 6419) and *Dictionary in Latin and English* (1584, STC 24678). Screenshots of EEBO images.

¹⁵¹ These were the books that the government wanted widely circulated. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, published by John Day and placed in every church, was a privileged book.

¹⁵² Andrew Pettegree, 'John Day', *ODNB*.

John Day became immensely rich by publishing Protestant literature and was challenged by other aggrieved printers who felt he was not operating within the rules, especially as he became Master of the Stationers' Company in 1580 (Pettegree, John Day' *ODNB* and E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905; facsimile reprint 2011), p. 39. John Charlewood, printer of *SEQ1*, was recorded by the Stationers' Company as being a 'persistent printer' of privileged books (Tedder, 'John Charlewood', *ODNB*).

At some point around this time, Munday was made a Messenger of the Chamber.¹⁵³ There were approximately forty messengers and they worked directly for the privy council.¹⁵⁴ This was a position of trust, carrying confidential letters on government business all over the country and occasionally executing warrants for searches or arrests.¹⁵⁵ Messengers wore an escutcheon with the royal coat of arms as ‘their visible insignia as royal servants.’¹⁵⁶ This is the same insignia that appears at the beginning of *WWQ1*, making Munday correct (as opposed to just courteous) in describing himself as the queen’s ‘servant’.¹⁵⁷

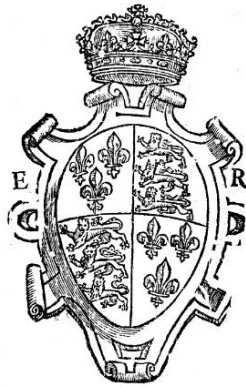


Fig. 3. Royal warrant that appears after the title-page, *WWQ1*. Screenshot of *EEBO* image.

¹⁵³ Munday signed his work using a variety of titles, including Messenger of Her Majesty’s Chamber on *Palladine of England* and *Palmerin D’Oliva* (both 1588).

¹⁵⁴ Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁵ Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁶ Brayshay, *Messengers, Pursuivants and Couriers*, p. 286.

¹⁵⁷ This is a version of the same royal insignia that had been used by publishers for many years. McKerrow traces its evolution from the time of Edward VI, its alteration to ‘MR’ under Mary I, and its restoration to ‘ER’ under Elizabeth I: R.B. McKerrow, *Printers’ and Publishers’ Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1949), p. 41.

Work as a messenger, involving lengthy rides throughout England and maybe even abroad, explains why there was so little of Munday's writing published during this period, and offers a practical reason why *WWQ1* itself contains large amounts of text taken from other authors, including both Thomas Norton and John Foxe. Munday simply did not have the time to write much while working as a messenger, but *WWQ1* had to be written to keep the idea of the dangers of rebellion in the public consciousness.

The other dedications in *WWQ1* are to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London. The Lord Mayor, Thomas Pullison, was a Draper, and Munday became a freeman of the Drapers the following year.¹⁵⁸ Again, Munday can be seen making alliances and identifying those who may be useful to him in the dedications of these pamphlets. In this instance, Pullison's position as Lord Mayor of London is important. As Lake observes:

It was in London that the pamphlets [...] were printed and sold; it was in London that the majority of executions and all the great show trials and executions took place; it was to London that Campion was brought to be interrogated, tried and executed; it was in the London jails that many of the most spectacular conversions and disputations took place.¹⁵⁹

London was a political flashpoint: *WWQ1* is full of instances showing London to be a rebellious and contrary city.¹⁶⁰ Munday was a Londoner himself and a trusted royal

¹⁵⁸ *Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, online resource <<https://masl.library.utoronto.ca/search>> [accessed in March 2021].

¹⁵⁹ Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p. xxvii.

¹⁶⁰ When Isabella of France invaded England in 1326 in order to depose her husband, King Edward II, 'London rose to support her' (John Carmi Parsons, 'Isabella of France', *ODNB*); when the Peasants' Revolt stormed London in June 1381, 'Londoners were not just willing but eager to take up arms': Juliet Barker, *England Arise: The People, The King and the Great Revolt of 1381* (London: Little, Brown, 2014), p. 229;

servant; there were few who could better liaise with city governors on behalf of the privy council. Certainly, the city was central to Munday's career for the rest of his life, culminating in the great city pageants of the early seventeenth century. The mayor and sheriffs were always drawn from the senior members of the great trade guilds, making the guilds powerful political bodies with oversight of the city's, and therefore the monarch's, purse-strings.¹⁶¹ These were the organisations who commissioned the pageants and, once again, Munday can be found at the intersection of political will and its exposure to the general public.

SEQ1 and *WWQ1* both stand at important points in Munday's career as it pivots from apprentice to spy to royal servant; this is where Munday changes from being a writer who is also a government agent to being a government agent who uses writing to serve his employer. Superficially, the pamphlets tell entertaining stories and cautionary tales, but it is important to understand the context of their creation in order to trace the darker manoeuvring that can be found within.

even after Munday's time, almost from the outset London supported Parliament against the king in the English Civil War, becoming 'the proud, unthankful, schismatical, rebellious, bloody City of London': Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics 1625-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 1.

¹⁶¹ As Rappaport observes, 'the charter of 1319 ensured that none but gildsmen [sic] would wield political power in London: Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 35.

SECTION 2 - Bibliographical Information

Most pamphlets, including the two discussed in this thesis, were quartos, made of folio sheets folded into quarters. As Joad Raymond observes, ‘A pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto.’¹ The pages were sold uncut and held together by two loose stitches on the left margin and collectors could later choose to have their pamphlets trimmed and bound according to their taste.² This section is concerned with the two pamphlets under discussion as physical objects, their manufacture and history of ownership.

SEQ1

A View of Sundry Examples was licensed by Robert Crowley and entered into the Stationers’ Register by its publisher, William Wright, on 27 April 1580.³ The uncredited printer was John Charlewood and the pamphlet survives in just two extant copies: one is in the Folger Library, Washington DC (*SEQ1F*), and the other is in Lambeth Palace Library, London (*SEQ1L*).⁴ Both *SEQ1L* and *SEQ1F* have the same catchwords, dropped letters and errors, and are both part of the same print-run. My new edition has been based on *SEQ1L*, which I examined and digitally photographed in December 2018. *SEQ1F* was consulted in digital format via *EEBO* for purposes of comparison, especially where *SEQ1L* is damaged or unclear.

¹ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 5.

² Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 81. *SEQ1L* is bound in such a fashion.

³ *Stationers’ Register Online*, Arber II.369 <[Stationers’ Register Online](#)> [accessed in 2024]. John Payne Collier was mistaken in his edition of the pamphlet when he claimed that it had not been entered into the Stationers’ Register: Anthony Munday, ‘A View of Sundry Examples’ in *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, ed. by John Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1851), p. lvii).

⁴ For Charlewood’s acknowledgement as printer, see *ESTC* S125327.

Production

Although Munday was the author of this pamphlet, there were many people engaged in the various stages of its production. Publication was, and still is, a complicated process involving the investment of both skill and money. *SEQ1* is the physical manifestation of a complex series of relationships by which Munday could hope to gain attention, personal advantage and, most importantly, money. Where Munday had the opportunity to make personal choices, these were, with hindsight, extremely astute and suggest that Munday had a clear idea of the relationships he wished to build and the precise advantages there were to be gained from each individual that could contribute to Munday's advancement in specific areas of his career.

The tradesmen involved in producing the pamphlet were the publisher (or stationer), the printer and the bookseller. Sometimes one businessman would fulfil two of the three roles (printer and publisher tended to be separate). On this occasion, however, three different men were engaged on the task. The publisher was William Wright, and this pamphlet was typical of Wright's output, which was principally ephemeral literature such as ballads and news pamphlets. Wright was also a determined promoter of unlicensed publishing, spending time in the counter (a small gaol for minor infringements) for 'his share in issuing privileged books': these were printed under a (very lucrative) patent from the crown which by-passed the trade guild's registration system.⁵ Most significantly for Munday, Wright also had an important professional relationship with John Alde, who sold the pamphlet, and with John

⁵ R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 304.

Joseph Loewenstein, 'For a History of Literary Property: John Wolfe's Reformation' in *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1988), p. 392-93. See Introduction pp. 41-42 for more on privileged books.

Charlewood, the printer. Robert Crowley, Munday's licenser and associate, should also be counted in this group, as he helped to start Munday's career.

Crowley's name appears in the entry to the Stationers' Register for *Sundry Examples*, indicating that it was published 'under the handes of the wardens and master Crowley'.⁶ As well as being vicar of St Giles without Cripplegate, Crowley was also a licenser for books between 1579 and his death in 1588.⁷ At the time *SEQ1* was published, Crowley was prominent in two of the activities that were to engage Munday for the rest of his career: publishing and the application of government policy in religious matters. The record of *SEQ1* in the Stationers' Register is the only surviving example of a Crowley licence being published by William Wright. Crowley's name, however, appears five times with that of John Charlewood, the most frequent of both Crowley's and Munday's associations.⁸

One of the commonly cited pieces of 'evidence' for Munday entertaining Catholic sympathies is the professional relationship he had with John Charlewood. *ODNB* records that Charlewood 'may have had Roman Catholic connections' due to his association with the Earl of Arundel, but no real evidence is offered for this supposition.⁹ Other authors have suggested that Munday's regular use of Charlewood for the printing of early work is an indication that

⁶ *Stationers' Register Online*, Arber II.369.

⁷ Basil Morgan, 'Robert Crowley', *ODNB*.

⁸ These are Arber II.363, 400, 405-6, 460, and 478: *Stationers' Register Online*.

⁹ Charlewood twice called himself 'servant' to the Earl of Arundel, in 1581 and 1583 (Tedder, rev. Faber, 'John Charlewood', *ODNB*), but this was common to many followers and tradesmen. Martin Marprelate claimed that Charlewood had a press at the Charterhouse but, as with many of Martin's accusations, this claim was never substantiated: E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905; facsimile reprint 2011), p. 26.

Munday was a Catholic or a Catholic sympathizer.¹⁰ Such a conclusion, based mainly upon Charlewood's work for some other actual or supposed Catholic sympathizers, requires a serious stretch of the imagination. Quite apart from any other consideration, the choice of the printer was made by the publisher, not the author.¹¹ In the case of *SEQ1*, the publisher was William Wright, so that would make him the suspected Catholic, not Munday. Even supposing that Munday did choose the printer, why was Munday different to Charlewood's other customers? Are we to assume that they were all Catholics? Charlewood was a neighbour, associate and printer for Robert Crowley too.¹² By the same logic, one would have to assume that Crowley, a Puritan preacher and former Marian exile, was also really a Catholic. As no such suggestion has ever been made about Crowley because of his association with Charlewood, it seems unreasonable to use the same argument as evidence against Munday.

Charlewood may or may not have had Catholic sympathies.¹³ It seems extremely unlikely that he traded on his religious beliefs alone, especially in the volatile atmosphere of Protestant Elizabethan London. His frequent use by both Crowley and Munday as printer or publisher can be explained by geographical proximity: he was their neighbour. Arundel, who

¹⁰ Other examples of Charlewood printing for Munday at this time include *Zelauto* (STC 18283, 1580), *A courtly controversie between love and learning* (STC 18268, 1581) and *A breefe aunswer made unto two seditious pamphlets* (STC 18262, 1581).

Celeste Turner Wright, 'Young Anthony Mundy Again' in *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), p. 155; Donna Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), p. xvi.

¹¹ Once the author had sold a text it passed into the ownership of the publisher and the author no longer had any control over it: Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 179 and p. 183.

¹² Crowley's anti-Catholic pamphlets were printed by Charlewood over many years, up to and including 1588, the year of Crowley's death.

¹³ Evidence of printing practices in general points to printers having no scruples at all about religious affiliation in matters of business. There is no reason to suppose Charlewood was any different: Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 51.

was Catholic, probably found Charlewood's relaxed attitude to regulations attractive for his own purposes and rewarded him accordingly. The documentary evidence indicates that Charlewood was a pragmatic businessman in a thriving commercial city who did what he was paid to do.

Munday's earliest recorded use of Charlewood was in 1577, before he moved to St Giles and while still apprenticed to John Alde, the other tradesman mentioned in *SEQ1*.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the product of this first association survives only in fragments, so it is not possible to analyse why Charlewood was engaged for the task or who else may have been involved. There is, however, no foundation for the theory that Charlewood was chosen for anything other than his competitive pricing, or the friendship that existed between Charlewood and Alde or Munday. Perhaps Munday did not want Alde, who was his master at the time, to print the evidence of his ambition to leave his position in Alde's own business. Whatever the reason, and there could be many, Munday himself is a link between Charlewood and Alde that manifests again in *SEQ1*. Alde, though he did not print *SEQ1*, did agree to sell it in his shop.

Alde's shop brings this aspect of *SEQ1* full circle. There was certainly a geographical relationship, if not an actual collaboration, between John Alde's place of business and that of William Wright. The Long Shop, Alde's workplace, is consistently described as 'adjoining' St. Mildred's Church, implying it abutted the church rather than standing as an individual building. In 1582, Wright's address was given as 'adjoyning unto S. Mildreds Church in the Poultrie, the middle shop in the rowe.'¹⁵ Alde and Wright may have shared the same shop, or

¹⁴ *The defence of pouertie againste the desire of worldlie riches*, STC 18269.5.

¹⁵ Anthony Munday, *A breefe and true reporte of the execution of certaine traytours at Tiborne*, (London: Wright, 1582), STC 18261, title-page.

were near neighbours. Avis concluded that the Long Shop, where *Sundry Examples* was to be sold, was ‘the end premises of an odd-number shops complex (of perhaps no more than three) in the centre of which [was] Wright.’¹⁶

The Two Copies

SEQ1L still bears seventeenth century gold-tooled leather covers. Lambeth Palace records indicate that the coat of arms displayed on the cover is that of Richard Bancroft (1544-1610), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1604 to 1610.¹⁷ *SEQ1L* is one of fifteen pamphlets bound into a single volume which range in date from 1579 to 1603, which suggests that the volume was created and added to the library shortly after Bancroft’s appointment to the archbishopric in 1604. The spine is clearly younger than the front and back boards: although it is styled to appear in keeping with the rest of the volume, having the same colour leather with gold tooling and raised horizontal bands, the spine also has the library shelf-mark impressed upon it, marking it as a late nineteenth or early twentieth century (probably remedial) addition to the volume.

¹⁶ F.C. Avis, *The Sixteenth Century Long Shop Printing Office in the Poultry* (London: Glenview Press, 1982), p. 63.

¹⁷ *Lambeth Palace Library Record*, <https://bookscat.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=88214&query_desc=kw%2Cwrdl%3A%20anthony%20munday> [accessed in April 2020] and Nicholas W.S. Cranfield, ‘Richard Bancroft’, *ODNB*.

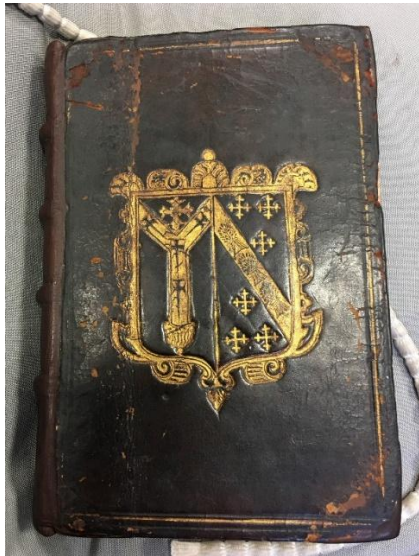


Fig. 4

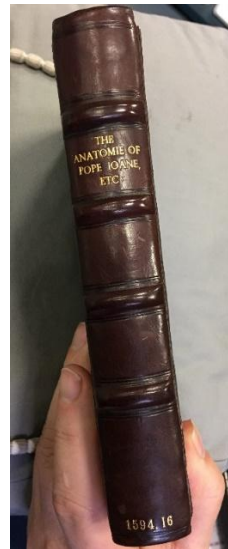


Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Original leather covered volume, 18.5cm x 13cm. The gold-tooled coat of arms is that of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1604 to 1610.

Fig. 5. The spine is younger than the rest of the binding, although designed to match it. The title displayed is that of the first pamphlet in the volume, and at the bottom is the Lambeth Palace shelf-mark.

Images courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library

It is highly likely that Bancroft knew Munday personally because both of them had been engaged in the hunt for Martin Marprelate in 1588.¹⁸ Described as a ‘traditionalist’ and a ‘spokesman for conformity’, Bancroft was sixteen years older than Munday and originally from Lancashire.¹⁹ Although, much like Munday, he was broadly sympathetic to moderate Puritanism, he was a vocal opponent of religious non-conformity.²⁰ Bancroft became a powerful figure in the movement to destroy Presbyterianism, drive out those in public office

¹⁸ Cranfield, ‘Richard Bancroft’, *ODNB*.

¹⁹ Cranfield, ‘Richard Bancroft’, *ODNB*.

²⁰ Munday’s long association with Robert Crowley and St Giles without Cripplegate would suggest a tolerance of, or even a preference for, moderate Puritanism at this point in his life.

who would not conform to the Church of England's articles and suppress any form of publication that contradicted the Church's official position. It is in this last capacity that Bancroft became involved in the effort to stop the printing and distribution of the Marprelate pamphlets. Munday was appointed by Archbishop Whitgift to investigate the anonymous pamphleteer, but it was actually Bancroft who found the press and stopped it.²¹ It is not unreasonable to assume that Munday and Bancroft may have worked together on at least some aspects of the matter, if not all.

When John Payne Collier examined *SEQ1L* in 1851, he mistakenly believed it to be the only extant copy of *Sundry Examples*.²² There was, however, at least one other copy which survived in the collection of Sir Roger Twysden (1597-1672), an MP and antiquarian from Kent. It is this copy that was acquired by the Folger library in 1940 and is referred to here as *SEQ1F*. Sir Roger was thirty-seven years younger than Munday and lived in London during the 1620s. *SEQ1* was published seventeen years before Twysden was born, but he was of a scholarly nature and had an active interest in ecclesiastical history and the promotion of Protestantism as the true faith.²³ There is no evidence that he knew or had any personal association with Munday but both men were active in public life at the same time, so it is not impossible. After the Civil War Twysden wrote his *An historicall vindication of the Church of England in point of schism as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed I. Elizabeth* (1657, Wing T3552) which confirms his enduring interest in Elizabethan

²¹ The press was in Newtown near Manchester, so Bancroft may have had the advantage of local knowledge (Cranfield, 'Richard Bancroft', *ODNB*).

²² Munday, 'A View of Sundry Examples' in *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, pp. xxxvii. There may, of course, be other copies in private libraries that are yet to be found.

²³ Twysden had a particular interest in the Reformation (David L. Smith, 'Roger Twysden', *ODNB*).

Protestantism, and explains why he would have had an interest in adding works by a writer like Munday to his extensive antiquarian collection.

This copy was eventually acquired by the eccentric bibliophile Sir Thomas Phillips (1792-1872), whose collection was broken up and sold after his death. It is unknown whether the pamphlet was part of a sammelband, like *SEQ1L*, or whether it remained unbound, but Folger records indicate that at some point after 1880 the individual pamphlet acquired a red goatskin leather binding with gilt edges which was made by Rivière & Son, a firm providing a high-quality bookbinding service in London.²⁴ In 1940, the volume was sold to William H. Robinson, bookseller, and is listed in their catalogue for sale that year.²⁵ It was purchased by the Folger Library, Washington DC, on 23 May 1940, when it left the UK and passed into their collection where it remains to the present day. This volume was subsequently scanned and incorporated into the *Early English Books Online* database.

²⁴ See *Folger Library Catalogue*, <<https://catalog.folger.edu/record/170216>> [accessed in June 2024].

The firm had previously used several different styles, including ‘R. Rivière’ and ‘Rivière’, but these changed to ‘Rivière & Son’ in 1881, when the founder’s grandson was taken into partnership (W.Y. Fletcher, ‘Robert Rivière’, *ODNB*).

²⁵ Robinson’s catalogue no. 71, lot no. 268 (*Folger Library Catalogue*).

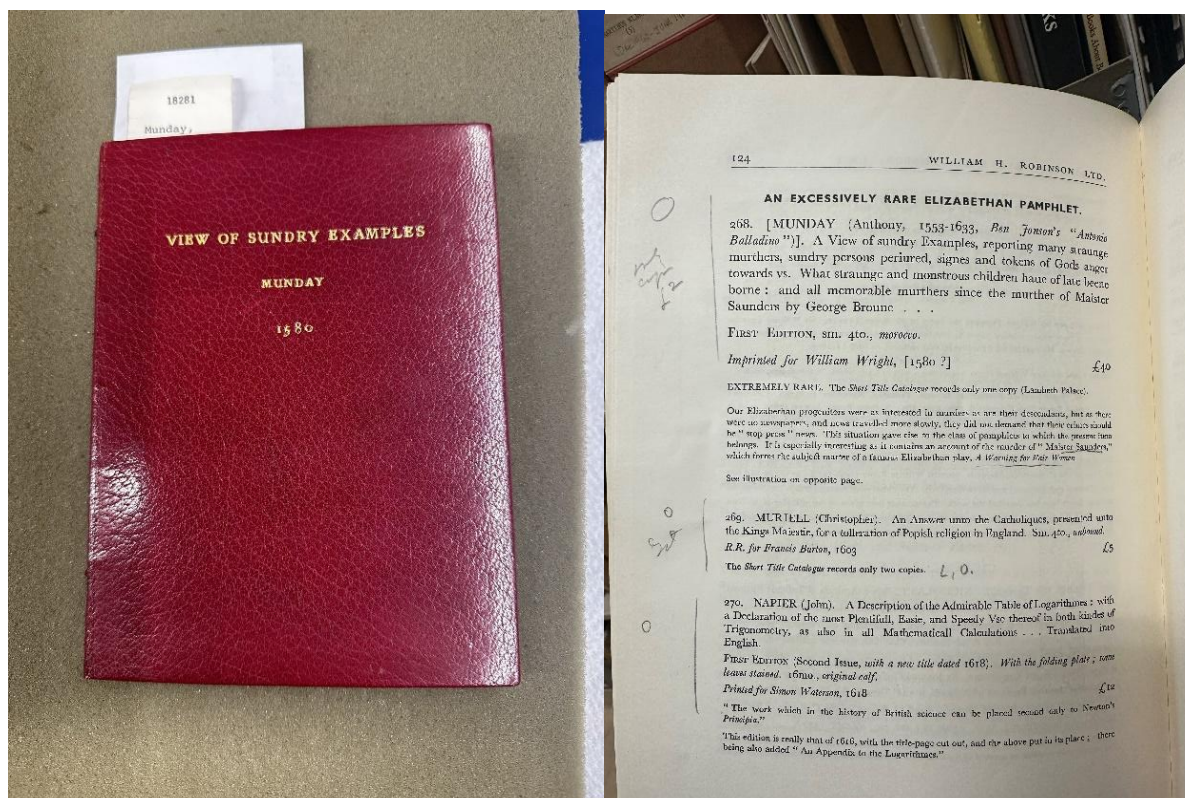


Fig. 6. *SEQ1F* (STC 18281) in red goatskin binding and the catalogue entry for its sale. Images courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library

Contents of the *SEQ1L* Sammelband

All the pamphlets bound into the volume with *SEQ1L* concern either the condemnation of dissent and dissenters, the punishment of wrongdoing or some combination of these subjects. The pamphlets do not appear to be arranged in any particular order, nor were they printed with the intention of being bound together, as some have been folded in order to make them fit inside the binding (as shown in Fig.7).

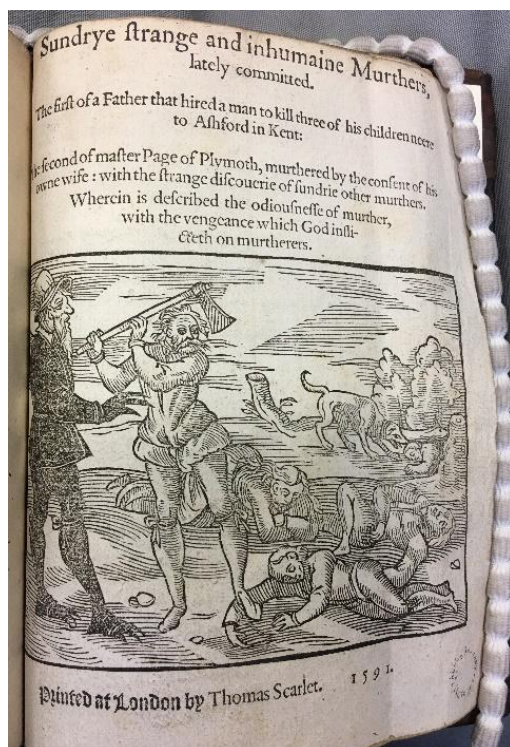


Fig. 7. *Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murthers*: Anonymous (London: Scarlet, 1591), STC 18286.5.

Image courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.

This pamphlet is slightly wider than others in the volume and has to be folded to fit. The crease is visible to the right of the page.

Table of pamphlets bound with *SEQ1L*

Title	Author	Date	STC No.
<i>The pope's parliament</i> ²⁶	John Mayo	1591	17752
<i>The manner of the death and execution of</i>	Anonymous	1591	5814

²⁶ Only the second half of this pamphlet is included in this volume, beginning at the section titled *The anatomie of Pope Joane*, which is the title that appears on the spine of the bound volume. The first half of the pamphlet can be found in another volume held at Lambeth Palace Library, shelf-mark 1581.21.

<i>Arnold Cosby</i>			
<i>The truth of the most wicked and secret murdering of John Brewen</i>	Thomas Kyd	1592	15095
<i>A briefe discourse of the most haynous and traitorlike fact of Thomas Appletree</i>	Anonymous	1579	714
<i>Clinton, Purser & Arnold to their countreyemen</i>	Atkinson Clinton	1583	5431
<i>An apologie, or defence of the possession of William Sommers</i>	John Darrell	1599	6280.5
<i>Most true and admirable news</i>	Alexander Gurth	1597	12531.5
<i>SEQ1L</i>			
<i>The true report of a late practise by a papist with a young maiden in Wales</i>	Barnabe Rich	1582	21004
<i>The copie of a letter written from Master T.M.</i>	T.M.	1603	17151
<i>The most horrible and tragicall murther of [...] John, Lord Bourgh</i>	W.R.	1591	20593
<i>The most wonderfull and true story of a certaine witch</i>	I.D.	1597	6170.7
<i>Two wunderfull and rare examples</i>	Phillip Stubbes	1581	23399.7
<i>Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers lately committed</i>	Anonymous	1591	18286.5
<i>The strangest adventure that ever happened</i>	Anthony Munday (translation from an original by José Teixeira)	1601	23864

SEQ1 is a standard quarto, the commonest form of printing for a publication of this nature.²⁷ The main text is printed in black letter and the pamphlet has four gatherings, sigs A-D4, and was trimmed when bound into the single volume with other pamphlets. Unusually, there is no trace of a watermark on either *SEQ1L* or *SEQ1F*.²⁸ This suggests that it was printed on an inferior quality paper. Munday was nineteen years old and trying to get a job. Was this whole operation done as cheaply as possible as a favour? There was, after all, only ever one printing done, and the publisher and bookseller (Wright and Allde) were both closely involved with Munday when he was an apprentice. Was Charlewood keeping the costs down for them? The paper is thin and the printing bleeds through on each side of it, sometimes making the text difficult to read. Whatever the reason, no watermark can be discerned.

There is some variation in the number of printed lines on a full page, and this can be seen not just within the pamphlet but within gatherings too, suggesting perhaps that two compositors worked on the pamphlet. Signature A has 30 lines as standard, but signatures B and D vary between 34 and 36 lines. Each page in signature C is interrupted by breaks and headings and so has no standard pages. It is reasonable to conclude that signatures B and D were the work of one compositor and A (and possibly C) of another.²⁹

²⁷ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 85 and Fig. 47.

²⁸ Puzzled by being unable to find a watermark myself, I engaged the help of the professional librarians in charge of each copy. They could not find watermarks either, and were happy to confirm as much to me in writing.

²⁹ A3^r 30 lines, B2^{r-v} 35 lines, B4^{r-v} 36 lines, D2^{r-v} and D3^{r-v} 34 lines, D4^r 36 lines.

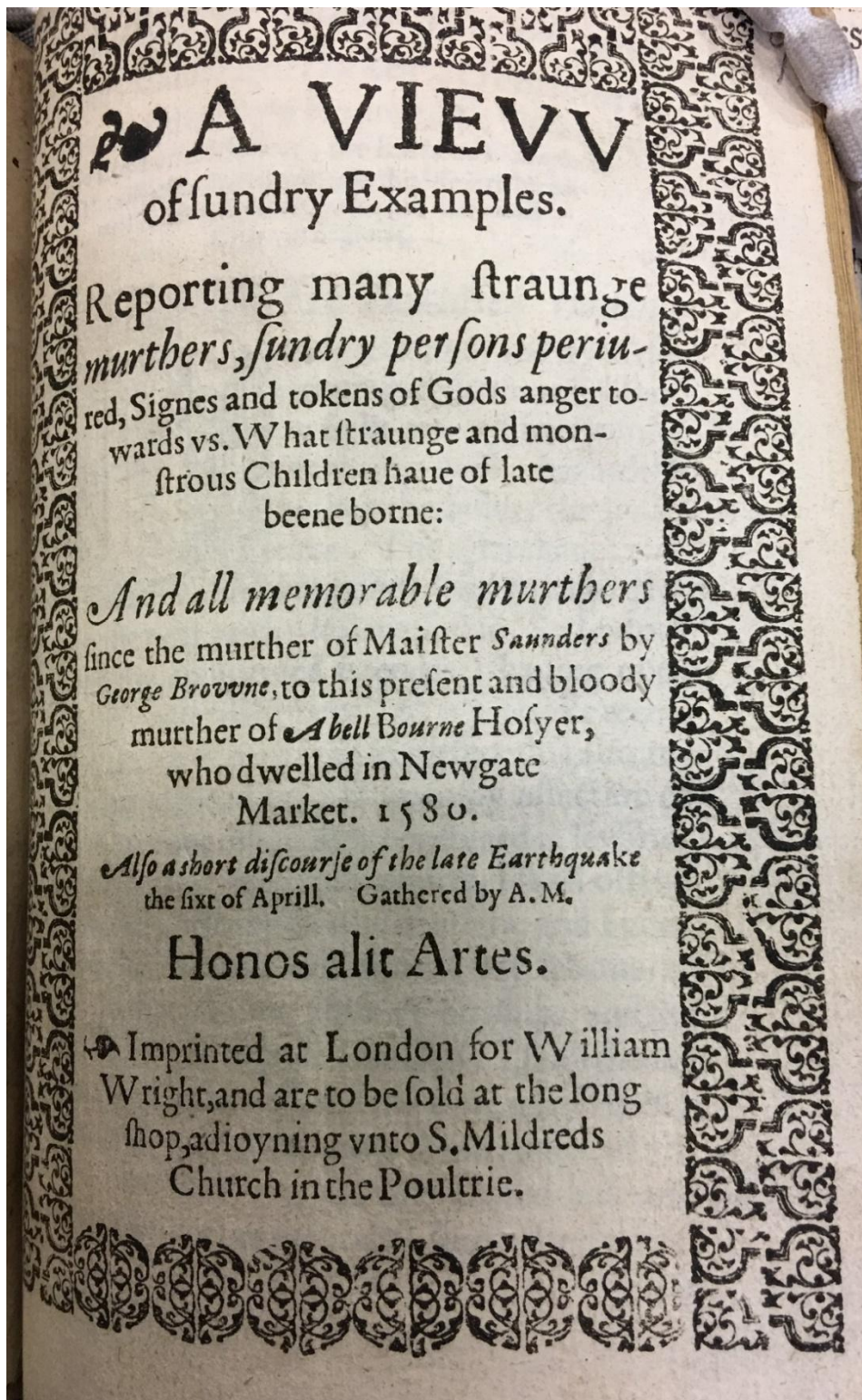


Fig. 8. *A View of Sundry Examples* by Anthony Munday (1580) STC 18281

Title-page

Image courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library

Fig. 8 shows that there is a decorative border around the text, as was common practice at the time. This decoration forms a frame around the edges of the title-page but it is somewhat mis-matched. The border to the left, top and right of the page has a straight edge, but the border running along the bottom has a curved pattern. This is unusual. Fig. 9 shows different examples of Charlewood's printing around this time, some even using these same or similar looking decorative blocks as *SEQ1* in different orientations. When there are variations in these other borders, they are usually symmetrical or, at least, similar. *SEQ1* stands out as having one border that is not mirrored on the opposite edge, not using the same blocks, or even of a similar shape to the others. This suggests that it was set quickly, without taking too much trouble over the appearance.

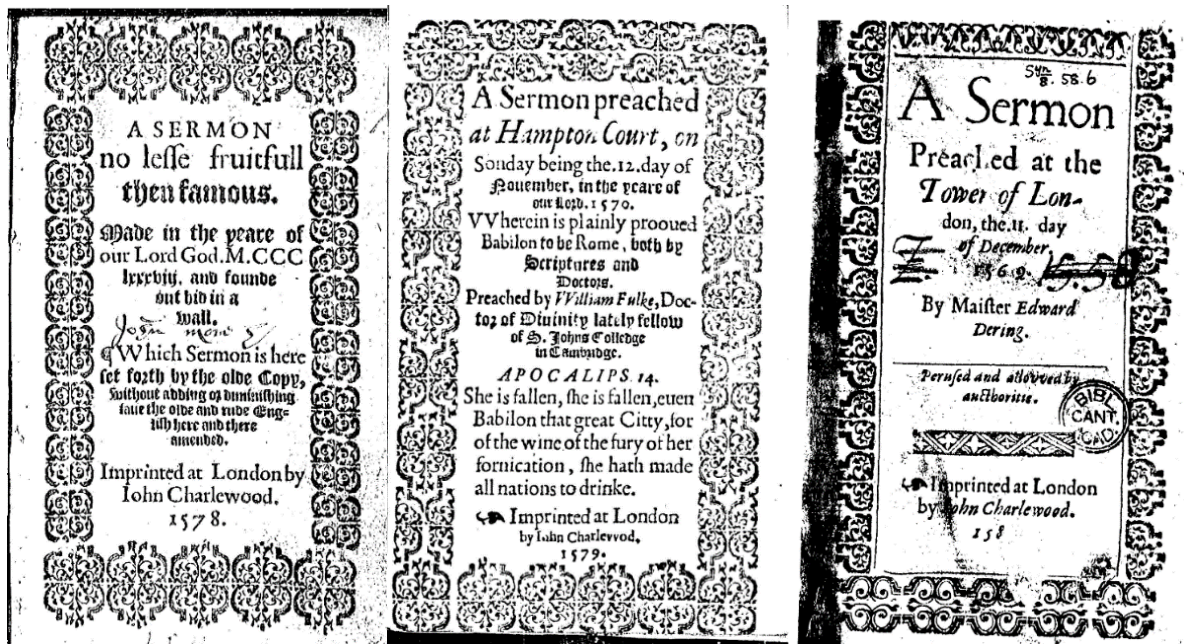


Fig. 9. Examples of Charlewood's decorative borders using the same blocks as *SEQ1*. All are either uniform all round, have opposite sides that match or that create a straight border on all four sides. The third example is mismatched top and bottom, but has a straight line printed inside the border to create the illusion of uniformity. Screenshots of *EEBO* images.

The other anomaly on the title-page is in the printing of the name ‘Abell Bourne’. The compositor has set the title-page in a mixture of roman and italic type, descending in font size and width on each line from top to bottom of each paragraph, creating an attractive pattern seen often in pamphlets at this time. Also, as was the custom, names are printed in italic which makes them more prominent. The name ‘Abell’ has a sloping capital letter in the French style of Granjon, which was extremely popular at this time and which is the style adopted generally in this pamphlet.³⁰ ‘Bourne’, however, has an upright capital letter, reminiscent of earlier styles of italic printing, and this is its sole use in this pamphlet. The fact that these two words appear next to one another as the component parts of a name makes the mis-match more obvious. There is no reason for it: Charlewood had matching italic capital Bs that could have been used (see ‘Bohemia’ at sig. C3^v). It is potentially an error not noticed by the printer due to prioritizing speed (or costs) over quality.

All the eye-catching features of this pamphlet were directed at the opening pages, presumably in order both to please the dedicatees and to entice the reader into making the purchase. There are three large and ornate capital letters in *SEQ1* (see Fig. 10). The first two are set at the start of the two dedicatory letters in signature A, and the third begins the body of the text in signature B. The variation in size between the capital and the text introduces a degree of complication to the type setting, so is evidence of some investment of care into the pamphlet’s production, but it extends no further than these three instances. The rest of the work is relatively unadorned.

³⁰ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 25.



Fig. 10. Ornate capital letters at sigs A2r, A4r and B1r

Images courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library

The leaf motif on the title-page is occasionally echoed inside the pamphlet, drawing attention to the titles of different stories. Similar small designs highlight the titles of some of the ‘examples’ chosen, but their inclusion is erratic. There is one beside each title in signature B, none at all in signature C, and they feature again from the third title onwards in signature D. On D3^v, one story has two motifs. This random allocation is further evidence that more than one compositor was engaged on the project, and suggests one had more ornate figures available than the other.

Quotations from the Bible appear in an Aldine style roman type, characterised by the straight cross-bar on the letter ‘e’.³¹ The names of the people discussed in the pamphlet are similarly picked out in roman, but the names of biblical figures are in the Granjon style of italic with sloping capital letters. This was a common practice of the time: Granjon’s type was designed to fit easily with other styles, and the variation in type was an easy way to differentiate biblical names from the names of real contemporary Londoners.³²

³¹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 21.

³² Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 25.

WWQ1

Note: It is unfortunate for this thesis that, at the time a subject had to be chosen for study, two disasters affected what was possible. First, the Covid pandemic closed every library for many months, in some cases for more than a year. The decision was therefore taken to use a facsimile available on *EEBO* to complete the transcription upon which to base this edition: the Bodleian copy (*WWQ1B*, STC 18282a) was chosen. The British Library then suffered a massive cyber-attack which wiped out remote access to the *English Short Title Catalogue*. Although I was able to consult the printed version of the *Short-Title Catalogue* (1976) held at the Shakespeare Institute, this does not contain as much detailed information as the *ESTC*. This means that I can provide some information, but I can be no more precise over the number and location of different copies of *WWQ1* than the frustratingly vague description ‘many’.

*

A Watchword to England is unlike *Sundry Examples* in that it was never licensed and nor was it entered into the Stationers’ Register. This, along with the royal warrant at sig. $\pi 2^r$ and the acknowledgement of the ‘Queen’s injunctions’ on the title-page, marks it as a privileged book issued under patent from the privy council.³³ As a result of this, it was printed in far greater quantities than *SEQ1* and therefore had a much better chance of survival than the earlier pamphlet. There are many extant copies in libraries across the world, including the British Library in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford (which has three copies) and the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library in New York. When necessary, comparison is offered here with the other copy available on *EEBO* which is in the Huntington Library, California (*WWQ2H*).

³³ For more on this, see Introduction, pp. 41-42.

There are significant differences between *WWQ1B* and *WWQ2H*. For example, at sig. B1^r *WWQ1B* has the words ‘tyme’ and ‘lyke’; in *WWQ2H*, these words appear as ‘time’ and ‘like’. At sig. C1^v, *WWQ1B* has the word ‘evening’ on one line; in *WWQ2H* it is split over two lines as ‘eve-ning’. The biggest difference, however, comes at the end with Munday’s customary self-advertising. At sig. N2^v in *WWQ1B*, Munday refers his readers to ‘my other book’ which is a second volume of *Watchword* (there is no evidence that this was ever published).³⁴ This is followed by a reference to another forthcoming book called *Court of Conscience* (also not published). In *WWQ2H* at sig. N2^v, there is no mention of a second volume of *Watchword* at all, just the forthcoming *Court of Conscience*. Both *WWQ1B* and *WWQ2H* are dated 1584 and neither is registered. The differences between them indicate that they are from two separate editions, but which came first? Instinct says probably *WWQ1B*.³⁵ *WWQ1* is a long pamphlet and an ambitious project that follows English history from Richard I to Munday’s present day. At that point in time, Munday was heavily engaged in government business and had very little original output; maybe he intended to write a companion piece but had to drop the idea for the less intense *Court of Conscience*, which sounds more like a poetic conceit. He did not publish that either, but this is not unusual for Munday.³⁶ What this difference between the Bodleian copy and the Huntington copy does is confirm that this pamphlet had a second edition.

³⁴ WW MT 2961.

³⁵ Although the setting of sig. A is identical to *WWQ1B*, the rest of the pamphlet (sigs B-N) has very obvious variations, suggesting that only a small part of the setting for this long pamphlet was reused.

³⁶ He promised to finish the story of Abel Bourne at the end of *SEQ1*, but never did.

Production

The uncredited printer has again been nominated as John Charlewood, and there is evidence for this in the decorative border on the title page which appears to use the same (or similar) blocks to those used in the border for *SEQI*, albeit in a different orientation. This time, though, the border is uniform on all sides.



Fig. 11. John Charlewood's blocks – showing how the same blocks can be rearranged to create both borders for *SEQIL* (L) and *WWQIB* (R). Images courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library, Wendy Armstrong and *EEBO*.

The publisher was Thomas Hacket, a prolific printer who, according to Duff, 'entered a very large number of copies in the Registers', but not this particular pamphlet.³⁷ He did, however, enter two other books into the Stationers' Register in July 1584 (the year this pamphlet was published), one of which was *A banquet of daintie conceits*.³⁸ This is the first mention of Munday's book of verse but, when it was eventually produced, Hacket did not

³⁷ Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, p. 64.

³⁸ *Stationers' Register Online*, Arber II.453 <[Stationers' Register Online](#)> [accessed between 2019 and 20204].

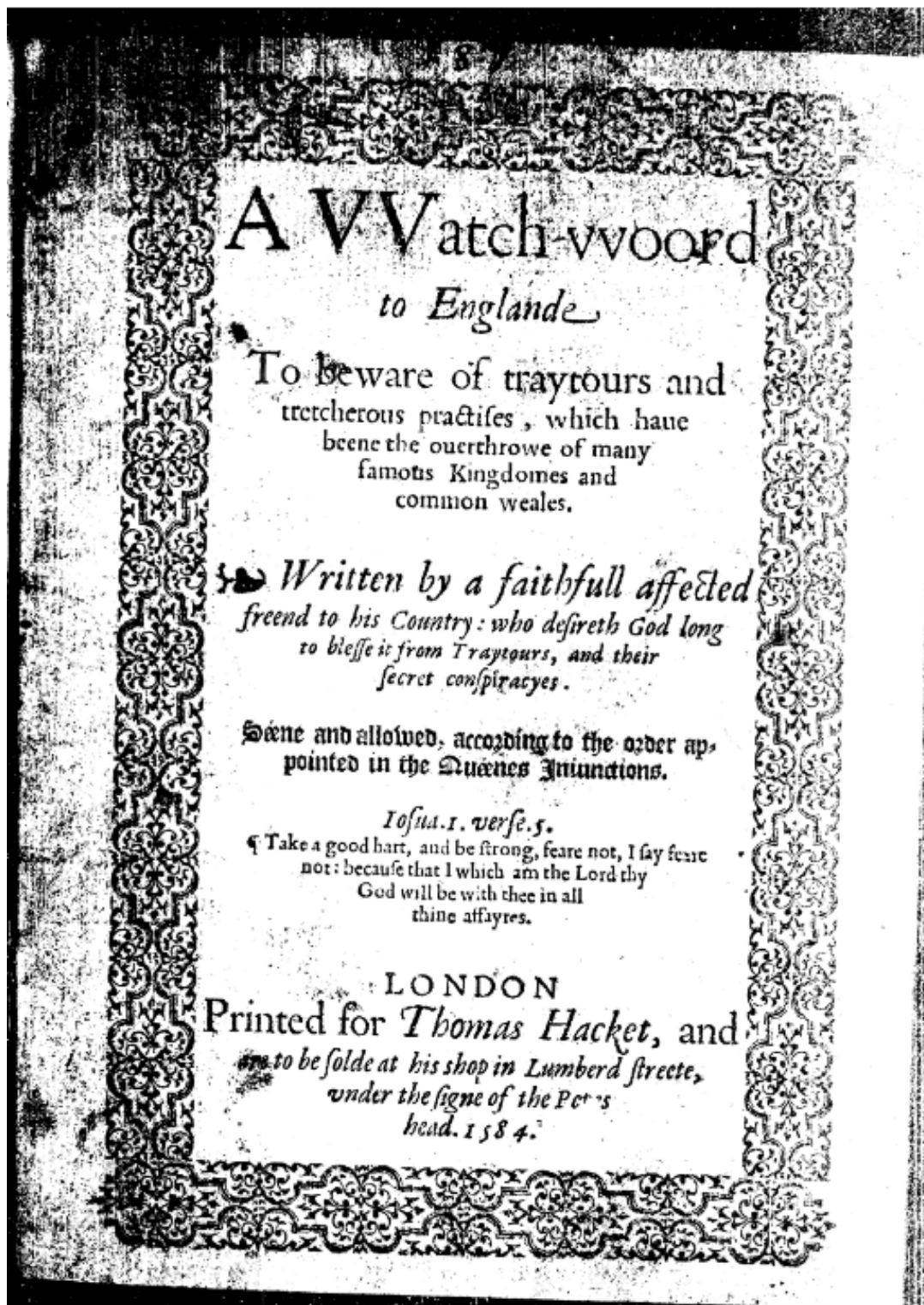


Fig. 12. *A Watchword to England* by Anthony Munday (1584) STC 18282a

Title-page

Screenshot of *EEBO* image

publish it: it was published later by Edward White (printed, predictably, by John Charlewood).³⁹ Hacket's entry provides more evidence of Munday building relationships with publishers and constantly offering forthcoming work.

The Bodleian Copy

WWQIB is bound individually in brown calfskin with gold tooling around the outer edges of the boards and raised bands across the spine, which suggests the presence of at least some seventeenth- or eighteenth-century binding, although the book has been rebacked. There is no evidence of its earliest ownership, but the upper pastedown bears an engraved bookplate for Charles Chauncey (1709-1777), a physician and antiquary who lived in Cornhill, London.⁴⁰ Helpfully, there are two notes in ink on the second endpaper. The first indicates that this book was included in the sale of Dr Chauncey's library on 17 April 1790, where it was purchased by George Steevens (1736-1800), a Shakespearean scholar and caustic critic and hoaxer.⁴¹ The second note indicates that the book was included in the sale of the Steevens collection on 23 May 1800, when it was purchased by Edmond Malone (1741-1812), Shakespearean scholar and sometime friend (and later enemy) of Steevens.⁴² When Malone died, his books were inherited by his elder brother, Richard Malone, Lord Sunderlin (1738-1816), and it was

³⁹ White's surviving publication is dated 1588, but this could be a second edition.

⁴⁰ Catherine Bergin, 'Charles Chauncey', *ODNB*.

⁴¹ Steevens was bitterly critical of others engaged in scholarly or Shakespearean activities. He did not hesitate to disparage his acquaintances in print and often devised cruel hoaxes to humiliate those who crossed him (Arthur Sherbo, 'George Steevens', *ODNB*).

⁴² Steevens had, at first, invited Malone to become involved in his edition of Shakespeare. Malone, however, found so many errors in it that Steevens became irritated with him, withdrawing any further help (Peter Martin, 'Edmond Malone', *ODNB*).

he who presented the volume, with the rest of Malone's library, to the Bodleian Library in 1815.

Like *SEQI*, *WWQI* is a standard quarto printed in black letter. It has thirteen gatherings, sigs A-N3 (there is no 'I' signature) and a watermark (best seen in the centre of sigs H2 and L2) in the shape of a single-handled jug surmounted by a quatrefoil shape with the initials 'LB' or 'LP' across the middle.⁴³ The printing within each gathering is entirely regular, with each full page of text having 37 lines and a consistency of spelling throughout: perhaps this was the work of a single compositor. This would suggest that, unlike *SEQI* which used at least two compositors and was reliant on speed for maximum sales, the publication of *WWQI* was not under the same pressure.

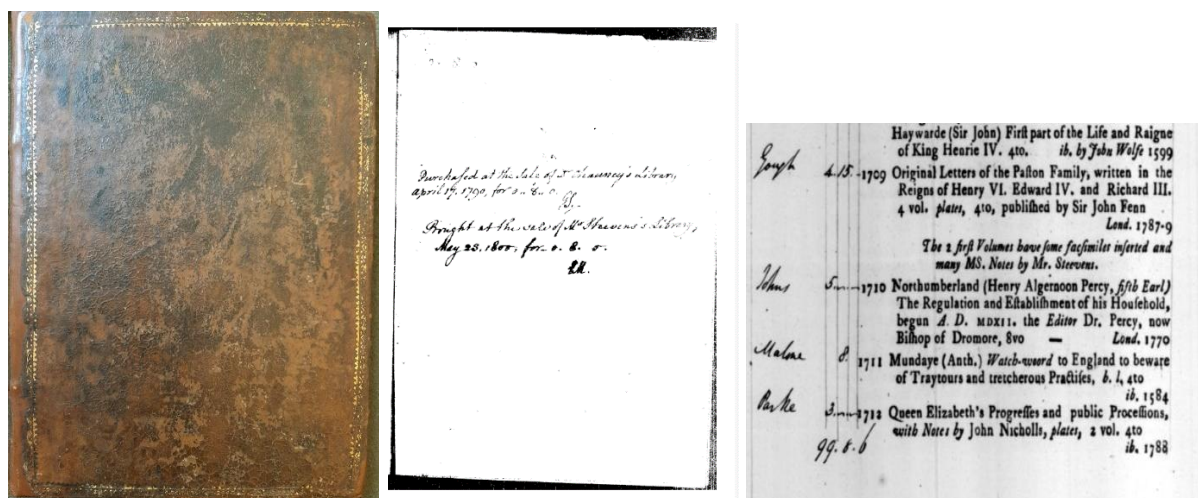


Fig. 13. Left to right: The calfskin binding of *WWQ1B* (photo courtesy of the Bodleian Library); the inscriptions on the second endpaper indicating sales (screenshot of *EEBO* image); extract from the catalogue of the Steevens sale showing the book listed as Lot 1711 and the purchase by Malone (screenshot of *Bibliotheca Steevensiana*, online resource).

⁴³ A similar example of this watermark can be found in Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 71, Fig. 40. A version of it was in use over many years and has been known with different variations.

Other than the royal warrant at the beginning, there are no illustrations in *WWQIB*. There are small woodblock patterns on sigs $\pi 2^v$ - $\pi 3^r$, two leaf designs (title-page and sig. $\pi 3^r$) and two ornamental letters, one on sig. $\pi 3^r$ and one on sig. $A 1^r$. Interestingly, they are exactly the same ornamental letters (T and W) as appear in *SEQI*, which provides further evidence of the pamphlet being the work of the same printer. In all, the appearance and characteristics of *WWQI* are so similar to *SEQI* that there can be little question in the matter.

There are two items of marginalia on *WWQIB*. The first consists of the underlining of certain words and a small manicule.⁴⁴

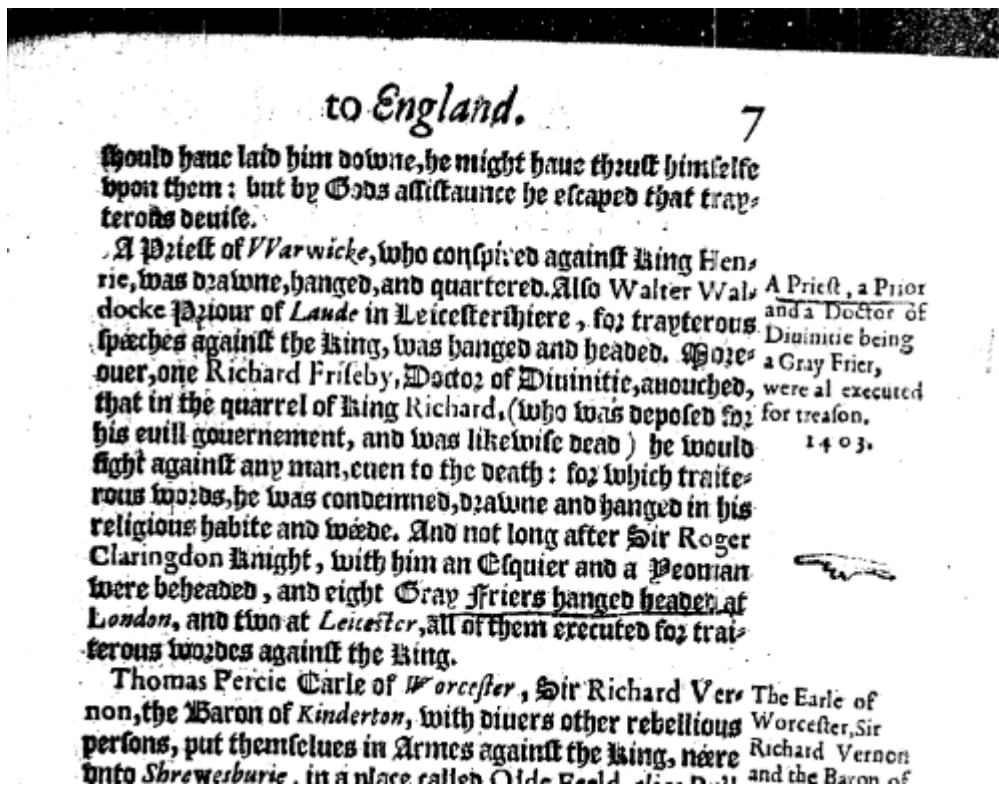


Fig. 14. Marginalia in *WWQIB* at sig. $C 3^r$ (p.7). Screenshot of *EEBO* image.

⁴⁴ The manicule was a common annotation in early modern books. For more information on its use, see William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 25-52.

As is usual in these cases, there is no indication of who made the notation, when or why. The writer had an interest in religious figures and the manicule seems to be pointing at the name of Sir Roger Claringdon (or Clarendon). This section of the text is concerned with the reign of Henry IV and the aftermath of the deposition of Richard II. Clarendon was King Richard's illegitimate half-brother and, after Richard's death, the only living descendant of the Black Prince. He conspired with the Franciscan friars and Henry IV made an example of him, an act which was held against the king in a later rebellion.

To most people, this is a very minor footnote in the long history of England and, as this writer has made no other mark in the book, it seems an odd choice for particular attention. The incident was, however, a powerful gesture by Henry IV and significant in that it extinguished the previous royal line. Was the writer particularly interested in or sympathetic to the cause of Richard II, or was this perhaps a comment on more current affairs? The close association of Clarendon with religious figures may point to a royal descendant, either Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots or Protestant Elizabeth I, and a desire for one to dispose of the other (and her religion) for good. This is a political pamphlet, and the chances are that any reader would have had an interest in the political situation of the day. Any note written explicitly about either queen would lead to immediate arrest, if discovered. Perhaps this is a little code that pleased a reader who could not resist becoming a writer on this occasion.

A merie storie
concerning the
straite keeping
of the Lady
Elizabeth.

And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing
the Reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite
a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same, oc-
casion heere moueth, or rather enforceth me, to touch brief-
lie what happened in the same place and tyme by a merie
conceited man, being then about her Grace. Who noting
the straite and straunge keeping of his Lady & Mistresse by
the said Sir Henrie Benifield, with so many locks & doores,
with such watch and warde about her, as was straunge and
wonderful: espied a Goate in the warde where her Grace
was; and whether to refreshe her oppressed minde, or to
notifie her straite handling by Sir Henrie, either els both,
he tooke it vpon his necke, and followed her Grace there-
with, as she was going into her lodging. Which when she
saue,

Fig. 15. Marginalia in *WWQ1B* at sig. H2^v. Screenshot of *EEBO* image.

The second instance is at H2^v and seems to be a manicule, but it is less clear than the first and is made by a different hand. There is no accompanying underlining. If this is a manicule, then it is not pointing at anything specific, but making a general gesture to a funny story about a goat and having a laugh at the expense of an austere authority figure. That would strike a chord with many readers: even the most earnest politically-minded scholar likes a joke.

SECTION 3 – Examining the Texts

The publication of pamphlets

Not only were *SEQI* and *WWQI* published early in Munday's career, they were also published early in the history of pamphlets in general. The practical production of pamphlets was dependent on two areas of social evolution: the economic efficiency of the printing press and the reasonably widespread ability and desire of the general public to read. Both of these factors are particularly linked to the rise of Protestantism in England.¹

Pamphlets were an attractive means to communicate all kinds of literature for almost any purpose. The break from Rome meant the abandonment of Latin as the principal written language and books produced in the vernacular became more commonplace, opening printed matter up to the literate middle classes. Songs, ballads and poetry were particularly popular, as were reports of current affairs both foreign and domestic. Pamphlets could be fast, cheap and anonymous, so it was possible for rumour and falsehood, as well as political challenge, to spread with alarming speed. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth charged the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of London with the responsibility of supervising the presses because of the number of scurrilous publications in circulation, insisting that a system of licensing should be introduced to prevent poor quality and dangerous literature from reaching her subjects.² These licensing laws were broadened in 1580, the year *SEQI* was published, to prevent the publication of any pamphlet that would be (in the licenser's opinion) a waste of

¹ For more information on the link between Protestantism and literacy in England, see James S. Mosher, 'The Protestant Reading Ethic and Variation in its Effects' in *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (June 2016), pp. 397-418, accessed online via <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24878731>> [accessed in March 2025].

² Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 8.

the publisher's resources.³ Robert Crowley, churchman, prolific pamphleteer and regular associate of Munday, became one such licenser: the Stationers' Register confirms that he felt these requirements had been fulfilled when he licensed *SEQL*.⁴

All early modern books were expensive in proportion to a working man's income. The Stationers' Company tried to limit the cost of books, thereby protecting their trade, by issuing an 'ordinance against the excessive price of books' in 1598.⁵ At that time, a short pamphlet was cheaper but still not a casual purchase for everyone. The cheapest pamphlet was two pence, or the price of a pound of beef, but the cost could range to sixpence or more.⁶ Most of the cover-price was accounted for in the publisher's costs for paper, printing and labour, with only a small percentage allocated to the author.

In such unfavourable conditions, pamphleteers usually had other forms of income and did not rely on the kindness of stationers for their living. Munday was a government agent, a civil servant, who incorporated pamphleteering into his paid employment by producing work that delivered the government message to the masses. Others, including some well-known writers such as Thomas Churchyard, Barnaby Rich, Thomas Dekker and John Taylor, were all prolific pamphleteers on a wide variety of subjects (sometimes even just writing pamphlets about each other) but all had 'some alternative means of livelihood.'⁷ Authors who did not take that precaution suffered for it. Robert Greene, the most popular writer of his day, was

³ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 9.

⁴ See Introduction, pp. 28-29.

⁵ Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983), p. 25.

⁶ Robert Greene's pamphlets (the most popular) were between three and six pence each (Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 25).

⁷ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 29.

able to produce witty, best-selling pamphlets faster than any other author, but died £10 in debt at the age of just thirty-four.⁸ Unfortunately for him, the concept and sustainability of the professional writer was still a century away.⁹

Perhaps because of the small financial margins involved, pamphleteers gave the impression of being extremely competitive, directing criticisms of a professional and personal nature at each other with the most cutting ferocity. Thomas Nashe jeered at Gabriel Harvey in print; Harvey attacked Greene. Greene famously denounced Shakespeare as an ‘upstart crow’; Henry Chettle defended Shakespeare while Nashe defended Greene.¹⁰ ‘Jonson ridiculed Munday for his poor verses, and Dekker mocked at Jonson’s pock-marked face.’¹¹ In truth, they inhabited a small world of intimate professional relationships, often collaborating on larger projects, so they were probably not as antagonistic towards each other as their pamphlets would suggest or, at least, not all the time.

Of the different pamphlets available in early modern London, including the bombastic and satirical offerings of his fellow-pamphleteers, Munday’s work tended to be of a serious nature and heavily influenced by the Protestant movement. Pamphlets themselves had been appropriated as a format by Protestants to challenge old traditions, and many continued to reflect Puritan opposition to classical languages and aesthetics in favour of practical information and advice.¹² Indeed, the trend for Protestant preferences is observable

⁸ L.H. Newcomb, ‘Robert Greene’, *ODNB*.

⁹ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 27.

¹⁰ Robert Greene, *Greenes Groats-worth of witte* (London: Wright, 1592), STC 12245, sig. F1^v.

¹¹ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 32.

¹² Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 23. For more information on the use of pamphlets for Protestant propaganda, see G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 171-216.

throughout Munday's career as he moved from pamphlets into the translation of chivalric romances (some of the best-selling fiction of the seventeenth century), in accordance with 'the strength of puritan opposition to classical learning and to translations from the classics'.¹³ This is the attitude that made him useful to a government that needed popular support for a new religion in order to stay in power, and these are the characteristics that make his pamphlets important examples of their kind.

SEQ1

Of the two pamphlets included in this thesis, *SEQ1* is the one with more personal relevance to its author. Munday's connection to and involvement with the dedicatees has already been examined, but the main text also has much that indicates Munday's own political position and desire to be useful to the privy council.¹⁴

The main text makes many quotations from the Bible, often lengthy ones, throughout the pamphlet. The inclusion of such passages is actually an important statement. In an age where politics and religion were so closely interwoven as to be almost inseparable, the use of religious quotations so prominently was a signal to the reader (and the dedicatees) that indicates this author's religious/political position.

The essence of Protestantism lay in the individual's study of the Bible as opposed to having the Bible interpreted for a congregation by a priest. The Puritan element of Protestantism wished to encourage education, and specifically literacy, in order to facilitate

¹³ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 23.

¹⁴ See Introduction, pp. 31-32.

such individual contemplation of God's word in English.¹⁵ In *SEQI* we find Munday, along with the authors of similar pamphlets, not only demonstrating his own knowledge of the scriptures in English but enabling his readers to become familiar with them too in good Protestant fashion. Also, Munday is careful not to place himself in the position of preacher. His constant use of words such as 'we', 'our' and 'us' around those passages relating to scripture places his authorial voice in among his readers, receiving the message, not giving it.¹⁶ This pamphlet is designed for general consumption but is ethically Puritan in construction.

The main text of the pamphlet is concerned with the reporting of matters that may be considered sensational news, such as violent crime, unusual weather and monstrous births: all regular subject matter for the popular press both ancient and modern. There is, however, another aspect to this type of reporting which takes on more significance when considered in the context of an early pamphlet, such as *SEQI*. Until the 1580s, most printed news was conveyed via the illustrated broadside ballad.¹⁷ These were songs composed on a subject of topical or perennial interest which were printed and sung in public places where they were sold by street vendors. 'From the 1580s onwards, the prose pamphlet began to displace the ballad as the most common medium for conveying news.'¹⁸ 1580, the year *SEQI* was published, was an important meeting point for several factors in its creation: the prose news pamphlet was just coming into being (showing Munday making use of new ideas to further his ambitions), the Puritans were encouraging literacy among those who could afford to buy

¹⁵ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 34.

¹⁶ for example, at *SE MT* 286-97.

¹⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 16.

¹⁸ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 17.

any kind of literature, and Queen Elizabeth's reign had just encountered a point of instability that was threatening the succession. At that particular moment in time, news pamphlets could make or break her fragile grip on authority.

1579 had been dominated by the uncertainty surrounding Elizabeth's potential marriage with the Duke of Anjou and the somewhat optimistic hope that she might, at the age of 46, produce a living heir. As Patrick Collinson observes, 'In London in the late summer of 1579 there were noisy expressions of alarm from the pulpits and the press' concerning Elizabeth's potential marriage to 'a papist of doubtful qualities.'¹⁹ The lawyer John Stubbe wrote a pamphlet against the match, for which both he and his distributor, William Page, lost their right hands.²⁰ The privy council also opposed the marriage, so in 1580 the country was in stalemate, with neither the privy council nor the nobility knowing whether the queen would press on with her marriage or not. This affected the stability of the realm because, without actually giving birth to an heir (the only sure path to a safe succession: a step-child would simply bring more problems over questions of loyalty), the succession would be thrown into contention between the next heir nominated in the will of Henry VIII, Katherine Grey (sister of Jane Grey, the nine-day queen), and Mary, Queen of Scots, who was excluded by Henry's will but who had the better genealogical claim.²¹ Politically, what lay ahead was a confusion of warring claimants and the threat of another Catholic resurgence.

¹⁹ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 199.

²⁰ *Discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by an other French marriage* (STC 8114).

Patrick Collinson, 'Elizabeth I', *ODNB*.

²¹ Katherine Grey (c. 1540-1568) had already died, but had two sons from a clandestine marriage that the Queen refused to recognise, thus rendering the boys illegitimate and therefore unable to stake a claim to the succession. This kept Elizabeth in her precarious place on the throne, free from male challenge. They were finally legitimized in 1606, by which time James I was firmly King of England (Susan Doran, 'Katherine Grey', *ODNB*).

‘Sixteenth-century governments were nervous about the circulation of news, especially when it concerned domestic events, and at this stage news was used to shape public opinion from the top down.’²² In this volatile atmosphere, *SEQI* was published and included within it were accounts of monstrous births which, taken at face value, seem to be absurd, but dismissing these stories as sensationalism misses the point of their presence. Such stories had been a common feature of European pamphlets for many years and were ‘often deployed to express anxiety about social disorder and spiritual trauma.’²³ Increasingly in Elizabeth’s reign, and especially at the time *SEQI* was published, printed reports of deformities proliferated as Protestants suffered fears about the security of the succession and the existential threat of Catholic invasion. Yet amongst the stories of dreadful disappointment for uncomprehending witnesses, Munday offered some hope. Two of the stories feature women beyond childbearing age unexpectedly bringing forth children, all of whom had the immediate facility of speech, thus being both unnatural but extraordinarily gifted.²⁴ This encourages the reader to understand that God will provide hope in hopeless situations and the qualities of leadership even in the most unpropitious of circumstances. There is also the story of a woman who gave birth to a baby with no head, which cannot live and thus crushes all hope for continuation of the line, only to have hope revived later by the birth of a healthy child, symbolizing the woman’s triumph over the bleakest of threats to her posterity.²⁵ In the somewhat strange and twisted language of Elizabethan symbolism, these are messages of encouragement for an ageing, childless queen and her anxious country.

²² Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 16.

²³ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 16.

²⁴ *SE MT* 340-42 and 382-93.

²⁵ *SE MT* 354-56.

Perhaps the hardest section of the pamphlet for the modern reader to assimilate is, paradoxically, the one with which we are all most familiar: the weather. It is with a certain satisfaction that we can read accounts of rolling fire in the sky or abnormal tides and supply scientific explanations for these wonders, now commonly known and understood. A recent sighting of the Northern Lights over southern England caused enormous excitement, but no undue alarm (quite the opposite) and it was even predictable. It is easy to dismiss the stories retold here as simply the shock of overwhelmed and unknowing people.

To appreciate what we are being told, it is necessary to grasp the early modern understanding that God controlled all of the heavens, the Earth and mankind, and He would express Himself through aspects of the human environment that were otherwise uncontrollable. In 1580, when this pamphlet was published, the notion of physical science, whereby objects (or diseases or weather) would behave in a predictable way in accordance with natural forces, was an unthinkable challenge to the will of God. It was believed that abnormal occurrences, such as the earthquake reported at the end of the pamphlet, could be mitigated by human reaction, and special prayers were ‘appointed to be read for the turning of God’s Wrath from them [...] by order given from the Queens Majesty’s most honourable privy council.’²⁶ It was understandable that extraordinary weather could be sent as an expression of God’s will, and just as understandable that a particularly wicked deed by a mortal man could cause crops to fail. A mis-step by a monarch could condemn an entire nation to hell.

This is where we come back to the fraught political situation of 1580. The uncertainty, and possible overthrow, of Protestant England was a constant threat while there was no

²⁶ Thomas Doolittle, *Earthquakes explained and practically improved*, (London: Salusbury, 1693), sig. K3^r (p. 133), Arber II. 427.

secure path forward for the succession. All the astral and weather phenomena reported here were recent and widely recorded; Munday would have experienced some, if not all, of them himself. The obvious conclusion was that the nation's instability was being reflected in the heavens. Francis Shakelton, the vicar of St Mildred's church in the Poultry, next door to where Munday was apprenticed, wrote his own pamphlet on the subject in the same year that *SEQI* was published.²⁷ Perhaps Munday heard him speak of his opinions on the matter and used Shakelton's ideas to inform his writing while making a comment on national politics.

SEQI also addresses another topic of concern for the Elizabethan reader: crime. Stories of criminal activity filled the pages of countless Elizabethan pamphlets, but crime was not treated in the same way by all pamphleteers. The most famous of Elizabethan crime pamphlets are those about 'coney-catchers' which claimed to expose the devices used by thieves and swindlers but were really just entertainments and were partly or entirely fictional.²⁸ Robert Greene was the master of the genre, but there were many rivals and imitators. What Munday provided in *SEQI* was the other side of this coin: appealing to the same interest in crime, but this time with the gravity of truth - murders that would shock and disgust the reader, but would also provide an insight into an unknown but real world of moral and physical danger.²⁹

²⁷ Francis Shakelton, *A blayzing starre or burning beacon, seene the 10 October laste* (London, Kirkham, 1580) STC 22272.

²⁸ Literally 'rabbit catchers', but 'coney-catchers' was an Elizabethan slang term for swindlers or tricksters (*OED* 'coney-catcher' n. 1).

²⁹ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 19. For more information on cony-catching pamphlets, see Bettina Boecker, 'falsehood, Fact and Fiction in Early Modern Rogue Literature: Robert Greene's Cony-catching Pamphlets' in *Poetica*, Vol. 41, No. 1/2 (2009), pp. 97-125, accessed online via <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43028468>> [accessed in March 2025].

As is often the case with Munday, to understand the beginning fully, it is best to start at the end. The last murder reported in *SEQI* is that of Abel Bourne, a local tradesman. Bourne's body was discovered on 15 April 1580 and *SEQI* was entered into the Stationers' Register on 27 April 1580, so this was very recent news.³⁰ The body had been found in Golding (or Golden) Lane, very close to Munday's home in Fore Street. There is even a description of how the body looked upon discovery, what it was wearing and how it was positioned.³¹ These circumstances suggest that Munday was in the right place at the right time to be able to give a first-hand account of some sensational local news and was capitalizing upon the chance. Perhaps he had seen the body *in situ*; he would certainly have known the location and possibly some of the people who now populated his account of the matter. In journalistic parlance, this was a scoop.

Unlike the other murder stories in *SEQI*, the story of Abel Bourne comes alive through the believable actions of ordinary people, with quotations from their conversations and exchanges from their examination by the coroner. The reader is even introduced to the coroner himself and his processes, as well as to the assembly of a jury and then the succession of witnesses who each tell their part of the story. This is quite unlike the flat, moral tales told in this and most other pamphlets of this nature about murders from bygone years. This writing is vital and fast-moving. Stylistically, this is the precursor to *ERL* which showcases Munday at his best as he writes in the first person about his own experiences. Munday's account of Abel Bourne's inquest only slips into the first person at the very end as

³⁰ The news is less than two weeks old, which highlights the speed with which this pamphlet was written.

³¹ *SE MT*, 548-56.

Munday (frustratingly) rushes to press before the conclusion of the proceedings, promising to let his readers know more as soon as he can.³²

Unfortunately, Munday never wrote any more on this subject or, if he did, it is no longer extant. It is equally unfortunate that nobody else wrote anything about it either, so no comparison is available, but what Munday has done is make this tiny case, which would have been utterly lost to history, speak to his readers with freshness and immediacy.³³ This is what the pamphlet is really about. Remembering that the dedicatory letters were to important people in the orbit of William Cecil and contain oblique references to the service he wishes to give in ‘greater affairs’, here is an example of what Munday can do in a courtroom, how he can make the case live for the reader and how that may be a useful talent.³⁴ It seems the hint was taken as, hereafter, much of Munday’s work as a government agent involved giving evidence in court and writing about legal proceedings.

There are, of course, other murders and questionable deaths featured in the pamphlet, some of which had been reported elsewhere many times and others not at all. In one sense, this follows the established pattern of pamphlets of this nature which tended to be ‘reflecting on itself, invoking its own history [...] in order to locate the current instance in a continuing stream of well-known and published enormities.’³⁵ The features that stand out about these other stories are date and location. All the incidents that have a date supplied are relatively recent and certainly within the scope of Munday’s memory. The oldest, and most famous, was

³² *SE MT* 545-47.

³³ Perhaps Bourne, a former jailbird himself (Bourne can be traced in court and parish records: see Commentary), was not the entirely sympathetic character that other murder victims may have been, and so his case did not attract so much attention.

³⁴ *SE PT* 116.

³⁵ Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, p. 11.

from 1573 when he would have been twelve years old; it should be remembered that at the time *SEQL* was published he was still only nineteen. In terms of location, apart from a few outliers, it is possible to locate Munday in the area during or shortly after the event. The majority of the crimes in London are described as taking place within a few streets of each other. Foster Lane (Father Lea, 1577), Wood Street (Anne Averies, 1575), Poultry (Berry, 1575) and Cornhill (Widow Barnes, 1574) were all proximate to Munday's lodgings as an apprentice. Indeed, assuming the date given is correct, the death of Berry must have taken place just months before Munday became resident in the same street. The question is therefore raised as to whether Munday was simply recycling old stories he had heard, or writing about things he remembered, albeit vaguely. That question is extended when one adds Faversham and Canterbury (Thomas Hill) and Sutton, Dover and Calais (earthquake, 1580). These places are in a line out of London, down Watling Street (now the approximate location of the A2) and over the channel, whence Munday had just returned. The earthquake was a major event Munday would certainly have experienced himself, wherever he happened to be on that road, but the story of Thomas Hill is not well known or reported in other pamphlets. This must be a story Munday picked up along the route of his expedition to and from Rome. He ignored the much more famous Faversham murder of Thomas Arden by his wife, Alice, in 1551 (too long ago for Munday), but included this one which was, presumably, the talk of the town when he was there. Once again, this shows Munday's instinct for engaging his readers with what was new and unusual.

SEQL was like a sampler, an exhibition of Munday's capability and instinct as a writer and his allegiance as a subject and a Protestant. It was not great literature – that was not the object of the exercise – but it was a splendid advertisement for an enthusiastic young man seeking employment.

WWQI

WWQI was a privileged book, written to address potential political tension in the aftermath of the Throckmorton Plot. It can be described as a public information leaflet, delivering the message that the government wanted the nation to understand: rebellion does not bring rewards. It brings death and despair and will always be found out. Even as early as 1584 the first resort of a jittery government was ‘Project Fear’.

The most obvious thing about *WWQI* is how much of it has been taken from other authors. This was not the case with *SEQI*: other than Bible quotations, the text was Munday’s own either because it summarized earlier reports or because Munday’s was the earliest (or only) account of the matter in question. Munday imported text from other authors into *WWQI* because this pamphlet was never intended as an exhibition of creative writing but as a drawing together of information from recognizable and trusted sources in order to appeal to readers and make them believe the message being conveyed. Plus, in the context of early modern pamphleteering, Munday was merely following common practice.³⁶ What Munday was doing when he inserted tracts from authors like Thomas Norton and John Foxe was giving his pamphlet the weight of authority from respected writers with a particular viewpoint, in this case an unquestionably, even aggressively, Protestant one. There was no concept of authorial ownership once a publisher had paid for and printed a piece of writing, so there was no problem in reusing text if it suited a particular argument. ‘The most notable

³⁶ ‘Elizabethans, and pamphleteers in particular, had a conception of literary borrowing that is not necessarily to be identified with stealing, and for this plagiarism is an inappropriate or misleading term.’ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 33.

of the pamphleteers, Greene, Nashe and Dekker, all silently took what they wanted from elsewhere and were not thought the less of for doing so.³⁷

In *WWQI* the tone has changed from the condemnatory and somewhat shocking reporting of *SEQI* into a more serious political argument, calling for the nation to work together against the threat of treachery. When *SEQI* was published in 1580 Munday was at the start of his career and very much a supplicant looking for employment. By the time *WWQI* came along four years later he was established in his position and writing as a government employee. The image of the royal warrant at the beginning of the pamphlet leaves the reader in no doubt of the authority with which the pamphlet is imbued.

Much had happened in Munday's life since *SEQI*. He had become a government agent, acquired notoriety over his involvement in the trials and executions of a number of Jesuits, written the bestselling *ERL* and become a Messenger of the Chamber, riding out all over the country, and possibly the near Continent, to deliver and receive government correspondence. He had also married and had newly become a father. Under these circumstances, it is surprising he had time to write anything at all, which is probably another reason why so much is 'borrowed' and why he wrote so few new publications in this period. All of this life experience is reflected in the confidence with which *WWQI* is put together; one senses less of the reporter and more of the government official in the way these stories are told.

³⁷ Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, p. 33.

Paratexts

This new confidence can be seen in the dedicatory letters. Unlike *SEQL*, this pamphlet is not directed to the acolytes of great men. This pamphlet goes straight to the top and is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. This does not mean Munday ever expected her to read it; merely that, in the broadest sense, she was his employer and he wished to acknowledge his obligation and gratitude to her. This really is a professional leap forward. *SEQL* had been dedicated to the Earl of Oxford (William Cecil's son-in-law) and *ERL* had been dedicated to Cecil and other members of the privy council; as Munday moved up in significance, so did his dedications and the Queen was next in the chain of command. It should be remembered that Elizabeth made a personal grant to Munday as a reward for his service, so she at least knew of him, even if they had never met.³⁸

The other dedicatory letter is addressed to Thomas Pullyson, Lord Mayor of London, and his two sheriffs. As the pamphlet is not in the Stationers' Register, this collection of names helps to date it more precisely. Mayors and sheriffs took office on 28/9 October every year, and this group served in the 1584/5 term, so the pamphlet must have been written at the end of 1584.³⁹ Of these men, Pullyson was the one with the most to offer Munday. He was a prominent member of the Drapers' Company and Munday was to become a freeman of the Drapers in 1585, so making this particular dedication to a member of 'his own livery

³⁸ This is mentioned at Introduction, p. 11.

³⁹ *Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, online resource <<https://masl.library.utoronto.ca/search>> [accessed in March 2021].

company at this point in his life makes perfect sense for a young man trying to establish himself.⁴⁰

The Main Text

This pamphlet presents itself as a caution against attempted rebellion. The author seeks to achieve this end by holding up examples from English history to demonstrate the catastrophic outcomes suffered by those foolish enough to attempt it. From the start, Munday has set himself an impossible task because, as any student of medieval history will know, the period is a blood-soaked scramble for a slippery crown that passes quickly from monarch to rebel over and over again. Munday's argument that good subjects should always support their monarch is one that he, as a government messenger engaged directly on government business, was employed to make, and certainly one that the privy council wished to encourage amongst Elizabethan subjects. Choosing to do that by drawing attention to examples from English history was probably not the best way to achieve that end.

Perhaps this is an indication that, at this point in his life, Munday was not as familiar as he would later become with the history written by John Stow. *CoE* was clearly one of the major sources for this pamphlet, but this is the first of Munday's works to be heavily based on history, so perhaps he did not know or understand that he was also setting out the stories of rebels, such as Henry Bolingbroke and even Henry Tudor, who succeeded in their attempted overthrow. For somebody serving a monarch whose claim to the throne resulted from

⁴⁰ Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 87.

rebellion and whose line of succession going forward was far from clear, taking a look at English history for comforting examples was a dangerous thing to do.

The other weakness in this approach is the fact that not all English monarchs were popular, or even competent, rulers. As a result, Munday has been forced to leave gaps in his chronology, presumably in the hope that the majority of his readers would not notice. Munday begins with stories from the reign of Richard I, but does not give a chapter to his brother and successor, King John, at all.⁴¹ Instead, he misses out the significant, successful rebellion suffered by King John, which resulted in his compulsion to seal the Magna Carta, and moves directly to Henry III.

Similarly, there is no chapter for Richard III. Unfortunately for Munday, given that he was writing for Tudor readers, the problem of the last Plantagenet king had to be addressed somehow, so King Richard's story is told in Edward V's chapter. This makes the section on a king whose father (Edward IV) had gained the crown through rebellion, and who ruled for just two months (second only to Jane Grey in brevity on the English throne), one of the longest in the pamphlet. Jane Grey herself, potentially a figurehead of rebellion who could be included for the purposes of this pamphlet, does not get a chapter either. She is mentioned in passing under the chapter on Elizabeth I, and then it is only in the context of Elizabeth's fear of execution while in the Tower. Perhaps Jane's story was too complicated because she was a Protestant rebel against a reviled Catholic queen: an argument that cannot be squared in the context of this pamphlet's recommendation of unwavering loyalty to the monarch, whoever that may be.

⁴¹ King John does get a mention at the end of the pamphlet (WW MT 2587-2595), but only to be condemned as the victim of papists. This was a common theme in Renaissance literature. For example, see John Bale, ed. by John Henry Pyle Pafford, *King Johan* (Oxford: The Malone Society, 1931).

As for the successful rebels mentioned above, Henry IV and Henry VII both have chapters condemning rebellions against their reigns, but no indication at all that their route to the throne was by rebellion against the anointed monarch. In the case of Henry VII, this is possible because there is no proper chapter on Richard III. The text does say that King Richard was ‘slain in the field,’ but does not say why or by whom. Henry IV, however, is more difficult because there is a substantial chapter on Richard II.⁴² To preserve his argument, Munday devotes the entire Richard II chapter to the Peasants’ Revolt which ended in failure. There is no mention at all of the later years of Richard’s reign, or of the fact that the principal rebel was the man who successfully deposed the king and took the crown for himself. Indeed, the chapter on Henry IV begins with him ‘enjoying the crown of England’ with no information on how he got it.⁴³

The other glaring omission from these stories is the role played by women. This is probably why there is no chapter on Edward I. One of the great successes of Edward’s reign was his long and fruitful marriage – to a Spaniard. Edward’s marriage to his beloved first wife, Eleanor of Castile, ‘was unpopular in England’ and not improved by her voracious acquisition of land from impoverished English nobility.⁴⁴ Her reputation lived after her into the 1550s and beyond in a ballad called *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Elenor*.⁴⁵ Sung to a popular tune, this was an irresistible parallel with the Spanish marriage of Mary I which had

⁴² WW MT 752-53.

⁴³ WW MT 304.

⁴⁴ John Carmi Parsons, ‘Eleanor of Castile’, ODNB.

⁴⁵ A printed version of this ballad, titled *The lamentable fall of Queen Elenor, who for her pride and wickedness by Gods judgements sunk into the ground at Charing-cross and rose at Queens hive. To the tune of Gentle and courteous*, dated from the mid-seventeenth century (Bibliographic number L271A), can be viewed on EEBO. It is believed that the ballad originated at least a century before: Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Spectre of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 56.

resulted in much of the political instability that Munday was engaged in dispelling. Given that Eleanor was such a negatively resonant figure with the Tudor public at large, it was probably best not to remind them who had brought her to England in the first place.

Omitting an embarrassing woman may have been expedient in one instance, but it becomes more difficult when the rebellion under discussion was started or carried out at the instigation of a woman. For example, Isabella of France, consort of Edward II, led an army against her husband and deposed him. She then hunted down his favourites, the Despensers, and had them executed. Despite raising and prosecuting the rebellion herself, she is not mentioned at all. The deaths of the Despensers, father and son, are described in detail, but not how they came to die. Similarly, the beginning of the chapter on Edward III describes the execution of Roger Mortimer (Isabella's lover and second-in-command) for the murder of Edward II, but does not explain for whom he did it. None of these omissions are the fault of Munday's source material. The full extent of Isabella's furious attack on her husband's sovereignty is recorded by Stow, including the enthusiastic part played in it by Londoners, who took the Queen's side in the rebellion and swiftly removed the heads of those perceived to stand against her, but Munday chose to exclude Queen Isabella from her own story.⁴⁶ It is not clear why he did this. If it were simple misogyny, this was a golden opportunity to condemn an ungrateful, untrustworthy woman. Here was also the chance to denounce a spectacular, high-profile rebel who had defied the loyalty she owed to her husband and her adopted country, and yet not a word is said about her. This is curious.

Another woman missing from her own story is Dame Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester. Munday tells the story of Roger Bolingbroke, an occultist engaged in bringing

⁴⁶ *CoE*, sigs Y6^v-Y7^r (pp. 348-51).

about the destruction of Henry VI.⁴⁷ What is not mentioned is that Bolingbroke was employed by Dame Eleanor, and that it was she who wished to know the fate of the king and who laboured to shorten his life. Stow is very clear: Dame Eleanor was the driver of this plot, and Bolingbroke was her instrument.⁴⁸ Interestingly, convicted at the same time as Bolingbroke was Margery Jourdemayne, better known as the ‘Witch of Eye’, who had also been employed by Eleanor for supernatural assistance. Munday does not mention her either, although Stow does. Again, here was an opportunity to attack in print a pair of bad rebels who could also be described as bad women, but Munday let them go unpunished.

If Munday did not want to write about villainous women, could he not describe what he would have considered to be heroic women? When including More’s *History of Richard III* in *CoE*, Stow took the whole text, even occasionally adding bits to it.⁴⁹ Munday did not. He decided to leave out More’s version of the actions of Elizabeth Woodville, widowed queen of Edward IV, as she fled to sanctuary with her children after the king’s death and then negotiated with King Richard about the terms of the release of her second son back to the court in the face of her (justified) fears for his life. Munday’s concern was with Richard and the princes and their murder; Elizabeth and her careful intercession is not mentioned at all.

Perhaps Munday could be forgiven for leaving certain details out if it were clear that he was summarizing or editing for a particular purpose, but his removal of women from their own stories was a consistent trait and he did it in *SEQI* too. The first of the murder stories, one of those used to advertise the contents on the title-page, was the murder of George Saunders. This was a very famous story in its day - the anonymous play *A Warning for Fair*

⁴⁷ *WW MT* 465-87.

⁴⁸ *CoE*, sigs 2S2^v-2S3^v (pp. 644-46).

⁴⁹ *CoE*, sigs 3A8^r-3G2^r (pp. 751-835).

Women dramatized the event - so it was widely known that Anne Saunders had plotted with her lover to murder her husband. Both wife and lover were hanged separately but, if contemporary accounts are to be believed, her execution was the bigger, more impactful occasion.⁵⁰ Yet Munday, who should have been able to write about it from memory, barely even mentions her.⁵¹

It is difficult to understand these omissions. Munday must have known about these women because he certainly read Stow, and Stow tells their stories. Equally, in *WWQI* Munday was writing a pamphlet about the dangers of rebellion, but chose not to include certain rebels because they were women. There was no convention preventing him discussing their stories: Shakespeare included Dame Eleanor in *Henry VI, Part 2* with no adverse effects, so why should Munday not make capital on her story, especially as it fits so well with his theme? If he thought women were weak, stupid or incapable, he could have gleefully said so. It seems difficult to believe that these ladies are omitted due to some sort of chivalric deference to their sex, especially as they are not only offenders, but offenders against the crown. On the other hand, a great deal of Munday's attention was lavished on Elizabeth I. Her name is embellished with superlatives at every opportunity and the pamphlet is dedicated to her and bears her coat of arms.⁵² Perhaps Munday felt that Queen Elizabeth was the only woman who should be acknowledged in print. The section taken from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* has Elizabeth as its focus and discusses her fears and feelings in quite intimate detail.⁵³ Munday included all of this in his pamphlet, so he must have been at ease with

⁵⁰ The Commentary has further details of contemporary sources.

⁵¹ There is just one indication that Mistress Saunders was involved, at *SE MT* 61.

⁵² *WW PT* sigs $\pi 2^r - \pi 3^v$.

⁵³ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments Online*, 1576 edition, Book 12, No. 100, 'The Life and Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth', pp. 2009-15 <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/>> [accessed 2022 to 2024].

publishing matter about this particular woman but this whole section is slightly removed from him, being Foxe's (incredibly popular) writing, and not his own.

Munday was not always to be so shy of writing about women, even writing about seduction and sexual conflict in some of his chivalric romances.⁵⁴ In *The History of Palmerin* the hero seeks 'to defend the cause of a distressed Lady' in true knightly fashion, but the context of this quotation is a discussion about whether or not to rape a woman in revenge for a quarrel with the lady's male friends.⁵⁵ This is quite a departure in comparison to the coyness of *WWQI*, but it was also written a dozen years later and is a translation so, again, Munday is one step distanced from authorship.

It is impossible to know Munday's motivation for the way he wrote (or did not write) about women, but the best guess is that, in terms of *SEQI* and *WWQI*, he considered that the contribution to the stories made by the women in question was uninteresting, unimportant or did not help the point he was trying to make. Particularly in the case of *WWQI*, Munday's purpose was to promote the cause of Queen Elizabeth at a time when queens regnant were still a novel concept. If he wrote about women who were scheming, weak or downright wicked, perhaps his mission would be thwarted by reminding his readers that the queen was a woman too.

Far longer and much more complex than his earlier news pamphlet, *WWQI* was a new direction for Munday and a bold statement of his position as an officer of the crown, responsible for important government business and answerable to the highest authority in the

⁵⁴ For an examination of sexual politics in Munday's chivalric romances, see Jocelyn Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁵⁵ *The second part of the no lesse rare then excellent and stately historie of the famous and fortunate prince Palmerin of England* (London: Creed and Alsop, 1616), STC 19163, sig. C3^v.

land. This pamphlet marks the point at which Munday's became the pen that wrote for the powerful.

SECTION 4 - Sources

Purpose

SEQI and *WWQI* are not fiction: their purpose was to be, in different ways, informative.

Unlike a play or a novel, Munday did not take a number of existing works and twist them into a new creation of his own. Rather, these pamphlets drew together influences, contextual material and language to make a patchwork of matter pertinent to Munday's purpose, all of which will be treated as source material for the purposes of this discussion. The way Munday used these sources varies in each pamphlet: *SEQI* and *WWQI* were constructed for different reasons and therefore draw on a different variety of appropriate sources.

SEQI and *WWQI* fulfil two purposes. Firstly, they are a functional exposition of facts which have legal, political and religious implications. The aim is to raise awareness of particular issues and to be helpful in overcoming social problems. Secondly, the stories contained within both pamphlets appeal to the reader on a much wider, deeper human level. They are tragic, made all the more so by being real. Certainly, they can be read only for sensationalism, but they can also be read with empathy, especially when the stories recounted were recent events, possibly witnessed by Munday's readers. A little girl beaten to death by a cruel woman is heartbreaking whether it is discovered in a functional pamphlet or a lyrical poem and what subject would not feel closer to the queen he or she sees processing through her capital city when they have read about her terror while imprisoned in the Tower?⁵⁶ The theme that unifies these two pamphlets is Munday's interest in and use of history, both to make political points and to appeal to the empathetic reader who may have recently witnessed

⁵⁶ *SE MT* 304-24.

WW MT 1029-2025.

some form of capital punishment. Munday's point was that those events from history were alive, and in the reader's current environment, whether it was in the fate of a long-dead traitor or a pitiful young woman in a hopeless situation with her illegitimate child.⁵⁷ Munday used his sources to make it clear that morality and the law do not change, and they were coming for his readers. From *SEQI* in 1580 to *WWQI* in 1584, it is possible to see Munday's use of history deepen as the purpose of his pamphlets became more complex and political. The progress through these two pamphlets shows Munday's energetic interest in a broad selection of sources in *SEQI* narrow down to an accomplished manipulation of the information he wished to use in *WWQI*.

SEQI

Classical Quotations

Munday often used classical quotations. When *SEQI* was written it was fashionable to quote from classical authors, and Munday claims to have conversed in Latin during his time in Rome.⁵⁸ Latin phrases can be found scattered through these pamphlets, starting with *Honos alit Artes*, which appears on the title-page of *SEQI*.⁵⁹ This is taken from *Tusculan Disputations*, written c. 45 BC by Marcus Tullius Cicero.⁶⁰ Munday also quotes Cicero in the prefaces to *Mirroure of Mutabilitie* (1579, STC 18276) and *A Discoverie of Edmund Campion*

⁵⁷ *SE MT* 277-303.

⁵⁸ Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 65 n. 25.

ERL 563-67.

⁵⁹ This translates as 'Honour Nourishes the Arts'. The Commentary has more information on this quotation.

⁶⁰ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. by J.E. King (London: Heinemann, 1927), I.4.

(1582, STC 18270). Quotations from Cicero were often to be found in early modern literature and Munday may simply have enjoyed reading Cicero and found his phraseology apt for a useful quotation, but there were other reasons why Cicero may have caught Munday's interest. Like Munday, Cicero did not have a distinguished ancestry, but used his literary skills to penetrate the higher echelons of Roman elite society in the same way that Munday used his writing to gain money, attention and influence through association with courtiers and noblemen.⁶¹ Also, Cicero had a great interest in translating Greek literature and adapting it for current Roman tastes, thereby causing foreign literature to become assimilated into Roman culture, just as Munday translated and adapted Continental literature for the English market.⁶² Cicero's blended gifts for literature and politics suited Munday's own ambitions: Munday may have reasoned that he would do well to imitate Cicero's *modus operandi*.

Somewhat more esoterically, there was an assumption in classical Rome that the gods acted for the good of the Roman state, just as there was a perceived understanding that God was directly concerned with the conduct and welfare of England and her people. Cicero believed that 'his policies were the best ones for Rome, [so] he would automatically regard himself as supporting (and supported by) the interests of the gods'.⁶³ Munday's engagement in state sponsored religious persecution would be, by Cicero's example, a justified and admirable exercise in patriotic duty. Cicero was, however, also a staunch republican and a constant critic of the kingly treatment afforded to, and accepted by, Julius Caesar.⁶⁴ Such

⁶¹ Mary Beard and Michael Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic* (Croydon: Bristol Classical Press, 1999), p. 21.

⁶² Beard and Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic*, pp. 21-22.

⁶³ Beard and Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic*, p. 32.

⁶⁴ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, p. x.

opinions, so openly held, would not have been acknowledged by Munday in Elizabethan England, but may have been more evident at the end of his career under Charles I.⁶⁵

As well as Cicero, Munday also made use of *Memorabilia* by Xenophon (371 BC) and the *Histories* (425 BC) by Herodotus, neither of which is quoted in the original Greek or in Latin translation. For different reasons both of these sources are somewhat misapplied. Xenophon can be found in the retelling of the choice made by Hercules between two women representing Vice and Virtue.⁶⁶ Popularly known as ‘Hercules at the Crossroads’, Munday credits Cicero with giving him this tale. Cicero did write a version of it in *On Obligations* (44 BC), but not this version. The story of the two women comes from Xenophon, which Munday would have known if he had read either Cicero or Xenophon: the confusion rather suggests that he had read neither. He would, however, have been very aware of the story as it was a popular theme in arts at the time. Petrarch wrote a version in *De Vita Solitaria* (1346) and many of his countrymen enthusiastically followed suit. Paintings on the theme proliferated; Veronese created a spectacular version in *Allegory of Virtue and Vice* (1565, see Fig. 16). What all of these sources have in common is that they are Italian, and Munday had just returned from Italy. The likelihood is that Munday saw his very visual version of this story as a painting or a tapestry rather than in the text of a book. Perhaps he felt that a classical reference was more respectable than an artistic one, but it is clear that the source he cites is not the one he used.

⁶⁵ The last years of Munday’s life are discussed in the Afterword.

⁶⁶ *SE PT* 43-76. See Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, trans. by E.C. Marchant (London: Harvard University Press, 2013), II.1.21-34.



Fig. 16. Paolo Veronese, *Allegory of Virtue and Vice*, c. 1565, oil on canvas, 219cm x 169cm, The Frick Collection, New York

Herodotus is the source for Munday's mention of Xerxes receiving a cup of water.⁶⁷ Munday compares this simple gesture given to a great king with the biblical story of the widow's mite: an inexpensive gift from a poor person is worth much more than an expensive gift from a rich person. These comparisons are made in order to ease Munday's own 'poor' gift of his pamphlet into the hands of his influential dedicatees in the hope of gaining their favour. Again, Munday probably believed that the classical reference would impress these gentlemen, but the story of Xerxes has quite a different meaning. As Herodotus explains, Xerxes led a successful campaign of conquest throughout the middle east. In order to display his power over the conquered he insisted on a ceremony during which he was handed a dish

⁶⁷ SE PT 109-10.

of earth and a cup of water, symbolizing the handing over of the land and waterways (in other words, all the valuable resources) belonging to that country into his control.⁶⁸ This was an act of subjugation and humiliation for the defeated rulers, and not given at all in the same willing spirit of generosity as the widow's mite. This is another example of Munday misunderstanding a classical source or, more likely, not having read it at all.

The Bible

SEQI contains many quotations from the Bible, some of them extending in length over several pages. One would assume Munday spent time meticulously copying these directly from his chosen version of the Bible, but this does not seem to be the case. As will be shown in this section, wording found in the three most common Bible translations of the time (those of *Tyndale* in 1537, *Geneva* in 1560 and *Bishops'* in 1568) all feature in *SEQI*, sometimes within the same quotation, suggesting that Munday wrote out these lengthy passages from memory rather than from a fixed source. Incorrect attributions and missing words, sentences or verses add to the evidence for this theory.

The main text of *SEQI* begins with *Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a flower: he flyeth as it were a shadow* which Munday tells us is a quotation from the book of Job. The citation given is a vague 'Job, 14' (it is actually 14.1-2), but this wording does not come from the Bible at all, which actually says 'Man that is borne of woman is of short continuance, and ful of trouble. He shooteth forth as a flower, and is cut downe: he vanisheth also as a shadow and

⁶⁸ Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7. 131-33.

continueth not.’⁶⁹ The quotation Munday gives is actually from the (very Protestant) *Book of Common Prayer* and is part of the ceremony for the burial of the dead, something he would have heard repeated many times even at this stage in his young life.⁷⁰ Perhaps he knew the relationship between the ceremony and the book of Job, but was not aware of Cranmer’s elegant rephrasing of the biblical passage. Perhaps he relied on what he had heard and remembered, rather than what he had read.

The next quotation is at *SE MT* 14-16: *And this is the victory that overcommeth the world, even our faith: who is it that overcommeth the world, but he which believeth that Jesus Christ is the son of God?* This refers to the conquest of the world by those who believe in Jesus. The quotation exists in the same form in all three contemporary translations, but none of them add the word ‘Christ.’ This is Munday’s addition, and a perfectly natural one when the name ‘Jesus Christ’ is constantly repeated in worship, but it does not exist in the source material. This is an aural memory, not a fact. The quotation at *SE MT* 23-24, referring to preparedness for war, is an approximation between two translations, *Geneva* and *Bishops*’. The reference in the side-note (Psalms, 18.32) is correct for *Geneva*, but the wording corresponds more closely to *Bishops*’, for which the correct reference would be Psalms, 18.31. Munday also changes the subject of the quotation from ‘me’ to ‘us’, which may have been a deliberate choice to promote his general theme of religious inclusivity, but may also simply have been a mis-remembering of the text.

Another real mixture of sources can be seen at *SE MT* 89-93: *How long shall all wicked doers speak so disdainfully and make such proud boasting? They smite down thy*

⁶⁹ *SE MT* 1 (s.n.).

Geneva, Job, 14.1-2.

⁷⁰ *BCP*, p. 82 (1549) and p. 171 (1559).

people, O Lord, and trouble thine heritage. They murder the widow and the stranger, and put the fatherless to death. This is a quotation consisting of three sentences, all of which come from *Tyndale*. The quirk of Tyndale's Bible (and, indeed, all Bibles before 1551) is that it has no verse numbers, only chapters, and yet Munday has provided a chapter and verse reference for this quotation (Psalms, 94.5-6). A closer look reveals that the second sentence (and only the second) also appears in this form in *Geneva*, and the third sentence (and only the third) also appears in this form in *Bishops'*. The only translation in which all three sentences appear together in this form is *Tyndale*, but Munday has provided the reference for sentences two and three (*Geneva* and *Bishops'*) in the side-note. The unique *Tyndale* sentence is excluded from the reference because no verse reference was possible. This complicated tangle of a quotation would have been much simpler if Munday were actually copying from a book.

Similar inconsistencies can be found throughout the Bible quotations used in the pamphlet, but also of note are several omissions. Munday gives a long quotation from Ecclesiasticus at *SE MT* 181-99, giving the reference as beginning at chapter 29, verse 9. The citation is incorrect and should read chapter 23, verse 9, but of more interest is that the quotation of verse 9 is incomplete, despite Munday's decision to continue the quotation over several subsequent verses. Munday gives the quotation as *Let not thy mouth be accustomed with swearing, for in it are many falls. Let not the naming of God be continually in thy mouth.* After the admonishment not to name God frivolously in speech, the sentence is ended. The original sentence continues with 'and meddle not with the names of saintes, for thou shalt not be excused of them':⁷¹ advice not to use the names of saints in a similar casual manner. Munday leaves this out. Could there be a political reason for this omission? Did Munday

⁷¹ *Bishops'*, Ecclesiasticus, 23.9.

have Protestant sensibilities about references to calling on saints for comfort? Possibly, but the weight of evidence suggests that the same general lack of accuracy applies to this quotation as to all of the others, and he just did not remember the whole sentence.

There is, however, one other omission in this same quotation that is a little harder to dismiss as accidental. As each verse is quoted it is enumerated in the side-note for easy reference, but verse 14 is missing. The counting jumps from 13 to 15. Verse 14 is not quoted anywhere else, nor is there a mistake attributing verse 14 to another number. Everything points to verse 14 being deliberately omitted from this list of sensible advice for the average worshipper. In the Bible, verse 14 urges the reader to remember their father and mother, which is a prompt to one of the commandments central to the Judeo-Christian church and not in the least controversial, so why did Munday leave it out? Perhaps this is down to his faulty memory again, but the interrupted verse numbering suggests a deliberate action. Could Munday have been concerned about offending someone in the political sphere, like the Queen? The Queen's father, Henry VIII, was firmly lodged in the national memory. Her mother, Anne Boleyn, was potentially problematic as Queen Elizabeth herself would have little or no memory of her, having been an infant when her mother was executed. But Queen Anne had brought about the Protestant reformation, so remembering her would be a positive thing to do, and not a reason to leave out this verse. Munday's patron, the Earl of Oxford, had lost his father while still a boy but inheriting the title early had offered him many advantages, such as control of the family fortune.

The other suggestion that presents itself is that Munday was, and had been since early childhood, an orphan. This verse could have caused him emotional pain or, more likely, spiritual concern that he was literally unable to remember his parents. Munday was still only

nineteen years old when *SEQI* was written, not yet a parent himself and with little time to develop emotional maturity. Perhaps he simply was not ready for this verse.

WWQI

As shown earlier, *WWQI* was a ‘privileged book’. Most privileged books were intended for public instruction – they were the books that the government wanted the population to read – so it is reasonable to assume that this one was no different, and that Munday knew what the contents had to achieve. This brings another dimension to the sources for this pamphlet.

Large sections of it are not written by Munday, but are extracts from the work of other authors. In many ways *WWQI* can be viewed as an anthology, featuring particular works and opinions of which the privy council wanted the general population to be aware. This means that the sources become doubly important: one must understand not just how Munday used this material, but who the authors were and why they were chosen for this pamphlet.

Thomas Norton: *A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes* (1569)

Thomas Norton (c. 1530-1584) was a lawyer and a member of parliament, married to Archbishop Cranmer’s daughter, Margaret, and known to Munday as a Protestant reformer and, almost certainly, as a colleague.⁷² The pamphlet Munday used in *WWQI* was published in 1569, the same year that Norton wrote the preface to Richard Grafton’s *Chronicle at Large* (STC 12147), dedicated to their mutual patron, William Cecil. These are the associations

⁷² Both were involved in the interrogation and conviction of the Jesuit Edmund Campion in 1581, three years before this pamphlet was published.

Norton has that are important to this pamphlet: unshakeable Protestantism (related to Cranmer), figure of authority (MP, lawyer), proximity to power (known to Cecil).

When *A warning against the dangerous practises of papistes*, a ferociously anti-Catholic pamphlet, was first published, the timing was significant: Queen Elizabeth and her government had been thrown into turmoil by the revelation of the Duke of Norfolk's intention to marry Mary, Queen of Scots. Norton became convinced that there was a papal conspiracy to overthrow Elizabeth (she was excommunicated the following year), so he began a pamphlet campaign to help shore up support for her and encourage her subjects against the Catholic threat. Munday's source pamphlet was part of a set of five, including *To the Quenes Majesties poor deceived subjects of the north countrie, drawn into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland; A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding & Other, by reconcilment and assoiling of English Papistes, to undermine faith and allegiance to the Quene. With a true declaration of the intention and frutes thereof, and a warning of perils therby imminent, not to be neglected; A disclosing of the great Bull, and certain calves that hath been gotten, and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate; An addition declaratorie to the Bulles, with a searching of the maze*. These pamphlets were gathered together and published again in a single volume (STC 18677) the following year (1570) by John Day, the publisher of Norton's translated psalms and frequent publisher of privileged books.⁷³

The threat posed to Queen Elizabeth by Catholic infiltration did not diminish, and Munday entered government service in about 1580/81 for the purpose of recognising and preventing that threat using his first-hand experience of Jesuit seminaries. Munday was

⁷³ Andrew Pettegree, 'John Day', *ODNB*.

personally involved in the conviction of several Jesuits, including Edmund Campion in 1581.⁷⁴ Norton was on the panel appointed to interrogate Campion in the Tower, sometimes under torture, over three months between July and October 1581.⁷⁵ It is a matter of record that Munday, along with another government agent named Charles Sledd, gave evidence against Campion.⁷⁶ It is reasonable to conclude that Munday met Norton at this time, at least in a professional context.

Norton's credentials as a strong Protestant influence are beyond doubt, and that made him the ideal voice to bracket the beginning and end of *WWQ1*. *WW MT* 1-59 are all taken from Norton's pamphlet, but not without amendment. The collation of significant differences can be found in the Textual Notes, but it is clear that Munday edited the pamphlet as he copied it. Sometimes this is just a change of phraseology, such as at *WW MT* 11-12, where Munday says 'before the coming of her highness to the crown' instead of Norton's slightly clunkier 'before her highness comming to the crowne', but at other times Munday has changed a word for a slightly different effect. For example, at *WW MT* 10-11 Munday writes 'Call to mind the weakness and perils wherein the commonweal stood': Norton has 'memory' but Munday has inserted 'mind' instead which is a word located in the present, not the past. At *WW MT* 19-21 Munday has 'with sorrow and trembling deeply imprint in careful heart those motions and thoughts that such consideration shall lay before him': Munday has substituted 'heart', a word full of stirring emotion, for Norton's more functional 'brest'. Of course, also evident is Munday's flattery of the Queen: where Norton refers to her reign as

⁷⁴ David M. Bergeron, 'Anthony Munday', *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ Marie Axton, 'Thomas Norton', *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 113.

‘comfortable’, Munday has ‘princely and comfortable,’ where Norton has ‘Queen’, Munday has ‘noble and virtuous Queen.’⁷⁷

Munday’s quotation from Norton ends at *WW MT* 59 with the word ‘nearly’, which is at the end of Norton’s sentence but is a seamless join into Munday’s continuation of the sentence (highlighted here with different fonts):

This hath moved me to forget how unskilful and how unapt I am to treat of
matters so far above me and only to remember how meet it is for all men to think
of those things that touch them so nearly and, when they have from point to point
made due examination of them, to ring out the larum bell of good counsel to their
country or give them some watchword of past perils whereby they may the better
prevent imminent extremities (wherein they may both manifest the care they have of
their prince’s safety as also the unfeigned affection they bear to their country).

This shows Munday thinking about what he wants these quotations to do in his pamphlet. Rather than simply copying them out, he has thought about how, rather than just whether, they should be used.

Moving just a few pages through Norton’s pamphlet to sig. B1^r, Munday picks Norton up again, but this is more than 2000 lines later in *WWQ1*, midway through a sentence with the word ‘surely’ at *WW MT* 2310, where he then makes a sustained quotation to 2517. This second section of Norton is less edited than the first, with differing words more likely to be mistakes than deliberate alterations (‘large’ for ‘larger’, ‘be known’ for ‘be well known’). Just one of these differences hints at the way Munday may have been transcribing this

⁷⁷ *WW MT* 9-10.

WW MT 49.

pamphlet. At *WW MT* 2372, Munday uses the word ‘excessive’: Norton’s pamphlet has ‘excess of’.⁷⁸ Could this have been misheard rather than misread? Was Munday making these huge transcriptions with the aid of somebody reading the original to him (or vice versa)? That would make sense and save a great deal of time. Or this could be an error in the printer’s workshop, where a such a process was certainly employed.⁷⁹ The answer is not clear, but Munday had been apprenticed to a printer and would have been familiar with working as a lector read out loud. Perhaps it was a technique he adopted himself.

There is one more section of Norton, 400 lines later at *WW MT* 2980-95, where Munday includes prayers from the end of Norton’s pamphlet amongst others of his own devising. Munday does acknowledge that he has quoted from another writer, but never names Norton as his source and, given that he begins his quotation from Norton at line 1, that acknowledgement comes very late at *WW MT* 2307.⁸⁰ Norton’s contribution to *WWQ1* is a powerful injection of Protestant language, useful for a strong opening and close to the pamphlet, and also a good choice because news of Norton’s death had come in the early months of 1584, the year of this pamphlet’s publication. It is not clear whether Munday expected Norton to be fresh in the memory of the readers he was aiming to attract or whether Norton was just fresh in Munday’s own memory. Either way, he was using Norton’s legacy to push on with the next generation of government-sponsored public information.

⁷⁸ Thomas Norton, *A warning against the dangerous practises of papists and specially the partners of the late rebellion* (London: John Daye, 1569), STC 18685.7, sig. B2^v.

⁷⁹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 112.

⁸⁰ Munday simply refers to Norton as a ‘learned man’.

John Stow: *The Chronicles of England* (1580)

Most of *WWQ1* is about episodes of English history, and the framework of this exercise was provided by John Stow (c. 1524-1605). Published in 1580, the same year as *SEQ1* and just four years before *WWQ1*, *CoE* was a current work from a well-known author. Munday does acknowledge John Stow by name as his source, probably because John Stow definitely was personally known to Munday and, unlike Norton, was still alive.⁸¹ Despite the significant age difference (Stow was Munday's senior by nearly forty years), they had much in common.

Like Munday, Stow was born and bred a Londoner who came from a modest family background; there is no evidence that he attended any established city school and he did not go to university or study at the Inns of Court. As a result, he remained an outsider to the circle of university-educated humanist scholars who dominated the world of Elizabethan publishing, although Stow knew and was respected by many of them.⁸² The important things that Stow had to offer to this pamphlet were that he was very much associated with the city and, like Munday, he was a civil servant who was not rich and titled but a visible member of the community.⁸³ Despite his humble social position, Stow was well-known to famous people and a published writer; his works had earned the respect of highly educated men and he was a member of the Society of Antiquaries.⁸⁴ These were vital ingredients for a pamphlet that had to have wide appeal but also the stamp of authority and respectability.

⁸¹ Stow, *Survey* (London: Purslowe, 1618), STC 23344, sig. $\pi 2^v$. Munday acknowledges Stow at *WW MT* 388 (s.n.).

⁸² Barrett L. Beer, 'John Stow', *ODNB*.

⁸³ Barrett L. Beer, *Tudor England Observed: The World of John Stow* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1998), p. 6.

⁸⁴ Stow's patrons included earls, archbishops and mayors, and Ben Jonson recalled walking around London in Stow's company (Beer, 'John Stow', *ODNB*).

Beer, 'John Stow', *ODNB*.

Unlike the way Munday used other authors to fill this pamphlet, his use of Stow's work is much more fractured. Munday has not copied out extended tracts of text, but rather he has selected sentences or paragraphs here and there to create a structure around which he could build his message that rebellion is dangerous and pointless. He chooses to draw attention to particular episodes that were pertinent to the current political situation and not necessarily to provide a full historical context for every incident. In fact, in most instances, it was better for him not to as he would otherwise have become mired in complicated and controversial historical arguments.

Given that Stow's text in *WWQI* was not imported wholesale, it is probably more enlightening to look at what Munday left out than what he kept in. Most obviously, Munday and Stow were writing for two quite different purposes and so it was not appropriate for Munday to take chunks out of Stow's book. Stow's aim was simply to write down in proper chronological order an account of the events from history that he thought were significant. These were not just the political upheavals that Munday was interested in, but also things like the building of churches or other public spaces, the deaths of citizens prominent at the time and even notes about freak weather conditions, so much of the content of *CoE* was not relevant to *WWQI* anyway.

Stow's other characteristic was an inclination not to pass opinions on the events about which he was writing, but simply to record what happened. When a rebellion erupted, Stow did not write about how justified or otherwise it was but recorded in great detail who went where and did what. From Stow's point of view, this was a very sensible thing to do because it was a way of recording history accurately while minimizing the risk of incurring the privy council's displeasure. The problem for Munday was that Stow gave enough detail for readers to form their own opinions about that rebellion, which may not be the opinions that Munday

wanted to foster. What Munday did was use Stow as a prompt for chronology, location and a solid record of the things that actually happened, but then left out all the troublesome details about what had gone on during the rebellion and how ‘the people’ (often specifically Londoners) had reacted.

Probably one of the reasons why *WWQ1* was written at all was because London had a tricky history with rebellion: it tended to side with the rebels. When Munday was writing in 1584 the Tudor state was insecure, and its legacy (the national adoption of Protestantism) was under constant attack from Catholic insurgency. The most recent and shocking of these was the Throckmorton Plot, discovered in November 1583, which sought to put Mary, Queen of Scots, on the English throne and restore Catholicism. It startled the privy council into a propaganda campaign of which *WWQ1* is probably a part.⁸⁵ London was a potential battleground, and Munday’s part in that situation was to produce a pamphlet that would reduce political tension or, at least, tilt the balance of opinion in favour of the government rather than the potential dissidents. This was not Stow’s concern at all. When Stow recorded the details of the rebellion of Queen Isabella against Edward II, he doggedly set down the facts of the matter: London sided with the Queen and ‘beheaded such as they took to be the Queenes enimies’.⁸⁶ Similarly, during the Peasants’ Revolt, troops of angry rebels ‘entred the citie’ where Londoners helped them to storm buildings, burn possessions and kill foreigners.⁸⁷ Most horrendously of all, Stow wrote ‘Henrie the fourth [...] was ordained king of England more by force than legal succession’.⁸⁸ This was not the message Munday wanted

⁸⁵ For more detail, see John Cooper, *The Queen’s Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 2011), pp. 157-61.

⁸⁶ *CoE*, sig. Y7^r (p. 349).

⁸⁷ *CoE*, sig. 2H1^r (p. 481).

⁸⁸ *CoE*, sig. 2L7^v (p. 542).

to spread. He had to be wary of how much he took from Stow and very careful to ensure that nothing could remind Londoners of their own power in the face of a monarch's tenuous hold on the crown.

Despite their different approaches to history, Munday and Stow were friends. When Stow died in 1605 Munday took over as editor of Stow's *Survey of London*, apparently having been persuaded into it by Stow himself and being in receipt of Stow's own research.⁸⁹ Having so many shared life experiences and being so familiar with Stow's work (and *CoE* in particular) for more than twenty years, perhaps Stow felt that Munday, the lifelong writer and Londoner, was the natural heir to his endeavours.

Thomas More: *The History of King Richard III* (1557)

For reasons discussed elsewhere in this thesis, Munday does not include a named chapter for Richard III in *WWQ1*, but instead devotes a long chapter to the short reign of Edward V which is almost entirely taken up with the end of Edward IV and the reign of Richard III.⁹⁰ Munday was continuing his consistent practice of basing his pamphlet on *CoE*, but in the full knowledge that Stow had based his chronicle on the work of Thomas More.⁹¹ It is perhaps for the reason that this was a 'second-hand' source that Munday does not acknowledge More as the author here at all. Had Stow (or Munday) summarized More's history, then an examination of the source would not be necessary here, but both Stow and Munday have

⁸⁹ Stow, *Survey*, 1618, STC 23344, sig. §2^v.

⁹⁰ Introduction, p. 88.

⁹¹ Stow starts the new chapter by crediting More as his source (*CoE*, sig. 3A8^r, p. 751). Munday takes all of his sections of More from *CoE*.

quoted Thomas More at length and without amendment. It is therefore appropriate to understand the nature of this source material.

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) was a lawyer and scholar who rose to the office of Lord Chancellor in the reign of Henry VIII. More rejected Tyndale's philosophy and resisted the Reformation, finally facing trial and inevitable execution for refusing to acknowledge the king as the head of the church.⁹² More's famously obstinate Catholicism may make him seem an odd choice for Munday to point to in his Protestant pamphlet, but More is also the only one of Munday's sources who was long dead, and therefore belonging to a past generation with a comfortable distance between him and the publication of *WWQ1*. More's reputation as a statesman and a lawyer had survived his execution and was therefore able, like Norton's, to lend the pamphlet gravitas. Also, most importantly, More was another public figure heavily associated with the governance of London and who had held office in the city.⁹³ His part in the attempt to quell the Evil May Day riots of 1517 was common knowledge; Munday included a fictionalized account of More's involvement in his play *Thomas More*. These were the credentials Munday wanted reflected in his pamphlet.

More's *History of King Richard III* was written relatively early in his career, between 1513 and 1518, while he was a member of parliament and building a reputation both as a writer and a statesman. What Munday used as More's *History* did not begin as a single work: More wrote two separate histories over a long period, one in English and one in Latin. He did not finish either version, and neither was published in his lifetime.⁹⁴ This suggests that the

⁹² House, 'Thomas More', *ODNB*.

⁹³ More served as under-sheriff in 1510 (Seymour Baker House, 'Thomas More', *ODNB*).

⁹⁴ Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III and selections from the English and Latin poems*, ed. by Richard S. Sylvester (London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. xi.

endeavour was, at least in part, just a literary exercise. More's treatment of the reign of Richard III is a study of tyranny exercised by a monarch who is unfit to rule, more like the exploration of topical politics through the prism of history (an exercise popular at the time) than a serious attempt at accurately recording real events.⁹⁵ Given that More was later executed by Henry VIII, who was just such a tyrannical prince, perhaps this literary exercise was justified and prescient.

It seems that More's version of the reign of Richard III became official history almost by accident and somewhat imperfectly. During the 1530s, and probably after his execution, More's papers were gathered and preserved. A somewhat garbled and corrupted version of the English text of his *History of Richard III*, patched with translations from the Latin version where sections were missing, appeared in *The Chronicle of John Harding* (STC 12767), published by Richard Grafton in 1543. Grafton reproduced a slightly better version in 1548 (STC 12721) and again in 1550 (STC 12723) for Edward Hall's *Chronicle*.⁹⁶ All these attempts were condemned as inadequate by William Rastell (1508-1565), More's nephew (the son of his sister, Elizabeth), who had his own version of More's *History of Richard III* published in 1557 (STC 18076) and dedicated to Mary I.⁹⁷ It is Rastell's version upon which most future retellings (including Stow/WWQ1) were based.

The reproduction of More's *History* in *CoE* was not only helpful to Munday, but to Stow as well. By acknowledging More's authorship at the start of the chapter Stow dissociated himself from the creation of this version.⁹⁸ More's history covers the period of

⁹⁵ House, 'Thomas More', *ODNB*.

⁹⁶ More, *The History of King Richard III and selections from the English and Latin poems*, p. xi-xii.

⁹⁷ J.H. Baker, 'William Rastell', *ODNB*.

⁹⁸ *CoE*, sig. 3A8^r (p. 751).

Richard's deposing and alleged murder of Edward V, and the consequences of that action which led to an uneasy and unpopular reign (according to More). It is full of quoted conversations and secret meetings, all of which make good drama but none of which are actual evidential history. As an historian who liked to record what actually happened but who also lived and worked under Tudor authoritarian rule, Stow could have been in all sorts of political trouble over including facts about the beginnings of the Tudor hold on the crown. Instead, he was able to insert More's version and hand him the credit, neatly stepping over all its inaccuracies because it was not his work, but that of a well-respected but dead politician. Similarly, Munday did not have to confront the problematic questions concerning legitimate versus rebellious power because he had adopted what appeared in Stow's history book and nobody could question the combined authority of Stow and More. In terms of a political safety net, More's *History* was invaluable.

Stow reproduced the entire history in full, but with some interjections towards the end concerning his own interests in public buildings and prominent citizens. Munday did not attempt to reproduce the whole text as it appears in Stow, missing out large sections concerning Queen Elizabeth's flight into sanctuary and her negotiations with Richard concerning the release of her son, and stopping after the murders of Edward V and Richard, Duke of York, and the misfortunes that befell those involved. This was the rebellion he wished to discuss – that of Richard against his nephews – and not the rebellion of Henry Tudor against Richard. The actual wrenching of power from Plantagenet to Tudor was not something Munday chose to discuss at all.

There are minor differences between Munday and More/Stow which are scattered throughout the transcription, but mostly amounting to no more than a few missing words on one side or the other. There are exceptions to this: in the sentence 'King Richard himself was

afterward slain in the field, hacked and hewed at his enemies' hands, harried on horseback dead, his hair in despite torn and tugged like a cur-dog' Munday has 'harried': Stow and More are in agreement that the word should be 'carried', which makes more sense.⁹⁹ This is followed quickly at *WW MT* 754 by 'tugged' which More/Stow have as 'tagged' (meaning hanging in matted locks).¹⁰⁰ This, too, makes more sense in the context of the sentence. These are words which could simply be printing errors, but could also have been misheard between a reader dictating the script and a writer making the transcription. Like the instance in *SEQ1* concerning 'excessive' and 'excess of', these seem to be peculiarly aural mistakes indicating that somebody, printer or writer, was listening and not reading.¹⁰¹

John Foxe: *Acts and Monuments* (1583)

Apart from More, the other writer to be quoted uninterrupted and at length in *WWQ1* is John Foxe (c. 1517-1587). Approximately half the pamphlet is taken up with Foxe's account of the imprisonment of Princess Elizabeth (later Elizabeth I) during the reign of her Catholic sister, Mary I. In terms of *WWQ1*, this is Munday's only major departure from Stow as a source for historical matter. Stow does cover the reign of Mary I in depth, but concerns himself entirely with recording political and legal matters. Like Stow, Foxe was an extremely well-known figure in the city and he is therefore acknowledged by name in the text as Munday's source.¹⁰² This section by John Foxe is an intimate picture of Elizabeth as a young woman displaying resilience, fortitude and quick thinking under the stresses of captivity, but also

⁹⁹ *WW MT* 752-54.

¹⁰⁰ *CoE*, sig. 3F7^r (p. 829).

¹⁰¹ Introduction, p. 108.

¹⁰² *WW MT* 1025.

including the human touch: bouts of nervous illness impede her progress, and she is occasionally stricken with terror at the thought her life may be about to end.¹⁰³ Like More's *History*, this is a dramatic piece of writing designed to grip the reader. Unlike More, Foxe was writing about a period during which he was alive and an adult who could speak to others who may have been first-hand witnesses to these things. Nevertheless, this excerpt from Foxe brings a new and exciting voice to the pamphlet.

Foxe's sources for *Acts and Monuments* had been printed matter, such as Hall's *Chronicle*, and the research of Edmund Grindal (c. 1516-1583, later Archbishop of Canterbury) and John Bale (1495-1563, Bishop of Ossory), with William Cecil (later Secretary of State), becoming an important patron.¹⁰⁴ The 1800-page first edition was published by John Day on 20 March 1563, and, despite the size, it was a financial success. *Acts and Monuments* had three more editions in Foxe's lifetime: 1570, 1576 and 1583.¹⁰⁵

For the extract in *WWQ1*, Munday used the 1583 edition but he has not made an exact copy for his pamphlet. Specific variations from Foxe can be found in the textual notes, but typical variations include the cutting of Foxe's self-referencing (when Foxe refers his reader to another part of *Acts and Monuments* that Munday has not adopted), for example, when talking of the Wyatt uprising at *WW MT* 1081, Foxe added in 'as before was mentioned, pages 1397-1399'; this would mean nothing to Munday's readers, so he left it out.¹⁰⁶ Munday

¹⁰³ *WW MT* 1138-40.

WWMT 1506-09, 1557-58.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas S. Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁵ John Day was the same publisher who worked for Thomas Norton.

Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁶ *Acts and Monuments Online*, 1583 edition, Book 12, Tome 6, Chapter 101, p. 2115
<<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/>> [accessed 2022 to 2024].

has also added in small embellishments to Foxe's text, such as extra superlatives surrounding descriptions of the Queen. Foxe wrote about 'Lady Elizabeth, nowe Queene of England', whereas Munday reproduced this as 'Lady Elizabeth, now our most dread and gracious Queen of England.'¹⁰⁷ This is highly characteristic of Munday's writing, and is probably one of the reasons why he was such a very successful civil servant. One has the impression that, while Munday was enthusiastic to include Foxe's lively work in the pamphlet, he was also careful to ensure that it was edited to Munday's best advantage and not just hastily copied.

For Munday, including an extract from Foxe in his pamphlet would be another badge of respectability and authority. A prospective purchaser may have noticed Foxe's name in the text and the large heading introducing the extract from Foxe's work, which could have boosted sales into the bargain. Thanks to the popularity of *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe became 'England's first literary celebrity.'¹⁰⁸ Probably the most famous Protestant writer in the land, his book had been placed in every church alongside the Bible.¹⁰⁹ What is more, he was 'an extraordinarily popular and influential London minister,' so he had that connection with the city that was so important to the focus of Munday's pamphlet.¹¹⁰ Like Stow, Foxe was still alive and available to be seen walking about the city; Munday's readers could recognize him, speak to him and understand that the dangers Munday was writing about were current and real.

¹⁰⁷ *Acts and Monuments Online*, 1583, p. 2115; WW MT 1030.

¹⁰⁸ Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁹ Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror & Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014), p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*.

Foxe and Munday almost certainly knew each other, and possibly knew each other well. They lived in neighbouring streets, had a mutual friend in Robert Crowley, a mutual professional interest in the literature of the Protestant reformation and were fellow parishioners at the church of St Giles without Cripplegate. Foxe was part of Munday's environment and, in the context of the high-profile Catholic attacks and plots against Elizabeth I that were the concern of government agents in 1584, it would be strange if Foxe's famous and powerful prose were not included in a pamphlet such as *WWQI*.

*

What emerges from Munday's sources is a story of cohesion. In so many instances, these authors were connected to one another through religion, location, friendship or through the patronage of William Cecil, Munday's employer, whose name appears so many times in the background of all of these men as employer, friend of the author or dedicatee of the work.

Authors like Foxe and the creators of the *Geneva Bible* had been Marian exiles. When they returned to England, they found that old friends who had been outsiders were now powerful. The legacy of Tyndale was the freedom of language that brought the new versions of the Bible to life in every home. Foxe took that freedom and gave it to *Acts and Monuments*, telling the thrilling, knife-edge story of Queen Elizabeth in vivid detail to a population hungry to know what exactly had happened. In what could be an anonymous, complicated city like London, these authors formed a network of churches, preachers, publishers and statesmen that held Protestantism at its core. The adversity of exile during the Marian years had, on the return of the Protestants, ensured the equal and opposite reaction in the rise of Puritanism in England, something that would find its strength under the aegis of

Elizabeth I before its unstoppable rise in the early decades of the seventeenth century.¹¹¹ It was their version of history that Munday absorbed into his pamphlets, and their unmistakable Protestant characteristics that shine out from them.

¹¹¹ For more information on the Marian exiles who returned to England and contributed to the rise of Puritanism from positions of power, see Christina Hallowell Garrett, *Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

EDITORIAL NOTES

This thesis is a modern edition of two pamphlets by Anthony Munday, *A View of Sundry Examples* (1580) for which my copy-text is in Lambeth Palace Library and *A Watchword to England* (1584) for which my copy-text is in the Bodleian Library. Each edited pamphlet is divided into two sections: *Paratexts* (PT -including the title-page and all dedicatory matter) and *Main Text* (MT).

The editorial procedures set out in this section have evolved over the course of my doctoral study, responding both to the challenges and needs that I have identified in my primary materials and to my developing understanding of editorial method, which has included dialogue with my supervisors. In order to give my work a rigorous editorial grounding I have used the *Arden Early Modern Drama Editorial Guidelines* (2008). While recognizing that pamphlets and drama are distinct forms of literature, these guidelines have helped to modernize and annotate the text and make important editorial decisions. In particular:

1. Spelling and punctuation in the works edited have been modernized throughout and abbreviations have been expanded (*Arden Guidelines*, 2a). Proper names appear in modern spelling or in the form by which that person or place is most readily recognizable or traceable by the modern reader. Roman numerals have been modernized to words or Arabic numerals as appropriate.
2. All foreign language words and/or passages are in italic font (*Arden Guidelines*, 2d).
3. When there are two or more occurrences of the same word in one line then the Commentary and the Textual Notes distinguish between them by the addition of a

superior number to the left of the word concerned, indicating to which occurrence of the chosen word the note relates, for example ‘²which’ would refer to the second ‘which’ in that line (*Arden Guidelines*, 8g2(3) and 12c).

4. Arden’s preferred forms of words have been observed, for example ‘diverse’ in place of ‘divers’ (*Arden Guidelines*, 2g).
5. An illustration of the title-page of each reference text has been included (*Arden Guidelines*, 6c).
6. Textual Notes recording emendations, modernizations etc. follow the Arden format of line number, lemma, closing square bracket, siglum (*Arden Guidelines*, 8g).

Should the word concerned be taken from a previous edition or another author, then the comparison is noted thus:

649 in] *Munday*; with *More*; on *Stow*

7. Quotations from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the Bible follow the Arden format (*Arden Guidelines*, 12g). The *OED* is presented as abbreviated title, word, description (noun, verb etc.) and reference number in the dictionary. For example:

OED boggle v. 3

Quotations from the Bible are presented as book title, chapter and verse. For example:

2 Peter, 3.13

8. If a quotation contains punctuation marks that constitute the end of a sentence, then the punctuation appears within the quotation marks. If a quotation ends without punctuation or does not include a complete sentence, then punctuation appears outside the quotation marks (*Arden Guidelines*, 24c).

Although the *Arden Guidelines* were helpful, they were not designed for prose pamphlets. *Watchword*, in particular, posed more challenges because not only is it a prose pamphlet but it also contains large amounts of text extracted from other, different forms of literature (polemic, history, literary fiction) written by authors that required individual attention. The Commentary section had to provide information not just on glossarial or literary matters, but also factual and historical ones, sometimes correcting or contextualizing Munday's own statements. A new method of editing needed to be designed to separate the different kinds of explanation needed. My inspiration was Philip J. Ayres's edition of *The English Roman Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), another political pamphlet written by Munday. Ayres provides notes on the real people mentioned in the text, clarifies historical events and explains contemporary political situations. The adoption of Ayres' approach resulted in a Commentary that was split into two parts, one dealing with glosses and language and the other with notes, as explained below.

As a whole, this thesis follows MHRA guidelines for referencing. These take slightly differing forms in different parts of the work. The majority of the thesis is presented with footnotes. The exception to this is the Commentary. As this section operates in the same manner as endnotes, it would be tedious for the reader to look for the correct endnote, only to find that they also have to look further for a footnote, so references in this section follow MHRA Author-Date System (*MHRA Style Guide*, 2024, p.85). In order to keep these references as brief as possible, web addresses are replaced with the phrase 'online resource'; the full web address appears in the Bibliography.

Other decisions taken for practical reasons include:

1. Munday's quotations from the Bible appear in the text in italic font to make them distinct from the rest of the text and show them to be separate from Munday's own invention. The accuracy of these quotations is discussed in the Commentary. These quotations are confined to *Sundry Examples* and are all in English: there is no scope for confusion with foreign language words and phrases which also appear in italic. The Commentary discusses each instance.
2. If reference is made in the Commentary to a side-note that appears in the margin (next to the main text) then that note will be identified using the line number that most closely corresponds to the top line of that note, with the addition of the letters 's.n.': for example, 140 (s.n.) would refer to a word or phrase that occurs within the side note that begins at line 140.
3. Quotations that come from other early modern works and are cited in notes or introductory material but are not the focus of this thesis (and therefore not part of my editorial work) are taken either from specific modern editions (and follow the spelling and referencing of that edition) or are taken from *EEBO* facsimile documents and retain the spelling used in that document (with the exception of correcting for u/v, i/j or similar). Each *EEBO* early modern title is accompanied by the relevant STC number for ease of reference.
4. Early modern pamphlets often have very long titles. The Bibliography will reproduce the titles of such pamphlets in full, along with author, date, publication details and STC number, but elsewhere in the thesis this will be reduced to the shortest identifiable form.

5. Where it is necessary to quote from unsigned sheets in an early modern book, the symbol ‘π’ has been inserted.
6. Both *WWQ1* and *SEQ1* quote extensively from works not written by Munday. In order to make clear to the reader when a piece of text comes from another source and not from Munday, that quotation will appear in a different font in order to make it stand out from the regular text.

The Bible *Quotations from the Bible will appear in Italic.*

Thomas Norton Quotations from Norton will appear in Aptos.

John Stowe Quotations from Stow will appear in Candara

Thomas More Quotations from More will appear in Bell MT

John Foxe Quotations from Foxe will appear in Franklin Gothic Book

7. Finally, the title-page of each pamphlet is supplied in modernized transcription, line numbered and discussed in the same way as the rest of the pamphlet, but the appearance (in terms of the way the page is laid out) of the original has been preserved. Precedent for this is taken from Tiffany Stern’s edition of *A Jovial Crew* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014, p. 70). Not only is this an attractive way to begin the study of each pamphlet, but this concession to early modern style is a necessary reminder that, amongst all the modernization and academic considerations, at the heart of this project lie two pieces of Elizabethan printing.

How to use this edition

Each pamphlet has been transcribed and modernized, with line numbering to the left of the text for ease of reference. Each page of text is furnished with footnotes that gloss unusual words or meanings, or contain similarly helpful (but limited) information. This also includes the interpretation of short proverbial phrases or other such small linguistic irregularities that may aid the reader without having to search for further clarification.

For a more in-depth understanding, a Commentary section is also included. This should be read alongside the text, and prompts to entries in the Commentary appear as superior numbers to the right of the relevant words or sentences in the text. The Commentary functions as an aid to clarification concerning the people or events under discussion or offers comment on matters such as accuracy, literary style or sources. The Commentary is divided into sections corresponding to the sections of each pamphlet. It may be helpful for online readers to download two copies of the thesis so that one can be open on the text and the other on the Commentary for simultaneous access to the appropriate section of each.

This edition also offers a Conclusion and an Afterword. The Conclusion comments on these two pamphlets and their place both in Munday's career and in pamphlet culture as a whole. The Afterword looks beyond the two texts discussed in this thesis and examines evidence of how the environment that produced this literature affected Munday in later life. The Afterword deals with his declining years and eventual death: for this thesis, it is the last word.

A VIEW OF
SUNDRY EXAMPLES
BY
ANTHONY MUNDAY

A VIEW OF SUNDRY EXAMPLES

Reporting many strange murders,
sundry persons perjured,
5 signs and tokens of God's anger towards us,
what strange and monstrous children have of late
been born.

And all memorable murders
10 since the murder of Master Saunders by
George Browne to this present and bloody
murder of Abel Bourne, hosier,
who dwelled in Newgate Market, 1580.

15 Also, a short discourse of the late earthquake,
the 6th of April. Gathered by A. M.¹

*Honos alit Artes.*²

Imprinted at London for William Wright,³
20 and are to be sold⁴ at the Long Shop,
adjoining unto St. Mildred's Church
in the Poultry.⁵

- To the worshipful Master William Waters⁶ and Master
25 George Baker,⁷ Gentlemen, attendant on the Right
Honourable, his singular good lord and master, the Earl of
Oxford,⁸ A.M. wisheth what happiness in this life is to be
gained, and in the life to come an immortal crown of glory.
- 30 The soldier, having once ventured and tried the favouring of
fortune in bloody fight among his enemies, speeding well,
hazardeth his hap the bolder the second time. The merchant,
making one lucky voyage, presumeth on the next with greater
affection.⁹ So I, worshipful and my approved friends, having once
35 found friendly entertainment to my book received, am the more
encouraged to present this also, referring the good meaning and
friendly affection of the author to your discretions, construed at
leisure. I know that, in gathering these reports, I shall offend the
curious ears¹⁰ of some dainty devisers; and I consider again that
40 the wise will allow my labours to good end, so that, pleasing your

24 **worshipful** distinguished (in respect of character or rank) (*OED* worshipful *adj.* 5.a)

25-26 **Right Honourable** (courtesy title applied to a person below the rank of marquess) (*OED* Right Honourable *adj.* 1)

31 **speeding well** succeeding; *intransitive* (*OED* speed *v.* 1.1.a)

32 **hazardeth his hap** risks his good fortune: *transitive* (*OED* hazard *v.* 1) and (*OED* hap *n.* 1 1)

34 **affection** partiality (*OED* affection *n.* 1 I.6)

approved esteemed (*OED* approved *adj.* 1.a)

37 **affection** goodwill (*OED* affection *n.* 1 I.2.a)

39 **curious** expert (*OED* curious *adj.* I.4)

dainty devisers creators of fine prose: (*OED* dainty *adj.* 5.a) and (*OED* deviser *n.* a)

40 **allow my labours to good end** accept that my labours are intended to be beneficial (*OED* allow *v.* II 3a)

worships' and the minds of other well-disposed persons, I shall
think my labours well bestowed and my time not ill spent.

Cicero,¹¹ I remember, reporteth how there appeared unto Hercules
two maidens, the one attired base and simple, the other decked in
45 sundry suits of very gorgeous and gallant apparel, promising each
of them such rewards as their ability might suffer them to bestow
if, according to their minds, he made his choice.¹³ First, quoth she
so simply attired,

Cicero 51.1

*On Obligations*¹²

If thou choose me, consider what may fall:

The simple maiden,
named Virtue.¹⁴

50 Thou in this life shalt be of wretched state,

And of account thou shalt be very small.

But last of all, thou shalt prove fortunate;

Eternal joy so much shall vantage thee,

That thy good fame then honoured shall be.

55 The other gallant girl, shining like the sun, glistening in
her gold, sweating in her silks, brave in her beauty, comely in

The brave maiden
named Vain
Pleasure.

44 **base** humbly (in clothes of little value) (*OED base adj.* II.9.a)

45 **gallant** sumptuous (*OED gallant adj.* 2.a)

46 **suffer** allow: *transitive* (*OED suffer v.* II.16)

51 **account** importance (*OED account n.* IV.9)

53 **vantage** benefit: *transitive* (*OED vantage v.* 1)

56 **sweating** giving forth (money): *figurative* (*OED sweat v.* I.2b). The image is one of opulence and plenty.

brave splendid (*OED brave adj.* 2)

complexion, finely featured according to fancy, every limb
gallantly jointed, and pounced up in her perfuming and odiferous
smells, said,

60 If thou like me, and wilt make me thy wife,

 So long as life within thee doth remain,

 All worldly pomp with thee shall be so rife,

 That none but thou the golden days shall gain.

 Thy riches shall abundantly exceed;

Lo, here the golden
promises that Vain
Pleasure maketh to
such as are easy to
be enticed.

65 All thy desires shall granted be with speed.

 Thou in this world shalt be of rare renown,

 And glory shall attendant on thee stand.

 No labour shall once seem to pull thee down,

70 But thou shalt live at ease upon the land.

 How sayest thou now? Consider what these be:

 Then go to her, or else come unto me.

58 **pounced up** adorned (specifically with ornamental cuts or piercings, customary in Tudor fashions) (*OED* pounced adj. 1.a)

odiferous fragrant (in *OED* odoriferous adj. 1)

62 **rife** plentiful (*OED* rife adj. 2.a)

Hercules, hearing the fine-forged¹⁵ eloquence of this
 delicate dame¹⁶ and how her offers were so good that he cared
 75 not for them, ran and embraced the simplest, which he found
 most to his contentation. Hereby, worshipful, what is meant I
 know you are not ignorant; the simpleness of my capacity, the
 meanness of my learning, with the lack of eloquence, causeth my
 book to sound nothing pleasant to the dainty ear.

Hercules reposed
 greater credit in the
 simpler than in the
 braver, and therefore
 he chose her, and
 therefore we may
 hereby see that all is
 not gold that
 glistereth, nor all are
 not friends that
 avouch friendship.

80 But as the newest vessels hold not the sweetest wine, the
 tallest tree not the pleasantest fruit, nor the biggest vine the best
 grapes,¹⁷ so perhaps the largest labour contains not such method
 of matter as a small volume may sufficiently unfold, nor the most
 learned preacher edify not so much as one that professeth less
 85 learning.

73 (s.n.) **reposed** placed: *transitive* (OED repose v.1 II.5)

(s.n.) **all is not gold that glistereth** not everything that glitters is valuable: *proverbial* Dent (Shakespeare) A146, cf *Merchant of Venice*, 2.7.65 'All that glisters is not gold'.

74 **delicate** lovely (OED delicate *adj.* I.1.c)

76 **contentation** satisfaction (of his conscience) (OED contentation *n.* 6)

worshipful (reference to the honorific title) (OED worshipful *n.* 1)

77 **capacity** ability (OED capacity *n.* 5)

78 **meanness** inferiority (OED mean *adj.* I II.2.b)

79 **nothing** in no way (OED nothing *adv.* 1.a)

dainty fastidious (OED dainty *adj.* 5a)

80 **as** (combined with subordinate 'so', l. 73) in comparison (OED as *conj.* II.ii.15.a). Munday often uses this construction.

82 **method** orderly exposition (OED method *n.* II.7.b)

83 **matter** a subject under discussion (OED matter *n.* I.1.a)

84 **edify** instruct: *transitive* (OED edify v. 3.b)

Even so, sometimes may be couched more promptness of
 wit and more cunning conveyances under a plain country cap than,
 perhaps, under a hat of velvet.¹⁸ I speak not this that your affection
 should be ever the more moved to this simple gift, or that you
 90 should refuse larger proffers to prefer so mean a trifle. But this I
 may, under correction, boldly say and also sufficiently discharge:
 that the quantity and quality of good will may as well be
 manifested in a sheet of paper as in a book of greater estimation.
 For surely, if his affection be not to that man, or on whomsoever
 95 he bestoweth so small a present, he will not, you may be sure,
 commend to him the greater.²⁰

*Munera sunt
 estimanda, non
 pretio suo, sed
 animo donantis.*¹⁹

So that by this you will judge that I make as much account
 of my sheet of paper as other do of a larger volume. I answer that
 if I love my friend a little and love him long, it is better than love
 100 him a great deal at the first, and never a whit after. Think not
 hereby, worshipful, that I envy any way against writers of large

Love me little and
 love me long.²¹

86 **couched** concealed (*OED* couch v.1 I.iii.13)

87 **country** (implying) unsophisticated (*OED* country adj.)

90 **proffers** offerings (*OED* proffer n. 1)

mean inferior (*OED* mean adj.1 II.3a)

91 **under correction** subject to approval (*OED* correction n. 1.b)

discharge perform: *transitive* (*OED* discharge v. 6.b)

94 **his** the writer's (of the small written gift, i.e. this pamphlet)

that man the recipient

96 **commend** present (*OED* commend v. 2.a)

the greater i.e. a full-length book

99 (and s.n.) **Love me little and love me long** Moderate love lasts longer than intense passion: *proverbial*
 Dent, L559

100 **never a whit** not at all (*OED* whit n.1 1.b)

101 **hereby** by this (*OED* hereby adv. 3)

and ancient volumes, for thereby I should condemn myself of
mere folly and displease a number that have delight therein. Only
this is my meaning: that this small pamphlet I offer with as free
105 goodwill as if I could present you with a bigger book, and that in
this little labour is contained as much affection and as liberally
bestowed as any he whatsoever that offereth a greater gift. The
poor widow's mites pleased Christ better than the riches that the Luke, 2.1²²
other offered. And the cup of water presented to Xerxes²³ was as
110 princely received as a greater present. Then am not I in doubt but
that I shall like you with this little²⁴ and please you with this poor
pamphlet. If so, it may chance I have my choice, and if it like you
well, I have my will. Thus hazarding on your courtesies, and
trusting to your clemencies,²⁵ with the *baso les manos*,²⁶ I bid you
115 farewell heartily.

Yours to command in greater affairs than he minds to make his
boast,²⁷

Anthony Munday

103 **mere** pure (*OED* mere *adj.* 2 I.1.a)

111 **like** please: *transitive* (*OED* like *v.* 1 I.1.a)

poor lowly (in an expression of modesty) (*OED* poor *adj.* 2.b)

113 **hazarding** taking a chance: *transitive* (*OED* hazard *v.* 1)

courtesies (respectful form of address) (*OED* courtesy *n.* 6)

114 **clemencies** gentleness of temper (in the exercise of power) (*OED* clemency *n.* 1.a)

116 **minds** is inclined: *transitive* (*OED* mind *v.* III.10.a)

116-17 **to make his boast** to brag about (in the sense of to make public) (*OED* boast *n.* 1 phrase)

120 **To the courteous company of gentlemen²⁸ whose goodwill and
friendly affection is my wished desire to obtain, greeting.**

But that my want of learning and eloquence to beautify my style
withal is so great a blemish to my bold attempt, I should, courteous
125 gentlemen, think that this my book would be gratefully accepted.
But finding myself nothing acquainted with the one and far unlike
to gain the other, I persuade myself that I were better to shroud in
silence my simplicity than to let it pass, being nothing worthy. Yet
finding myself so greatly bound in duty to your courtesies, so
130 liberally bestowed, I thought, though I were unable to requite with
the very uttermost of my power, yet your courtesies would accept
of my good will signified any way. And that though I am the
simplest, yet since mighty and puissant emperors have vouchsafed
to hear the mean style of unlearned orators, gentility adorned with
135 clemency, though they are usually frequented with the works of
famous and worthy writers, they would, if it were but for
pleasure's sake, attend the homely note of a country Corydon²⁹ and
among the rest be content to hear so rude a Chaos³⁰ as I.

124 **withal** with (*OED* withal *prep.* 1)

133 **puissant** powerful (*OED* puissant *adj.*)

vouchsafed condescended (*OED* vouchsafe *v.* II.5.a)

135 **frequented** familiar (*OED* familiar *v.* 4)

138 **rude** unskilled (*OED* rude *adj.* I.3.a)

Thus leaving at large your courtesies to construe my good
140 intent, and to reward as shall like you best, praying for your
continual prosperity, to God I commend ye.

Your affectioned friend,

A. Munday,

Servant to the Right Honourable, the Earl of Oxford

145 **To the Reader**

Good Reader, suffice thee with this, my good will,

Till I may devise thee things worthy of skill.

If thou do content thee with this my poor wish,

Ere long shall be sent thee a delicate dish.

150 Where thou shalt have plenty, fine toys for thy pleasure,

Then seem not too dainty, but judge this with measure.

139 **construe** understand (*OED* construe v. 8)

149 **delicate** delicious (*OED* delicate *adj.* I.1.b)

dish food item served and ready to eat: *figurative* (*OED* dish n. I.2.a)

150 **toys** frivolous stories (*OED* toy n. I.2.a)

151 **with measure** moderately, with restraint (*OED* measure n. I.2.a)

A View of Examples, Meet to be Perused of all

Faithful Christians

*Man that is born¹ of a woman hath but a short time to live,
and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a
flower; he flyeth as it were a shadow.³*

Job, 14²

Whereas we see, by perfect experience, that man is subject to
5 many misfortunes, multitudes of miseries, yea, many and sundry
mischances so that in this terrestrial vale of misery - he being so
fiercely assaulted by the mischievous motions and sharp assaults
of his old and ancient enemy - no succour is left him nor no
comfort to cure him but only in heart and mind to fly to his sweet
10 saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ to animate him with continual
constancy, to uphold him by His grace and mercy and to arm him
bodily with pure and sincere faith which is able to confound all his
usurping enemies⁴ (for faith is the victory of this world, as
witnesseth John saying, *And this is the victory that overcommeth*
15 *the world, even our faith: who is it that overcommeth the world,*
but he which believeth that Jesus Christ is the son of God?)⁵ then
since our faith is the only weapon wherewith we may wholly
vanquish and subdue all the enormities of this life, all the troubles,

Man subject to
many and sundry
miseries.

His only hope in
Christ Jesus, which
confoundeth all his
foes.

1 John, 5.4-5

Faith the only
weapon to
vanquish all the
cares and troubles
of this world.

4 **Whereas** Considering that (*OED* *whereas conj.* II.2)
perfect certain (in the sense of definite, unquestionable) (*OED* *perfect adj.* I.7)
12 **confound** defeat: *transitive* (*OED* *confound v.* 1.a)
17 **wherewith** with which (*OED* *wherewith adv.* II.2.a)

vexations, temptations, illusions, and all enemies whatsoever,
20 let us embolden ourselves upon our Captain Christ. Let us cast
all our care on Him and He will go to field with us, He will
shield us from our enemies, His mighty arm shall so direct us
that all our foes shall run on their own confusion.⁶ *It is God that*
*girdeth us with strength of war, and maketh our ways perfect.*⁷ Psalms, 18.32

25 Then, mortal man, never boast so much of thy terrestrial
strength, which is but a shadow, but cast up thine eyes to heaven
from whence commeth thy help:⁸ the help that is always
forcible, and will strike all thy enemies down to the ground. Psalms, 131.1

Behold how the world is given to wickedness, for one
30 disdaineth that his neighbour should thrive by him, another
coveteth his neighbour's goods unjustly; some one is bent to
this vice, some to that. Some care not, so they live in their jollity
and pleasure, who goeth to wrack, whom they murder, whom
they spoil, the proof whereof is evident. The world bent to all
kind of wickedness.

35 Example of George Browne, who murdered Master

George Saunders

Not long since,¹ one George Browne, a man of stature goodly
and excellent if life and deeds thereto had been equivalent but,

21 **field** the battlefield (*OED* field *n.1* I.ii.6.a)

33 **goeth to wrack** is ruined or injured (*OED* wrack *n.1* I.2.a)

37 **stature** status (*OED* stature *n.* 5)

as the ancient adage is, goodly is he that goodly doth,² and comely
40 is he that behaveth himself comely. So may it be witnessed in this
man, who more respected a vain pride and prodigal pleasure, which
remained in his person, than the commendation and good report that
followeth a godly and virtuous life.

But nowadays every courageous cutter, every Sim
45 Swashbuckler and every Desperate Dick³ that can stand to his
tackling lustily, and behave himself so quarrellously that he is
ashamed of all good and honest company, he is a gallant fellow, a
goodly man of his hands,⁴ and one, I promise you, that as soon
comes to Tyburn⁵ as ever a one of them all. This is a vainglorious
50 virtue (which some term it), but it can be called no virtue because it
dependeth not upon any goodness.⁶

A view to vain
vaunters.

A fellow worthy of
commendation.

This George Browne before named, addicted to the
voluptuousness of this vain world, to unlawful liking, to run at his
liberty in all kinds of lewd behaviour, murdered cruelly Master
55 George Saunders, an honest, virtuous and godly citizen, well
known, of good name and fame among his neighbours, well thought

A report of Master
Saunders.

44 **cutter** cutthroat (*OED* cutter *n.1* 3.a)

44 (s.n.) **vaunters** braggarts (*OED* vaunter *n.* a)

45-46 **stand to his tackling** to stand one's ground, stick to one's purpose: *proverbial* (Dent, T7)

46 **lustily** vigorously (*OED* lustily *adv.* 2)

46-47 **is ashamed of** makes (others) ashamed: *transitive* (*OED* ashamed *v.* 2)

48 **man of his hands** man of valour or skill (*OED* man *n.1* P.2.s)

49 **vainglorious** boastful (*OED* vainglorious *adj.* 2)

53 **voluptuousness** sensuous pleasures (*OED* voluptuousness *n.* 1.a)

liking sexual desire (*OED* liking *n.1* 2.b)

of abroad and everywhere well esteemed, of wealth well stored, of credit well allowed,⁷ of living Christianly disposed, and of those that knew him well beloved.⁸

60 This man being met by this George Browne, who by the consent of Master Saunders' wife was appointed to kill him, after he perceived what was his intent and how he sought to bathe his hands in his guiltless blood, fell to entreatance that pity might take place in his bloody breast.

George Browne meeting him by St Mary Cray.⁹

65 But he, a wretch more desirous of his death than willing to his welfare, more mindful of murder than safeguard of his soul, so bent to blindness that he aspected not the light, struck the stroke that returned his shame, did the deed that drove him to destiny, and fulfilled the fact that in the end he found folly.¹⁰

His devilish intent and perverse practises.

70 O mind most monstrous, O heart most hard, O intent so irksome, whom neither preferment might persuade, riches move to regard, affection cause to respect, former friendship force to

A hard heart that could do so cruel a deed.

57 **abroad** widely, generally (*OED* abroad *adv.* 1.a)
58 **well allowed** readily approved (*OED* allowed *adj.* 4.a)
61 **appointed** equipped (*OED* appoint *v.* 3.15)
62 ¹he Master Saunders
¹his ... ²he ... ²his George Browne('s)
63 ¹his Master Saunders's
entreatance pleading (*OED* entreatance *n.* 2)
64 ²his George Browne's
bloody bloodthirsty (*OED* bloody *adj.* 4.a)
67 **bent to** set on (*OED* bent *adj.* 3)
aspected not did not look at (*OED* aspect *v.* 2)
68 **returned** resulted in: *intransitive* (*OED* return *v.* I.10)
71 **irksome** loathsome (*OED* irksome *adj.* 2)

- fancy, nor no virtue of the mind seem to satisfy.¹¹ Where was the
bond of loyalty? Where was the regard of honesty? Where was
75 the fear of the Almighty? Where was the care of Christianity? Or
where was the hope of eternal felicity, and last, where was thy
duty to God, thy prince and country? Alas, each of these seemed
clean vanquished in thee; they were smally regarded, yea, little or
none account made of.¹² It is yet evidently seen in that common
80 crew that give themselves to boasting and bravery, to swearing,
fighting, quarrelling and all such devilish practises. But what
sayeth Isaiah? *Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth
therewith? Or shall the saw make any bragging against him that
ruleth it? That were even like as if the rod did exalt itself against
85 him that beareth it, or as though the staff should magnify itself as
who should say it were no wood.*¹³
- And Solomon sayeth, *Make not thy boast of tomorrow, for
thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.*¹⁴
- The prophet David likewise sayeth, *How long shall all
90 wicked doers speak so disdainfully and make such proud
boasting? They smite down thy people, O Lord, and trouble thine*
- All fear of God
clean laid aside.
- Isaiah, 10.15
- Proverbs, 17.1
- Psalms, 94, 5-6.

75 (s.n.) **clean** wholly, completely (OED clean adv. II.5.a)

78 **smally** barely (OED smally adv. 4)

80 **crew** mob, lot (in a derogatory sense) (OED crew n.1 I.4)

bravery swaggering (OED bravery n. 1)

heritage. They murder the widow and the stranger, and put the
fatherless to death.¹⁵

95 With many places more that I might allege of the scripture,
of such as brag in their bravery and boast in their own strength, but
this example past may seem somewhat to terrify our stony hearts,
to consider, through the misbehaviour of one man, six lost their
lives, as it is evidently known to all men, for in Smithfield¹⁶ they
paid the price of their lives for consenting to that odious fact. It
100 shall not be amiss in this place to call to mind the wilful perjury of
certain persons whose wicked lives at their death were perfectly
witnessed.

Through the lewd
life of one man,
six lost their lives.

Examples of
perjury.

Example of Widow Barnes in Cornhill in London, 1574

Let us remember the Widow Barnes,¹ being an ancient woman and
105 dwelling in Cornhill² in London, who frequented much swearing
and neither friendly rebuking, godly instructions nor divine
persuasions could turn her heart from this wicked and detestable
exercise, but thereby laboured to defeat an orphan of her right.³
The Devil, who urged her to such cruel abuse, caused her to cast
110 herself out at her window into the street and there broke her neck.

She threw herself
into the street and
broke her neck.

94 **allege** cite: *transitive* (OED allege v.1 3)

96 **seem** appear (OED seem v.2 II.i.4.b)

105 **frequented** habitually used (OED frequent v. 3.a)

108 **defeat an orphan of her right** prevent an orphan receiving her rightful property (*transitive*: OED defeat v. 8.a and right n. II.10.a)

109 **cast** throw: *reflexive*: (OED cast v. I.5.a)

Example of Arthur Miller at Hackney in 1573

One Arthur Miller likewise,¹ dwelling at Hackney² (a very lewd
talker, a common blasphemer and swearer) in the time of his
sickness, casting all Christianlike care from him and all fear of
115 God and His laws, vehemently cried out, ‘the Devil, the Devil!’
Yet felt he the omnipotency of God’s power, as himself confessed,
but for grace he could not pray. The cause thereof was known to
himself, but he would not utter it to any. And so, kissing
oftentimes his hand, wherein he said he held the Devil, and calling
120 only for help to the Devil, this wretched life he ended most
miserably.

Example of one Berry, who cut his own throat in the
Counter in the Poultry, 1575

In the counter¹ in the Poultry² in London, also there was one
125 Berry³ who in some one cause had wilfully perjured himself, and
being brought therefore to the prison to sustain what punishment
thereto was due, he, despairing of God’s mercy and giving himself
to the Devil’s temptations, cruelly cut his own throat.

126 **sustain** endure: *transitive* (OED sustain v. II.11.a)

130 Example of Anne Averies that bought the tow, 11th

February 1575

Anne Averies,¹ likewise a widow,² who dwelled in Duck Lane
without Aldersgate, coming to the house of one Richard
Williamson in Wood Street, whose wife used to dress flax and
135 tow, she took up there six pound of tow and departed without
paying therefor. When she was required either to send the tow
again, or to pay money therefor, by and by she rapped out two or
three terrible oaths that she had paid for it and, being come back to
the shop, she desired vengeance at God's hands that she might
140 presently sink where she stood if she paid not the money before
she went out of the shop. God's judgement so just, seeing her
unjust dealing, presently accorded thereunto and, before the face
of all the standers by, she was immediately struck to the earth, not
able to rise without help, nor yet to blaspheme the name of God as
145 she had done, but holding out her left hand wherein she held
thirteen pence,³ which she should before have paid for the tow
withal, and her mouth being put to such a vile office that from
thence issued that which should have descended at the lower parts.

God's just
judgement fell on
this wicked person.

A notable and
strange example to
terrify all wicked
and cruel
blasphemers.

130 **tow** fibres of flax, hemp or jute being prepared for spinning into yarn (*OED tow n.1 2.a*)

134 **dress** prepare (for sale or spinning): *transitive* (*OED dress v. II.5.a*)

136 **therefor** for that (the goods) (*OED therefor adv. I.1.a*)

136-37 **send the tow again** return the tow to the shop

137 **rapped out** sharply snapped: *transitive* (*OED rap v.2 II.8.a*)

140 **sink** descend into hell: (*OED sink v. I.2.b*)

147 **office** use, function (*OED office n. 4.b*)

So was she carried from thence, where she was fain to lie in a
150 stinking stable and few days after yielded her life.

Example of Father Lea, 1577

Father Lea,¹ a man almost of four score years, in Foster Lane in
London, meeting with the party against whom he had perjured
himself, held up his hands, desiring him to forgive him for that he
155 had falsely forsworn himself against him. The man replied that
the offence against him might be easily forgiven, but the offence
against God was ten times more. So, after a while, this Father
Lea, with a rusty knife, ripped his own belly and gripped his guts
with his own hands and so ended his life the 21st of January
160 1577.

He ripped his own
belly.

Lo, dear Christians, what examples we can fetch of
ourselves.² What need we to look after other countries? These we
know to be true³ and we cannot deny it; but alas, how long shall
we remain in this wickedness when we hear God Himself say:

149 **fain** obliged (*OED fain adj.* 2.b)

151 **Father** it is unclear whether this is a religious title or a courtesy title for an older man (*OED father n.* 6a)

152 **four score** eighty

154 ¹**him** the injured party

²**him** Father Lea

155 **forsworn** perjured (*OED forsworn adj.* 1)

him the injured party

161 **fetch of** draw from (*OED fetch v.* 6.a)

162 **look after** observe (*OED look v.* phrase PV2.1)

These The examples retold here

- 165 *If a soul sin and trespass against the Lord, and deny unto*
his neighbour that which was taken him to keep, or that was put
in his hands, or doth violent robbery, or wrong unto his
neighbour,

 Or if he have found that which was lost, and denieth it,
170 *and sweareth falsely upon whatsoever thing it be that a man*
doth, and sinneth therein:

 If he so sinned and trespassed, he shall restore again that
he took violently away, or the wrong which he did, or that which
was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found:

175 *And all that about which he hath sworn falsely, he shall*
restore it again in the whole sum, and shall add the fifth part
more thereto, and give it unto him, to whom it appertaineth, the
same day that he offereth for his trespass.⁴

 Thou shalt not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt
180 *thou defile the name of thy God: I am the Lord.⁵*

 The wise and famous Solomon likewise sayeth, *Let not*
thy mouth be accustomed with swearing, for in it are many falls.
Let not the naming of God be continually in thy mouth.
- Leviticus, 6.2.
3.
4.
5.
Leviticus, 19.12
Ecclesiasticus, 29.9

166 ¹**that** the thing (stolen, violated etc.) (OED that *pron.*1 II.5.a)

182 **falls** downfalls (as in loss of status): *figurative* (OED fall *n.*2 II.ii.17.a)

- For like as a servant that is much beaten cannot be 10.
185 without some sore, even so, whatsoever he be that sweareth and
nameth God shall not be clean purged from sin.
- A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with 11.
wickedness, and the plague shall never go from his house; if he
beguile his brother, his fault shall be upon him; if he knowledge
190 not his sin, he maketh a double offence, and if he swear in vain
he shall not be found righteous, for his house shall be full of
plagues.
- The words of the swearer bringeth death (God grant that 12.
it be not found in the house of Jacob), but they that fear God will
195 eschew all such, and lie not weltering in sin.
- Use not thy mouth to unhonest and filthy talking, for in it 13.
is the word of sin.
- The man that is accustomed with the words of blasphemy 15.
will never be reformed all the days of his life.⁶
- 200 Zechariah the prophet also sayeth, Behold a flying book Zechariah, 5.2
of twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad.
- This is the curse that goeth forth over the whole earth, 3,
for all thieves shall be judged according to this book.

189 **beguile** cheat: transitive (OED beguile v. 1.a)

knowledge admit: transitive (OED knowledge v. 1.a)

195 **weltering** wallowing: figurative (OED welter v.1 I.2b)

205 *And I will bring it forth (sayeth the Lord of hosts) so that it*
shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him
that falsely sweareth by my name and shall remain in the midst of
*his house and consume it with the timber and stones thereof.*⁷

4.

210 *And further list what God sayeth: And thou shalt speak*
unto the children of Israel, saying, 'Whosoever curseth his God
shall bear his sin.

Leviticus, 24.15

215 *'And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, let him be*
slain, and all the multitude shall stone him to death, whether he be
born in the land or a stranger, when he blasphemeth the name of
*the Lord let him be slain.*⁸

16.

215 Thus, dearly beloved, are we warned by the sacred
scripture to take heed and to be circumspect in our dealings, not
for every trifling thing to rap out oaths for therein we highly
offend the majesty of God.

220 Example of Paul Green that slew Master Temple

Now will I return to my former matter again as touching murder,
which is a heinous and abominable offence in the sight of God and
man. I must not forget the committed crime of Paul Green¹ who

He returneth to his
former matter.

208 **list** listen to, hear: *transitive* (OED list v.2 2)

desperately slew Master Thomas Temple² near to the Royal
225 Exchange³ in London, the which Master Temple was a sober,
wise and discreet gentleman, one of goodly living and, taking a
house⁴ to save himself from the insatiable malice of this Paul
Green, could not so appease his ire for he thrust over the stall at
him⁵ and at length gave him that he long looked for.⁶ But what
230 became thereof? He for his pains, condemned by law and justice,
ended his desperate days at Tyburn.

Paul Green hanged
at Tyburn.

Example of the two sheriffs that hung themselves at
Gloucester, 1579

It is commonly reported and is in every man's mouth¹ how this
235 last year at Gloucester, two men, in years ancient, supposed to be
very godly livers and were called to the bearing authority in the
city, as to wit, both of them hath been sheriffs, yet for want of
firm and faithful trust in God, they both hanged themselves.²

Example of John Morgan who slew Master Turberville
240 in Somersetshire, 1580

Likewise in Somersetshire one John Morgan,¹ by common report
a lewd and wicked liver and given to swearing, roisting, and all

228 **his ... he** Paul Green

229 ¹**him ...** ²**him ... he** Master Temple

230 **pains** punishment (*OED* pain *n.*1 1.a)

236 **called to the bearing authority** elected to a responsible position (*OED* authority *n.* II.3.b)

242 **roisting** boisterous revelry (*OED* roisting *n.*)

wickedness abounding in him, slew his brother-in-law, Master
Turberville, a gentleman of godly life, very sober, wise and
245 discreet, whose wife² lying in childbed yet arose and went to have
law and justice pronounced on that cruel malefactor. So, at Chard,³
before the Lord Chief Justice,⁴ he was condemned and suffered
death for his offence. 1580.

Example of Richard Todd that murdered Mistress

250 Skinner at Saint Katherine's, 1580

Then let us rehearse the bloody part of Richard Todd¹ who
murdered and cruelly massacred an ancient and honest woman
dwelling at Saint Katherine's² named Mistress Skinner, a woman
of godly disposition, of life inferior to few, for friendly
255 neighbourhood beloved of all, in years well passed, of credit well
accounted, and of money and riches sufficiently instored,³ to
whom this bloody butcher came with his entrenching knife,⁴ and
for the mind he bore to her money, more than goodwill to her
wealth, caused her to forsake this earthly life.

260 He being apprehended for the same, condemned by the law
and adjudged to die, was led to the place where he committed this

He first led to the
place then brought
back and executed
at Tyburn.

245 **lying in childbed** having recently given birth (*OED* childbed *n.* 1.a)

252 **massacred** mutilated: *transitive* (*OED* massacre *v.* 2)

255 **neighbourhood** neighbourliness (*OED* neighbourhood *n.* II.6.a)

256 **instored** provided (*OED* instore *v.* 3)

257 **entrenching** wounding: *transitive* (*OED* entrench *v.* I.3.a)

murderous offence, the which being found not so convenient, was
reducted back and in the afternoon was executed at Tyburn the 29th
of March.

265 Example of Marmeduke Glover who slew Sergeant Grace,
1580

And should I seem to be oblivious of the great and grievous offence
of Marmeduke Glover¹ who, being arrested by Sergeant Grace,²
drew out his weapon and there presently murdered him? Nay, sure
270 his crime is to be accounted a most vile and heinous offence in that
he resisted³ where of duty he should have obeyed, and more better
had it been for him, for then had he saved both his life and his own.
But following his own will and cruel intent, made her become
widow who might else have lived longer in joy with her mate and
275 husband.⁴ So likewise, as blood requireth blood, he was executed in
public view in Cheapside⁵ on a gibbet,⁶ the 28th of March 1580.

Glover executed in
Cheapside.

Example of a maid that buried her child quick

A maid¹ also who had abused her body with unchaste living,² and
being delivered of a sweet and tender infant,³ casting all motherly
280 and natural affection from her,⁴ buried the same alive.⁵ What

263 **reducted** led back: *transitive* (OED reduct v. 2)

270 **accounted** considered: *transitive* (OED account v. III.6.a)

272 **him** Glover ¹**his** Sergeant Grace's ²**his** Glover's

275 **blood requireth blood** murder leads to execution, from 'blood will have blood': *proverbial* (Dent, B458)

- hardened heart had she, to play so vile a part to the fruit of her
own body? Alas, it causeth to relent each Christian heart that
heareth thereof first to consider how wickedly she violated the
commandments of our God (whereas by His own mouth He hath
285 pronounced *Thou shalt not commit adultery*) then what wicked
wretches are we which abuse our bodies with voluptuous
pleasures, with carnal delights, with wicked inventions, and with
sin out of measure. Yet not contented therewith, but to despoil
the fruit of our own bodies, to hide our sin to the world, to run
290 headlong to the Devil, yet can we not so hide our sin but God
seeth it, and no wilful murder will He suffer unrevealed, though
we colour it for a time, though we think it clean out of
remembrance and that the brunt is gone and past, yet will He
cause the very fowls of the air⁷ to bewray it. Our own
295 consciences shall cause us open it, our looks will bewray us, our
deeds will deceive us so that we shall need no more evidences
than our own selves.⁸
- Saint Paul saith *We write unto them that they abstain*
themselves from fornication. Every sin that a man doth is without
300 his body, but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his
- Exodus, 20.⁶
- God will not suffer
wilful murder to be
concealed.
- Acts, 15.20.⁹

282 **relent** soften: *transitive* (OED relent v.1 II.3.b)
288 **out of measure** beyond all bounds (OED measure n. I.1.c)
291 **suffer unrevealed** allow to go undiscovered (OED suffer v. II.13.a)
292 **colour** misrepresent: *transitive* (OED colour v. II.6.a)
293 **brunt** outcry, rumour (OED brunt n.1 II.6)
294 **bewray** expose (OED bewray v. 4)
299 **without** outside (OED without adv. 2.a)

own body. Let every Christian be mindful that his body is the
Temple of the Lord, and ought not to be defiled but be kept pure
and holy, even that our bodies may be a quick sacrifice to God.

1 Corinthians,
6.18.¹⁰

An example of the gentlewoman that killed her maid at

305 St Giles in the Field

At Saint Giles in the Field¹ also dwelt a gentlewoman named
Mistress Amy Harrison (alias Middleton)² who was a very wicked
liver, an unjust dealer, a bewrayer of fortunes,³ and one who was
wholly inclined to vice, abandoning virtue. This woman had a
310 godchild⁴ of hers in the house with⁵ her whom she kept to do such
necessary business about the house as was commanded her by her
mistress or as her years⁶ might sufficiently reach unto, but
sometime was constrained to do more so that often her inability
caused her to be whipped, beaten, tyrannically tormented, and very
315 Jewishly⁷ entreated, sometime with big cudgels, sometime with a
girth, so that from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet
was left no member unmartyred. At length the girl died by such
excess of correction,⁸ and she therefore suffered death against her

A woman void of
all reason.

313 **unability** inability (*OED* inability *n.*)

315 **entreated** treated: *transitive* (*OED* entreat *v.* I.3)

cudgels thick sticks or clubs (*OED* cudgel *n.* 1.a)

316 **girth** leather strap (associated with horse harness) (*OED* girth *n.* 1.a)

317 **unmartyred** not mutilated (*OED* unmartyred *adj.*)

318 **she** Mistress Harrison

against directly in front of (*OED* against *prep.* V.12.a)

own house for an example to all mistresses and dames how they
320 misuse their servants in such unmerciful manner.

These examples witnessed, apparent in our eyes,⁹ may
warn us how we lead such careless lives for fear of displeasing
the Almighty, to hasten His anger upon us and so utterly to reject
us.

325 Examples of blazing stars and other accidents

We have had manifold motions, sundry signs, yea, and exceeding
examples of His wrath and displeasure by comets and blazing
stars¹ as lately hath been seen over this city of London, as also
great flames and flashing of fire issuing out of the north parts in
330 the element.²

Likewise, two great tides in one hour,³ contrary to nature.
Besides this there hath been seen strange flies, which on their
wings bear the example of God's justice.⁴

Two great tides.

Strange flies.

Example of the child in Gelderland

335 And furthermore, what monstrous shapes, what strange births and
what alteration of nature¹ have we seen? In Gelderland,² a child

326 **manifold** many and varied (*OED* manifold *adj.* 2)

motions agitations (from God) (*OED* motion *n.* I.2)

330 **element** sky (*OED* element *n.* II.1.10a)

born, of proportion very ugly³ with a long bill and the belly like
a Swan, feet with claws, and as soon as it was born ran under the
bed.⁴

340 In Italy also, of an ancient woman was born a deformed
creature, the which spoke many words,⁵ as the book in print doth
witness, which was printed by Thomas East.⁶

Example of the child
in Italy.

 Likewise at Lutsolof⁷ in Dutchland was a strange and
monstrous child born, which in one hand had a rod and in the
345 other a sword,⁸ which demanded if the wars of men were not as
yet fully finished, and cried to make peace and that the time
should come that one should say to another, ‘Oh brother, why art
thou not dead?’⁹ with other words most strange as the printed
book doth witness.

Example of the child
in Dutchland at
Lutsolof.

350 Also, with the same child there was another who had two
heads, the one side of the body all black,¹⁰ and wept abundantly.
Both born of one woman, the father’s name Baltus Maler, and
the mother Katherine Peters.

The other child with
two heads.

 Then look here into England, at Manchester, a child born
355 without ever a head, yet soon after was the mother delivered of a
goodly and sweet infant.¹¹

A child born at
Manchester.

At Abberwick¹² also, in Northumberland, a child was born
having two heads in perfect proportion and the ears like a horse.¹³

A child born at
Abberwick in
Northumberland.

At this present in London¹⁴ is to be seen a man-child, very
360 monstrous. All these are examples now of late days.

A monstrous child
now in London.

Example at Prague in Bohemia

We hear also of the fearful tempest that was at Prague in
Bohemia,¹ whereas on the twenty-fifth of January 1579 at two of
the clock in the afternoon, the people durst not show themselves in
365 the streets. Three steeples of churches were blown down, bruising
about nineteen houses and six persons slain thereby. At evening
again there was a marvellous thunder wherein fell hail stones there
that weighed the quantity of three-quarters of a pound, and
thereafter fell such an earthquake for the space of half an hour that
370 the houses did shake very wonderfully.²

Example of an
earthquake.

At twelve o'clock at night was perfectly viewed a black
cloud wherein were plainly escribed a man's two arms and hands
naturally,³ the right hand holding a sword, the other a bowl which
poured forth blood. Thereby was perceived a piece of ground with

Signs in the
element.

Another sign.

363 **whereas** where (*OED* whereas *adv.* I.1)

367 **marvellous** astonishing (*OED* marvellous *adj.* 1.a)

370 **wonderfully** amazingly (*OED* wonderfully *adv.* 1)

372 **escribed** exclaimed upon: (*OED* escry *v.* 1)

373 **naturally** manifesting spontaneously (without human interference) (*OED* naturally *adv.* I.4.a)

374 **Thereby** Nearby (*OED* thereby *adv.* 2.a)

375 corn standing thereon, and thereby lay a sickle, and a great voice
heard, but nothing seen, which said:

*Woe, woe to the Earth, and to the inhabitants thereof, for
he commeth that is to come, and all people shall see him.⁴*

A voice heard but
nothing seen.

380 This voice caused great terror through all the town, that
the infants shrieked sucking at their mothers' breasts, and women
were then delivered of children.

Great fear through
all the city.

A woman of 59 years delivered of three children

Above the rest,¹ a woman of 59 years old named Margaret, her
husband called John Bobroth, the clerk of the town. This woman
385 for the space of 25 weeks was diseased and no help could be had,
but through this present accident she was delivered of three
children, their mouths replenished with teeth as children of three
years old.² The first born spoke, saying:

The day appointed which no man can shun.

390 The second said:

Where shall we find living to bury the dead?

The third said:

Where shall we find corn to satisfy the hungry?³

395 Example of one in Worcestershire who slew his brother
 and buried him under the hearth of his chimney

I am sure that it is not yet out of remembrance, nor men are not so forgetful to let slip so soon, the murder committed in

He returneth to
murder.

Worcester whereas one unnaturally killed his own brother and,

400 when he had done, to cover his fact withal, buried the dead
corpse under the hearth of his chimney,¹ a most monstrous and
bloody part,² far passing the committed offence of Cain who slew
his brother Abel.³

Example of Thomas Hill at Faversham, who killed his

405 own mother

At Faversham there dwelled one Thomas Hill,¹ who in the house with him had his own mother, an old woman whom he regarded but very small, and bled her like an ungrateful child which made her to seek means to depart thence and to go to her other son who

410 dwelled at Canterbury, which when he perceived, thought to
defeat her of her purpose and one night in her bed murdered her,
sending word to his brother that she was dead, and so buried her
before he came. This man being one who loved her dearly, and

400 **fact** crime (*OED* fact *n.* 1.2)

withal along with everything else (his other crimes) (*OED* *withal* *adv.* 1.a)

408 **bled** extorted money from: *transitive* (OED bleed v. II.10)

410 **he** the son with whom she lived

come to his brother's, his heart throbbed and desired for to satisfy
415 his mind that the dead corpse might be taken up. When it was
taken up, they saw nothing whereof she died, neither her flesh
abated with sickness nor any sore whereby they should say it was
the plague.

The dead corpse
taken up and
searched and, he
brought before it,
it presently bled.

So, this murderer was brought before her and presently, in
420 the sight of all the standers by, it bled both at the nose and at the
mouth, whereupon he was accused and he did presently confess it.²

Then was he presently sent to prison wherein, he despairing
of God's mercy and giving himself wholly to the Devil's
temptations, with five points³ of his hose hung himself on an old
425 headless nail in the prison.

He hung himself
with five points.

Example of Quernby who killed his mother

We have to remember how Edward Quernby¹ in Nottinghamshire
played the like butcherly part,² for he, for the goodwill he had to
his mother's riches, cruelly and unnaturally³ murdered her.

414 **his brother's** his brother's house

415 **taken up** taken out of the ground: *transitive* (OED take v. PV.1.a)

428 **goodwill** eagerness (OED goodwill n. 3.a)

430 Margaret Dorrington who killed Alice Fox

Likewise at Westminster, how Margaret Dorrington, a woman of a wicked and naughty life, murdered Alice Fox,¹ thrusting a knife up under her clothes, wherefore she suffered death not long after.²

435 Example of one hanged in chains at Mile End

There was one¹ also who, in the gardens at Mile End,² had murdered a man who therefor suffered death there, and was afterward hanged up in chains.³

Example of the woman that killed her two children

440 At Kilburn¹ also, near London, there was a woman who, with a piece of a billet, brained her two children, the sum whereof is at large described in a book imprinted.² The woman died in Newgate.³

432 **naughty** immoral, licentious (*OED* naughty *adj.* 2.b)

441 **billet** thick stick (*OED* billet *n.*2 2)

brained dashed out the brains of: *transitive* (*OED* brain *v.* 1.a)

sum outcome (*OED* sum *n.*1 II.11)

445 The murder of Abel Bourne, hosier, being found by the
brick kilns; slain the 15th of April last

A man whose faculty in profession is a maker of virginals, going
to the brick kilns at the upper end of Golding Lane¹ to seek
ravens' feathers which he putteth to some use in his handicraft,²

A virginal-maker
that came to look
ravens' quills found
the man slain.

450 by chance espied there lying in a deep trench or gutter, a man
murdered. Which when he saw, fearing lest some suspicion
should be taken of him, went and bewrayed it presently. So, the
constable, with other men well-appointed, there watched the dead
corpse all that night. On the next day, being Saturday, among the
455 egress and regress of people that came to see him, were many
that were well acquainted with him, as a young woman to whom
he should have been married the Tuesday following, his
kinsman, his apprentice, and other toward the evening.

When the coroner had empanelled his inquest of inquiry
460 to search and seek the causes of this man's death,³ whether he
murdered himself wilfully or slain by some chance, or else
murdered by mere villainy, there came before him three that gave

The coroner came
thither and
empanelled a quest
of inquiry.

Three evidences that
were present there.

445 **hosier** men's outfitter (*OED* hosier *n.*)

446 **brick kilns** furnaces (for brickmaking) (*OED* brick kiln *n.*)

447 **faculty** skill (*OED* faculty *n.* II.8)

virginals musical instruments (with keyboards that pluck strings) (*OED* virginal *n.* a)

453 **well-appointed** properly equipped (*OED* well-appointed *adj.*)

455 **egress and regress** coming and going (*OED* egress *n.* 1.a and regress *n.* 3.a)

459 **empanelled his inquest** sworn in his jury: *transitive* (*OED* empanel *v.*)

(*s.n.*) **a quest** an inquest

evidence: the one his apprentice, the other a very friend of his
dwelling in Bridewell,⁴ and the third one Saddler that dwelleth
465 in Thames Street.

The coroner, willing to find out this matter, so suddenly
chanced, desired them to say what they could of the matter.

First quoth he who dwelled in Bridewell, named Davis:
'My friend, Abel Bourne that is slain, was acquainted with one
470 Hodges's⁵ wife, whose husband dwelled at the end of Saint
Nicholas' Shambles,⁶ a hosier by occupation, now lying in the
Hole⁷ in the counter in Wood Street. A very naughty woman in
living, whose company he dishonestly used, both in his
apprenticeship and till the time that he was slain, the more to his
475 greater grief having thus long used her company. And now
drawing to honest living to match himself with an honest
maiden, which he should have done on Tuesday next, at
Christmas last gave to this Hodges's wife ten angels⁸ to leave
his company and not to frequent him anymore, but nevertheless
480 she did still, saying thus, "Thou wilt now be married wilt thou?"

Davis first telleth
what he knoweth
of the matter.

Hodges's wife's
words and Abel's.

"Yea," answered this Abel Bourne, "I mean so, God
willing."

471 **lying** imprisoned (*OED* lie v.1 I.3.a)

473 **living** lifestyle, conduct (*OED* living n.2 II.6)

whose company he dishonestly used with whom he had an immoral relationship (*OED* dishonest *adj.* 3.b and *transitive*: use v. III.17.a)

476 **drawing** converting: *transitive* (*OED* draw v. I.ii.21)

“Wilt thou so indeed? Truly, she that marrieth thee shall
have but little joy of thee, for look in what estate I have had thee
485 all this while. So will I have thee still, for I will have thy purse
and body at my commandment and pleasure.”

‘Abel, hearing this, on the Sunday before he was slain,
he went to a tailor’s where certain apparel of this Hodges’s wife
was at making, and brought it away with him, coming to her
490 where she lay in the same morning, bidding her to come and
fetch her apparel, and so she went with him. And he, entering
into a house with her, caused the constable to serve a warrant on
her and so sent her to Bridewell,⁹ where she said, “If ever I
come forth again, I will have him hewed as small as flesh to the
495 pot.”’ This he said to this Davis, even as he told before the
quest.

Abel fetcheth from
the tailor’s her
apparel.

Hodges his wife sent
to Bridewell.

Her words in
Bridewell.

Then Saddler, he began and said, ‘Abel Bourne thus told
me that he, walking by the mount at the upper end of Aldersgate
Street,¹⁰ was met by one who said unto him, “If thou seem to

Saddler saith what he
knows.

One met Abel at the
mount and threatened
him.

484 **estate** condition (with regard to wealth) (*OED* estate *n.* I.2.a)

490 **lay** resided, was staying (*OED* lie *v.*1 I.5.a)

492 **a house** (probably) a brothel (*OED* house *n.*1 I.4.d)

494 **hewed** chopped up (*OED* hew *v.* II.6.a)

495 ¹**he** Bourne

²**he** Davis

500 use Hodges's wife in this order and do not set her free, the next
time I meet thee I will kill thee.'" This he told him, even as he said
before the quest.

505 While they were thus in talking, at last came a woman by
who was suspected of the matter, and information given to the
coroner presently sent after her to bring her back again, she having
taken a garden and they fain to climb over the pale, so at the last
brought her out and led her to the coroner. Her wench, being by,
said, 'I told my dame of this before, that she should beware.' So the
wench was taken also.

Crane's wife¹¹
coming by
suspected. She
entered into a
garden.

Her wench's
words.

510 When she was come before the coroner, he examined her if
she knew the said Abel; she answered that she knew him well and
she saw him not since Tuesday,¹² on which day there was a fray in
the fields and she ran to see it, where she chanced to see Abel with
sword and dagger under his arm. She demanded of him why he
515 went so weaponed; he answered that he was threatened to be slain.
Quoth she, 'Then you were best to keep your house and not to go
so abroad.' At the length he went home with her to her house,
which was in Toy's rents,¹³ and there he poured out on the table

She saw Abel in
the field on
Sunday.

Abel goes to her
house with her.

501 ¹he Bourne

him Saddler

²he Saddler

503 **at last** next (establishing the order of events) (*OED* at *prep.* IV.33)

506 **taken** gone into (quickly) (*OED* take *v.* IV.iv.60.b)

pale fence (*OED* pale *n.* 1.3.a)

512 **fray** brawl (*OED* fray *n.* 1.3.a)

517 **abroad** outdoors (*OED* abroad *adv.* 3.a)

about thirty pound in gold and at last sent for a pot of beer and
520 drank with her. But he had no great lust to drink and so, she said,
he went his way.

Then afterward they led her to see the corpse of the dead
man,¹⁴ where she seemed to be very sorrowful for his death in
their sight. But her house being searched, there was found what I
525 know not¹⁵ and the wench saith that she fetched a great deal of
water and washed the rushes and so strewed fresh rushes on them.
So, she and her husband and other more is in Newgate, and on
Wednesday after they were brought to Finsbury. And there was
one Wood examined, being greatly suspected of the matter and as
530 it is judged he will be found to be doer of the deed, for the same
day as the man is said to be slain, he can make no direct answer
how he spent that day nor where he lay that night. For the coroner
demanded of him what he professed, and he answered that he had
a trade, a thing whereby he lived.

One Wood
examined at
Finsbury.

Wood answereth
the coroner of what
trade he was.

535 ‘What is that?’ quoth the coroner.

‘Sir,’ quoth he, ‘I am a servingman and I profess to be a
falconer. I meant to go overseas now to buy hawks for diverse
gentlemen.’

527 **she** the mistress (not the wench)

533 **professed** did for a living: *transitive* (OED profess v. III.6)

Example of the Earthquake at London the 6th of April

Lastly, call to mind the grievous and sudden earthquake

happening here in London, the 6th of April at six of the clock at

560 night, which caused such amazement through the whole city that
it is wonderful to be told.¹

The great bell of Westminster² tolled of itself; Whitehall³

shook, the gentlemen of the Temple⁴ came running forth with

their knives in their hands, being then at supper; a piece of the

565 Temple Church fell down, stones fell off from Paul's Church⁵,

and at Christ's Church⁶ in the sermon-while, a stone fell and

brained Thomas Gray, apprentice to one John Spurling,

shoemaker, dwelling without Aldersgate; another stone also

struck Mabel Everett, his fellow servant in the same house, and

570 she lived four days after and then died.⁷ Diverse chimneys in the
city, part of them fell down. At the playhouses,⁸ the people came
running forth, surprised with great astonishment.⁹

A piece of Sutton¹⁰ Church in Kent fell down, the

earthquake being there in those parts heard and felt three several

575 times. A piece of Dover Castle¹¹ fell down, and part of the castle
wall fell into the sea. The ships quaked and trembled as the

562 **of itself** by itself (without being rung by anybody) (*OED* of *prep.* IV.11.b)

566 **in the sermon-while** during the sermon (*OED* while *n.* I.1.e)

574 **several** separate (*OED* several *adj.* I.2.a)

houses on the dry land, and the waters were greatly out of
temper.¹² Out of England it was also felt. At Calais also it was so
vehement that part of the staple-house fell down, and likewise
580 some of the law or town house was overthrown.

In Brabant, as Antwerp, Zeeland, Middelburg, Flushing,
St. Thomas in Artois, Dieppe, Flanders, Dunkirk, Bourbourg,
Gravelines, Bruges and Ghent it was felt also very forcible.¹³ No
doubt, dear brethren,¹⁴ this was a token of the indignation of our
585 God against our wicked living, wherein so highly we offend His
divine majesty. Let us remember three of the fairest cities in Asia
sunk for sin.¹⁵ Constantinople had a twelvemonth earthquake.¹⁶

These examples are
for our sins.

Many places for sin have been grievously punished, as
Sodom and Gomorrah, Jerusalem, Nineveh,¹⁷ and many other
590 places. Let us remember that it shall be better for Chorazin and
Bethsaida at the dreadful day of judgement than for Tyre and
Sidon.¹⁸

Matthew, 11.21

Let us lift up our hearts cheerfully unto God our
salvation, be sorry for our former offences, and from the very
595 bottom of our hearts inwardly lament them.

Luke, 15

577-78 **were greatly out of temper** behaved in an uncharacteristic way (*OED* temper *n.* II.4.a)

579 **staple-house** warehouse for taxable goods (*OED* staple-house *n.*)

580 **town house** local government administrative centre (*OED* townhouse *n.* 1.a)

overthrown knocked to the ground, demolished: *transitive* (*OED* overthrow *v.* 1.a)

585 **highly** heinously (*OED* high *adv.* 4.a)

Let us turn to the Father of all mercy saying, *O Father,*
we have sinned against heaven and against thee; we are no
*more worthy to be called thy children.*¹⁹ So will the Lord of His
fatherly mercy forgive our sins and make us partakers of His
600 kingdom, which God grant us for His son's sake.²⁰ Amen.

SUNDRY EXAMPLES - COMMENTARY

PARATEXTS

A View of Sundry Examples (STC 18281) was entered into the Stationers' Register on 27 April 1580. Although uncredited, it was printed by John Charlewood (d. 1593), who was based in the Barbican, making him a near neighbour to Munday's home in Fore Street (Duff 2011: 26 and *MoEML*).

¹ This note applies to all the information contained in this pamphlet, not just the earthquake. For more information on this event, see pp. 206-09.

² Latin phrase meaning 'Honour Nourishes the Arts', taken from Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations* 1927: I.4). Munday adopted this quotation as his motto and it generally appears on his self-authored work.

³ William Wright (dates unknown, active 1579-1603) was a publisher and bookseller, used several times by Munday. He was based first in the premises mentioned here, and later in St Paul's Churchyard. His main trade was in ballads, news pamphlets (like this one) and other ephemeral literature (McKerrow 1910: 303-04).

⁴ This is standard terminology for the contracting out of sales from the publisher to another agent (Gaskell 1972: 180).

⁵ This was the address of John Allde (c. 1531-1584), a printer to whom Munday had been apprenticed in 1576 (Tedder, rev. Gadd, 'John Allde', *ODNB*).

⁶ William Waters (dates unknown) was certainly a personal servant to the Earl of Oxford, but may also have been associated with the household of Oxford's father-in-law, Lord

Burghley (c. 1520-1598), a senior politician and privy councillor (Nelson 2003: 48 and 223).

⁷ George Baker (1540-1612) was a surgeon in the service of the Earl of Oxford. He enjoyed considerable success in his profession, and in 1592 became surgeon to the Queen (Ungerer, 'George Baker', *ODNB*). He was also a translator, and his book, *The composition or making of the moste excellent and pretious oil called oleum magistrale* (1574, STC 1209), a medical work of Spanish origin, was published by John Allde.

⁸ Edward de Vere (1550-1604), Earl of Oxford. By the time Munday first sought the patronage of Oxford in 1578, the earl was married to the eldest daughter of William Cecil, later Lord Burghley and Secretary of State (MacCaffrey, 'William Cecil', *ODNB*). A cynic could suggest that Munday used his association with Oxford to get to Burghley; in 1582 Munday dedicated *The English Roman Life* (STC 18272), detailing his experiences as a self-appointed spy and agent provocateur in a Catholic seminary, to Lord Burghley. Munday was subsequently employed as a government agent.

⁹ Munday wishes to encourage trust or confidence by pointing to previous success. There has been much speculation about Munday's involvement with the Earl of Oxford in terms of patronage before 1580 (the date of this pamphlet), but Munday had certainly already dedicated at least one work to the Earl: *The Mirrour of Mutability* (1579, STC 18276).

¹⁰ This is the first of many times in this pamphlet that Munday uses the language of speaking ('reports', 'ears', *SE PT* 38 and 39), rather than writing. This style gives the pamphlet its 'sermonizing' character, but the author is at pains to count himself in the same group as his readers ('we', 'our', *SE MT* 4 and 17), rather than being the sermon-giver.

¹¹ Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), Roman orator, statesman, and author of Munday's adopted motto (see n. 2). In the late sixteenth century, it was fashionable to be able to quote from classical authors (Hill 2005: 65, n. 25), and Munday claims to have conversed in Latin during his time in Rome (Munday 1980: lines 563-68).

¹² (s.n.) The modern reference is 1.118. *Q1* presents the reference in roman numerals and reverses the book/passage number order.

¹³ This is a retelling (apparently Munday's own) of a proverbial story that enjoyed a surge of popularity during the renaissance. Munday cites Cicero as a reference, but the story is much older than that citation would suggest. In *On Obligations* (2008: 1.118), Cicero told the story of the difficult choice made by Hercules, but no mention is made of the two women; the only consideration is the choice between leisure and industry. Cicero cited Xenophon (c. 498-354 BC) as his source, and it is in *Memorabilia* that the story of the two women is to be found (2013: II.1.21-34). However, Xenophon acknowledged that he was repeating a story told by the orator Prodicus of Ceos (c. 465-395 BC). Munday did not need to read any classical sources to learn this story: it was a popular theme in visual arts, and he could have seen a version of it almost anywhere, especially during his travels in Italy. Indeed, Munday's departure from Xenophon's description of the women's appearance and clothing would suggest a visual source rather than a literary one. For Xenophon, both women were tall and attractive, with Virtue wearing white to represent her purity.

¹⁴ (s.n.) The simple names 'Virtue' and 'Vain Pleasure' (*SE PT* 49 s.n. and 55 s.n.) sound like characters from a morality play. The name 'Virtue' appears in Xenophon, but the other woman is called 'Happiness' but 'nicknamed Vice' (Xenophon 2013: II.1.28-29). This double name hints at a duplicitous nature or hidden trap.

¹⁵ Munday uses the ambiguous word ‘forged’, meaning both ‘made’, as one would forge a piece of metal into shape (*OED* v.1 2a), and ‘fraudulent’ (*OED* adj. 4), to illustrate the deceptive nature of the character.

¹⁶ It is characteristic of this pamphlet for Munday to include flourishes of alliteration, reminiscent of the Euphuistic style that was fashionable at the time. *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and his England*, written by John Lyly (1554-1606), were current at the time this pamphlet was written. Intricate and mannered, the Euphuistic style, including antithesis, alliteration and extended similes, became very influential. Munday alludes to *Euphues* in his address to readers of *Zelauto*, written in the same year as *Sundry Examples* (Munday 1963: 7).

¹⁷ Munday lists three apparently proverbial phrases, but there is no match for these in either Tilley or Dent. It is, however, further use of Euphuistic language.

¹⁸ This is a somewhat clumsy self-deprecation. The analogy of hats is awkward: velvet could not be worn by anybody under the rank of knight, so carried the implication of social superiority (Lynn 2017: 106). Munday is saying that a simple man (like himself) can be cleverer than a nobleman. He is saying this to the close associates of a nobleman: not the most diplomatic choice.

¹⁹ (s.n.) Latin phrase meaning ‘Gifts must be valued not by the price, but by what is given to the spirit.’ *SEQ1L* is damaged, but the phrase is clear on *SEQ1F* (sig. A3^r).

²⁰ This is a reference to *Zelauto* (STC 18283), Munday’s only full-length prose fiction. This ‘greater’ work was published in the same year as *Sundry Examples* and, like the pamphlet, it was printed by John Charlewood and dedicated to the Earl of Oxford. Munday’s glancing reference here shows that he had Oxford in mind as patron for *Zelauto*

while dedicating *Sundry Examples*. It is characteristic of Munday to hint at one piece of writing while engaged on another.

²¹ Proverbial (Dent, L559).

²² (s.n.) *recte* Luke, 21.1-4.

²³ Herodotus records in *Histories* (2008: 7.131-33) that it was the Persian custom to demand the presentation of earth and water from conquered nations. This is particularly associated with Xerxes and his rapid expansion of the Persian empire, although the acceptance of this gesture was emblematic of the subjugation of the conquered nation and not the magnanimity of the ruler implied here. Munday is giving another indication of his awareness of classical sources, but his interpretation of them remains questionable.

²⁴ This is an echo of ‘love me little’ at *SE PT* 99 (s.n.).

²⁵ This is Euphuistic wordplay balancing aural similarities. Within this, Munday also plays with opposites: ‘chance’, as in luck or caprice, is balanced with ‘choice’, a deliberate and measured decision. Also ‘hazarding’, or venturing uncertainly, is balanced with ‘trusting’, or surety of outcome.

²⁶ This is a Spanish phrase meaning ‘I kiss my hands’, frequently used at the time by those writing in English as an end to a letter or dedication. Cf. ‘Baso les manos, God be with you.’ (Florio, STC 11096, sig. 2E1^v).

²⁷ The ‘greater affairs’ mentioned here are perhaps an allusion to Munday’s impending engagement as a government agent and an assurance of his discretion and suitability for the post.

²⁸ This is a general appeal to the class of reader, or potentially patron, Munday is seeking - wealthy and influential men. For a description of the Elizabethan idea of a 'gentleman', see Harrison 1994: 113-15.

²⁹ Corydon was a languishing shepherd in love with the beautiful Parthenia. Their story was a popular theme for ballads and poems of the day, and Corydon was a stock name for a shepherd. Cf. 'one Coridon that in | These quarters kept his flock' (Turberville, STC 22990, sig. M3^r). The name originates in Virgil's *Eclogues*, a collection of pastoral poems (42-37 BC).

³⁰ Another classical allusion: according to classical mythology, Chaos was the first entity in the creation of the world. Munday likens himself to this personification of disorder; especially apt in light of his recent participation in destructive riots during his time in Rome (Bergeron, 'Anthony Munday', *ODNB*).

MAIN TEXT

¹ *SEQ1* and *BCP* 1549 and 1559 have 'borne'. The phrase can be read with either word but the intimation is 'delivered' rather than 'carried'.

² (s.n.) In *SEQ1*, this Bible reference appears in the main text beneath the quotation. All other Bible references appear as side notes, so this reference has been moved accordingly.

³ The quotation is from Job, 14.1-2, but this precise wording does not come from the Bible, but from 'The Order for the Burial of the Dead' in *BCP* (2011: 1549, 83 and 1559, 171). This sets the tone of the pamphlet in encouraging readers to examine their own behaviour,

and to consider whether they believe themselves fit for God's judgement. The quotation is not complete: verse 2 should end with 'and never continueth in one staye.'

⁴ This opening sentence could begin at the second word, 'we' (*SE MT 4*), which demonstrates equality between the author and the reader and removes any notion of patronising instruction. However, Munday inserts the word 'Whereas' at the start of the sentence, implying a forthcoming contrast. Although the sentence is densely populated with separate clauses, the first part (*SE MT 4-8*) addresses the misery and problems encountered in daily life while the second part (*SE MT 8-13*) contrasts this by offering the means to mitigate these problems, namely the strength drawn from devotion to God.

⁵ This quotation exists in this form in most major translations current in 1580, but none have the word 'Christ' after the name 'Jesus', so presumably the addition is Munday's own. It is typical of Munday to add embellishment to names he wishes to glorify (such as Queen Elizabeth's) even when he is quoting from another source (see *WW MT 1030*, where Munday adds embellishment to the Queen's title that does not appear in his source, John Foxe).

⁶ 'Captain Christ' (*SE MT 20*) begins a military metaphor that is extended with the suggestion that Jesus Christ will defend the souls of his followers on the battlefield of life while their enemies are routed soldiers retreating in disorder.

⁷ This quotation partly matches two separate translations of the Bible. The reference at 24 (s.n.) is correct for *Geneva*, but that reading does not contain the word 'war': *God girdeth me with strength, and maketh my way upright*. A closer match would be *Bishops*: *It is God that hath gyrded me with valiauntnesse of warre: and he hath made my way playne*. The reference does not quite correspond, however; in *Bishops* this is Psalms, 18.31.

Munday has altered the subject of the quotation from ‘me’ to ‘us’, which fits with the sermonizing tone of the pamphlet and seeks to build the sense of fellowship in human imperfection that is Munday’s theme.

⁸ Munday has cited a Bible reference but not made a direct quotation. The reference given at *SE MT* 26 (s.n.) appears to be a misreading or misprint. The correct reference is Psalms, 121.1 *I will lift up myne eyes unto the hilles: from whence my helpe shall come in Bishops’*. Geneva had ‘mountaines’ rather than ‘hilles’, but Munday substitutes both for ‘heaven’, thus freeing the image from physical restrictions of the natural world and reminding the reader that a Protestant has no need of earthly aid but is a member of the church invisible.

EXAMPLE OF GEORGE BROWNE

¹ This murder took place on 25 March 1573 and was a notorious case of the day. The story was mentioned at or before 1580 by Arthur Golding (*A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Saunders*, STC 11985, 1573), Raphael Holinshed (*The First Volume of the Chronicles of England*, STC 13568b, 1577, sigs 4Y5^r-4Y5^v) and John Stow (*CoE*, STC 2333, 1580, sig. 4D4^r-4D5^r), as well as this retelling by Munday. The event was later dramatized in the anonymous play *A Warning for Fair Women* (1599).

Munday draws attention to the difference in social rank between the murderer and his victim. George Browne has no title, but the reference to ‘Master’ Saunders suggests that this was the man for whom the reader should have respect and sympathy.

² The same construction can be found in Chaucer: ‘That he is gentil that dooth gentil dedis’ (2008: *Wife of Bath’s Tale*, line 1170), and has remained popular since. Almost any

adjective can be substituted for ‘gentil’: Munday has chosen ‘goodly’, and then followed it with a similar adaptation for ‘comely’.

³ These are general terms for undesirable characters. Cf. ‘nor Dick Swash or Desperate Dick’ (Nashe, STC 18369, sig. A2^v).

⁴ Munday refers to Browne sarcastically as ‘gallant’ and ‘goodly’ and, at *SE MT* 49 (s.n.) as ‘worthy of commendation’ when the very opposite is evident.

⁵ Tyburn, a village outside the city of London, was notorious as the site of the main permanent gallows for London (*MoEML*,) and the name was synonymous with an ignominious death. However, nobody involved in this case was executed there: the guilty parties were all executed at Smithfield.

⁶ Munday uses ‘vainglorious virtue’, an alliterative oxymoron, to fit the ironic tone of the paragraph. Munday is indicating concern that disruptive characters like George Browne may have enjoyed a degree of popularity they did not deserve.

⁷ This is the first of many times in this pamphlet that Munday uses financial prudence as an illustration of good character. For further information on the perceived link between good credit and good reputation, see Muldrew 1998: 148-72.

⁸ This paragraph directly contrasts the uncontrollable vices of the murderer with the virtuous character of the victim.

⁹ (s.n) St Mary Cray was at the time a bucolic village in north Kent. In fact, George Browne did not meet his victim near St Mary Cray, but near Shooters Hill. Master Saunders was on his way to St Mary Cray, but had barely left the city (Golding 1573: sig.

A3^v). This suggests that Munday was relying on his own memory of the case, or what he had heard, rather than on other written accounts.

¹⁰ This extravagant alliteration in the Euphuistic style is employed to draw attention to the magnitude of the crime and the wickedness of the perpetrator.

¹¹ This is an example of the heightened rhetorical language popular in the literature and public speaking of the day, emphasizing the ‘spoken’ feeling of the pamphlet. It is debatable whether Munday is relishing this style or mocking it. For more information on the rhetorical style, both written and spoken, see Hope 2010: 1-39.

¹² Munday changes his remarks from a passive generality to an active accusatory tone. He holds up the example of George Browne’s behaviour for his readers to examine, and then writes as if he were himself addressing the condemned man. Munday’s language indicates his contempt for Browne, using ‘thy’ and ‘thee’ to drive home his point (*OED* *thou* *pron.* 2 – expressing reproach or contempt). Munday’s insertion of the word ‘yea’ at *SE MT* 78 suggests a spoken address before a crowd.

¹³ This is an exact quotation from *Bishops*’, except for the insertion of the word ‘should’ at *SE MT* 85.

¹⁴ This is an exact quotation from *Bishops*’, but the s.n. is a misreading: it should read Proverbs, 27.1.

¹⁵ This quotation is taken from *Tyndale*: it should read ‘the people’, not ‘thy people’, but otherwise the wording is exact. The second sentence also appears in *Geneva*, and the third in *Bishops*’, but the only version with all three sentences in this form is *Tyndale*. The verse reference in the s.n. is for the second and third sentences only, but as *Tyndale* has no verse references, no reference would be possible for the first sentence in this form.

¹⁶ This was an area of open ground outside the city wall to the north where many popular civic events were held, including public executions (*MoEML*).

EXAMPLE OF WIDOW BARNES

¹ This story appears in the pamphlet *A Sword Against Swearing* (STC 3048, 1579) by Edmond Bicknoll. A little more detail is offered in that pamphlet, claiming that ‘within four days’ she cast herself from the window (sig. E2^v). The story was retold in similar publications for many years afterward, generally with a diminishing amount of detail supplied. *The general session* (Rogers, STC 21233.3, 1581, sigs E9^v-F1^r) refers the reader back to *Sundry Examples* for further information, together with *Les grands et redoutables jugemens et punitions de Dieu, advenus au monde* by Jean Chassanion (1581), ‘if thou have the French tongue’ (sig. F1^r). This is one of many similar Continental works that were seeping into the English market at this time. Chassanion’s pamphlet was translated into English by Thomas Beard and published in 1597 under the title *The Theatre of God’s Judgements* (STC 1659).

² Cornhill was (and still is) a busy thoroughfare in the centre of London, extending from St Andrew Undershaft in the west to the intersection with Threadneedle Street and the Poultry in the east (*MoEML*).

³ William Vaughan explains in his pamphlet that this is a story about a woman *forswearing*, or perjuring, herself in order to swindle an orphan out of their inheritance (Vaughan, STC 24623,1630: 153) As this story was retold over many years, the single female orphan became changed to Widow Barnes’ own multiple children (Rogers 1581: sig. E8^v-F1^r), and became male (Saxey, STC 21805, 1583: sig. B6^r).

EXAMPLE OF ARTHUR MILLER

¹ This story appears in Bicknoll (1579: sig. E2^v). Although Munday has not strayed from the content of Bicknoll's account, he has not copied it word for word.

² At the time, Hackney was a rural village to the north-east of the city.

EXAMPLE OF ONE BERRY

¹ A counter (or compter) was a small gaol for civil misdemeanours. Counters originated as a place to hold debtors, but were also used for those guilty of religious dissent, drunkenness and other such infractions (Jowett 2017: 15).

² The Poultry was (and still is) the name of a road. In this mercantile area of London many of the thoroughfares were named after the commodity traditionally sold there: Milk Street, Cornhill and Pie Corner are other examples.

³ This story appears in Saxey (1583: sig. B6^r) but contains no detail beyond the name 'Berrie' and the location of the event. As Munday was apprenticed to John Allde in the Poultry within months of Berry's suicide, it is possible that what we have in *SEQ1* is his memory (just five years later) of what he was told about it.

EXAMPLE OF ANNE AVERIES

¹ This is one of the most frequently recurring stories to be found in pamphlets of this nature. Bicknoll featured the story in 1579 with a great deal of detail including Anne's age, address and a list of prominent citizens who had witnessed the event (sig. E3^r-4^v). He referred to a pamphlet (not extant) published by John Allde in 1576 as his source; Munday was apprenticed to Allde in August 1576 (Turner 1928: 5) and so may have worked on that pamphlet. Alternatively, he may have acquired knowledge of this event through gossip

(see Example of Berry, n.3). Anne's story was still being told fifty years after the event in *The feareful summer* (Taylor, STC 23754, 1625: sig. B6^v), although by this time it was reduced to a marginal note.

² This is referring to the previously mentioned Widow Barnes at *SE MT* 103-10.

³ Munday makes a point of the disputed money being in her left hand, the side superstitiously associated with the Devil, and that she was clutching thirteen pence, a number associated with Judas (as the thirteenth person at the Last Supper) and therefore symbolic of wickedness and betrayal. It should also be noted that 'theft of goods worth more than a shilling [twelve pence] constituted grand larceny, and might be punished by death' (Sharpe 1984: 67), so in this case it could be seen that God was acting on, and thereby approving, English law.

EXAMPLE OF FATHER LEA

¹ Bicknoll's version of this story predates *Sundry Examples* by a year, and gives much more detail about the circumstances surrounding Father Lea's despair. According to Bicknoll, Lea briefly survived his attempted suicide and was treated by a surgeon, only to die the following day. The precise date and address of these events is given by Bicknoll as Monday 28 January 1577 (a week later than the date offered in *SEQ1*) at Sone (Sun) Alley in the parish of St Botolph's without Bishopsgate. (1579: sig. E5^r-6^v). This is to the north east of the city, outside the city wall, in the vicinity of Bethlehem Hospital (*MoEML*).

² The stories so far have all been local situations involving common folk living readily recognisable lives. The extraordinary events surrounding these people provides 'evidence' of God expressing his will directly to the English people. By using the word 'ourselves' Munday is again trying to form fellowship amongst his readers.

³ These stories (with the exception of Arthur Miller at *SE MT* 111-21) are all at least partially located within a few streets of each other around London city and are dated within seven years of the publication of the pamphlet. It is likely they were common knowledge; Munday would have been old enough to remember them happening, may have discussed them, heard about them in church or been present at the public executions.

⁴ This quotation (*SE MT* 165-78) is taken directly from *Bishops*’.

⁵ This quotation is taken largely from *Bishops*’, although the beginning has been changed from ‘Ye shall not’ to the far stronger ‘Thou shalt not’, more reminiscent of a commandment than advice.

⁶ This is another long quotation (*SE MT* 181-99) taken largely from *Bishops*’, but the reference is a misreading: the correct reference is 23.9. The quotation of verse 9 is incomplete: after ‘in thy mouth’ it should continue with ‘and meddle not with the names of saintes, for thou shalt not be excused of them.’ Munday may have chosen to leave this out due to the implication that some may believe prayer to saints to be of benefit, a notion too reminiscent of Catholicism for his liking. Verse 10 in the pamphlet uses the phrase ‘much beaten’ instead of ‘oft punished,’ which is the phrase used in all contemporary translations of the Bible. Verses 11, 13 and 15 are exact transcriptions, but verse 12 has no parentheses in the Bible, and in the pamphlet the word ‘will’ has been inserted between ‘God’ and ‘eschew’. Verse 14 has been omitted from the pamphlet entirely: this urges the faithful to remember their father and mother. Munday, the orphan who had no parents, did not include it.

⁷ This is another quotation of mixed origin. Zechariah records his experiences in the first person, but in this pamphlet Zechariah’s own utterances have been removed and the

quotation deals only with the instructions given by God to the prophet. Verses 2 and 3 as related here are based on *Bishops*' (although that translation says that thieves will be judged 'after' the book, rather than 'according' to it). Verse 3 as reproduced in the pamphlet is incomplete, and should end with '& al parjured persons shalbe judged according to the same.' Verse 4 is based on *Geneva*. No translation has parentheses in this verse, and 'in the midst' does not appear at all.

⁸ This (*SE MT* 208-14) is an exact quotation from *Bishops*'.

EXAMPLE OF PAUL GREEN

¹ There is no date associated with this event and no other reference to it in contemporary writing, so its place in the chronology of these stories is unconfirmed. From this point to *SE MT* 324 is a list of miscreants and their crimes reminiscent of Pompey's speech in *Measure for Measure* at 4.3.1-18 (Shakespeare 1998).

² See Example of George Browne, n.1. Munday again draws attention to a perceived difference in social status by giving the victim a courtesy title and not the offender.

³ The Royal Exchange was (and still is) a centre for the trade of high-quality goods in London, situated just yards from Munday's apprenticeship in the Poultry. Queen Elizabeth herself visited in January 1571 in order to examine 'the finest wares in the city.' (Stow 1599: sig. L3^v-4^r).

⁴ The context implies that this was a spontaneous event: Master Temple sought urgent temporary refuge in some nearby house such as a shop, tavern or brothel.

⁵ A 'stall' could be a bench or a partition, but perhaps the most likely item Munday may describe as a 'stall' would be that in a shop; 'Below each working window was a hinged

wooden counter called a *stall* [...] that could be closed up like a horizontal shutter across the lower part of the window.’ (Blayney 1997: 413). Green thrust a weapon, or possibly himself, over a stall in order to attack Master Temple.

⁶ i.e the satisfaction of vengeance. The implication is that there was a long-standing feud between the two men.

EXAMPLE OF THE TWO SHERIFFS

¹ Despite Munday’s assertion that this was a matter of great public interest, and the recent date, there is little detail offered here and no other records exist for comparison. The official responsibilities of the ancient title of sheriff were in decline by 1580, having been superseded by other officials such as Justices of the Peace in law and the Lord Lieutenant in the militia; nevertheless, in 1580 sheriffs were still appointed from the county elite (Sharpe 1984: 30-31).

² The two sheriffs in this story were both old men who had at one time been held in high esteem by their peers, so public knowledge of some mismanagement leading perhaps to loss of fortune could have contributed to this tragedy. This theory gains plausibility against the background of Gloucester’s deteriorating financial state in the late sixteenth century. Successive deficits caused the city to rely on loans from prominent citizens and officials, and during the later decades of the sixteenth century it became customary, upon appointment to office, for the four stewards to lend the city chamber enough money to clear the current deficit. They were then reimbursed by their successors. In 1579, the year mentioned in this pamphlet, one or more of the new stewards refused to pay, bringing the city (and possibly some of its officials) close to bankruptcy (Herbert 1988: online resource). The enormous financial impact this would have on individuals who had paid out

but could not get that money back would have been devastating. There is no confirmation in this pamphlet that the sheriffs died together, or even at the same time, but only that both had recently taken their own lives. Such a startling end for a sheriff would have been disturbing news for any community, but to have two in quick succession would have been scandalous. The pamphlet does say that they were ‘supposed to be very godly livers’ (*SE MT* 235-36), which makes their situation even more shocking because they not only violated the law of the land by committing suicide, but also fell victim to the sin of despair in violation of God’s law. For more information on the Elizabethan understanding of despair, see Snyder, 1965: online resource.

EXAMPLE OF JOHN MORGAN

¹ This murder took place on 23 January 1580 at Cavit Wollent in Somerset (Lyne, in ‘George Turberville’, *ODNB*). Both John Morgan and Nicholas Turberville, a former High Sheriff of Dorsetshire, came from well-known, wealthy families who owned land on the Dorset/Somerset border. Nicholas Turberville, brother of the poet George Turberville, fell victim to John Morgan’s temper during a brawl which became the subject of a ballad, registered on 17 March 1580 (just a few weeks before the publication of *SEQ1*), titled *A dittie of Master Turbyvyle murthered, and John Morgan that murdered him* (Arber II.366, reprinted in Hodgson 1938: 520-27). This, and the inclusion of the story here (as well as other, later, verses) show that the story was sensational enough to be of general interest for some time.

² i.e. Morgan’s wife. Anne Morgan was Nicholas Turberville’s sister. It is believed that she may have instigated the argument, or been the subject of it (Hodgson 1938: 527). Not only

did she allegedly testify against her own husband in a murder trial, but she left her childbed (having very recently given birth) to do it.

³ This is a town in Somerset, close to the border with Devon.

⁴ This is the highest permanent judge of the Crown, and an official of national importance. By mentioning the Lord Chief Justice, Munday emphasizes that the impact of this crime upon the wider community was enormous.

EXAMPLE OF RICHARD TODD

¹This crime was committed in March 1580, so this pamphlet was one of the first to report it. The story can be found in Stow's *CoE*, also published in 1580 (sig. 4G1^r), albeit recounted in less detail. Holinshed (*Third Volume* 1586) included the story, but revised the murderer's name to 'Dod' (sig. 6K6^v). According to Holinshed, there was a dispute between the officers of the Sheriff of London, in charge of the prisoner, and Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, over where the execution should take place. All parties, including the prisoner, retired to a nearby house and a lengthy negotiation ensued. Sir Owen prevailed, and the execution party withdrew from the vicinity of the Tower. The execution took place later that day at Tyburn.

² This incident took place near the Tower, probably in or around St Katherine's Hospital, an ancient religious institution located in the Whitechapel area of London, to the east of the Tower and outside the city wall, (Stow *Survey* 1599: sig. G4^v). By 1580, the area around the hospital was densely populated (Stow *Survey* 1599: sig. G5^r).

³ This is another example of this pamphlet's theme of virtue and financial prudence being inextricably linked to good social standing.

⁴ The use of powerful language – ‘massacred’ (*SE MT* 252), ‘bloody butcher’ (*SE MT* 257), ‘entrenching knife’ (*SE MT* 257) – indicates that this was an horrific act of excessive violence against a manifestly defenceless victim. This story was still being retold fifteen years later (*I. World of Wonders* 1595: sig. F4^r).

THE EXAMPLE OF MARMADUKE GLOVER

¹ This pamphlet was amongst the first to report this crime, which occurred within weeks or possibly days of its publication. A little more detail is to be found in *Stow CoE* (sig. 4G1^r), also published in 1580, where it is discovered that ‘Marmeduke’ was an alias for Francis Glover. *Stow* is in turn reproduced by and acknowledged as a source for *Holinshed* (*Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6K6^r). The story appeared again, in significantly less detail, in 1595 (*I.* 1595: sig. F4^r).

² Although the rank could refer to an army officer, Sergeant Grace was more likely to be a sheriff’s officer (Crystal and Crystal 2004: 393).

³ As in the case of George Browne (*SE MT* 35-102), Munday is examining successive imprudent and illegal actions that build upon one another until murder is committed. Marmeduke Glover’s nefarious activities led to him attempting to resist lawful arrest and then the murder of his would-be captor. Munday separates the offences and examines them individually, pointing out at *SE MT* 269-72 that had Glover not resisted arrest, he may have avoided severe punishment and saved both his own life and that of Sergeant Grace. No account of this incident discloses why Sergeant Grace was attempting to arrest Glover, but the implication is that it was not for a capital crime.

⁴ This time, Munday does not focus on the crime itself but on the consequences of it for Grace’s widow. Despite already having a well-established theme of financial security

running through these stories, Munday does not draw attention to the widow's new financial precariousness, but to the devastating emotional effect of the crime on her life. This is one of several small indications in Munday's writing of an unusual (for the time) empathy for women and the state of womanhood.

⁵ Cheapside was one of the most important streets in London, being the main artery running east to west through the centre of the city (*MoEML*).

⁶ A gibbet was an upright post with a beam set at a right-angle from which to hang the condemned (*OED* gibbet *n.* 1.a), as distinct from gallows which had two or three upright posts joined together by a crosspiece (*OED* gallows *n.* 1). Holinshed (*Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6K6^{r-v}) provided more detail about the execution of Glover: this gibbet was set up beside the Standard (a fountain in the centre of the street, often the location of punishments and executions) in Cheapside specifically for the execution of Glover. Afterwards the gibbet was taken down and the next day it was set up in Hog Lane, near the Tower, for the hanging of Richard Todd (*SE MT* 249-64). That hanging did not take place as intended, so the gibbet was taken down again (Holinshed *Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6K6^{r-v}).

EXAMPLE OF A MAID THAT BURIED HER CHILD QUICK

¹ No name, date or location is mentioned for the woman in this story, so corroborating information is virtually impossible to find. This sad story, perhaps more than any other in the pamphlet, demonstrates that in early modern England there was little differentiation between immorality and crime (Sharpe 1984: 5).

² Munday again separates different crimes that have been compounded by the perpetrator; in this case, 'unchaste living' has led to murder.

³ The birth of an illegitimate child was a far more serious offence than ‘unchaste living’, as an illegitimate child was also likely to be unsupported and expensive for the parish (Wrightson 1982: 7).

⁴ Psalms 127.3 (*Geneva*) is specific that ‘children are the inheritance of the Lord, and the frute of the wombe his rewarde.’ The maid faced punishment both for rejecting the gift of God and for her fornication.

⁵ Fornication and illegitimate birth results in murder. This incremental descent into criminal behaviour demonstrates how a relatively minor offence can move from the province of the Church Court, with jurisdiction over immoral behaviour, to the Assizes for the trial of a capital crime (Sharpe 1984: 21-27).

⁶ (s.n.) Munday does not give a complete reference for this commandment. The quotation exists in this form in both *Geneva* and *Bishops*, and in both the reference should read Exodus 20.14. Exodus, 20 would be correct for *Tyndale*, which contains numbered chapters but no numbered verses, but the quotation should then read ‘Thou shalt not breake wedlocke.’

⁷ This wording comes from Matthew 6.26 in both *Tyndale* and *Bishops* (but not *Geneva*, where it appears as ‘foules of the heaven’). The Bible uses the phrase in a different context; Munday has appropriated it for his own construction.

⁸ In *SE MT* 282-97, Munday moves from telling the story to applying its lesson. His frequent use of the words ‘we’ and ‘our’ creates an inclusive group of readers and author together, giving a sense of collective recognition rather than instruction.

⁹ (s.n.) This reference relates only to the first sentence of the quotation, which is not complete. It reads in full, ‘But that we write unto them, that they absteine them selves from filthines of idoles, and fornication, and that that is strangled, and from blood’ (*Geneva*).

¹⁰ (s.n.) The reference for this quotation (excluding the first sentence) is not complete: it should read 1 Corinthians 6.18-19, and all the major translations are similar. Verse 18 begins ‘Flee fornication’, which Munday has discarded. The Bible reads ‘the body’ rather than Munday’s more directed ‘his body’, but otherwise verse 18 is reproduced accurately. Verse 19 reads, ‘Know ye not, that your bodie is y^e temple of the holie Gost, which is in you, whome ye have of God? and ye are not your owne’ (*Geneva*). The essence of Munday’s version is the same, but the wording differs considerably. The reference to a ‘quick sacrifice to God’ does not belong with this quotation at all, but is taken from Romans 12.1.

EXAMPLE OF THE GENTLEWOMAN THAT KILLED HER MAID

¹ This was a parish outside the city boundary on the main road to Tyburn.

² Munday mentions Mistress Harrison’s alias, and her story was told again by Saxey three years later in 1583, this time named as ‘Amye Middleton’ (sig. B6^r). Saxey does not provide any extra detail.

³ The word ‘fortunes’ (*OED* fortune *n.* 5 – one’s condition in life) suggests that Mistress Harrison had a history of betraying confidences.

⁴ *OED* indicates that this can be a literal or figurative relationship: whichever was the case, Mistress Harrison had been trusted both to employ and protect the maid.

⁵ Instead of the word ‘with’, *Q1* prints the abbreviation *w^c*, normally representative of the word ‘which’. The sentence requires ‘with’, commonly abbreviated to *w^t*, so this could be an error. However, *w^c* for ‘with’ is found again at *SE MT* 407 and 520. At *SE MT* 456, ‘with’ is abbreviated to *w^t*. If different compositors favoured each of these abbreviations, then at least two compositors worked on sheet D, which contains both *SE MT* 456 and 520.

⁶ This suggests that the maid was still a child.

⁷ Strictly speaking, this means ‘in a Jewish manner’ (*OED* Jewishly *adv.*). Early modern England still believed the medieval superstition that Jews murdered Christian children as part of their religious observation, and that the reluctance of Jews to convert to Christianity would delay the salvation of mankind. In the context of the time, the word ‘Jewish’ would carry overtones of cruelty or abuse.

⁸ Munday does not take the opportunity to cite Exodus 21.20: ‘And if a man smite his servant, or his mayd with a rod, & he dye under his hand, he shal be surely punished’ (*Geneva*). It should be noted that this case involves two women, and Munday’s treatment of it, although still shocking, is less condemnatory than in cases involving men. He does not give any detail concerning Mistress Harrison’s execution and he does not use a Bible reference to emphasise her transgression of God’s law, even though one was readily available to him.

⁹ All the stories thus far in the pamphlet have taken place in England, mostly in a very small area of London. Munday appeals to his readers to remember what they may have heard for themselves or witnessed in the nearby streets.

EXAMPLES OF BLAZING STARS

¹ Any celestial phenomenon, or unusual or unseasonal weather, was of enormous interest to sixteenth century observers. *A Blazyng Starre* by Francis Shakelton (STC 22272, 1580), published within months of *Sundry Examples*, listed numerous sightings of comets and shooting stars which the author felt were evidence of the second coming of Christ, and therefore the end of the world. Included is the appearance of a comet over England in the autumn of 1577 (while Munday was apprenticed to John Allde), which was a particularly spectacular event and well documented in Europe. Francis Shakelton would certainly have been known to Munday: Shakelton was the minister of St Mildred's church, next door to John Allde's shop in the Poultry, while Munday was living there.

² The direction, time of year and the appearance of movement all suggest that this was a manifestation of the Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights. This phenomenon was recorded by Holinshed (1577: sig. 4Y8^v, p. 1870) and Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4E2^r), as well as in many other pamphlets in ensuing years. Stow provided the most detail, including the date 14 November 1574: 'the Heavens from all partes did seeme to burne marvellous ragingly, and over our heads, the flames from the Horizon rounde aboute rysing did meete, and there double and roll in one an other, as if it had beene in a cleare Fornace' (sig. 4E2^r).

³ This is also recorded by Holinshed (1577: sig. 4Y8^v, p. 1870) and Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4E2^r), as well as in many other sources. Stow gives the date as 6 November 1574, just days before the appearance of fire in the sky (see n. 2).

⁴ This story was told again in more detail a year later in *The doome warning all men to the judgement* by Stephen Batman (1581, STC 1582), a collection of stories previously published by other authors, including the prolific French humanist Conrad Lycosthenes

(1518-1561), whose name had become synonymous with accounts of wondrous events and creatures. This event happened in Tewkesbury, when huge clouds of flies and ‘bytters’ (beetles) swarmed down the River Severn and for four days the mill dams were stopped by heaps of flies (1581: sig. 2C3^v). Batman made no mention of any special markings on the flies.

EXAMPLE OF THE CHILD IN GELDERLAND

¹ The argument of this pamphlet is still the danger to be perceived in the disruption of what was considered to be the natural order, but that now moves from unnatural behaviour in normal society (which is within an individual’s control) to unnatural events which were considered to be instigated by God and could only be mitigated by the collective efforts of the nation.

² Gelderland was the largest province of the Netherlands. This story marks the first time that the pamphlet moves away from English life. The section from *SE MT* 335-94 is a mixture of stories from England and the Continent concerning wondrous events; they appear in too many sources to list individually, but most are dated after *SEQ1*. Possibly Munday collected news stories while he was travelling on the Continent in 1578-79.

³ There are a great many stories of monsters and prodigious births dating from this period and several are included in this pamphlet. Just as any birth was an event that affected the whole community (Pollock 1997: 288), so an abnormal birth was potentially of concern to the whole country: ‘the culture of monsters and prodigies exploded in late fifteenth-century [Europe], in connection with specific political, religious and military events’ (Daston and Park 1998: 180).

⁴ Batman provided more detail for this story. He claimed this birth took place on 7 November 1575 at Arnhem in the eastern Netherlands. The father was a drunkard and a blasphemer, but his wife sought to stop his wayward behaviour. He cursed her, and wished that she might bear the Devil, and she agreed so that she might be rid of her misery with him. Not long after, in front of the neighbours and the midwife she was delivered of the monster described by Munday, which so frightened them that they smothered it (Batman 1581: sig. 2C4^v).

⁵ Batman's more detailed version of this story locates the birth in Ferrara, a city-province in north-east Italy, and gives the date 17 January (although no specific year, context suggests 1578). An unmarried woman of seventy-seven years finally married, and within a year bore a deformed child which cured the blind and the dumb. There was a shining light about the child at night and, after death, the child vanished. This account differs from others in Munday's pamphlet because the child is endowed with a divine benevolence, marking a departure from the more commonplace association with the Devil, although Batman acknowledges that opinion was divided among the witnesses (1581: sig. 2C6^v). This is the first of the stories of prodigious birth in this pamphlet where it is alleged that the child uttered prophecies of doom.

⁶ Thomas East (1540-1608) printed many English translations of Spanish romances (Smith, 'Thomas East', *ODNB*), a market with which Munday became strongly associated later in his career. The book Munday mentions here is not extant, but by referring his readers to a specific book (and again at *SE MT* 348-49), Munday lends some free advertising to a useful contact in the trade.

⁷ The specific identification of this town is unclear. Munday locates this place in 'Dutchland', which *OED* defines as an obsolete name for Germany (*OED* n. 1) or Holland (*OED* n. 2). Bates places Lutsolof in Germany (2002: 523), and Pet indicates that Lutsolof was four miles from the nearest town, but the name of that town is not clear (1582: sig. B2^v).

⁸ Munday offers little detail about the children from Lutsolof. Two years after *SEQ1*, Pet described the same deformed hands mentioned by Munday, and also that the child's head was shaped like a bishop's mitre. The infant's colour could be 'compared unto a negro' (Pet 1582: sig. B2^v).

⁹ There is no particular source for most of the words supposedly uttered by this child.

¹⁰ Pet provided an illustration of the second child as a dicephalic parapagus conjoined twin, having two heads on a single body. This child was purportedly half black and half white. Conjoined twins were often recorded in impossible pairings (black/white, male/female) because it was felt they represented a union of opposites: observers expected to find symbolism in their existence and therefore projected one onto physical evidence that did not support it (Bates 2002: 526). The second child did not speak, but 'contiously did cry and weep and make great lamentation' (Pet 1582: sig. B2^v). In common with many other authors who connected unnatural events with divine displeasure, Pet links this prodigious birth with the arrival of a serious outbreak of plague in the city. 'Some have supposed this to be but lyes and fables' (Pet 1582: sig. B2^v), but 'there dyed in nyne dayes two thowsand persons' (Pet 1582: sig. B2^v).

¹¹ The story of the child in Manchester was also retold by Batman (1581: sig. 2C7^r), but with the added detail that the child was born on Tuesday 4 August, and not only had no

head but the belly was open and the bowels could be seen. Batman did not mention the child's mother, but Munday does inform the reader that soon after this traumatic event, the mother gave birth to a 'goodly and sweet infant' (*SE MT* 356), thus emphasising that even after evidence of divine disapproval it was possible for redemption to occur and for order to be restored.

¹² Batman adds that this event took place in the parish of Eglisham (now Eglingham) near Abberwick, Northumberland (1581: sig. 2C7^v).

¹³ This story was told and interpreted by Batman at greater length. Munday mentioned the heads and ears, but Batman added a description of the body and named the father as one John Vrine, 'a lewde Minstrell or Idle vagabonde' (1581: sig. 2C7^v). The child was born dead and Batman interpreted the birth as a warning both to the wicked father (the mother is not mentioned by either Batman or Munday) and to authority figures, such as officers, clergy and nobility, to avoid double dealing. The story appeared again in 1595 in *A World of Wonders* (T.I., STC 14068.5, sig. E2^{r-v}). The author explained that John Vrine's wife first gave birth to a healthy daughter, but the ungrateful father refused to thank God for the safe delivery. The next time his wife gave birth, she delivered the monstrous child. A monstrous child born after a healthy one is a reversal of the situation surrounding the child at Manchester and its message of redemption, showing that God's favour can as easily be withdrawn as bestowed.

¹⁴ This story is too vague and too common to be identified specifically. Munday lived in London and it is likely he saw such exhibitions himself on multiple occasions.

EXAMPLE AT PRAGUE IN BOHEMIA

¹ Prague was formerly the capital of Bohemia, a kingdom in the Holy Roman Empire.

² In the sixteenth century the uncontrollable strength and unpredictability of extreme weather and other natural phenomena was attributed to divine displeasure. Here, Munday's earlier theme of avoiding personal disaster by adhering to the word of God is expanded to the responsibility of the community to live righteously in order to protect the nation. This earthquake happened in January 1579. There were few written sources in England before *SEQ1* in 1580, but this earthquake is mentioned in Arthur Golding's pamphlet *A discourse upon the earthquake* (1580, STC 11987) which actually has an English earthquake (discussed later in *SEQ1*) as the main subject.

³ Many early modern pamphlets featured accounts of apparitions in the sky. These generally took the form of galloping horses or battles (Thomas 1971:104) or, as in this case, a giant figure or partial figure issuing a warning. Golding referred to a similar apparition in Montpellier in 1573 (Golding 1580: sig. A3^v).

⁴ This is not a direct quotation from the Bible, but is biblically inspired. Revelations, 12.12 reads 'Therefore rejoyce, ye heavens, & ye that dwell in them. Wo to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come downe unto you which hathe but a short time' (*Geneva*). The reference to 'he commeth that is to come' (*SE MT* 378) would suggest the second coming of Christ, and therefore the end of the world, but the Bible is specific about expecting a visitation from the Devil.

A WOMAN OF 59 YEARS DELIVERED OF THREE CHILDREN

¹ 'Above the rest' could indicate that the subject of this story had an elevated social status within the city, being the wife of the town clerk. Alternatively, it could suggest that Munday felt this story was more important than other stories, especially (with a 46-year-

old Queen Elizabeth's succession still unclear) as it features a woman beyond normal child-bearing age giving birth to living children.

² This is the last of the stories of prodigious birth. In common with many of such stories, this woman was past childbearing age but gave birth to living babies. The only 'monstrous' element to their appearance was being born with teeth but, although rare, natal teeth are far from unknown.

³ There is no specific source for this wording, but this story can be found retold by John Hull (*Saint Peters Prophetie* 1610: sig. 3V1^v). Exactly the same story, including hailstones, earthquake, apparition and speaking babies, was retold in two news pamphlets (*K. Newes from Hereford* 1661 and *Smalman A strange and true relation* 1661), which related to events on 1 October 1661 in Hereford. W.K. used only a single broadsheet, including illustrations, but Smalman gave his credentials as the town churchwarden and provided a list of witnesses to the event in his properly manufactured pamphlet (1661: sig. A4^r). Smalman did not know whether these children would live or die, but Batman, who told the story in 1581 in relation to Prague, indicated that they lived for only one day.

EXAMPLE OF ONE IN WORCESTRSHIRE

¹ Munday returns to his examination of individual crimes being compounded: this man killed his brother and then added concealment of the body to that crime.

² Munday deplores the crime, but provides no detail. Further information can be found in Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4E6^{r-v}). The murder took place on 10 November 1575. One brother murdered the other 'out of his wames (belly, *OED* n. 1.a) with an axe' and then buried him under the hearth. Stow added that the murderer 'was rewarded according to hys deserts' (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4E6^{r-v}). The story appeared again in Holinshed with a little more detail,

although citing Stow as its source. According to Holinshed, the murderer committed the crime by ‘smiting the brains out of his head with an ax, and after cutting his throte to make him sure’ (*Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6G4^r). A marginal note says that the murderer was hanged.

³ Genesis, 4.1-16. Munday refers to the well-known Bible story but does not provide any quotations on this occasion. This story and the next (*SE MT* 404-25) both concentrate on murders between family members, perhaps the ultimate challenge to what Munday (orphaned with no siblings) would consider to be the natural order. He comments that this transgression was worse than Cain’s (*SE MT* 402-03), whom God had cast out from Eden and marked for death.

EXAMPLE OF THOMAS HILL

¹ Faversham in Kent had already experienced one notorious murder in 1551 when Alice Arden conspired to have her husband killed, an event dramatized in the anonymous play *Arden of Faversham* (1592). Although that murder was very famous, Munday chose to discuss a different murder, this time between a mother and son: a relationship of blood rather than marriage.

² This was the process of cruentation: to make a person accused of murder to touch the victim’s corpse. It was believed that if the accused person were guilty then the corpse would unnaturally bleed in reflection of their unnatural deed (Gaskill 1998: 8-9).

³ Points were short laces which were threaded through eyelet holes in the lower border of the doublet and through corresponding holes along the top of the hose, and then fastened (Cunnington 1962: 23). In this case, the accused removed five of the points from his

clothing, tied them together to make a single length, and then used it to hang himself. This story is also found in Rogers (1581: sig. F1^r), which cites *SEQ1* as its source.

EXAMPLE OF QUERNBY

¹ Munday locates this story immediately after that of Thomas Hill as both Hill and Quernby had killed their own mothers.

² There was no mark upon the body of Hill's mother (*SE MT* 415-16), but 'butcherly' suggests that Quernby's crime was more like that of Richard Todd (*SE MT* 257).

³ The description of this crime as 'unnatural' fits two of Munday's themes: the act of murder is as opposite to the natural order as an earthquake or a monstrous birth, and to murder one's mother (the person who gave life) is the ultimate unnatural act.

MARGARET DORRINGTON

¹ This was a notorious case of the time. Although Munday provides no date, two pamphlets on the subject were published in late June, 1578. On 23 June, Thomas East was licensed to publish *A lamentable confession of Margaret Dorington, wife to Roberte Dorington of Westmynster, who was executed in the pallace of Westmynster for murdering Alice Fox* (Arber II.328). Another pamphlet on the same subject was licensed to Richard Jones two days later, entitled *A Tragicall memorye of the plagues of adultery, by a late example of the deathe of foure haynous trespassers, with the confession of Margaret Doryngton, one of the foure* (Arber II.328). Neither pamphlet is extant.

² Munday does not provide many details of this crime but the weapon was very typical of the time. What sets this story apart from others in this pamphlet is that the blade was in the

hands of a female assailant and wielded against another woman. The attack was sly and viciously sexual, ‘thrusting a knife up under her clothes’ (*SE MT* 432-33).

EXAMPLE OF ONE HANGED IN CHAINS AT MILE END

¹ Munday does not provide enough detail to trace this crime in public records.

² Mile End was considered to be ‘countryside’ on the outermost eastern edge of London. This was an area used as a military training ground as well as for fairs, recreation and occasional public executions (*MoEML*). The ‘gardens’ at Mile End is not a precise location as the whole area was accessible to the public. Possibly the murder happened in a private garden, in which case the noun probably would not be plural.

³ This is another example (like that of Richard Todd at *SE MT* 261-62 and Amy Harrison at *SE MT* 318-19) of an execution site being the location of the crime.

EXAMPLE OF THE WOMAN THAT KILLED HER TWO CHILDREN

¹ Kilburn was a village to the north-west of the city, notable for its priory.

² Munday makes another reference to his source material (*SE MT* 441-42), but is not specific about which book he means.

³ London’s largest gaol.

THE MURDER OF ABEL BOURNE

Abel Bourne, who was no stranger to criminal activity, had already used his position as a hosier to barter his way out of trouble with Bethlehem Hospital (or ‘Bedlam’), the notorious London insane asylum. It is mentioned in *Bethlem Hospital Patient Admission Registers and Casebooks* (May 1579) that Abel Bourne had suggested to the hospital

authorities ‘that he may be spared of his punishment’ if he donated hosiery for the men and boys incarcerated within the hospital ‘to cloth their naked legges.’ Bourne’s original offence is not recorded.

SEQ1 was entered into the Stationers’ Register on 27 April, twelve days after the murder. At the time it went to press, the investigation into the crime was still ongoing. *SEQ1* is the only extant account of this crime.

¹ Golding (or Golden) Lane was on the northern edge of the city, leading out into the countryside. It was just yards from Munday’s home in Fore Street, which may be why Munday was able to give such an accurate description of the body and how it was found (*SE MT* 548-56), and why he seems to have been so involved in the coroner’s investigation: it may have been going on around him.

² Ravens’ feathers are the traditional material for making the plectra that pluck the strings of virginals (O’Brien, Claviantica.com, online resource). Ravens are opportunistic carrion feeders. The fact that there were enough ravens to catch this man’s attention may suggest that they were feeding on the body.

³ The main duty of a coroner was to investigate suspicious deaths. He had to convene a jury to help him, had the power to ensure the presence of witnesses, take depositions and commit suspects to prison, and was required to produce a report which could be used at trial (Sharpe 1984: 33).

⁴ This means the area in immediate proximity to the famous house of correction, rather than in it (*MoEML*).

⁵ The possessive of this name, modernized here to ‘Hodges’s’, seems to have caused the compositor some consternation as it is spelled three different ways within a few lines: *SE*

MT 470 has ‘Hodgesses’, 478 has ‘Hogges’, 480 (s.n.) has ‘Hodggesse’. The apostrophe was not widely used at this time.

⁶ According to the title-page of this pamphlet, Abel Bourne lived in Newgate Market, which adjoined Saint Nicholas’ Shambles, the address of Master Hodges (*MoEML*). ‘Shambles’ indicates that this was a mercantile part of town. Traditionally a ‘shambles’ was a meat market (*OED* shambles *n.1* 3.a), but it can also (somewhat ironically, given the nature of the crime) be another word for a slaughterhouse or bloodbath (*n.1* 5.a).

⁷ In common with Newgate and other prisons, counters offered different degrees of accommodation (or ‘wards’) according to how much the prisoner could pay (Jowett 2017: 16). There were three wards within Wood Street Counter. In descending order of comfort, they were: Master’s Side, Knight’s Ward and the Hole (*Prison History*, ‘Wood Street Compter’, online resource).

⁸ ‘Angels’ were gold coins bearing the figure of the archangel Michael. They were issued in England between 1465 and c. 1642 and varied in value between those dates (*OED* angel *n.* III.10). At this time, an angel was worth about ten shillings; ten angels would be five pounds, which was a substantial sum of money (Tames 2009: 10).

⁹ Bridewell was a prison by the Thames that specialized in the incarceration of women accused of prostitution or other petty crime (Sharpe 1984: 116-117).

¹⁰ Aldersgate Street extended north from the city gate, through the suburbs and out into the countryside. To the right was a large mound, topped with a windmill (*MoEML*). According to Stow, this windmill marked ‘the farthest north corner of this Suburbe’ (Stow 1599: sig. 2A2^r).

¹¹ (s.n.) This pamphlet was published before the enquiry ended, so it was not known that this woman was important to the case, although her rush here to hide herself in a (presumably private) garden is deeply suspicious. The burial records for Christ Church, Newgate Street (close to Bourne's home in Newgate Market) show that Bourne was buried there on 17 April 1580, the day his body was discovered. A note indicates that he was murdered in 'Crane's house'.

¹² This is at odds with *SE MT* 512 (s.n.) which states that she saw him in the field on Sunday.

¹³ Although this specific tenement cannot be traced, London was full of tenements called 'rents' which were generally known by the surname of the landlord (Long 2021: 103). For an explanation of early modern 'rents', see Baer 2011: 234-255.

¹⁴ perhaps for the process of cruentation (see Example of Thomas Hill, n. 2).

¹⁵ Munday's retelling of this story becomes vaguer and more rushed as it progresses. The suggestion is that a vital piece of evidence was found in this woman's house but that it was not immediately made public (see n. 13).

¹⁶ Munday cannot recall, or does not choose to repeat, the name of the individual. An association with such a murder would have been scandalous for the gentleman or household concerned.

¹⁷ The suspect immediately refers to the good character of his father as a recommendation of his own trustworthiness. As Stone observes, 'Honour was itself in part, of course, derived from lineage' (Stone 1979: 73-74).

¹⁸ This promise of more to come is very typical of Munday's writing in general, but such promises were rarely fulfilled. No further writing by Munday on this case is extant.

EXAMPLE OF THE EARTHQUAKE AT LONDON

¹ This was a major event, widely recorded at the time. Although often referred to as the 'London' earthquake, the epicentre was actually offshore in the Straits of Dover and, at an estimated magnitude of between 6.2 and 6.9 on the Richter scale, it affected most of Britain, all of northern France, the Low Countries and parts of Germany (Neilson and others 1984: 113).

² This was probably the bell known as 'Great Tom of Westminster' which hung in the medieval clock tower at the entrance to the Palace of Westminster (Ridley 2003: online resource).

³ Whitehall was the main London residence of Tudor monarchs while parliament was in session (Thurley 2017: 214).

⁴ 'Temple' refers to two of the four Inns of Court, Inner Temple and Middle Temple, which were located beside Temple Church at the western end of Fleet Street (Porter 2009: 70, *MoEML*).

⁵ St Paul's Cathedral.

⁶ Christ's Church was part of a newly formed parish. This church, which Golding confirmed was situated by Newgate Market (1580: sig. C5v), was originally part of Greyfriars Abbey. It was one of the largest churches in the vicinity (*MoEML*).

⁷ This is an especially poignant observation. Churchyard, writing just two days after the earthquake, reported that Mabel was 'stricken on the heade with a stone, being

daungerously hurt, but is not dead' (Churchyard 1580: sig. B1^v-B2^r). Here, Munday confirms her fate.

⁸ Churchyard was more specific, saying that the audiences affected were attending The Theatre (opened 1576) and The Curtain (opened 1577). Panic spread amongst the patrons, particularly those on the upper floors who could not easily get out, leading to some people leaping from the building (Churchyard 1580: sig. B2^r). Even in the midst of reporting the disaster Holinshed could not resist taking the opportunity to criticise playhouses and their patrons: 'The people assembled [...] at the Whoreater (the Theatre I would saie) were so amazed' (Holinshed *Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6K6^v). Both of the playhouses referred to by Churchyard were situated to the north of the city, well outside the city wall, in Shoreditch (*MoEML*).

⁹ This paragraph (*SE MT* 562-72) is drawn from Churchyard (1580: sig. A4^v-B2^r) which was dated just two days after the earthquake. Churchyard provided more detail and further examples of destruction and damage than are offered here, but Munday chose this summary of events, which appears almost verbatim in Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4G1^v) and again in Holinshed (*Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6K6^v).

¹⁰ Sutton is a small village in Kent, approximately eight and a half miles from Dover. The damage recorded here is also reported in Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4G1^v).

¹¹ Dover Castle overlooks the channel coast and was therefore close to the epicentre. This incident is also reported in Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4G1^v) and Holinshed (*Third Volume* 1586: sig. 6K6^v). The damage to the wall is symbolic of damage to England's defences and adds to the perception of the earthquake as a communication from God.

¹² Stow records that ‘at Sandwich [...] the sea so foamed, that the shippes tottered’ (*CoE* 1580: sig. 4G1^v). The effects were visible in Kent, but they were catastrophic in the channel; ships caught in the middle of a channel crossing experienced a tumultuous episode during which the hulls touched the seabed multiple times as the relatively shallow water receded and flooded in response to the motion of the earth (Haslett and Bryant 2008: 589).

¹³ This list of places in northern Europe gives a general indication of the extent of the disturbed area, estimated at more than 190,000 square miles (500,000 km², Neilson and others 1984: 134). Munday makes no differentiation between areas and towns within those areas.

¹⁴ Munday draws the reader back to his theme of creating a sense of fellowship between the writer and his readers.

¹⁵ It is not clear which cities are referred to here, but they are presumably Sodom, Gomorrah and Nineveh which Munday mentions at *SE MT* 589.

¹⁶ A reference to the devastating earthquake of 1509. Munday’s assertion that the earthquake lasted for a year is an exaggeration, implying that disturbance was continual. The actual earthquake was on 10 September 1509, causing substantial damage to public buildings and the city walls (Ambraseys 2001: 1402-03). Aftershocks struck regularly for eighteen days, and then sporadically in October and November 1509, and again in March and July 1510 (Ambraseys 2001: 1403). Constantinople (now Istanbul) was then the seat of the Ottoman Empire and therefore perceived to be at odds with the Christian world.

¹⁷ This is a list of biblical cities steeped in sinfulness, whose fate was decided by God. Munday does not provide any Bible references but the destruction of Sodom and

Gomorraah can be found at Genesis, 19.24-25, Jerusalem (2 Samuel, 24.16) and Nineveh (Jonah, 3.10) were both spared from destruction by God's hand, the inhabitants having repented in good time.

¹⁸ A reference to Jesus's rebuke to townspeople. The Bible reference at *SE MT* 590 (s.n.) should more accurately read Matthew, 11.21-22, but the words of Jesus have been transposed here to give the opposite meaning to those presented in the Bible. Jesus criticised the residents of Chorazin, Bethsaida and, later, Capernaum (verse 23) because they were towns before whom He had performed miracles but they still did not heed Him. Tyre and Sidon were cities in Phoenicia with their own gods (Judges, 10.6-16, 1 Kings, 11.5), but Jesus felt that if He had performed miracles before them, they would have repented their sins. Verse 22 reads, 'But I say to you, It shalbe easier for Tyrus and Sidon at the day of judgement, then for you' (*Geneva*). Munday gets this the wrong way around, saying that it will be easier for the sceptical Chorazin and Bethsaida than for the potentially willingly repentant Tyre and Sidon. This story also appears at Luke, 10.13-14.

¹⁹ This is an adaptation of a Bible verse. The reference at *SE MT* 593 (s.n.) is incomplete and should be Luke, 15.21. The verse reads, 'And the sonne said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthie to be called thy sonne.' Munday adapts this into the plural as an appeal from his readers to God.

²⁰ Munday ends the pamphlet with an assurance that salvation is at hand.

SUNDRY EXAMPLES – TEXTUAL NOTES

PARATEXTS

30 favouring] *Q1*; favour *Collier*

41 other] *Q1*; om. *Collier*

42 (s.n.) 1.51] li.I *Q1*; l.i *Collier*

61 thee] *Q1*; me *Collier*

62 worldly] *Q1*; wordly *Collier*

82 labour] *Collier*; labours *Q1*

such] *Q1*; so much *Collier*

108 mites] *Q1*; mite *Collier*

114 *baso les*] *Collier*; *basoles* *Q1*

MAIN TEXT

17 may] *this edn*; *Collier*; many *Q1*

42 the] *Q1*; om. *Collier*

74 bond] *this edn*; bonds *Q1*; *Collier*

82 (+ s.n.) Isaiah] [Esai.]

96 past] *this edn*; passed *Q1*; *Collier*

98 it] *Q1*; om. *Collier*

106 godly] *Q1*; good *Collier*

137 rapped] *this edn*; rapt Q1; Collier

145 left] Q1; om. Collier

157 after a while] *this edn*; Collier; after in a while Q1,

175 *falsely*] Q1; om. Collier

209 *the*] Q1; thy Collier

213 *or a*] Q1; of the Collier

221 will I] Q1; I will Collier

224 to] Q1; om. Collier

236 godly] Q1; goodly Collier

261 adjudged] Q1; judged Collier

262 *the*] Q1; om. Collier

271 where of] Collier; whereof Q1

295 us open] Q1; us to open Collier

310 with] Collier; w^c Q1

313 to do more] *this edn*; to more Q1; Collier

328 stars] Q1; stares Collier

337 ugly] *this edn*; ougly Q1; ongly Collier

360 (+ s.n.) monstrous] Collier; monstero⁹ Q1

364 afternoon, the] *this edn*; afternoon that the Q1; Collier

367 ¹there] *this edn*; y^e Q1; om. Collier

369 earthquake for] *this edn*; earthquake during for Q1; Collier

375-76 voice heard] Q1; voice was heard Collier

407 with] Collier; w^c Q1

408 bled] Q1; used Collier

411 ³her] Q1; om. Collier

420 it bled] Q1; it presently bled Collier

459 empanelled] *this edn*; paneled Q1; Collier

469 that] Q1; who Collier

478 last gave] Q1; last he gave Collier

481 this Abel] Q1; om. Collier

503 (s.n.) a] Q1; the Collier

520 with] Collier; w^c Q1

527 is] Q1; om. Collier

537 now] Q1; om. Collier

551 upon] Q1; on Collier

587 Constantinople ... earthquake] Q1; om. Collier

593 God our] Q1; God of our Collier

600 us] Q1; om. Collier

A WATCHWORD TO ENGLAND

BY

ANTHONY MUNDAY

A WATCHWORD

TO ENGLAND

To beware of traitors and
treacherous practices which have
been the overthrow of many
famous kingdoms and
commonweals.

Written by a faithful affected
friend to his country who desireth God long
to bless it from traitors and their
secret conspiracies.

Seen and allowed according to the order
appointed in the Queen's injunctions.¹

Joshua 1, verse 5

Take a good heart and be strong. Fear not, I say, fear
not because that I which am the Lord thy
God will be with thee in all
thine affairs.²

LONDON

Printed for Thomas Hacket³ and
are to be sold at his shop in Lombard Street
under the sign of the Pope's Head. 1584.

1 **WATCHWORD** cautionary word, warning (*OED* watchword *n.* 4.a). The use of the word in this pamphlet is cited in *OED*.

7 **commonweals** people of specific nations viewed as a single national entity (*OED* commonweal *n.* 1 1)

8 **affected** favourably inclined (*OED* affected *adj.* 1 2.b). The use of the word in this pamphlet is the only example of this usage cited in *OED*.

10 **bless** protect or guard (*OED* bless *v.* 1 I.3.a)

Anglia quae gestat regni παράσχηματα faelix.

Est pagina hac oculis forma notata tuis.

30

Anglorum clypeos, insignia martia cernis.

Aptatur meritis digna corona bonis.⁴



In laudem Elyzabethae Reginae

Turba maligna papae tibi terra Britanna minatur;

Non minus illa ferox Elyzabetha tibi.

35

Insidiis unaes saevis elapsa tyranni,

Te magis, ferro, sortibus, atque tetrīs

Tollere conatus serpens: sed quid furor ardens

Profuit? Es Christi, qui tuus unus erat.

Ingenium, pietas, virtus te ex omnibus unam

40

Esse docent, in quam nil potuere mali.

Exemplis variis opere hoc est res manifesta,

In quo nudantur facta nefanda virum.

Elyzabetha Deo fidas (ut caeperis) uni;

*Hostes contundet, teque tuosque teget.*⁵

45

R.W.⁶

To the high, mighty and right excellent princess Elizabeth, by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queen, defendress of the true ancient catholic and apostolic faith etc.⁷ A.M., her majesty's most humble subject and servant wisheth continual felicity in this world and in the world to come.

- 50 The consideration of your rare and incomparable virtues which are such jewels of estimation in the eyes and ears⁸ of your faithful subjects and the care how to continue and enjoy them long, which is the study and practice of all them that truly honour you, hath constrained me at this time, right excellent and famous queen, to exceed the bounds of ordinary love - which is only but to please the eye - and to wade into the depth of entire
- 55 affection wherewith the heart may be oftentimes quieted but hardly thoroughly satisfied by reason the conceit taketh so deep an impression, and every cause concern it so nearly as, what with hazard of peril and fear to forgo affection, is so vehement as nothing can go beyond it.

- Let then, most noble queen, this my poor affection carry that credit in your princely
- 60 mind as your nature affordeth to every loving subject and let such account be held of my earnest intent as both the weightiness of the cause and circumstances of the whole considered shall deliver reason. I, in the meantime, shall continue in prayer that long this land may be partaker of your gracious presence and the good will of every true subject may be thankfully entertained.

- 65 Your Highness' obedient subject and servant, A.M.

53 **constrained** compelled (*OED* constrained v. 1.b)

56 **conceit** idea (*OED* conceit n. 1.1.a)

57 **hazard** risk (*OED* hazard n. 3.b)

60 **affordeth** gives: *transitive* (*OED* afford v. (II.3.a)

*To the right honourable Master Thomas Pullyson,⁹ Lord Mayor
elected to the famous city of London and to the worshipful Master
Stephen Slaney¹⁰ and Master Henry Billingsley,¹¹ sheriffs of the
70 same city, with all the rest of their worshipful brethren.¹²*

We find it by common experience, right honourable and
worshipful, and the effects are too much seen and proved among
us, that as there are many dangerous diseases which happen to a
man's body - whereof some are so hurtful to the same and work
75 by such outrageous means as they not only threaten great hazard
of death to the body but at length, after many calm showers, do
utterly waste and deprive it of life - so, in a kingdom or
commonwealth which may by comparison be very well resembled
to a man's body, there often chanceth very sore and doubtful
80 sicknesses which grow, in time, to such forcible and extreme
occasions as they not only danger the perishing of the most part
but in conclusion work the utter ruin and destruction of the whole.
Yet when the body is offended by sickness, the friends of the
diseased party do diligently enquire after physicians, then what

A comparison
between a man's
body and a
commonwealth.

75 **outrageous** violent (*OED* outrageous *adj.* 2.a)

76 **showers** periods of suffering: *figurative* (*OED* shower *n.1* I.2)

78 **resembled** compared: *transitive* (*OED* resembled *v.* 4.a)

81 **danger** risk (*OED* danger *v.* 2.a)

85 medicines his art can devise or what wholesome potions good
counsel can minister are presently prepared for ease of his
vexation.

In like manner, in any commonwealth that is thus touched
with any disease that foreshoweth peril, everyone that is

All men are bound
in duty to defend
their country.

90 faithfully affected to the same or employ their lives (as they
ought) for the benefit thereof, are bound with heedful care to seek
remedy for such maladies. Yea, it is a principal article of their
duty to let slip no occasion that may be judged helpful in such a
case. For if friendship cause men, for their private familiar's
95 sake, to travail in knowledge of the cause of his infirmity and
then to provide such apt necessities as may yield hope to qualify
his agony and restore him to his former health, much more ought
duty to be effectual in such men as make estimation of their
country and commonwealth at what time any troublesome
100 annoyance doth molest it - or any danger whatsoever may be
thought towards it - to show themselves earnest and forward in
search of the grief, and then to apply such due and necessary
medicines as may expel the very thought of threatened danger.

89 **foreshoweth** gives warning of (*OED* foreshow v. 2.b)

94 **familiar's** dearest friend's (*OED* familiar n. 2.a)

96 **qualify** reduce: *transitive* (*OED* qualify v. II.9.a)

100 **molest** vex: *transitive* (*OED* molest v. 1.a). Also, a disease can be said to 'molest' the body (*OED* molest v. 1.b), which continues the comparison highlighted at 78 (s.n.).

103 **medicines** continuing the theme of treating treason as a disease that needs to be remedied.

The excellent historiographer Herodotus¹³ sheweth us a
105 notable example how the Babylonians made this law amongst them:
that whensoever any man fell sick within their dominions he should
presently be brought into the market place and there be laid on his
bed to the intent that he might demand of everyone that came to
him whether they had been troubled with the like disease or no, and
110 by what means they recovered their health, that he might by
knowledge thereof attain to the same. And by the same law,
likewise every man that came to him was bound both to ask the
man what sickness he had and also to show him, if it lay in him to
do it, what might soonest deliver him from that state.¹⁵ By which
115 example everyone that beareth a true and faithful zeal to his country
and earnestly tendereth the health and wealth thereof, whensoever
he seeth the body thereof which lyeth open before all men's eyes to
be infected or touched with any infirmity, and can either by
experience or otherwise deliver what in his conceit may be
120 imagined available, he is bound in conscience to express it and
great is the penalty if he conceal it. For in helping the whole body
he hath benefit thereof himself in that he is a member thereof. For
let the body be sick, the members must needs be partakers of the
grief and at what time it findeth health again, the members likewise

Herodotus in his
book called *Clio*,¹⁴
which is the first
book of his story.

The whole body
being out of quiet,
the members must
needs fare the worse.

119 **conceit** opinion (*OED* conceit *n.* II.5.a)

122 **member** part of the body (*OED* member *n.* I.1.b). This is used as a continuation of the image of the country as a living body. The word also promotes the image of being a 'member' in Christ (a person who belongs to the metaphorical body of Christ; *OED n.* III.9.a).

125 have comfort by the relief. The consideration of these precedents,
right honourable and worshipful, with the earnest care, zeal and
love I bear to my country, which I see (for the happy and
flourishing estate thereof and for the maintenance of God's true
religion and defence of His church and congregation) wanteth no
130 enemies to pursue the danger of it, nor colourable friends that seek
to betray it to spoil which - could they as easily accomplish as they
willingly put in practice, and had not God more care of his chosen
than their malicious stomachs can afford - God knows the heavy
burden should lie on our necks, which I pray God they never live to
135 lie on nor we to feel.

But as the mark is easily seen which they so mightily and
continually aim at and for that God (praised be His name therefore)
hath hitherto prevented all their traitorous attempts, turning their
daggers into their own bosoms and causing them to fall into the pit
140 they made for others, so it is expedient for us to continue in prayer
that it may please him long to vouchsafe that provident care over
us, and that we likewise apply our own dutiful wisdom and policy

The mark that
these traitors aim
at may be easily
discerned.

130 **colourable** feigned (*OED* colourable *adj.* 2.a)

136 **mark** target (*OED* mark *n.1* VI.23.a)

to uphold that plant by whose means we prosper and prevent their
devices who would rob us of so high a treasure.

145 It is our dread and sovereign lady, whose shining virtues
fret the polluted eyes of these unnatural subjects, whose heroical
government¹⁶ which no realm in the world is able to match for
peaceable continuance,¹⁷ that sticketh like sharp needles in their
venomed and disdainful stomachs. And it is a rare precedent in her
150 famous life, her Christian zeal and abundance of all excellent gifts
which worthily winneth the hearts of her true subjects and
inflameth them with desire of her long prosperity that - calling
their barbarous conceit into question - thundereth such majesty
into their deceived ears as they polish their tongues to deprave,
155 spare no penwork to slander, whet their weapons and devise all
treacheries that lost and forsaken minds can do to extinguish the
light of the sun,¹⁸ whereon the feared consciences will not suffer
them to look and to deface that perfect emerald which, the more
they seek to blemish with the oil of venomous reports, the more
160 perfect it showeth itself in beauty.¹⁹

143 **plant** young, vulnerable thing: *figurative* (OED plant *n.1* I.1.a). The word could be used here in its capacity as referring to a young person (OED plant *n.1* I.1.b), which would flatter Queen Elizabeth who was, by this time, 51 years old.

144 **high** exalted (OED high *adj.* II.8.a)

145 **dread** revered (OED dread *adj.* 2)

146 **fret** irritate: *transitive* (OED fret *v.1* 8)

148 **their** (also 152, 153, 154, 155) pertaining to the 'unnatural subjects' at 146

154 **polish their tongues** prepare an attractive argument: *figurative* (OED polish *v.* 3)

155 **penwork** (effort spent in) writing (OED penwork *n.* 1)

157 **feared** frightened (OED feared *adj.* 1)

The prosperity of
the prince is the
safety of her
kingdom.

I need not report unto you, for that your wisdoms and
judgements are very well acquainted therewith, that the prosperity
of the prince is the assured safety of the whole kingdom and
commonwealth and the least motion of grief that touches her
165 concerneth the whole state in general by reason that her highness
is the most loving mother and nurse of all her good subjects and
is likewise the husband of the commonweal,²⁰ married to the
realm and the same by ceremony of ring, as solemnly signified, as
any other marriage.²¹

170 Can we then, that are her majesty's children, her true and
faithful subjects, endure to see our mother²² wronged, her
authority defamed, her life endangered? And shall we not think
the same concerneth us? Can we see proud reprobates seek to
sever the knot of love and agreement which hath been justly and
175 lawfully united between her and us? To yield our lives in slavery
and servitude to an usurping tyrant? And shall not the breach of
this bond of sacred wedlock move us to regard how highly it
harmeth us? Nature causeth the child to work all policies he may
for his mother's defence and the estimation of that holy league is
180 of force to compel the faithful to maintain and continue it.

167 **husband** male partner in a marriage (*OED* husband *n.* I.2.a) and man charged with the good management (of the commonwealth) (*OED* husband *n.* II.5.a)

The case then touching us so nearly as it doth, the very
 meanest subject is bound for his prince's defence, much more
 they whom God hath called to office of magistracy and bearing
 rule.²³ Their care ought to be both night and day how to set down
 185 good laws and orders, to be vigilant and careful in diligent
 search and enquiry, to bring such stubborn and graceless men to
 open light who spurn at her majesty that hath put the sword in
 your hands of honour and authority,²⁴ and trying their deeds to
 be contrary to the duty of good subjects, to let them be soon cut
 190 off by the sword of justice.

The case of the
 prince's safety
 concerneth the very
 meanest subject,
 much more the
 magistrate to whom
 she hath given office
 of honour.

And if I may without offence speak one word to your
 honour and worships,²⁵ not by way of teaching²⁶ but for
 unloading some part of the burden of true love I bear to my
 country, I would desire you to have an especial eye to the city of
 195 London,²⁷ for it is a receptacle to many of these bad people and
 many favourers and friends they have in the city who, bearing
 the countenance of good and honest subjects, are nevertheless
 but hollow-hearted and give aid and relief to such as seek the
 ruin of the whole state.

182 **is bound for** has a duty to provide (*OED* bind v. IV.18)

188 **trying** finding out: *transitive* (*OED* try v. 5.a)

189-90 **cut off** severed from the body: *transitive* (*OED* cut off v. III.14.a). This continues the metaphor of the nation as a single body.

198 **hollow-hearted** insincere (*OED* hollow-hearted *adj.*)

200 Your honour and worships shall notably witness the love
you bear to God and His church and the zeal, affection and duty
you owe to her majesty in being respective to this especial cause,
for it is high time. The enemies are now grown so bold and full of
mischief as if such as are in authority do not lay to their helping
205 hands to repress them, they will in time be so wild as they will be
past bridling.

 This shall be, therefore, my last request unto you. And
when you have perused this small work, I doubt not but you will
think my request honest and lawful and expedient to be redressed
210 to the uttermost of your powers.²⁸ Thus, wishing prosperous
success to all you go about that may set forth God's glory and be
to her majesty's defence from her enemies, I humbly take my
leave.

Your honours' and worship's well-willer,

215 A.M.

203 **high time** at or past the time (when something should happen) (*OED* high *adj.* 16b)

204 **lay to** put pressure on (*OED* lay *v.1* III.15.a)

206 **bridling** bringing under control: *transitive* (*OED* bridle *v.* 1a)

209 **redressed** rectified (*OED* redress *v.1* 1c)

A WATCHWORD TO ENGLAND

The state of this realm considered and, specially, such accidents touching the same as late troubles have manifested,¹ do make it daily more and more evident how precious and how dear a jewel

5 is the safety of the Queen's most excellent majesty,² our most loving and beloved sovereign lady. Compare the time of her most noble and gracious government with the times and ages long since past and gone and especially with the miserable and dangerous days immediately preceding her most happy, princely

10 and comfortable reign. Call to mind the weakness and perils wherein the commonweal stood before the coming of her highness to the crown. Weigh the infinite benefits, both bodily and ghostly, that the whole realm hath and all her subjects both have had and do enjoy by her means. Think upon the grievous

15 and unspeakable miseries that we all shall be like to sustain by the loss of her unvaluable presence. It shall be plain that he is wilfully blind that cannot see, he is wickedly malicious that will not acknowledge, he is obstinately stone-hearted that will not

The safety of her majesty, a thing most precious to all good subjects.

3 **touching** relating to, concerning (used in a figurative sense): *transitive* (OED touch v. III.25.a)

13 **ghostly** spiritually (OED ghostly *adj.* 1.a)

14 **means** influence (OED mean *n.*3 I.5.a)

16 **unvaluable** invaluable (OED unvaluable *adj.* 1.a)

17 **wilfully ... see** 'Who so blind as he that will not see': *proverbial* (Dent, S206)

with sorrow and trembling deeply imprint in careful heart those
20 motions and thoughts that such consideration shall lay before
him.³ Remember the quiet of conscience, the comfort of true
serving of God, the freedom of the realm, the deliverance of
souls from foreign thralldom, the escape of the heavy yoke of
strange dominion, the recovery of wealth, the benefit of peace,
25 the common and equal distribution of justice, the familiar
cherishing of nobility, the good preserving and love of the
commonality, the mutual and tender kindness at home, the
amity and awe abroad. The sweet enjoying of all these happy
commodities match here with the danger and fear of losing
30 them. How can it then be but that the mind shall be marvellously
distracted? Great and full of diversities are the fits of a passionate
lover but yet greatest where reason ruleth least. Far greater to a

The queen's
majesty's
government
ought with
heedful care to
be considered.

19 **careful** anxious (*OED careful adj.* 2)

20 **motions** potentially 'emotions', referring to the distress that a dutiful subject may experience at the loss of such a queen. The context of the pamphlet as a whole, however, is a caution against anti-establishment rebellion and the first definition of the noun 'motion' in the *OED* is a political one: political agitations leading to uprising or revolt (*OED motion n.* I.1.a). This is an example of the ambiguity of language Munday uses several times in this pamphlet.

23 **foreign thralldom** servitude to a foreign culture (*OED thralldom n.* a)

24 **strange dominion** strange: foreign, alien (*OED strange adj.* 1.a); dominion: power (*OED dominion n.* 1). By placing these words together and putting them immediately after 'foreign' in the previous line, Norton/Munday is giving heavy emphasis to what he considers to be the un-English nature of the people who perpetrated the treasonous act he has just alluded to and those he is about to discuss in the following pages.

25-26 **familiar ... nobility** familiar: belonging to one's household or family (*OED familiar adj.* I.2.a). Norton/Munday suggests that the English nobility cherish Englishmen and women as their family.

27 **commonality** people of a nation (*OED commonality n.* 1.a)

28 **abroad** away from home (*OED abroad adv.* 3.a)

30 **marvellously** extraordinarily (*OED marvellously adv.* 1)

31 **fits** intense periods of excitement (*OED fits n.* 2.2.a)

passioned impassioned (*OED passionate adj.* 1)

good mind must be the pangs of consideration in this case, but yet
greatest where reason ruleth most.⁴ The silly lover is transported
35 (as they complain, poor souls, in their ditties) sometime with joy of
his enjoying, sometime with fear of his forgoing. There is no mean
or order of his excessive affection and all is because the abused
creature hath set his felicity in a wrong conceit. But if such vain,
short, repentable and feeble delight of fancy have such force upon
40 the mind of a man, how much more ought the deep, wise, natural
and true impression of the eternal comfort of the soul, the good
and safe estate (both of the commonweal and of the private
haviour of himself and of those things and persons that he holdeth
dearest) - yea,⁵ and of his posterity forever - work more mighty,
45 violent and continual effects in the mind of an honest, good man
that setteth his thoughts upon just and assured grounds?⁶ All these
contemplations cannot but fill a good Christian's and a good

33 **good** robust, contrasting with the weakness or disarray of a lover's 'fits' (WW MT 31-32) (*OED* good *adj.* I.6.a.ii)

pangs mental anguish (*OED* pang *n.* 1.b)

34 **silly** foolish (*OED* silly *adj.* III.6.a)

35 **ditties** poems, ballads, songs (*OED* ditty *n.* 2.b)

36 **his enjoying** sexual pleasure (*OED* enjoy *v.* 4.b)

forgoing being forsaken (*OED* forgo *v.* 4)

mean moderation (*OED* mean *n.* 3 II.7.b)

38 **felicity** happiness (*OED* felicity *n.* 1.a)

conceit mental image (*OED* conceit *n.* I.1.b)

39 **repentable** regrettable (*OED* repentable *adj.*).

fancy amorous inclination (*OED* fancy *n.* 8.b)

42 **estate** general condition (*OED* estate *n.* I.1.a)

43 **haviour** property, substance (*OED* haviour *n.* 1)

44 **posterity** descendants (*OED* posterity *n.* 1)

subject's eye with sight and knowledge how unestimable a
treasure our noble and virtuous Queen Elizabeth is to the realm of
50 England. And the same⁸ cannot but pierce his heart with strong
fear and care for her preservation so far as surely it were able (as
in the dumb-born son of Croesus)⁹ break the strings of a tied
tongue to draw speech out of the most barbarous and rudest
subject, to cry out at her highness' peril and with such noise as he
55 is able to make, though it were but as a goose at the Capitol,¹⁰ to
give warning to the watchmen of the tower of our safety. This hath
moved me to forget how unskilful and how unapt I am to treat of
matters so far above me¹¹ and only to remember how meet it is for
all men to think of those things that touch them so nearly and,
60 when they have from point to point made due examination of them, to
ring out the larum bell of good counsel to their country or give them
some watchword of past perils whereby they may the better prevent
imminent extremities wherein they may both manifest the care they
have of their prince's safety as also the unfeigned affection they bear

The queen's
majesty, a
jewel of most
high
estimation to
the realm of
England.⁷ *Res
est solliciti
plena timoris
amor.*

48 (s.n.) *Res ... amor* Love is full of anxious fears: Ovid (H.T. Riley, *A Dictionary of Latin and Greek Quotations, Proverbs, Maxims and Mottos* (London: Bell and Sons, 1888) p. 400

48 **unestimable** inestimable (in the sense of priceless) (*OED* unestimable *adj.* 1)

53 **barbarous** uncultured (*OED* barbarous *adj.* 3)

rudest lowliest (*OED* rude *adj.* 1.4.a)

58 **meet** proper (*OED* meet *adj.* 2.a)

61 **larum bell** alarm bell (*OED* larum bell *n.*) Munday uses this metaphor to inject a sense of urgency into this subject. All the historical examples that are to be discussed in the pamphlet are moments of national crisis, a situation Munday is seeking to prevent by inserting portentous language and images.

63 **extremities** conditions of extreme urgency (*OED* extremity *n.* 7.a)

65 to their country.¹² It hath been (and yet remaineth extant to be seen)
the many and sundry disordered attempts which have threatened
danger to her majesty's most royal person and peril to the whole
state in general whereby many good minds have been greatly
discomforted and those bad spirits which have thirsted and laboured
70 in these undutiful actions have been encouraged to run on in their
disloyal determinations. A thing much to be lamented that in the
sunshine of so many happy blessings (whereof this realm so long
time together never heretofore tasted) such wicked and malicious
natures should breed amongst us, both to overthrow ourselves and
75 the quietness of a number well-affected.¹³ It is good for such wilful
heads to take heed in time and that the overthrow of such seditious
practices¹⁴ (wherewith this realm from time-to-time hath been too
much troubled) may remain for a warning to them and, in the midst
of their secret confederacies, to remember this: that to exalt their
80 hearts against God's anointed is the very ready way to bring
themselves to confusion. The only route and original of such

The realm of
England never
so long time
together, more
godly and quiet
governed.

65 **remaineth extant to be seen** remain conspicuous (*OED* extant *adj.* 2)

66 **disordered** corrupt (*OED* disordered *adj.* 2)

75 **well-affected** who are loyal (*OED* well-affected *adj.* 1)

76 **in time** early enough (*OED* time *n.* P.3.k.i.ii)

77 **wherewith** with which (*OED* wherewith *adv.* II.3)

79 **confederacies** conspiracies (*OED* confederacy *n.* 1.b)

79-80 **exalt their hearts** elate their hearts with joy (*OED* exalt *v.* 2.b)

80 **God's anointed** the person on whom sacred office has been conferred (*OED* anoint *n.*)

ready quick, easy (*OED* ready *adj.* I.5.a)

81 **confusion** ruin (*OED* confusion *n.* 1.a)

original source (*OED* original *adj.* 1.a)

unnatural humours in men is treason which of all other things is
most odious in the sight of God and, amongst men, hath least
prosperous success. For proof whereof - and because this

- 85 watchword may the most deeply enter the thoughts and cogitations
of them to whose hands it shall happen - it shall not be much amiss
for me to make repetition of former treacherous practices and
withal to declare their end and success, which happily may cause
some men to alter their bad affections and, seeing the accidents
90 that hath heretofore chanced in their own country,¹⁵ they may
forsake those contrary natures whereby they are governed and so
in time show themselves more vehement in duty.

In the reign of King Richard the First

- There was one William FitzOsbert,¹ a citizen of London, a man of
95 but poor and mean degree yet endued with a quick wit and an
eloquent tongue as many of these secret persuaders are. He

William
FitzOsbert got him
a traitorous
company and
rebelled against
the king, 1196.

82 **humours** feelings (*OED* humour *n.* II.5.a)

treason the betrayal of a trust (*OED* treason *n.* 1.a). Often, and certainly in this pamphlet, **treason** is interchangeable with **high treason**: the violation by a subject of his allegiance to his sovereign or to the state (*OED* treason *n.* 2.a)

83 **odious** offensive (*OED* odious *adj.* 2)

84 **because** so that (*OED* because *conj.* 2)

85 **cogitations** designs (*OED* cogitation *n.* 2.b)

86 **to ... happen** into whose hands this pamphlet shall fall (by chance): *intransitive* (*OED* happen *v.* 1.b.ii)

87 **to make repetition of** to mention (*OED* repetition *n.* 1 I.2)

88 **withal** in addition (*OED* withal *adv.* 1.a)

end and success just how well they did. Munday uses ironic humour to make a serious point.

happily by chance, perhaps (*OED* happily *adv.* 1)

89 **affections** fondness, warmth of attachment (*OED* affection *n.* 1 I.2.b). Munday couples this word, usually expressive of positive emotions, with 'bad'. The phrase conveys an understanding that the subject feels love or duty towards the wrong object; this is duty perverted or misplaced.

92 **vehement** passionate (*OED* vehement *adj.* II.8)

95 **endued with** possessed of (*OED* endue *v.* V.9.a)

persuaded the people to seek liberty and freedom and so provided himself of two and fifty thousand Londoners to rise against the king and to maintain his traitorous enterprise he took the steeple of Bow church in Cheap² and fortified it with munition and victuals. But in
100 the end the church was assaulted by the citizens³ and William with his complices were taken and so brought to the archbishop⁴ in the Tower where he was condemned and by the heels drawn⁵ from thence to a place called the Elms⁶ where he was hanged with nine
105 of his fellows.⁷

In the reign of King Henry the Third

King Henry the Third¹ lying at Woodstock, a scholar of Oxford, feigning himself mad, enterprized to have slain the king in his chamber, but he was taken and after long imprisonment was torn
110 to pieces with horses at Coventry.³

A scholar of Oxford attempted to kill the king, 1239.²

In the reign of King Edward the Second

There was one John Poydras,¹ a tanner's son of Exeter, who in diverse places of England named himself as the son of King Edward the First and said that by a false nurse he was stolen forth
115 of his cradle and Edward that then was king put in his place.³ But

John Poydras, a tanner's son of Exeter, claimed to be king, 1316.²

99 **took** captured: *transitive* (OED take v. I.i.1.a)

102 **complices** associates in crime (OED complice n. 2.a)

shortly after he was convicted of his untruth when he confessed
that he did it by the motion of a familiar spirit which he had in his
house in the likeness of a cat whom he had served for three years
- as all traitors else forget God and serve the devil - but for this
120 service he was not long after hanged at Northampton.

Edward de Bruce,⁴ the king of Scots' brother, who for the
space of three years had assaulted Ireland and - unjustly usurping
the king of England's title - crowned himself the king thereof, was
at length taken by the King of England's subjects and was
125 beheaded at Dundalk.⁶

Edward de
Bruce for
unjustly
crowning
himself King of
Ireland was
beheaded,
1317.⁵

The town of Berwick was betrayed to the Scots through
the treason of Peter Spalding⁸ and other Englishmen whom the
King of Scots, in reward of their treachery, caused to be hanged for
being traitors to their own country.⁹

They that
betrayed the
town of Berwick
were hanged for
their labour,
1317.⁷

130 Thomas, earl of Lancaster,¹⁰ having provided himself of a
great number of his confederacy, rebelled against King Edward the
Second, whereupon the king pursued the rebels and, at
Boroughbridge, the said earl of Lancaster, with lords, knights and

Thomas, earl of
Lancaster,
beheaded for
rebellng against
the king, and
many of his
confederates
executed, 1321.

117 **by the motion** on being prompted or compelled: *transitive* (OED motion v. I.4)

familiar spirit spirit in the form of an animal which assists a witch (OED familiar n. 3.a)

119 **all traitors else** all other traitors, traitors of any kind (OED else *adj.*)

120 **service** to the familiar spirit or, by extension, to the devil

130 **provided himself of** equipped himself with: *transitive (reflexive)* (OED provide v. III.9.b)

131 **confederacy** allies (OED confederacy n. 1.a)

other to the number of three score and five, were taken. All these
135 were condemned¹¹ by the judgement of Andrew Harclay,¹² Earl of
Carlisle, and on the two-and-twentieth of March following,
Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was beheaded and Warin de Lisle,
William Tuchet, Thomas Mauduit, Henry Bradbourne, William
Fitzwilliam the younger and William de Cheney, barons, were
140 hanged and quartered at Pontefract.¹³ John de Mowbray, Roger
de Clifford and Gaucelin d'Eyville were drawn and quartered at
York,¹⁴ Bartholomew de Badlesmere at Canterbury,¹⁵ Henry de
Montfort and Henry Willington at Bristol, John Giffard and Roger
Elmbridge at Gloucester, William Kerdife and Henry Tyes at
145 London,¹⁶ Francis de Aldham at Windsor, Thomas Culpepper at
Winchelsea. The rest of their complices were bestowed in diverse
places.

Andrew Harclay, Earl of Carlisle, under colour of peace,
feigned a marriage¹⁷ which by the king and his nobles was reputed
150 for treason, whereupon he was apprehended by his trusty friend Sir
Anthony de Lucy¹⁸ and afterward was disgraded of the earldom by
the taking the sword from him and cutting off his spurs. Then was

Andrew
Harclay, earl of
Carlisle, hanged
and quartered,
1322.

148 **under colour** under the pretence (*OED* colour *n.1* P.2.a)

149 **feigned** disguised his intentions with (*OED* feign *v.* II.6)

151 **disgraded** formally deposed (from an honourable rank): *transitive* (*OED* disgrace *v.* a)

he hanged and quartered at Carlisle, his head being sent to London and his quarters to four parts of the land.¹⁹

155 Hugh Despenser the Elder²⁰ and Hugh Despenser (his son)²¹ were very troublesome persons to the realm and caused many seditious treasons to arise daily. But the father was taken at Bristol, where he was drawn to the gallows in his armour and so hanged.²² Then was he taken down and beheaded and his body
160 hanged up again and after four days his body was cut in pieces and cast to the dogs to be eaten, but his head was sent to Winchester.²³ Hugh Despenser, his son, was brought to Hereford where he was condemned without answer²⁴ and was drawn and hanged upon a pair of gallows thirty foot high and afterward
165 was headed and quartered.²⁵ Simon Reading²⁶ and Robert Baldock, bishop of Norwich and King's Chancellor²⁷ - who were partakers with them in their traitorous rebellions - the said Simon Reading was drawn and hanged on the same gallows but ten foot lower, and Robert Baldock died in Newgate with many
170 torments. And many of their confederates were executed in other places, so that but few of them escaped without punishment.

The two Despensers, very troublesome traitors to the realm, in the end had their just deserts, 1326.

In the reign of King Edward the Third

Roger Mortimer,¹ for consenting to the murdering of the king's father² and many other notorious treasons, was condemned at

Roger Mortimer and others executed for consenting to the murder of the king's father, 1330.

175 Westminster in the presence of the whole parliament³ and
afterward was drawn to the Elms and hanged on the common
gallows,⁴ where he hanged two days and two nights by the king's
commandment.⁵ There were hanged with him Sir Simon Bereford,⁶
knight; Sir William Bereford⁷ that was Justice and John Deverell
180 Esquire⁸ - who was desirous to have made open confession of the
king's father's cruel death - but he could not be suffered.

The Londoners sought to kill John of Gaunt,⁹ the king's son,
Duke of Lancaster, for a word which he had spoken against their
bishop.¹⁰ Whereupon, the king deposed the mayor¹¹ and aldermen of
185 London and appointed other in their places and Sir John
Minsterworth,¹² Knight, with others were drawn and hanged for the
same.

The mayor
and aldermen
of London
deposed
because the
Londoners
sought to kill
the king's son,
1377.

In the reign of King Richard the Second

By the wicked persuasions of John Ball,¹ a seditious priest, the
190 commons of Kent and Essex rebelled against the king, choosing for
their captains in their rebellion Wat Tyler² and Jack Straw.³ They
came to Blackheath and so on to London and entered the city⁴ on
Corpus Christi day⁵ where they destroyed many goodly places of
the nobles and others, as the Savoy,⁶ St John's by Smithfield,⁷ the

The commons
of Kent and
Essex rebelled
against the
king, their
captains being
Jack Straw
and Wat
Tyler, 1381.

181 **could not be suffered** could not be executed: (*OED* suffer v. I.9.a). Deverell could not be put to death because he had fled.

195 manor of Highbury by Islington and the Temple⁸ where the
prentices of the law were lodged for the increase of their study.
They took out of the Tower of London (where the king was then
lodged)⁹ Simon Sudbury,¹⁰ archbishop of Canterbury, Lord
Chancellor of England; Robert Hales,¹¹ prior of St John's and
200 treasurer of England; William Appleton,¹² a Friar Minor, the king's
confessor; and John Legge,¹³ a sergeant of the king's, and
beheaded them all on the Tower Hill.¹⁴ They beheaded diverse
other in many places, as Sir John Cavendish,¹⁵ Lord Chief Justice of
England; the prior of Bury St. Edmunds¹⁶ and other. Richard
205 Lyons,¹⁷ a famous lapidary of London, was drawn out of his house
and beheaded in Cheap. They beheaded all men of law as well as
prentices and utter barristers and justices and all jurors that they
might get into their hands. They spared none whom they thought
to be learned, were it never so little; especially if they found any to
210 have pen and ink, they pulled off his hood and cried out all with
one voice, 'Hale him into the streets and cut off his head!' The king,
to pacify their fury, offered them peace on condition they would
cease from burning of houses and slaughter of men, which the

The King
offereth the
rebels peace.

200 **Friar Minor** Franciscan friar (*OED* minor *adj.* I.1.a)

205 **lapidary** artificer who cuts, polishes or engraves precious stones (*OED* lapidary *n.* 1.a)

207 **utter barristers** barristers who were 'complete' (i.e. fully qualified), contrasting with the 'prentices' who were still in training (*OED* utter *adj.* II.5.a)

211 **Hale him** drag him: *transitive* (*OED* hale *v.1* 1.a)

Essex men took and returned home, but the Kentish men¹⁸
215 remained burning and killing still as before. Whereupon the
king sendeth Sir John Newton,¹⁹ knight, to Wat Tyler, their
captain, to entreat him to come talk with him about his own
demands. The knight having done his message, Wat Tyler
malapertly answered that he would come at his own
220 pleasure. Nevertheless, he followed softly after the knight
and when he came near Smithfield, where the king tarried his
coming, the same knight was sent again to meet him and
understand his requests. Wat Tyler, seeing the knight come
near unto him on horseback, proudly said it had become him
225 better to be on foot in his presence. The knight answered
that it was no harm sith himself was also on horseback.
Therewith, Wat Tyler drew his dagger and, offering to strike,
called the knight 'traitor', whereupon the knight drew his
dagger too and answered him that he lied. The king, seeing the
230 knight in danger, commanded him to alight on foot and to
deliver his dagger to Wat Tyler, whose proud mind would not

The King sent to Wat
Tyler.

Note the pride of a
traitor.

218 **done** delivered: *transitive* (*OED* do v. 1.5.c)

219 **malapertly** presumptuously, impudently (*OED* malapert *adv.*)

221 **tarried** waited in expectation of: *transitive* (*OED* tarry v. 5.a)

226 **sith** given that (*OED* sith *conj.* 4.a)

himself Tyler

be pacified but would needs run on the knight. Whereupon there
 came to the king William Walworth,²⁰ the mayor of London, and
 many other knights and esquires who affirmed that it would be a
 235 shameful reproach if they would suffer the knight to be
 murdered. At last, the king commanded the mayor to arrest the
 rebel. Which mayor, being a man of very valiant courage, arrested
 Wat Tyler on the head with such a mighty stroke as he caused him
 to fall down greatly astonished.²¹ Then a great number environed
 240 the rebel round about and gave him so many wounds as he had no
 life left in him.

Wat Tyler
 arrested by the
 Mayor of
 London and
 afterward slain.

Jack Straw, being likewise taken, when at London he
 should lose his head by the judgement of the mayor, confessed as
 followeth: 'The same time', sayeth he, 'that we came to
 245 Blackheath, when we sent for the king, we purposed to have
 murdered all knights, esquires and gentlemen that should have
 come with him and to have led the king (royally used) up and
 down that with the sight of him all men, especially the common

The confession
 of Jack Straw.

232 **would needs run on** would be preoccupied with (*OED* run on v. PV.2.1.a). There was concern that, unless distracted, Tyler may harm Newton or cause a fight to begin.

235 **suffer** allow (*OED* suffer v. II.13.a)

237 **arrested** stopped: *transitive* (*OED* arrest v. II.6.a)

239 **astonished** stunned (*OED* astonished adj. 1)

environed surrounded (with hostile intent): *transitive* (*OED* environ v. 2.a)

240 **as** that (*OED* as *conj.* I.2.b)

243 **should** was to (of an event formally intended) (*OED* shall v. II.ii.13)

245 **purposed** intended: *transitive* (*OED* purpose v. III.5.a)

247 **royally used** exploited, manipulated (as a puppet king): *transitive* (*OED* use v. II.14.c)

people, might have come unto us the more boldly. And when
250 we had provided ourselves of a sufficient multitude, we would
have suddenly put to death, in every country, the lords and
masters of the common people in whom might appear to be
either counsel or resistance against us. And especially, we
would have killed the knights of St John's.²² Lastly, we would
255 have killed the king himself and all men that had been of any
possession: bishops, monks, canons, parsons. To be brief, we
would have dispatched all such, only begging friars should have
lived that might have sufficed for ministering the sacraments
through the whole realm. And we would have made kings at
260 our pleasure, as Wat Tyler in Kent, and in every shire one. But
because this, our purpose, was hindered by the archbishop, we
studied how we might shortly bring him to his end. Against the
same day that Wat Tyler was killed, we purposed that evening
(because the poor people of London seemed to favour us) to
265 set fire in four corners of the city, so to have burnt it, and to

251 **suddenly** without warning (*OED* suddenly *adv.* 1.a)

country area, region (of England) (*OED* country *n.* 1.4.a)

253 **counsel** opinion (*OED* counsel *n.* 1.1.a)

255-56 **had been of any possession** had any visible power or control over something (as distinct from lawful ownership), particularly land: *Law* (*OED* possession *n.* 1.b)

257 **dispatched** killed: *transitive* (*OED* dispatch *v.* 1.i.4.a)

begging friars members of one of the four mendicant orders – Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans and Carmelites (*OED* mendicant *n.* 1.a). The chief characteristic of mendicant friars was that they wandered from place to place and were reliant solely on alms.

259 **through** throughout (*OED* through *prep.* 1.4.a)

262 **Against** in response to (*OED* against *prep.* III.7.a)

have divided the riches at our pleasure amongst us.' He added that these things they purposed to have done, as God should help him at the end of his life.²³ After this his confession, he was beheaded and his head set on London Bridge by Wat Tyler's and many other.

270 When these rebels burned the Savoy, one of them took a goodly silver piece and hid it in his bosom. But another had spied him and told his fellows who hurled him and the piece of plate together into the fire.²⁴

One of the rebels cast into the fire by his fellows.

275 Two and thirty of them, entering the cellar of the Savoy, drunk so much of sweet wines that they were not able to come out again but were shut in with wood and stones that mured up the door. They called and cried seven days after, and were heard of many, but none came to help them and so they died there.

Two and thirty of the rebels mured up in a cellar.

280 After a number had sacked the new Temple, what with labour and exceeding drinking of white wine, they lay down under the walls and houses and were slain like swine. Hatred and contention so arose among them as they cruelly murdered one another,

The rebels murder one another.

272 **piece of plate** vessel made of gold or silver (*OED* plate *n.* 1.2.a)

276 **mured up** blocked up; *transitive* (*OED* mure *v.* 3.a)

277 **after** afterwards (*OED* after *adv.* 2.b)

279 **sacked** plundered; *transitive* (*OED* sack *v.* 2 1.a)

280 **under** at the bottom of (*OED* under *prep.* 1.7.a)

282 **as** when (*OED* as *conj.* IV.22)

and others also made quick dispatch of them, thus the just judgement of God brought the traitors to their deserved end.²⁵

285 John Ball, priest, who encouraged these traitors in their rebellion, was brought to St Albans and there, before the king, was hanged and quartered. He would not ask the king forgiveness (as all traitors do the like) but bitterly despised him.

John Ball, priest, the comforter of the rebels hanged, 1382.²⁶

290 The principal leaders of the commons in rebellion were Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Kirkby, Alan Threader, Thomas Scot and Ralph Rudge.²⁷ These, with other, were the leaders of the Kentish and Essex men. At Mildenhall and Bury in Suffolk was Robert Westbourne²⁸ that made himself king²⁹ and was most famous after John Wrawe³⁰ who, being a priest, would not set crown upon crown,³¹ but left the name and crown to the said Robert.

The names of the rebels that would have themselves kings.

At Norwich, John Leicester,³² a dyer, exercised the name and power of a king till he was taken and hanged for his pains. And so were most of them in many places.

300 John Wrawe, who was leader of them that rose at Mildenhall and Bury, was drawn and hanged, though many thought he should have been redeemed with money.³³

John Wrawe, one of the leaders of the rebels, hanged, 1383.

287 as just as (*OED* as *conj.* II.i.8.b)

In the reign of King Henry the Fourth

King Henry IV,¹ enjoying the crown of England and keeping his
305 Christmas in his castle at Windsor, John Holland,² late Duke of
Exeter and Earl of Huntington; Thomas,³ late Duke of Surrey and
Earl of Kent; Edward,⁴ late Duke of Aumale and Earl of Rutland, son
to the Duke of York; John Montacute,⁵ Earl of Salisbury; Thomas
Despenser,⁶ Earl of Gloucester; Sir Ralph Lumley;⁷ Sir Thomas
310 Blount;⁸ Sir Benedict Cely⁹ (knights), with other that joined with
them,¹⁰ conspired against King Henry and appointed privately to
murder him under the colour of jousting and other pastimes
pretended.¹¹ But the king, understanding of their pretence by the
mayor of London,¹² left Windsor and came in his company to London
315 so that they missed of him when they came to Windsor, where they
entered the castle with four hundred men. When they saw how they
were deceived they came to Sonning, where the queen that was wife
to King Richard deposed lay,¹³ where they persuaded the household
that King Richard who before was deposed from his authority and kept
320 prisoner in Pontefract Castle was as then escaped out of prison and

The
noblemen
rebelled
against King
Henry the
Fourth and
privily
conspired to
murder him,
1399.

304 **enjoying** using with delight: *transitive* (OED enjoy v. 3.a)

312 **under the colour** under the pretext (OED colour n.1 P.2.c)

312-13 **pastimes pretended** planned activities: *transitive* (OED pretend v. 10.c)

313 **pretence** intention (OED pretence n. 6)

314 **his** the mayor's

315 **missed of him** came too late to find the king

318 **lay** was imprisoned (OED lie v.1 I.3.a)

they would go to him.¹⁴ From thence they went to Wallingford,
afterward to Abingdon, warning the people to take arms upon
them and to go meet their old King Richard. Then they came to
Cirencester where they bruited that King Richard was in company
325 with them and, to make their words the better credit, they had
gotten a chaplain of King Richard's called Madeleine, so like him
in all proportion and favour as the one could hardly be known from
the other. This chaplain they had put in armour, with a crown on his
helmet, that all men might take him for King Richard.¹⁵ But the
330 people of the town, remembering their duty to their prince,
misliked of their proceedings. Whereupon they fought against
them and at length took the chiefest of them and led them to the
abbey there where they put them in a fair chamber under safe
custody. The lords, seeing the people so vehement in duty to their
335 king, stood in great fear and imagined by what means they might
escape forth of their hands, so they caused some of their
servants to set fire on certain houses in the town, thinking the
people would have such regard to slake the fire as they would be

The people of
the town fought
against the
rebels and took
the chiefest of
them and
beheaded them.

322-23 **to take arms upon them** to arm themselves (*OED* arms *n.* P.1.b)

324 **bruited** spread a report: *transitive* (*OED* bruit *v.* 2.a)

325 **the better credit** more credibility (*OED* credit *n.* I.2.b)

336 **escape ... hands** escape from the hands of their captors

337 **set fire on** ignite (*OED* set *v.* 1 IV.ii.34)

338 **have such regard** be paying so much attention (*OED* regard *n.* I.1.b)

slake extinguish: *transitive* (*OED* slake *v.* 1 II.11)

glad to forsake them. But it chanced far contrary, for the people
340 then increased more and more in rage against them and drew
them by violence into the marketplace where they beheaded
the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Salisbury,¹⁶ and six and
twenty of their attendants were led to Oxford where they were
beheaded in the castle. Also, Sir Thomas Blount, knight, was
345 beheaded with them.¹⁷ The week next following, Thomas
Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, was beheaded at Bristol and at
the same time John Holland, Earl of Huntington and brother to
King Richard on the mother's side, was beheaded at Plashy in
Essex and at London was beheaded Sir Bernard Brocas,¹⁸ John
350 Madeleine, the priest that was so like King Richard, and
another priest called William Ferriby;¹⁹ and thus the traitors sped
for rebelling against their king.

There was found in the king's bedclothes an iron with
three sharp pikes, slender and round standing upright,²⁰ laid
355 there by some traitor that when the king should have laid him
down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But, by God's
assistance, he escaped that traitorous device.

King Henry
escapeth a great
danger, 1401.

339 **chanced** came about (*OED* chance v. 1.a)

351 **sped** ended (*OED* speed v. 1.7.b)

357 **device** trick (*OED* device n. 6)

A priest of Warwick²¹ who conspired against King Henry
was drawn, hanged and quartered. Also, Walter of Baldock, prior of
360 Launde in Leicestershire,²³ for traitorous speeches against the king
was hanged and headed. Moreover, one Richard Frisby,²⁴ Doctor of
Divinity, avouched that in the quarrel of King Richard (who was
deposed for his evil government and was likewise dead) he would
fight against any man even to the death, for which traitorous
365 words he was condemned, drawn and hanged in his religious
habit and weed. And not long after, Sir Roger Clarendon,²⁵ knight,
with him an esquire and a yeoman, were beheaded and eight
grey friars hanged and headed at London and two at Leicester:
all of them executed for traitorous words against the king.

A priest, a prior
and a doctor of
divinity, being a
grey friar, were
all executed for
treason, 1403.²²

370 Thomas Percy,²⁶ Earl of Worcester; Sir Richard Vernon;²⁷
the Baron of Kinderton,²⁹ with diverse other rebellious persons put
themselves in arms against the king near unto Shrewsbury in a
place called Old Field, alias Bull Field.³⁰ But the Earl of Worcester,³¹
the Baron of Kinderton and Sir Richard Vernon were taken and
375 beheaded at Shrewsbury.

The Earl of
Worcester, Sir
Richard Vernon
and the Baron of
Kinderton
beheaded for
rebellious against
the king, 1404.²⁸

360 (s.n.) **grey friar** Franciscan friar

366 **weed** clothing characteristic of his occupation (especially religious) (*OED* weed n.2 II.5.a)

371-72 **put ... arms** armed themselves with weapons (*OED* arms n. I.2.a)

Henry Percy,³² Earl of Northumberland; Richard Scrope,³³
Archbishop of York; Thomas Mowbray,³⁴ Earl Marshal; Thomas,
Lord Bardolf³⁶ and other conspired against the king and caused the
citizens of York to take part with them in their rebellion. But the
380 king's power following them forced the Earl of Northumberland
and the Lord Bardolf to take their flight into Scotland.³⁷ But the
Archbishop of York and the Earl Marshal were taken and
beheaded at York.³⁸

The Archbishop of York and the Earl Marshal beheaded for rebelling against the king, 1406.³⁵

A squire of Wales named Rhys ap Dee,³⁹ who had long
385 time rebelled against the king, was brought to London and
there was drawn, hanged and quartered.

A Welsh rebel executed, 1412.

In the reign of King Henry the Fifth

The king,¹ keeping his Christmas at his manor in Eltham,² seven
miles from London, was given to understand that certain had
390 conspired against him, either to have taken or suddenly have
slain him and his brethren⁴ on Twelfth-day at night. Whereupon
the king sent word to the Mayor of London⁵ that he should
arrest all suspicious persons. The mayor forthwith caused every

A secret conspiracy against the king, according as it is set down by J. Stow.³

377 **Earl Marshal** a high office of state, ranking immediately above Lord High Admiral and below Lord High Constable (*OED* Earl Marshal *n.* 1). The office is traditionally held by the dukes of Norfolk.

389 **certain** a number of people (*OED* certain *n.* II.5.b)

391 **Twelfth-day** the twelfth day after Christmas, namely 6 January and the feast of the Epiphany, which is customarily the end of the festive period (*OED* Twelfth-day *n.*)

alderman in his ward to keep great watch and about ten of
395 the clock at night went himself with a strong power to the
sign of the Axe without Bishopsgate⁶ where he apprehended
the man of the house named John Burgate,⁷ carpenter, and
seven other and sent them to Eltham where they confessed
before the king that they were confederate with Sir John
400 Oldcastle⁸ to fight against him and his lords in St Giles' Fields
above Holborn.⁹ On the morrow after Twelfth-day, the king
removed privily to Westminster and with a great army kept
the field by St Giles, for he was warned that Sir John
Oldcastle and Sir Roger Acton¹⁰ would be in the same field on
405 the next day following with five-and-twenty thousand people
and the same night were taken more than four score men in
armour of the same faction. Also, the king being told of an
ambushment in Haringey Park, sent thither certain lords who
took many of them, among whom was one William Murle,¹¹ a
410 rich malt man or brewer of Dunstable, who had his two

King Henry kept the
field by St Giles
above Holborn.

394 **alderman** civil officer in the city (next in dignity to the mayor) (*OED* alderman *n.* I.3)
ward administrative division of the city, represented in government by an alderman (*OED* ward *n.* 2 V.19.a)
great intense (*OED* great *adj.* II.9.a)
395 **power** armed force (*OED* power *n.* 1 II.7.a)
400 **him** the king
402 **privily** secretly (*OED* privily *adv.* 1)
402-03 **kept the field** stood in position on the battlefield (*OED* keep *v.* II.iii.33.b)
406 **taken** captured: *transitive* (*OED* take *v.* I.i.1.b)
407 **of the same faction** who were Oldcastle's supporters
408 **ambushment** body of soldiers ready to make a surprise attack (*OED* ambushment *n.* 2.b)

horses trapped with gold following him and a pair of gilt spurs in
his bosom, for he thought to have been made knight on the
morrow. The twelfth day of January, three score and nine of
them were condemned of treason at Westminster and, on the
415 morrow after, seven-and-thirty of them were drawn from the
Tower of London to Newgate and so to St Giles and there in a
place called Fickett's Field¹² were all hanged and seven of them
burnt,¹³ gallows and all. The nineteenth day of January were
drawn and hanged Sir John Beverley¹⁴, priest; John Burgate,
420 carpenter; a text-writer in St John's Street and a glover on
London Bridge. And shortly after, Sir Roger Acton, knight, was
taken who, on the tenth of February, was drawn, hanged and
buried under the gallows.¹⁵

Many of the
rebels hanged
and burnt in
Fickett's Field
and other
executed soon
after for the same
offence, 1414.

On the last of July was discovered a great conspiracy
425 against the king by three lords in whom, above all the rest, he
reposed greatest trust and confidence. The chiefest of them was
Henry Scrope,¹⁷ Lord Treasurer; the second was Richard, Earl of
Cambridge,¹⁸ brother to Edward, Duke of York; and the third was
Sir Thomas Grey,¹⁹ a knight of the north. These three had caused

Three noblemen
whom the king
best trusted and
made great
account of
conspired his
death, 1416.¹⁶

411 **trapped** adorned (*OED* trapped *adj.*2)

gilt covered with a thin coating of gold (*OED* gilt *adj.* a)

411-12 **in his bosom** 'tucked away inside his cloak' (Thomas Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, trans. by David Preest, intro. By James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 395)

420 **text-writer** a professional writer of text-hand (*OED* text-writer *n.* 1)

430 Edmund, Earl of March,²⁰ to swear upon a book²¹ not to disclose
 their counsel and then they told him that they intended to kill the
 king and to make the said Edmund king, the which if he refused
 to take upon him, they would likewise kill him. The earl prayed
 them to give him one hour's space to take advisement what he
 435 were best to do which, being granted him, the earl went secretly
 and told the king thereof, who caused them forthwith to be
 apprehended and brought before him where they confessed the
 treason. For the which, on the first of August, they were
 arraigned in the king's presence and the same day all three
 440 beheaded.²² The earl was buried, head and all, but the other two
 heads were sent - the one to York and the other to Newcastle-
 upon-Tyne - to be set up.²³

John Bennet,²⁴ woolman, who had scattered about
 London diverse schedules full of sedition, was drawn, hanged
 445 and beheaded on Michaelmas Day. And the eighth day of
 October a parchment-maker²⁶ of Turnmill Street was drawn,

John Bennet,
 executed for
 scattering
 seditious libels in
 London, 1417.²⁵

433 **to take upon him** to undertake: *transitive* (OED take v. P.1.a.i)
 433-34 **prayed them** asked them earnestly: *transitive* (OED pray v. 2.b)
 434 **space** time (to do something) (OED space n.1 I.1.a)
to take advisement to deliberate (OED advisement n. P.1.b)
 436 **them** the conspirators
 443 **woolman** wool-merchant (OED woolman n.)
 444 **schedules** written notes (OED schedule n. 1)
 445 **Michaelmas Day** the feast of St Michael, 29 September (OED Michaelmas n.)

hanged and headed for harbouring Sir John Oldcastle, contrary to the King's commandment.

In the reign of King Henry the Sixth

450 At Abingdon were gathered together a great many of lewd and rebellious persons who sought to make a great uproar in the realm, but the Lord Protector² rode thither with his company and arrested there the bailiff of the town named William Mandeville,³ a weaver, who was appointed for their captain and he had named himself Jack
455 Sharpe of Wigmoreland in Wales.⁴ When he was examined, he confessed that he meant to have done many mischiefs, especially against priests, so that he would have made their heads as cheap as sheeps' heads: that is to say, three for a penny.⁵ He was drawn, hanged and headed at Abingdon and his head was sent to London
460 and set on the bridge. The rest of his company were executed in diverse other places for example to other.

William Mandeville, captain of a lewd company of rebellious persons at Abingdon, executed there and others of his company in diverse other places, 1433.¹

The thirteenth day of July following, one Richard Russell,⁶ woolman, was drawn, hanged and quartered for that he would have made dukes and earls at his own pleasure.

Richard Russell executed.

450 **lewd** wicked (*OED lewd adj.* 3.a)

453 **bailiff of the town** officer of justice under the sheriff (*OED bailiff n.* 2)

456 **done many mischiefs** caused harm or injury (*OED mischief n.* II.2.a)

- 465 Roger Bolingbroke,⁷ a great astronomer, with Thomas
Southwell,⁸ a canon of St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster,
were taken as conspirators of the king's death, for it was said
that the same Roger should labour to consume the king's
person by way of necromancy and the said Thomas should say
470 masses in the lodge of Hornsey Park beside London upon
certain instruments with the which the said Roger should use
his craft of necromancy against the faith and was assenting to
the said Roger in all his works. And the five-and-twentieth day
of July,⁹ being Sunday, Roger Bolingbroke, with all his
475 instruments of necromancy (that is to say, a painted chair
wherein he was wont to sit, upon the four corners of which
chair stood four swords and upon every sword an image of
copper hanging, with many other instruments beside), he
stood on a high scaffold before Paul's Cross¹⁰ holding a sword
480 in his right hand and a sceptre on his left, arrayed in a
marvellous strange attire¹¹ and after the sermon was done (by
- Conspirators of the
king's death by
necromancy.

468 **consume** kill, destroy: *transitive* (OED consume v.1 I.3.a)

469 **necromancy** predicting the future by supposedly communicating with the dead (OED necromancy n. 1.a)

470 **beside** near (OED beside *prep.* 1.c)

471 **instruments** implements or utensils (OED instrument n. 1.b)

472 **against the faith** contrary to the teachings of the church (which are regarded as true and correct) (OED the faith n. III.6.b)

assenting to agreeing to, complying with: *intransitive* (OED assent v. 1.a)

476 **wont to sit** in the habit of sitting (OED wont *adj.* I.2.a.ii)

Master Lowe,¹² Bishop of Rochester), he abjured all articles
belonging to the art of necromancy or against the faith.

Afterward these two were condemned of treason. Thomas

485 Southwell died in the Tower of London but Roger Bolingbroke
was drawn from the Tower to Tyburn and there hanged and
quartered.¹⁴

Roger Bolingbroke
executed, 1442.¹³

John David, servant to William Cater (an armourer
dwelling in St Dunstan's parish in Fleet Street), appeached his
490 master of treason. And a day being assigned for them to fight a
combat together in Smithfield, the master was there slain by his
said servant.¹⁶

A combat between a
master and his
servant who
appeached him of
treason, 1447.¹⁵

The Duke of Gloucester,¹⁷ being arrested by the Lord
Beaumont,¹⁹ High Constable, the Duke of Buckingham²⁰ and
495 the Duke of Somerset²¹ and other for special matters, within
few days after he died with sorrow²² but two-and-thirty of his
principal servants being sent to diverse prisons, five of them
were arraigned and condemned at London, whose names
were Sir Roger Chamberlain,²³ knight, Middleton,²⁴ Herbert²⁵
500 and Arthur,²⁶ esquires, and Richard Needham,²⁷ gentleman.
All which five were drawn from the Tower of London²⁸ to

The Duke of
Gloucester arrested,
died soon after, but
five of his men were
hanged and after
pardoned, 1448.¹⁸

482 **abjured** renounced on oath: *transitive* (OED abjure v. 1.a)

489 **St Dunstan's ... Street** St Dunstan's in the West (MoEML)

appeached accused (OED appeach v. 2.a)

Tyburn and there hanged but they were let down quickly,
stripped naked, marked with a knife to be quartered and
then a charter was shown them for their lives but the
505 yeoman of the crown had their livelihood and the hangman
had their clothes.²⁹

Thomas Thany,³⁰ otherwise called Bluebeard, a
fuller, was taken beside Canterbury for raising a rebellion,
who afterward was hanged and quartered.

Bluebeard hanged for
raising rebellion, 1450.

510 The commons of Kent arose against the king, having
to their captain Jack Cade (who named himself Mortimer,
cousin to the Duke of York)³² and of some he was called
John Amendall. This captain and his company came to
Blackheath and there kept the field more than a month,
515 pilling and spoiling the country round about. At length, the
king's proclamation going abroad against the rebels, Jack Cade
was taken by a gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden³³
in a garden in Sussex. There was he slain at Heathfield and
afterward brought in a cart to London where he was
520 quartered and his head set on London Bridge and his quarters

The commons of Kent
rebelled, Jack Cade
being their captain,
1451.³¹

504 **charter** pardon (*OED* charter *n.1* 1.b)

505 **livelihood** money (*OED* livelihood *n.1* 3)

508 **a fuller** one who cleans and thickens cloth (*OED* fuller *n.1*)

515 **pilling** making the land bare by removing vegetation: *transitive* (*OED* pill *v.1* I.6)

sent to diverse places in Kent.³⁴ Eight men were executed at Canterbury for the same offence and in other towns of Kent and Sussex was done the like execution.

In the reign of King Edward the Fourth

525 Walter Walker, a grocer that dwelt in Cheap, for certain words that he spake touching King Edward, was beheaded in Smithfield on the twelfth day of March.¹

Walter Walker
beheaded for
words against the
king, 1461.

Nicholas Faunt,² Mayor of Canterbury, Spicing, Quintin³ and other⁴ were hanged and headed at Canterbury⁵ for rebelling against King Edward. The heads of Spicing and Quintin were set on Aldgate of London.⁶

The Mayor of
Canterbury and
other executed for
rebellion.

Thomas ‘the Bastard’ Faulconbridge,⁷ who took part with the rebels in Kent against the king, was taken at Southampton and was beheaded at the castle of Middleham in Yorkshire.⁹ His head was sent to London and there set on the bridge.

‘The Bastard’
Faulconbridge
lost his head,
1472.⁸

Thomas Burdett,¹⁰ an esquire of Warwickshire (son to Sir Nicholas Burdett), for speaking of treasonable words¹² against the king was condemned of treason, drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn and there beheaded.

Thomas Burdett
beheaded for
treason, 1478.¹¹

526 **touching** relating to: *transitive* (OED touch v. III.25.a)

540 **In the reign of King Edward the Fifth**

To set down the troublesome accidents happening on this king's
reign¹ would require a very large discourse and grow to greater
quantity than the scope that I have intended. Besides, for that
troubles did still follow one in another's neck, both in his
545 lifetime and also after his death, by reason he left two sons who
were so young in years² as they could not take the government
upon them. I will therefore refer you to the chronicles which at
large will certify you of that which I am loath here to rehearse.³
Yet it shall not be amiss to report unto you how the king, lying
550 on his deathbed,⁴ desired to pacify and set in good agreement
those that had long time been heavy enemies, especially the
Lord Marquess of Dorset⁵ (the queen's son by her first husband)
and William, the Lord Hastings,⁶ a nobleman then the Lord
Chamberlain. And for his highness would gladly see all enmity
555 ceased before he died, he called them into his chamber. When
lifting himself up and being held up with pillows, he uttered to
them a worthy oration, which oration, for that it sheweth notable
examples to unsteady and wilful heads and delivereth good
counsel to all in general, I have been so bold to insert it here to

The Lord Marquess of
Dorset and the Lord
Hastings great
enemies.

544 **one in another's neck** in quick succession: *proverbial* (Dent, N63.11)

544-45 **his ... his ... he** King Edward IV

548 **certify you** make you certain: *transitive* (OED certify v. 1)

loath reluctant (OED loath *adj.* 4.a)

rehearse relate: *transitive* (OED rehearse v. I.1.a.i)

551 **heavy** intense (OED heavy *adj.* 1 III.13.a)

560 show the princely advice of so noble a king and also to give some
light of the troubles in those days.

The oration of the king, which he spake lying on his deathbed

‘My lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie you see
and I feel. By which, the less while I look to live with you, the more
565 deeply I am moved to care in what case I leave you; for such as I
leave you, such be my children like to find you. Which if they
should (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall
themselves at war ere their discretion would serve to set you at
peace.⁷ Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest
570 in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you love them, if each
of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness happily would
suffice. But childhood must be maintained by men’s authority and
slipper youth under-propped with elder counsel,⁸ which neither
they can have but ye give it, nor ye give it, if ye agree not. For
575 where each laboureth to break that the other maketh, and for hatred
of each other’s person impugneth each other’s counsel, there must it

Note the care of
a prince for his
country.

560-61 **give some light** help explain (*OED* light *n.1* P.1.b.ii)
 566 **like** likely (*OED* like *adj.* III.10.a)
 567 **at variance** in a state of discord or enmity (*OED* variance *n.* P.2.a)
hap to unintentionally (*OED* hap *n.1* 4)
 568 **discretion** judgement (*OED* discretion *n.* I.3)
 569 **surety** safety (*OED* surety *n.* II.4.b)
 570 **concord** accord (*OED* concord *n.1* 1)
 571 **other** the others (*OED* other *pron.* I.6.b.i)
 572 **maintained** defended: *transitive* (*OED* maintain *v.* I.4)
authority supremacy (*OED* authority *n.* II.2)
 573 **slipper** unstable (*OED* slipper *adj.* 2)
 575 **that** the thing (*OED* that *pron.1* II.5.c)
 576 **impugneth** dispute (*OED* impugn *v.* 2.a)

needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward. And also while
either party laboureth to be chief, flattery shall have more place than
plain and faithful advice, of which must needs ensue the evil bringing up
580 of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to
mischiefe and riot, and draw down with this noble realm to ruin; but if
grace turn him to wisdom, which if God send, then they that by evil
means before pleased him best, shall after fall further out of favour, so
that ever at length evil drifts draw to nought and good plain ways
585 prosper.

The danger
where flattery
is more
esteemed than
true and
faithful
dealing.

‘Great variance hath there long been between you, not alway for
great causes. Sometime a thing right well intended, our misconstruction
turneth unto worse, or a small displeasure done us, either our own
affection or evil tongues aggrieveth. But this I wot well: ye never had so
590 great cause of hatred as ye have of love. That we be all men, that we be
Christian men, this shall I leave for preachers to tell ye (and yet I wot
not whether any preacher’s words ought more to move ye than his that
is by and by going to the place that they all preach of). But this I shall
desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the
595 other of my allies’, and each of you with other, either of kindred or
affinity, which spiritual kindred of affinity (if the sacraments of Christ’s

A special note
for all traitors.

576-77 **must it needs** it is unavoidable (*OED* needs *adv.* II.4.b)

584 **drifts** plots (*OED* drift *n.* I.5)

589 **affection** artifice (*OED* affection *n.*2)

aggrieveth make more serious: *transitive* (*OED* aggrieve *v.* 2)

wot know: *transitive* (*OED* wit *v.*1 I.1.a)

593 **by ... of** shortly going to heaven, about to die

church bear that weight with us as would God they did) should no
less move us to charity than the respect of fleshly consanguinity.

Our Lord forbid that you love together the worse for the self cause

600 that you ought to love the better. And yet it happeneth. And
nowhere find we so deadly debate as among them who by nature
and law ought most to agree together.

‘Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vainglory
and sovereignty, which are among states where he once entreth,

605 creepeth so far forth till with division and variance he turneth all
to mischief - first longing to be best, afterward equal with the best,
and at last chief and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite
of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what loss, what
sorrow, what trouble hath within these few years grown in this

610 realm, I pray God as well forget as we well remember. Which
things if I could as well have foreseen, as I have with my more pain
than pleasure proved, by God’s blessed lady (for that was ever his
oath) I would never have won the courtesy of men’s knees with the
loss of so many heads.

Ambition a
pestilent and
deadly serpent⁹
whose infection,
where he cometh,
turneth all to
mischief.

598 **charity** Christian love for fellow men (*OED* charity *n.* 1.c)

fleshly consanguinity being of the same blood (*OED* consanguinity *n.* 1.a)

599 **self** same (*OED* self *pron.* II.5)

603 **vainglory** unwarranted pride (*OED* vainglory *n.* 1.a)

604 **states** conditions (expressed by behaviour) (*OED* state *n.* 1.i.2.a)

613 **courtesy of men’s knees** the expression of respect by kneeling (*OED* courtesy *n.* 5)

615 ‘But seeing things past cannot be called again, much ought
we the more beware, by what occasion we have taken so great hurt
before, that we eftsoons fall not in that occasion again. Now is all
these griefs past, and all is (God be thanked) quiet and likely right
well to prosper in wealthful peace under your cousins, my children,
620 if God send them life and you love. Of which two things, the less
loss were they by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the
realm always find kings and peradventure as good kings.¹⁰ But if
you among yourselves in a child’s reign fall at debate, many a good
man shall perish, and happily ye too, ere this land find peace again.
625 Wherefore, in these last words that ever I look to speak with you, I
exhort you and require you all - for the love that you have ever
borne to me, for the love that I have ever borne for you, for the love
that our Lord beareth unto us all - from this time forward, all griefs
forgotten, each of you love other, which I verily trust you will, if
630 you anything regard either God or your king, affinity or kindred,
this realm, your own country, or your own surety.’

The
remembrance
of misfortunes
past ought to
teach us to be
fearful of the
like.

A good note
for this present
time of peace.

And therewithal the king, enduring no longer to sit up, laid
him down on his right side, his face towards them and none was

615 **called again** brought back: *transitive* (OED call v. PV.1)

617 **eftsoons** again: (OED eftsoons *adv.* 1.a)

622 **peradventure** maybe (OED peradventure *adv.* 1.b)

624 **happily ye too** perhaps you too (the people the king is addressing)

625 **Wherefore** for which reason (OED wherefore *adv.* II.5.a)

look expect (OED look v. I.i.8.b.i)

626 **exhort** admonish: *transitive* (OED exhort v. 1.a)

629 **verily** truly (OED verily *adv.* a)

632 **therewithal** that being said (OED therewithal *adv.* 2)

there present that could refrain from weeping but the lords,

635 recomforting him with as good words as they could and answering
for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his
presence (as by their words appeared) each forgave other and joined
their hands together when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their
hearts were far asunder.

640 The young king, after the decease of his father, came towards
London when the Duke of Gloucester¹¹ (his uncle) began greatly to
thirst for the kingdom and waxed very envious that so young a prince
should reign. Whereupon, he deprived the young king of them that
were nearest about him and who he thought would hinder his

645 aspiring mind. First, Sir Anthony Woodville,¹² Lord Rivers and
brother to the queen, who had governance and ordering of the young
king, he caused to put him in durance and afterward, even in the
king's presence, he procured a quarrel to be picked with Lord

Richard Grey,¹³ the king's other brother by the mother, and arrested
650 him and Sir Thomas Vaughan,¹⁴ knight, and so far proceeded in his
determination (by the aid of the Duke of Buckingham¹⁵ and others)

The Lord Rivers
put in ward.

The Duke of
Gloucester
caused the Lord
Rivers, the Lord
Grey and Sir
Thomas
Vaughan to be
beheaded.

636 **for the time** for the time being (*OED* time *n.* P.3.i.i)

to stand with to accord with: *intransitive* (*OED* stand *v.* PV.2.4)

his pleasure the king's wishes (*OED* pleasure *n.* 2)

642 **waxed** grew (*OED* wax *v.* 1 II.9.a.i)

643 **Whereupon** For which reason (*OED* whereupon *adv.* II.3.b)

645 (s.n.) **put in ward** made a prisoner (*OED* ward *n.* 2 I.3)

647 **he** (Gloucester) ... **him** (Lord Rivers)

durance forced confinement (*OED* durance *n.* 5)

648 **procured** caused: *transitive* (*OED* procure *v.* I.4.a)

as Lord Rivers, the Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Vaughan were sent into
the north parts to sundry prisons but afterward were all beheaded at
Pontefract.¹⁶

655 Then did he take upon him the governance of the young king
and was called the Lord Protector.¹⁷ When, having the young king in
his custody, he could not be yet contented except he had the other
brother too and therefore, by means of the Lord Cardinal,¹⁸ he
prevailed in his purpose and brought the other child to the king, his
660 brother, into the bishop's palace at Paul's and from thence through the
city honourably to the Tower, out of the which after that day they
never came abroad. When the Protector had both the children thus in
his custody, he opened his intent more boldly both to certain other
men (as also chiefly to the Duke of Buckingham) that he would needs
665 be king himself in all haste and he should have the duke's aid to make
him king. Besides, the Protector's only lawful son¹⁹ should marry the
duke's daughter and the Protector should grant him the quiet
possession of the earldom of Hertford and, beside these requests of
the duke, the Protector promised him of his own mind a great
670 quantity of the king's treasure and of his household stuff.

The young
king and his
brother
brought to the
Tower.

655 **him** himself

657 **except he had** without having (*OED* except *prep.* B 3)

659 **king** Edward V

his the child's

663 **opened** disclosed (his intentions): *transitive* (*OED* open *v.* II 12a)

667 **him** the duke

669 **of his own mind** by his own inclination or opinion (*OED* mind *n.1* II 17e)

669-70 **him** (the duke) ... **his** (the Protector's) ... **his** (the king's)

In brief, the Protector taketh upon him to be king and so prevailed that he was crowned king. But when he remembered that his two nephews were living in the Tower, and one of them the right king indeed, he persuaded himself (as very well he might) that men would account him to have no right to the realm. Therefore, he thought to dispatch them out of the way, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause and make him a kindly king. Upon this he sent one John Green,²⁰ whom he specially trusted, to Sir Robert Brackenbury,²¹ constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two children to death. But when John Green had done his errand to Sir Robert, he plainly answered that by no means he would put them to death. When King Richard perceived that he could not prevail that way, he broke the matter to Sir James Tyrell²² whom he found very tractable to his intent, wherefore he sent him on the morrow with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, by which letter he was commanded to deliver to Sir James all the keys of the Tower for one night to the end he might there accomplish the king's pleasure in such things as he had given him commandment. After which letter delivered and

The Protector
crowned king by
the name of King
Richard the Third.

King Richard
sendeth to have the
two young princes
put to death in the
Tower.

675 **account** reckon, consider: *transitive* (OED account v. II.4.d)

680 **credence** document of credentials (OED credence n. I.3)

681 **wise** way, manner (OED wise n.1 II.3.a)

684 **broke the matter** revealed his thoughts (OED break v. IV.62.a)

685 **tractable** easily persuaded (OED tractable adj. 1.b)

688 **to the end** for the purpose that (OED end n. II.14.b)

the keys received, Sir James appointed the night ensuing to destroy
the two young princes, devising before and preparing the means.

695 The prince, so soon as the Protector had left that name and
took upon himself to be king, was thereof informed that he should
not reign but his uncle would have the crown. At which words, the
prince being greatly abashed, fetching a heavy sigh, said, 'Alas, I
would mine uncle would let me have my life yet, though I lose my
kingdom.' Then he that told him the tale used him with good words
and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the
700 prince and his brother shut up and all other removed from them,
only one Black Will or William Slaughter²³ excepted, who was set
to serve them and see them sure. After which time the prince never
tied his points nor did anything of himself but, with the young babe
his brother, lingered in thought and heaviness till this traitorous
705 death delivered them out of that wretched estate, for Sir James
Tyrell devised that they should be murdered in their beds. To the
execution thereof he appointed Miles Forest,²⁴ one of the four that

The young
prince informed
that his uncle
would be king,
and his answer to
the same.

The prince and
his brother shut
up close
prisoners

Sir James
appointed who
should murder
the princes.

691 **appointed** arranged: *transitive* (OED appoint v. I.2)

693 **left that name** stopped using that name i.e as soon as the Protector had relinquished that title for the title of king

696 **abashed** discomfited (OED abashed *adj.*)

fetching heaving (a sigh) (OED fetch v. 7.a)

698 **used** spoke to: *transitive* (OED use v. III 16.a)

700 (s.n.) **close** strictly confined (OED close *adj.* I.3)

702 **see them sure** ensure they were unable to escape (OED sure *adj.* I.4)

703 **points** ribbons or cords used for fastening garments (OED point *n.1* II.ii.23.a)

705 **estate** condition (OED estate *n.* I.1.a)

kept them, a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime and to him he
joined John Dighton,²⁵ his own horse-keeper, a big, broad, square,
710 long knave.

Then all the other being removed from them, this Miles
Forest and John Dighton about midnight (the silly children lying
in their beds) came into their chamber and suddenly lapped them
up amongst the clothes and they had so bewrapped them and
715 entangled them, keeping down by force the featherbed and pillows
hard unto their mouths, that within a while, smothered and stifled,
their breath failing them, they gave up to God their innocent souls
into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies
dead in the bed. Which after that the cruel wretches perceived,
720 first by struggling with the pains of death and after long lying
still, to be thoroughly dead. They laid their bodies naked upon the
bed and fetched Sir James to see them who, upon sight of them,
caused those murderers to bury them at the stairs' foot, meetly
deep in the ground under a great heap of stones. Then rode Sir
725 James in great haste to King Richard and showed him all the
manner of the murder, who gave him great thanks and (as some
say) there made him a knight. But he allowed not their burying in

The young king
and his brother
murdered.

King Richard
thanketh Sir
James for
murdering the
princes.

708 **fleshed in** inured to: *figurative* (OED flesh v. 2.b)

beforetime in the past (OED beforetime *adv.*)

712 **silly** defenceless (OED silly *adj.* II.2.b)

713 **lapped** wrapped (OED lap v.2 3.a)

723 **meetly** suitably (OED meetly *adv.* 1)

so vile a corner, saying that he would have them buried in a better place because they were a king's sons.

730 Upon this, as it is reported, a priest belonging to Sir Robert Brackenbury took up the bodies again and secretly entered them in such a place as, by the occasion of his death who only knew it,²⁶ could never since come to light. Very troth it is and well known that at such time as Sir James Tyrrell was in the Tower for treason
735 committed against the most famous prince King Henry the Seventh,²⁷ both Dighton and he were examined and they confessed the murder in manner above written but whether the bodies were removed they could not tell.

 And thus were these two noble princes, these innocent, tender
740 children born of a most royal blood, brought up in great wealth, likely long to live, reign and rule in the realm, shortly shut up in prison and privily thus murdered, their bodies cast God knows where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle and his despiteful tormentors. Which things, on every part well pondered, God never
745 gave this realm a more notable example neither in what uncertainty standeth this whole worldly weal or what mischief worketh the proud

733 **troth** truth (*OED* troth *n.* II.4)

742 **cast** thrown: *transitive* (*OED* cast *v.* I.1.a)

743 **unnatural** inhuman, unfeeling (*OED* unnatural *adj.* 2.a)

despiteful cruel (*OED* despiteful *adj.* 2)

	enterprises of an high heart or, finally, what wretched end ensueth such	Miles Forrest
	unnatural cruelty. For first to begin with the bloody actors of this	rotted in pieces
	murder, Miles Forrest at St Martin's piecemeal rotted away. Dighton	to death.
750	yet walketh (as are mine author's words at that time) in good possibility	Dighton in
	to be hanged ere he die. Sir James Tyrrell died at the Tower Hill, being	good
	beheaded for treason. ²⁸ King Richard himself was afterward slain in the	forwardness to
	field, hacked and hewed at his enemies' hands, harried on horseback	be hanged.
	dead, his hair in despite torn and tugged like a cur-dog. In his lifetime,	Sir James
		Tyrrell
		beheaded for
		treason.
		King Richard
		himself slain in
		the field.
755	by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlain, after this	
	abominable deed was done, he never was quiet in his mind; he never	
	thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, he still privily looked	
	about him. His body was secretly fenced, his hand ever upon his dagger,	
	his countenance and manners like one always ready to strike again, sore	
760	wearied with care and watch. He rather slumbered than slept, troubled	
	with fearful dreams, suddenly sometime he started up, leapt out of his	
	bed and ran about the chamber, so was his restless heart continually	
	tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy	

747 **enterprises** undertakings (*OED* enterprise *n.* 1.a)

high arrogant (*OED* high *adj.* II.11)

ensueth is the consequence of: *transitive* (*OED* ensue *v.* 6.a)

749 **piecemeal** little by little (*OED* piecemeal *adv.* A 1)

749 (s.n.) **in good forwardness** making good progress (*OED* forwardness *n.* 2.a)

753 **harried** maltreated (*OED* harry *v.* 4)

754 **cur-dog** low-bred, snappish dog (*OED* cur *n.* 1.a, C.1)

755 **secret with** in the confidence of (*OED* secret *adj.* 3)

758 **fenced** protected: *transitive* (*OED* fence *v.* 2.a)

759 **sore** grievously (*OED* sore *adj.* 1 I.2.a)

760 **watch** wakefulness (*OED* watch *n.* I.1.a)

slumbered dozed (*OED* slumber *v.* 1.a)

763 **tedious** troublesome, painful (*OED* tedious *adj.* 2)

impression effect (*OED* impression *n.* 6.a)

remembrance of his abominable deed. A notable example, doubtless,
765 to all such as take like enterprise in hand, that cannot be contented to
live within compass of duty but their aspiring thoughts must stretch
further than either their hability will serve them or God suffer them.

The seat of a prince is a place of great majesty and none but
such as God hath appointed can contain themselves in that royal
770 room. Then, if they wilfully covet that place for which both reason
and duty sayeth they are far unfit, such is the justice of Him by whom
kings rule and princes sway their sovereignty as the pleasure they
sought to have in that high office is a very dagger to their hearts and
such an eating worm to their consciences as by this example before
775 you may plainly perceive. Let princes therefore be honoured and
feared as they ought and let subjects live in true and faithful
obedience to them because it is a chief and especial article of their
duty.

In the reign of King Henry the Seventh

780 On the two-and-twentieth day of February were arraigned in the
Guildhall of London four persons, to wit, Thomas Bagnall, John
Scot, John Heth and John Kennington,¹ who were sanctuary men

Certain persons
executed for
making
seditious and
slandorous
libels against
the king, 1494.

765 **like** a similar, the same (*OED* like *adj.* I.3)

766 **within compass** within the due limits (*OED* compass *n.1* I.2)

772 **sway** wield: *transitive* (*OED* sway *v.* II.8.a)

774 **an eating worm** a grief, a torment: *figurative* (*OED* worm *n.* II.11.a)

781 **to wit** namely (*OED* wit *v.1* II.10.c.ii)

782 **sanctuary men** men who had taken refuge in a privileged place of protection (*OED* sanctuary man *n.*)

of St Martin's le Grand² in London and lately before were taken
out of the said sanctuary for forging of seditious bills to the
785 slander of the king and some of his council, for which three of
them were adjudged to die.³ So, on the five-and-twentieth day
of February, the said three persons (with a Fleming and a
yeoman of the crown) were all five executed at Tyburn.

Pierce or Perkin Warbeck,⁴ a Fleming born, by the
790 counsel of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy,⁶ named himself
Richard of York (King Edward's second son). He and his
company arrived at Deal in Kent where, when they perceived
they could have no comfort of the country in their rebellion,
they withdrew themselves to their ships again. But the Mayor
795 of Sandwich encountered with them and took alive of them one
hundred three score and nine persons, among which were five
captains (Mountford, Corbett, Whitbelt, Quintin and Gemine)⁷
and on the twelfth of July, John Peche,⁸ esquire and sheriff of
Kent, brought unto London Bridge these hundred three score

Peter Warbeck, a Fleming, named himself King Edward's second son, for which diverse of his company were executed in sundry places, 1497.⁵

783 **lately before** shortly before (their arraignment) (*OED* lately *adv.* 3)

784 **forging** fabricating (*OED* forge *v.* 1.4)

788 **yeoman of the crown** official within the royal household (*OED* yeoman of the crown *n.*)

790 **counsel** recommendation (*OED* counsel *n.* 1.1.a)

791 **King Edward's second son** the second son of King Edward IV, i.e. the younger of the princes in the Tower

793 **comfort** support (*OED* comfort *n.* 1.a)

795 **encountered with** confronted (*OED* encounter *v.* 1.b)

795-96 **one hundred three score and nine** one hundred and sixty-nine

800 and nine persons where the sheriffs of London received them
and conveyed them in carts and long ropes to the Tower of
London and to Newgate. Not long after, a hundred and fifty of
them were hanged in Kent, Essex, Sussex and Norfolk. The
residue were executed at Tyburn and Wapping-in-the-Woze
805 beside London.

A commotion was made by the commons of Cornwall⁹
who, under the leading of James Tuchet¹¹ of Audley (Lord of
Audley) with Michael Joseph¹² (a horse farrier or blacksmith of
Bodmin) and other, came to Blackheath where the king met
810 with them and discomfited the rebels, taking their captains,
and there were slain of the rebels about three hundred and a
thousand and five hundred of them taken. The king gave to
them that took them their goods.¹³ The Lord Audley was
beheaded on Tower Hill¹⁴ and the blacksmith and Flamank¹⁵ (a
815 lawyer) were hanged, headed and quartered at Tyburn.

A commotion
against the king by
the commons of
Cornwall under the
conduct of the Lord
Audley and Michael
Joseph, a
blacksmith, 1498.¹⁰

A shoemaker's son¹⁶ at Bishopsgate Street in London
was hanged at St Thomas Watring's¹⁷ on Shrove Tuesday for
naming himself to be Edward, Earl of Warwick¹⁸ (son to

A Shoemaker's son
hanged for feigning
himself to be the
Earl of Warwick,
1499.

804 **Woze** (variant of 'ooze') wet mud, slime (*OED* ooze, *n.1* 1.a)

806 **commotion** public disturbance, insurrection (*OED* commotion *n.* 4.a)

commons common people (as distinct from nobility or clergy) (*OED* common *n.1* 1.b)

810 **discomfited** defeated: *transitive* (*OED* discomfit *v.* 1.a)

George, Duke of Clarence).¹⁹ Which Edward, Earl of Warwick, was
820 then (and had been all the reign of this king) kept secret prisoner
in the Tower of London.

The aforementioned Perkin Warbeck, that named himself King
Edward's son, and John Atwater²¹, Mayor of Corfe²², were
executed at Tyburn.

Perkin Warbeck
hanged, 1500.²⁰

825 **In the reign of King Henry the Eighth, of famous memory**

Edward, Duke of Buckingham,¹ was accused of high treason for
which he was apprehended and sent to the Tower of London on the
sixteenth day of April, before which time the duke's chancellor³
was taken, who had confessed matter of high treason concerning

Edward, Duke
of Buckingham,
condemned for
treason and
beheaded,
1522.²

830 the king's person. Shortly after, the duke was arraigned at
Westminster where were brought against him as witnesses Sir
Gilbert Perke, his chancellor; John de la Court, his confessor;
Charles Knyvett, esquire; and a monk, Prior of Henton.⁴ In the end
he was found guilty, and had judgement to be drawn, hanged and
835 quartered. So, on the seventh day of May following, the said
Edward, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford and

Northampton, was beheaded on Tower Hill. Such is the end of ambition, the credit of false prophesies⁵ and of evil life.

840 In December, at the city of Coventry, Francis Phillip,
schoolmaster to the king's henchmen, Christopher Pickering,
clerk of the king's larder and Anthony Manville,⁶ gentleman,
intended to have taken the king's treasure of his subsidy as
the collectors of the same came towards London, and
therewith they intended to have raised men and to have taken
845 the castle of Kenilworth, and then to have made battle against
the king, for which they were drawn, hanged and quartered at
Tyburn the eleventh of February. The rest of their conspiracy
were executed at Coventry.

Conspiracy at
Coventry to have
taken the castle of
Kenilworth and to
make war against
the king, 1524.

850 Elizabeth Barton,⁷ the holy maid of Kent, and diverse
other of her faction⁹ were drawn from the Tower of London to
Tyburn and there hanged and headed for sundry conspiracies
by them committed in the matter of divorce between the king's
Majesty and Queen Katherine.

The holy maid of
Kent and other
executed, 1535.⁸

838 **credit of** belief in: *transitive* (OED credit v. II.4.a.i)

840 **henchmen** male servants or pages (OED henchman n. 1.a)

842 **treasure** store of money (OED treasure n. 1.a)

subsidy money raised by taxation (granted to the sovereign by parliament) (OED subsidy n. 2.a)

855 The nine-and-twentieth day of April, the Prior of the
 Charterhouse at London;¹¹ the Prior of Beauvale;¹² the Prior of
 Axholme;¹³ Reynolds,¹⁴ a brother of Syon; and John Haile,¹⁵
 vicar of Isleworth, were all condemned of high treason.¹⁶ So,
 the fourth day of May following, they were drawn, hanged and
 quartered at Tyburn, their heads and quarters set on the gates
 860 of the city, all saving one quarter which was set on the
 Charterhouse at London.

Certain
 Charterhouse
 monks and other
 executed for
 treason, 1536.¹⁰

The eighteenth day of June, three monks of the
 Charterhouse at London named Exmew,¹⁷ Middlemore¹⁸ and
 Newdigate¹⁹ were drawn to Tyburn and there hanged and
 865 quartered for treason.

Charterhouse
 monks executed for
 treason.

The two-and-twentieth day of June, Doctor John
 Fisher²⁰ was beheaded on Tower Hill and his head was set on
 London Bridge, and the sixth of July following, Sir Thomas
 More²² was beheaded on the Tower Hill for denying the king's
 870 supremacy.

Bishop Fisher and
 Sir Thomas More
 beheaded, 1536.²¹

Thomas Fitzgerald,²³ son and heir to the Earl of Kildare,
 was beheaded, and five of his uncles²⁴ were drawn to Tyburn

The Earl of Kildare
 and five of his
 uncles executed.

854 (s.n.) **Charterhouse** general term for a Carthusian monastery (*OED* Charterhouse *n.* 1). There were ten such Charterhouses in England, the most famous of which was the one in London.

870 **supremacy** position as supreme head of the Church of England and governor of England in spiritual as well as temporal matters (as characterised by the Act of Supremacy, 1534) (*OED* supremacy *n.* 1.a)

- and there hanged and quartered for treason.²⁵ In the same month, which was February, Nicholas Musgrave,²⁶ Thomas
875 Gilby²⁷ and other stirred a new rebellion and besieged the city of Carlisle, from whence they were driven and many of them taken and put to death. Also, the same month, Sir Francis Bigod,²⁸ Sir Robert Constable²⁹ and other began a conspiracy and for the same were attainted.
- 880 The nine-and-twentieth day of March, twelve men of Lincoln were drawn to Tyburn and there hanged and quartered for the rebellion in Lincolnshire.³⁰ Five were priests and seven were laymen, one was an abbot - a suffragan - Doctor Mackerell;³¹ another was the vicar of Louth in
885 Lincolnshire;³² and two priests.
- In April, through certain commissions sent into Somersetshire to take up corn, the people began to make an insurrection which was by Master Paulet³⁴ and other allayed. The beginners thereof, to the number of three score, were
- Another conspiracy.
Lincolnshire rebels executed at Tyburn, 1537.
A commotion in Somersetshire and diverse of them executed, 1538.³³

879 **attainted** made subject to a bill of attainder. This was the consequence of a judgement of death in respect of treason or felony whereby all civil rights were extinguished and the condemned could neither inherit nor transmit wealth (*OED* attainder *n.* 1.a).

883 **a suffragan** an assistant or subsidiary bishop (*OED* suffragan *n.* 2)

886 **commissions** groups of people charged with a particular task (*OED* commission *n.1* I.5.a)

887 **take up** seize (by legal authority): *transitive* (*OED* take up *v.* PV.1.9.a)

888 **allayed** quelled: *transitive* (*OED* allay *v.1* I.5.a)

890 condemned, whereof fourteen were hanged and quartered.

One of them was a woman.³⁵

Friar Forest³⁶ was hanged by the middle in a chain of iron and then burnt in Smithfield for denying the king to be supreme head of the church and with him was burnt the

Friar Forest hanged and burnt, 1539.³⁷

895 image of Dderfel Gadarn of Wales.³⁸

Hugh Faringdon,³⁹ Abbot of Reading, and two priests named Rugg⁴¹ and Eynon,⁴² for denying the king's supremacy were hanged and quartered in Reading. The same day was the Abbot of Glastonbury, Richard Whiting,⁴³

Abbots of Reading and Glastonbury executed, 1540.⁴⁰

900 hanged and quartered on Tor Hill beside his monastery for the same cause.

Thomas, Lord Cromwell,⁴⁴ Earl of Essex, being in the council chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower of London. The nine-and-twentieth day of July⁴⁵

The Lord Cromwell beheaded.

905 following, he was attainted by Parliament of heresy and treason and, the eight-and-twentieth day of July, he was beheaded on the Tower Hill with the Lord Walter Hungerford of Heytesbury.⁴⁶

Robert Barnes, Thomas Garrard and William Jerome,⁴⁷

Six priests: three burnt and three hanged.

910 priests, were burnt in Smithfield. The same day, Thomas

Abel, Edward Powell and Richard Featherstone⁴⁸ were hanged
and quartered for denying the king's supremacy.⁴⁹

Laurence Cooke,⁵⁰ a prior of Duncalfe; William Horne,⁵¹ a
lay brother of the Charterhouse; Giles Heron,⁵³ gentleman;
915 Clement Philpot;⁵⁴ Edmund Bromham; Darby Kenham; Robert
Bird and Jarvis Carrow⁵⁵ were all put to death for treason.

Seven executed at
Tyburn for
treason, 1541.⁵²

A new rebellion in
Yorkshire.

In April, certain persons began a new rebellion in
Yorkshire, who were shortly after taken and put to execution in
diverse places. Of which, Leigh,⁵⁶ a gentleman; Tattershall,⁵⁷ a
920 clothier; and Thornton,⁵⁸ a yeoman, were put to death at London.
Sir John Nevile,⁵⁹ knight, and ten persons more were put to death
at York.⁶⁰

The Lord Leonard Grey,⁶¹ being indicted of certain points
of treason (by him committed and was alleged against him) was
925 arraigned at Westminster but he discharged the jury and
confessed the indictment. Whereupon, he had judgement and
was beheaded on the Tower Hill on St Peter's even.⁶²

The Lord Leonard
Grey beheaded.

924 **alleged** submitted as legal evidence: *transitive* (OED allege v.1 1.a.i)

927 **even** evening (OED even n.1 1)

930	The first day of July, a Welsh minstrel was hanged and quartered for singing of songs which were interpreted to be prophesying against the king.	A Welsh minstrel hanged, 1542. ⁶³
935	German Gardner⁶⁴ and Larke,⁶⁵ parson of Chelsea, were executed at Tyburn for denying the king's supremacy. With them was executed (for other offences) one Singleton⁶⁶ and, shortly after, Ashby⁶⁷ was executed for the supremacy.⁶⁸ In the reign of the noble prince, King Edward the Sixth	German Gardner and others executed, 1544.
940	In the month of May, by means of a proclamation for enclosures, the commons of Somersetshire made a commotion but Sir William Herbert¹ slew and executed many of the rebels. Also, the commons of Cornwall and Devonshire rose against the noblemen and gentlemen² and besieged the city of Exeter, which was valiantly defended. Against these rebels was sent John, Lord Russell,³ Lord Privy Seal, with a number of soldiers who entered the city of Exeter the fifth day of August,⁴ where they slew and took prisoners of the rebels	A commotion in Somersetshire and Lincolnshire.
945		Commotion in Cornwall and Devonshire.

937 **enclosures** pieces of common land converted into private property (*OED* enclosure *n.* 1.a). In this instance, the rights of tenants to access common land were extinguished by royal proclamation (Loach, p. 60).

943 **Lord Privy Seal** keeper of the privy seal (the king's personal seal) (*OED* privy seal *n.* 1.b)

more than four thousand and after hanged diverse of them
in the town and country about.⁵

Diverse persons were apprehended as aiders of the
foresaid rebels. Of the which, one was hanged within Aldgate
950 and the other at the bridge foot toward Southwark,⁶ both on
Mary Magdalen's day.⁷

Certain executed for
aiding the rebels.

The rebels in Norfolk and Suffolk encamped
themselves at Mount Surrey⁸ in a wood called St Nicholas's
Wood⁹ (near unto Norwich) against whom Sir John Dudley,¹⁰

The rebels in Norfolk
and Suffolk
encamped
themselves.

955 Earl of Warwick, went with an army where both he and a
great number of gentlemen, meeting with the rebels, were in
such danger as they thought all to have died in that place.

But God, that confoundeth the purpose of rebels, brought it
to pass that (as well there as in all other places) they were

960 partly by power constrained, partly by promise of their
pardon persuaded to submit themselves to the prince. The

Earl of Warwick entered the city of Norwich the seven-and-
twentieth day of August when he had slain above five
thousand of the rebels and taken their chief captain (Robert

Robert Kett, captain
of the rebels, taken
and many of them
slain and executed.

947 **about** all around (*OED* about *adv.* I.2.a)

965 Kett¹¹ of Wymondham, tanner, who might dispend in lands fifty
pounds by year and was worth in moveables above a thousand
marks)¹² and, when he had put to execution diverse of the rebels
in sundry places about Norwich,¹³ he returned.

970 About this time also, a commotion began at Seamer in
the north riding of Yorkshire and continued in the east riding and
there ended. The principal raisers whereof were William Ombler
of East Heslerton, yeoman; Thomas Dale, parish clerk of Seamer;
and Stevenson of Seamer.¹⁴ They being prevented by the Lord
President¹⁵ from rising at Wintringham,¹⁶ they drew to a place at
975 Seamer by the sea coast and there by night rode to the beacon
at Staxton¹⁷ and set it on fire and so gathered together a rude
rout. Then they went to Master White's¹⁸ house and took him
and Clopton¹⁹ (his wife's brother), Savage²⁰ (a merchant from
York) and Bury²¹ (servant to Sir Walter Mildmay)²² which four
980 they murdered a mile from Seamer and there left them naked,

Commotion in
Yorkshire.

965 **tanner** one whose occupation is to turn animal hides into leather by process of tanning (*OED* tanner *n.1* 1)

dispend in lands have an income from land (*OED* dispend *v. 1.c*)

966 **moveables** smaller items of personal property (furniture, jewels) as opposed to fixed property (land, houses) (*OED* moveable *n. 1.a*)

967 **marks** monetary units chiefly used in accounts, worth two-thirds of a pound (13s 4d) and based on the weight of pure silver (*OED* mark *n.2 2.a*)

970 **riding** administrative area. Large counties (particularly Yorkshire and Lincolnshire) were divided for ease of government administration (taxation etc.) (*OED* riding *n.2 1*)

974 **rising** initiating hostile action (*OED* rise *v. II.6.b*)

977 **rout** crowd (*OED* rout *n.1 1.a*)

their number increasing to three thousand. On the one-and-twentieth day of August, the king's pardon was offered, which Ombler and other refused who were shortly after taken and brought to York where Thomas Dale and other²³ were executed
985 the one-and-twentieth day of September.

The rebels refusing the king's pardon were shortly after executed at York.

The seven-and-twentieth day of January, Humphrey Arundell²⁴ esquire, Thomas Winslow and Bury,²⁵ captains of the rebels in Devonshire, were hanged and quartered at Tyburn.

Captains of the Devonshire rebels executed.

The tenth of February, one Bell,²⁶ a Suffolk man, was
990 hanged and quartered at Tyburn for moving a new rebellion in Suffolk and Essex.

Bell, a Suffolk rebel, executed, 1550.

Richard Lion, Goddard, Gorran and Richard Ireland²⁷ were executed the fourteenth day of May for attempting a new rebellion in Kent.

Rebels of Kent executed, 1551.

995 **In the reign of Queen Mary**

William Constable,¹ alias Featherstone, who caused letters to be cast abroad that King Edward was alive (and to some he had shown himself to be King Edward) was arraigned at the Guildhall of London, having been once before whipped² for the

A miller's son feigning himself to be King Edward executed, 1556.

981 **their** the rebels'

990 **moving** inciting; *transitive* (OED move v. III.31.a)

1000 same behaviour and delivered. But now he was condemned
and the thirteenth day of March he was drawn, hanged and
quartered at Tyburn.

One Clober, who sometime kept a school at Diss in
Norfolk, with three brethren whose names were Lincoln, made
1005 a conspiracy and, being driven to flight, one Master Sherman
pursued and took him at a town called Eye in Suffolk, where
he was kept in prison till the next sessions at Bury St Edmunds
whither, his three mates being brought to him, they were all
together drawn, hanged and quartered.³

Four rebels
executed at Bury
St. Edmunds,
1557.

1010 Queen Mary deceasing,⁴ Elizabeth – our most gracious
and sovereign lady, second daughter to the noble and victorious
prince, King Henry the Eighth – to the great comfort of England
enjoyed her lawful, right and just title, being proclaimed Queen of
England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.⁵ Now
1015 ceased the time of grievous vexation, both in soul and body, and
the sweet comfort that every godly mind desired did show itself
shining in glory and majesty.⁶ The greater cause have we,
therefore, to love and honour that gracious lady, who brought
with her such abundance of happiness as neither tongue can

1000 **delivered** released: *transitive* (OED deliver v.1 I.1.b)

1005 **flight** run away (from danger) (OED flight n.2 1.a)

1007 **sessions** judicial sitting (OED session n. 4.b)

1020 worthily express it nor any pen sufficiently set it down. Thanks be to
God who preserved her grace so wonderfully in the time of many
threatened troubles and dangers which, by His providence, she
happily escaped to our no small joy and perfect consolation, which
troublesome time of her grace's suffering I have hereto annexed
1025 according as it is set down by that worthy man, Master John Foxe⁷ in
his *Acts and Monuments*, the remembrance whereof may whet us to
be more dutiful unto her than a number are, and rejoice in God for
her admirable patience.

*The miraculous preservation of Lady Elizabeth, now our most
1030 dread and gracious Queen of England, from extreme calamity and
danger of life in the time of Queen Mary, her sister.*

But when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited
touching the admirable working of God's present hand in
defending and delivering any one person out of thraldom, never
1035 was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be
showed wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably
and blessedly showed itself to the glory of His own name, to the
comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole
realm, than in the miraculous custody and outscape of this our

The blessed
protection of
almighty God in
preserving the
Lady Elizabeth
in her manifold
dangers and
troubles.

1026 **whet** urge: *figurative* (OED whet v. 2)

1030 **dread** revered (OED dread adj.2 2)

1032 **recited** reported: *transitive* (OED recite v. 3.a)

1039 **outscape** escape (OED outscape n.1).

1040 sovereign lady, now queen, then Lady Elizabeth, in the strait
time of Queen Mary, her sister.

In which story, we first have to consider in what extreme
misery, sickness, fear and peril her Highness was: into what
care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was

The troubles of
Lady Elizabeth in
Queen Mary's
time.

1045 brought; first, with great routs and bands of armed men (and
happy was he that might have the carrying of her) being
fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world, clapped in the
Tower, and again tossed from thence, from house to house,
from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner
1050 in her own house and guarded with a sort of cutthroats which
ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingering of
somewhat.

Secondly, to consider again, we have, all this
notwithstanding, how strangely (or rather, miraculously) from
1055 danger she was delivered; what favour and grace she found
with the Almighty, who, when all help of man and hope of

1040 **strait** strict, severe (*OED* strait *adj.* II.5.a)

1047 **fetchd up as** raised to the level of (used ironically); *transitive* (*OED* fetch v. PV.1)

1049 **from post to pillar** from one place to another in rapid succession (in association with 'tossed' WW MT 1048), *proverbial* (Dent, P328)

1050 **sort** group, band (*OED* sort *n.* 2 II.17.a)

1051 **gaped for** was eager to obtain (*OED* gape v. 4.a)

spoil goods, possessions (in the context of being taken from a defeated enemy) (*OED* spoil *n.* I.1.a)

fingering stealing: *transitive* (*OED* finger v. 3.a)

1052 **somewhat** something (*OED* somewhat *n.* 1.b)

1053-54 **all this notwithstanding** in spite of all this (*OED* notwithstanding *prep.* 1)

recovery was past, stretched out His mighty protection and
preserved her Highness and placed her in this princely seat of
rest and quietness wherein now she sitteth. And long may she
1060 sit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beseech him.

In which story, if I should set forth at large and at full all
the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging and, as
just occasion of the history requireth, besides the importunate
length of the story discoursed, peradventure it might move
1065 offence to some being yet alive, and truth might get me
hatred.⁸ Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Christ)
therein to use such brevity and moderation as both may be to
the glory of God, the discharge of the story, the profit of the
reader, and hurt to none; suppressing the names of some,
1070 whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more
cruel in hurting their name than the queen hath been merciful
in pardoning their lives.

Therefore, now to enter into the discourse of this
tragical matter, first here is to be noted that Queen Mary, when
1075 she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no
whither but would have her by the hand, and send for her to
dinner and supper: but after she was crowned, she never dined

The history of Lady
Elizabeth.

1057 **recovery** return to normality (*OED* recovery *n.* I.i.3.a)

1063 **just occasion** the reasonable need (*OED* just *adj.* I.3 and occasion *n.* I III.9.a)

1076 ¹her ... ²her Lady Elizabeth

nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt,⁹
1080 that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay¹⁰ were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising. Whereupon Queen Mary, whether for that surmise or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge,¹¹ the next day
1085 after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her three of her councillors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell,¹² Sir Edward Hastings¹³ (then Master of the Horse) and Sir Thomas Cornwallis¹⁴ with their retinue and troop of horsemen to the number of two hundred and fifty, who at their sudden and unprovided coming found her at the
1090 same time sore sick in her bed and very weak and feeble of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's privy chamber, they willed one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her grace that there were certain come from the court which had a message from the queen.

1095 Her grace, having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming, howbeit being then very sick and the night far spent (which was at ten of the clock), she requested them by

Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis sent to fetch up Lady Elizabeth.

1079 **rising** hostile insurrection (*OED* rising *n.* I.5)

1081 **suspicion** expectation (*OED* suspicion *n.* 4)

1089 **unprovided** unforeseen (*OED* unprovided *adj.* 2)

1095 **right** very (*OED* right *adv.* II.7.b)

1096 **howbeit** although (*OED* howbeit *conj.*)

the messenger that they would resort thither in the morning.

To this they answered, and by the same messenger sent word

1100 again that they must needs see her and would so do in what

case soever she were. Whereat the lady, being aghast, went

to show her grace their words but they, hastily following her,

came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber,

unbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her chamber, her

1105 grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them: 'Is the haste

such that it might not have pleased you to come tomorrow in

the morning?'

The unmannerliness
of the knights.

They made answer, that they were right sorry to see

her in that case. 'And I,' quoth she, 'am not glad to see you

1110 here at this time of the night.' Whereunto they answered that

they came from the queen to do their message and duty

which was to this effect: that the queen's pleasure was that

she should be at London the seventh day of that present

month. Whereunto she said: 'Certes, no creature more glad

1115 than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not

in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see

and can well testify.'

1098 **resort** return (*OED* resort v.1 II.6.b)

1101 **case** (physical or mental) condition (*OED* case n.1 5.a)

1114 **Certes** Certainly (*OED* certes adv.)

‘Indeed, we see it true,’ (quoth they) ‘that you do say, for
which we are very sorry. Albeit we let you to understand that
1120 our commission is such, and so straineth us, that we must
needs bring you with us either quick or dead.’ Whereat, she
being amazed, sorrowfully said that their commission was
very sore, but yet, notwithstanding, she hoped it to be
otherwise and not so strait. ‘Yes, verily,’ said they.

1125 Whereupon they called for two physicians, Doctor Owen¹⁵ and
Doctor Wendy,¹⁶ and demanded of them whether she might
be removed from thence with life or no, whose answer and
judgment was that there was no impediment to their
judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without
1130 danger of life.

A strait commission
from the queen to
bring the Lady
Elizabeth either quick
or dead.

In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the
morning at nine of the clock to go with them, declaring that
they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After
much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no
1135 prolonging of times and days, so departed to their chamber,

The gentleness of
Queen Mary to send
her horse litter to
bring her sister to
trouble.¹⁷

1119 **Albeit** Although (*OED* albeit conj. 1.b)

1120 **straineth** forces (*OED* strain v.1 I.8.a)

1121 **quick** alive (*OED* quick adj. I.2.a)

1123 **sore** harsh (*OED* sore adj.1 I.5.a)

notwithstanding nevertheless (*OED* notwithstanding adv. 1)

1124 **verily** (emphatic agreement to the preceding statement) (*OED* verily adv. b)

1131 **against** in anticipation of: *obsolete* (*OED* against prep. IV.10)

1131 (s.n.) **litter** vehicle containing a couch and carried by men or beasts of burden (*OED* litter n. 2.a)

being entertained and cheered as appertained to their
worships.¹⁸

On the next morrow¹⁹ at the time prescribed, they had
her forth as she was, very faint and feeble and in such case
1140 that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them.
What should I speak here that cannot well be expressed? What
an heavy house there was to behold the unreverent and doleful
dealing of these men, but especially the careful fear and
captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

1145 Now to proceed in her journey from Ashridge, all sick in
the litter, she came to Redbourn²⁰ where she was guarded all
night. From thence to St. Albans, to Sir Ralph Rowlett's²¹ house,
where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and
comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Master
1150 Dodds' house at Mimms,²² where also they remained that night
and so from thence she came to Highgate²³ where, she being
very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time
of her abode there came many pursuivants and messengers
from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that

Lady Elizabeth
taketh her journey
toward the Queen.

1138-39 **had her forth** urged her out promptly (*OED* forth *adv.* 1.b)

1140 **swoon** faint (*OED* swoon *v.* 1.a)

1142 **heavy** sorrowful (*OED* heavy *adj.* 1 VI.25.a)

doleful malicious (*OED* doleful *adj.* 2)

1143 **careful** anxious (*OED* careful *adj.* 2)

1153 **pursuivants** royal or state messengers (usually with the power to execute warrants) (*OED* pursuivant *n.* 2.a)

1155 place she was conveyed to the court,²⁴ where by the way came
to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her Highness
which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a
great multitude of people there were standing by the way who,
then flocking about the litter, lamented and bewailed greatly
1160 her estate.

Lady Elizabeth
brought up to
London.

Now, when she came to the court, her grace was there
straightways shut up and kept as close prisoner a fortnight,
which was till Palm Sunday,²⁵ seeing neither king²⁶ nor queen,
nor lord, nor friend all that time, but only then the Lord
1165 Chamberlain, Sir John Gage,²⁷ and the Vice-chamberlain,²⁸ who
were attendant unto the doors. About which time, Sir William St
Loe²⁹ was called before the council, to whose charge was laid
that he knew of Wyatt's rebellion, which he stoutly denied,
protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince,
1170 defying all traitors and rebels; but being straitly examined, he
was in conclusion committed to the Tower.³⁰

Sir William St Loe
committed to the
Tower.

The Friday before Palm Sunday, the Bishop of
Winchester,³¹ with nineteen other of the council (who shall be
here nameless),³² came unto her grace from the queen's

The Lady Elizabeth
charged with Sir
Thomas Wyatt's
conspiracy.

1155 **by the way** in the course of the journey (*OED way n.1 P.2.b.ii*)

1162 **straightways** immediately (*OED straightways adv. 2*)

1166 **unto** in front of or close beside (*OED unto prep. 1.4.b*)

1167 **to whose charge was laid** of whom they made the accusation (*OED charge n.1 IV.19.b*)

1168 **stoutly** firmly (*OED stoutly adv. 3*)

1175 majesty and burdened her with Wyatt's conspiracy, which she
utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless
therein. They, being not contented with this, charged her
grace with business made by Sir Peter Carew³³ and the rest of
the gentlemen of the west country which, also she utterly
1180 denying, cleared her innocency therein.

Lady Elizabeth
charged with the
business of Sir Peter
Carew.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they
declared unto her that it was the queen's will and pleasure
that she should go unto the Tower while the matter were
further tried and examined. Whereat she, being aghast, said
1185 that she trusted the queen's majesty would be more gracious
Lady unto her and that her Highness would not otherwise
conceive of her but that she was a true woman; declaring
furthermore to the lords that she was innocent in all those
matters wherein they had burdened her and desired them
1190 therefore to be a further mean to the queen her sister that
she, being a true woman in thought, word and deed³⁴ towards
her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and
doleful a place, protesting that she would request no mercy at

Lady Elizabeth
threatened to go to
the Tower.

Lady Elizabeth
purgeth herself to the
lords.

1175 **burdened** charged (with an accusation of involvement) (*OED* burden v. 2)

1178 **business** trouble, disturbance (*OED* business n. 1.5.b)

1187 **conceive** think, imagine (*OED* conceive v. 1.7.c)

true unwaveringly loyal (*OED* true adj. 1.1.a)

1188 (s.n.) **purgeth** clears herself of the suspicion of guilt: *transitive* (*OED* purge v.1 1.a)

1190 **mean** intermediary, negotiator (*OED* mean n.3 1.2.b.i)

1193 **doleful** distressful, dismal (*OED* doleful adj.1 1)

her hand if she should be proved to have consented unto any
1195 such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore,
in fine, desired their Lordships to think of her, what she was,
and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her
truth. Whereunto the lords answered again that there was no
remedy, for that the queen's Majesty was fully determined that
1200 she should go unto the Tower. Wherewith the lords departed,
with their caps hanging over their eyes.³⁵

But not long after, within the space of an hour or more,
came four of the foresaid lords of the council, which were the
Lord Treasurer,³⁶ the Bishop of Winchester,³⁷ the Lord
1205 Steward³⁸ and the Earl of Sussex,³⁹ with the guard who,
warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen
and yeomen; ladies and gentlewomen (saving that for one
gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen and two grooms of her
chamber, were appointed three other men of the Queen's and
1210 three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none
should have access to her grace).⁴⁰ At which time there was an
hundred of northern soldiers in white coats⁴¹ watching and
warding about the gardens all that night (a great fire being

Lady Elizabeth's
servants removed
from her.

The Queen's men
and women
attendant upon the
Lady Elizabeth.

1196 **in fine** in conclusion (*OED* fine *n.1*. P.1.b)

1199 **remedy** means to avoid the misery (*OED* remedy *n.* 1)

1206 **warding** guarding: *transitive* (*OED* ward *v.1* 1a)

secluded shut off access to: *transitive* (*OED* seclude *v.* 1)

made in the midst of the hall) and two certain lords watching
 1215 there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council (the
 one was the Earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless)⁴²
 came and certified her grace that forthwith she must go unto
 the Tower, the barge being prepared for her and the tide now
 1220 ready, which tarrieth for nobody.⁴³ In heavy mood, her grace
 requested the lords that she might tarry one other tide,
 trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable.
 But one of the lords replied that neither tide nor time was to
 be delayed. And when her grace requested him that she might
 1225 be suffered to write to the queen's Majesty, he answered that
 he durst not permit that, adding that in his judgment it would
 rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing. But the other
 lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl of
 Sussex), kneeling down told her grace that she should have
 1230 liberty to write and, as he was a true man, he would deliver it
 to the queen's Highness and bring an answer of the same,
 whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit she
 could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her

The hard dealing of
 a certain lord with
 the Lady Elizabeth.

The Earl of Sussex
 gentle to the Lady
 Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth
 writeth to the Queen,
 but it would not
 serve.

1215 **band** troop of armed men (*OED* band *n.*3 1.a)

1218 **certified** informed (of a certainty): *transitive* (*OED* certify *v.* 1)

1219-20 **tide ... nobody** 'time and tide wait for no man': *proverbial* (Dent, T323)

great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's

1235 Majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that
season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should
go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she
should be taken by the way,⁴⁴ they durst not. So they stayed till

1240 the next day, being Palm Sunday, when, about nine of the
clock, these two returned again, declaring that it was time for
her grace to depart. She answering, 'If there be no remedy, I
must be content,' willing the lords to go on before. Being come
forth into the garden, she did cast up her eyes toward the

1245 window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not,
whereat she said she marvelled much what the nobility of the
realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into
captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the
meantime, commandment was given in all London that

1250 everyone should keep the church and carry their palms, while
in the mean season she might be conveyed, without all
recourse of people, into the Tower.

1237 **season** opportunity (*OED* season *n.* II.14). The tide had gone so the opportunity to leave was lost.

privily discreetly (*OED* privily *adv.* 1)

1247 **sort** way (*OED* sort *n.*2 III.21.a)

1250 **keep** pay attention to: *transitive* (*OED* keep *v.* II.i.11)

1251 **in the mean season** in the meantime, i.e. while the people were occupied with their activities at church (*OED* mean *adj.*2 I.2)

1252 **recourse** gathering (*OED* recourse *n.*1 I.3.b)

After all this, she took her barge with the foresaid lords,
three of the queen's gentlewomen and three of her own, her
1255 gentleman-usher and two of her grooms, lying and hovering upon
the water a certain space for that they could not shoot the
bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so
soon as they did because of the danger thereof, for the stern of
the barge struck upon the ground; the fall was so big and the
1260 water was so shallow that the barge, being under the bridge,
there stayed again awhile. At landing she first stayed and denied
to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders
customably used to land; neither well could she, unless she
would go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the barge
1265 before and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back
again to her and brought word she would not come. Then said
one of the lords, which shall be nameless,⁴⁵ that she should not
choose; and because it rained, he offered to her his cloak, which
she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So,
1270 she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, 'Here
landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at
these stairs. And before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other

Lady Elizabeth
sent to the Tower.

The words of
Lady Elizabeth
entering the
Tower.

1256 **space** while, period (of time) (*OED* space *n.1* I.5.a.ii)

shoot pass quickly under: *transitive* (*OED* shoot *v.* I.4.a)

1258 **stern** back part of the boat (*OED* stern *n.3* 2.a)

1259 **fall** difference in height level between the decks (*OED* fall *n.2* II.i.12.c)

1263 **customably** usually (*OED* customably *adv.*)

1264 **go over her shoes** become sunk (in the mud) above the level of her shoes (*OED* over-shoes *adv.*)

1269 **dash** (violent) blow (*OED* dash *n.1* 1)

friends but thee alone.' To whom the same lord answered
again, that if it were so, it was the better for her.

1275 At her landing there was a great multitude of their
servants and warders standing in their order. 'What needed all
this?' said she. 'It is the use,' said some,⁴⁶ 'so to be, when any
prisoner came thither.' 'And if it be for my cause,' said she, 'I
beseech you that they may be dismissed.' Whereat the poor
1280 men kneeled down and with one voice desired God to preserve
her grace; but the next day they were therefore released of their
old coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a
cold stone and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant
1285 (then being)⁴⁷ said, 'Madam, you were best to come out of the
rain, for you sit unwholesomely.' She then replying, answered
again, 'Better sitting here than in a worse place for, God
knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me.' With that, her
gentleman-usher wept, she demanding of him what he meant
1290 to use her so uncomfortably, seeing she took him to be her
comforter and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew

1277 **use** common practice (*OED* use *n.* II.7.a)

1281-82 **released ... coats** dismissed (from the task): *transitive* (*OED* release *v.1* II.6.b)

1285 **then being** the man in that post at that time

1286 **unwholesomely** in a place not conducive to good health (*OED* unwholesomely *adv.*)

1290 **so uncomfortably** in such a disagreeable manner (*OED* uncomfortably *adv.*)

her truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for
her. But forth she went, into the prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not
1295 a little discomfort and dismay her grace; at what time, she called
to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her
to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock,
whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power
against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up,
1300 the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch,
every man declaring his opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly
and circumspectly to keep her.

The Christian
prayer of Lady
Elizabeth.

Then one of them, which was the Lord of Sussex,
swearing, said, 'My Lords, let us take heed and do no more than
1305 our commission will bear us, whatsoever shall happen hereafter.
And further, let us consider that she was the king, our master's,
daughter, and therefore let us use such dealing that we may
answer unto it hereafter, if it shall so happen.⁴⁸ 'For just dealing,'
quothe he, 'is always answerable.' Whereunto the other lords
1310 agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed.

The Lord of
Sussex speaketh
for Lady
Elizabeth.

1297-99 **build ... her** biblical (Matthew, 7.24-27). Parable illustrating that a structure built on solid rock will endure, whereas one built on sand will crumble away.

1301 **behalf** matter (*OED* behalf *n.* I.1.b)

1302 **circumspectly** cautiously (*OED* circumspect *adv.*)

1307 **dealing** behaviour (towards others) (*OED* dealing *n.* 4.a)

1308 **answer unto it** rebut any criticism (*OED* answer *v.* II.i.20)

1309 **answerable** proper, suitable (*OED* answerable *adj.* I.3.a)

Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was that she should have mass within her house. One Master Young⁴⁹ was then her chaplain, and because there was none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass stayed for
1315 that day.⁵⁰

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before and were learned, had two abecedaria provided and delivered them so that upon the abecedaria they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding
1320 the abecedarium in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie Eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer no further.⁵¹

It would make a pitiful and a strange story here, by the way, to touch and recite what examinations and rackings of poor
1325 men there were to find out that knife that should cut her throat;⁵² what gaping among my lords of the clergy to see the day when they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood;

1314 **mass** Roman Catholic celebration of the Eucharist (*OED* mass *n.1* 1.a)

stayed stopped (*OED* stay *v.1* I.i.3.a)

1317 **abecedaria** alphabetical word books, elementary primers for teaching the basics of reading (*OED* abecedarium *n.* 2)

1320-21 **Kyrie Eleison** Lord Have Mercy (in Greek). This expression is very old and is used constantly in all Christian liturgies (*The Catholic Encyclopedia* 'Kyrie Eleison', online resource).

set puzzled (*OED* set *v.1* VIII.102)

1323 **strange** astonishing (*OED* strange *adj.* 10.a)

1324 **rackings** tortures by means of the rack (a device to stretch the joints) (*OED* rack *n.1*, 1.b)

1326 **gaping** eagerness (*OED* gape *v.* 4.b)

1327 **rochets** ecclesiastical vestments similar to surplices (*OED* rochet *n.1* 1.a)

but especially the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then
 lord chancellor, ruler of the roost, who then, within few days
 1330 after, came unto her with diverse other of the council and
 examined her of the talk that was at Ashridge betwixt her and
 Sir James Croft⁵³ concerning her removing from thence to
 Donnington castle,⁵⁴ requiring her to declare what she meant
 thereby.

The Bishop of
 Winchester enemy
 to Lady Elizabeth.

1335 At the first she, being so suddenly asked, did not well
 remember any such house; but within a while, well advising
 herself, she said, 'Indeed,' quoth she, 'I do now remember that I
 have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for
 any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.'

1340 Then, to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James
 Croft. The Bishop of Winchester demanded of her, what she
 said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to
 him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. 'But
 my Lords,' quoth she, 'you do examine every mean prisoner of
 1345 me, wherein, methinks, you do me great injury. If they have
 done evil and offended the queen's Majesty, let them answer to
 it accordingly. I beseech you, my Lords, join not me in this sort,
 with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going to

Lady Elizabeth
 examined by the
 bishop of
 Winchester.

1339 **moved** influenced: *transitive* (OED move v. II.26.a)

1344 **mean** lowly (not nobility) (OED mean *adj.* II.2.a)

1347 **join not me in this sort** do not include me in a group with people like this (OED sort *n.2* I.i.2.a)

Donnington castle, I do remember that Master Hoby⁵⁵ and mine
1350 officers, and you, Sir James Croft, had such talk; but what is
that to the purpose, my Lords, but that I may go to mine own
houses at all times?’

The Lord of Arundel, kneeling down, said, ‘Your grace
saith true and certainly we are very sorry that we have so
1355 troubled you about so vain matters.’ She then said, ‘My Lords,
you do sift me very narrowly, but well I am assured you shall do
no more to me than God hath appointed; and so God forgive
you all.’

The friendly
speech of the Earl
of Arundel to
Lady Elizabeth.

At their departure, Sir James Croft kneeled down,
1360 declaring that he was very sorry to see the day in which he
should be brought as a witness against her grace. ‘But I assure
your grace,’ said he, ‘I have been marvellously tossed and
examined touching your Highness, which (the Lord knoweth) is
very strange to me: for I take God to record before all your
1365 Honours, I do not know anything of that crime that you have
laid to my charge and will thereupon take my death, if I should
be driven to so strait a trial.’

Sir James Croft
examined
touching the Lady
Elizabeth.

1355 **vain** trivial, unimportant (*OED vain adj.* 1.c)

1356 **sift** question: *figurative* (*OED sift v.* 2.b)

narrowly rigorously (*OED narrowly adv.* 1.a)

1362 **tossed** agitated in mind (*OED toss v.* 1.4.b)

1364 **I take God to record** I call on God to bear witness: *transitive* (*OED record v.1* III.8.a)

1366 **laid to my charge** accused me of (*OED charge n.1* P.2.a)

	That day, or thereabout, diverse of her own officers, who	
	had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the utter	
1370	gate of the Tower, the common rascal soldiers receiving it,	These were not the officers of the Tower, but such as went in white and green.
	which was no small grief to the gentlemen, the bringers thereof.	
	Wherefore, they required to speak with the Lord Chamberlain	
	(being then Constable of the Tower) ⁵⁶ who, coming before his	
	presence, declared unto his lordship that they were much	
1375	afraid to bring her grace's diet and to deliver it to such common	
	and desperate persons as they were which did receive it,	
	beseeching his Honour to consider her grace and to give such	
	order that her viands might at all times be brought in by them	
	which were appointed thereunto. 'Yea, sirs,' said he, 'who	
1380	appointed you this office?' They answered, 'Her grace's	Lady Elizabeth's servants restrained from bringing her diet to the Tower.
	council.' 'Council!' quoth he, 'There is none of them which hath	
	to do, either in that case or any else, within this place. ⁵⁷ And I	
	assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served with	
	the lieutenant's men as other prisoners are.' Whereat, the	
1385	gentlemen said that they trusted for more favour at his hands,	
	considering her personage, saying that they mistrusted not but	Displeasure between the Lord Chamberlain and the Lady Elizabeth's men.

1369 **diet** food (*OED* diet *n.1* 3.a)

utter outer (*OED* utter *adj.* I.2)

1370 **rascal** lowest rank (*OED* rascal *adj.* 1.b)

1376 **desperate** hopelessly bad (*OED* desperate *adj.* II.7)

1378 **viands** food provisions (*OED* viand *n.1* 1.a)

1383 **served** similarly treated: *transitive* (*OED* serve *v.1* V.46)

1386 **personage** high rank, importance (*OED* personage *n.* 1.a)

mistrusted not but had hoped (with the sense of disappointed expectation): *transitive* (*OED* mistrust *v.* 4.b)

that the Queen and her council would be better to her grace
than so. And therewith showed themselves to be offended at
the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady
1390 and mistress. At this, he swore by God (striking himself upon
the breast) that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he
would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon.
Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a
better mind toward her grace, and departed from him.

1395 Upon the occasion whereof, her grace's officers made
great suit unto the queen's council that some might be
appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more
be delivered unto the common soldiers of the Tower, which
being reasonably considered, was by them granted. And
1400 thereupon were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerk of
her kitchen and her two purveyors to bring in her provision
once a day, all which was done, the warders ever waiting upon
the bringers thereof.⁵⁸

The Lady
Elizabeth's waiting
men in the Tower.

 The Lord Chamberlain himself, being always with them,
1405 circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they
brought and gave heed that they should have no talk with any

1391 **shrug** make a gesture of disdain (*OED* shrug v. 2)

1395-96 **made great suit** made a vehement entreaty (*OED* suit n. 1.4.a)

1401 **purveyors** domestic officers responsible for procuring provisions (*OED* purveyor n. 1.a)

1406 **heed** careful instruction (*OED* heed n. 1.c)

of her grace's waiting servants, and so warded them both in
and out. At the said suit of her officers were sent (by the
commandment of the council) to wait upon her grace, two
1410 yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry
and ewery, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her
kitchen and one of her larder, all which continued with her the
time of her trouble.

Here the Constable,⁵⁹ being at the first not very well
1415 pleased with the coming-in of such a company against his will,
would have had his men to have served still with her grace's
men, which her servants at no hand would suffer, desiring his
Lordship to be contented for that order was taken that no
stranger should come within their offices. At which answer,
1420 being sore displeased, he broke out into these threatening
words: 'Well,' said he, 'I will handle you well enough.' Then
went he into the kitchen and there would needs have his meat
roasted with her grace's meat and said that his cook should
come thither and dress it. To that her grace's cook answered,

Variance
between the Lord
Chamberlain and
Lady Elizabeth's
servants.

1410 **robes** general clothing, wardrobe (*OED robe n.1 1.b*)

1411 **ewery** room where water ewers, table linen and towels are kept (*OED ewery n. 1.a*)

buttery storeroom for provisions (especially alcohols) (*OED buttery n.1 1*)

1412 **larder** storeroom for provisions (especially meat) (*OED larder n.1 1.a*)

continued stayed in that capacity: *transitive* (*OED continue v. 1.3.a*)

1414 **at the first** from the beginning (*OED first adj. P.1.b.i*)

1417 **at no hand** on no account (*OED hand n. P.1.a.vi*)

1419 **come within their offices** interfere with their duties (*OED office n. 2.a*)

1421 **handle** deal with: *transitive* (*OED handle v.1 II.7.a*)

1424 **dress it** make it ready: *transitive* (*OED dress v. II.4.a*)

1425 'My Lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her
 diet but her own sworn men, so long as I live.' He said they
 should, but the cook said his Lordship should pardon him for
 that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants very stoutly;
 though afterward he were otherwise advised and they more
 1430 courteously used at his hands. And good cause why, for he
 had good cheer and fared of the best, and her grace paid well
 for it, wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently
 toward her grace. After this sort, having been a whole month
 there in close prison and being very evil at ease therewithal,
 1435 she sent for the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Chandos⁶⁰ to
 come and speak with her, who coming, she requested of them
 that she might have liberty to walk in some place for that she
 felt herself not well. To the which they answered, that they
 were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request
 1440 for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they
 durst not in any wise break. Furthermore, she desired of them,
 if that could not be granted, that she might walk but into the
 Queen's Lodging.⁶¹ No, nor yet that (they answered) could by
 any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen

Lady Elizabeth
 denied the liberty of
 the Tower.

1425 **about** in the vicinity of (*OED about prep.* I.3)

1426 **He** Sir John (the constable/lord chamberlain)

1428 **stoutly** stubbornly (*OED stoutly adv.* 4)

1433 **After this sort** (referring to the preceding sentence) Because this had happened (the constable/lord chamberlain being less hostile) (*OED sort n.2* III.22)

1434 **evil at ease** ill at ease (*OED evil adv.* 4)

1445 and her council. 'Well,' said she, 'my Lords, if the matter be so
hard that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that
friendship be so strait, God comfort me!' And so they departed,
she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of
comfort but only God.⁶²

1450 The next day after, the Lord Chandos came again unto
her grace, declaring unto her that he had sued unto the council
for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto,
diverse other dissented, for that there were so many prisoners
in the Tower.⁶³ But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her
1455 grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he and the lord
chamberlain and three of the queen's gentlewomen did
accompany her, the windows being shut and she not suffered
to look out at any of them; wherewith, she contented herself
and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

1460 Afterwards, there was liberty granted to her grace to
walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up,
which, notwithstanding, was as much discomfort unto her as
the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable.⁶⁴ At which
times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were

Liberty granted to
Lady Elizabeth to
walk in a garden.

1446 **hard** uncompromising (*OED hard adj.* IV.22.a)

sued appealed (in the sense of a plea) (*OED sue v.* II.14.c)

1447 **God comfort me!** God help me!

1455 **so** on condition (*OED so adv.* V.26.a)

1465 straitly commanded not to speak or look out at the windows into
the garden till her grace were gone out again, having, in
consideration thereof, their keepers waiting upon them for that
time. Thus, her grace, with this small liberty, contented herself
in God, to whom be praise therefore.

1470 During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in
the Tower, to resort to their chambers and many times to bring
her grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners
that were there. Whereupon, naughty and suspicious heads,
thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called (on
1475 a time) the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and
asked of him when he had been with the Earl of Devonshire,⁶⁵
not ignorant of the child's wonted frequenting unto him. The boy
answered that he would go by and by thither. Further they
demanded of him when he was with the Lady Elizabeth's grace?
1480 He answered, 'Every day.' Furthermore, they demanded of him
what the Lord of Devonshire sent by him to her grace? The child
said, 'I will go know what he will give to carry to her.' Such was
the discretion of the child, being yet but four years of age. 'This

Suspicious heads.

A young child
examined for
bringing flowers
to Lady Elizabeth.

1467 **waiting upon** continually watching (*OED* wait *adv.* 5.a)

1469 **therefore** for that reason (*OED* therefore *adv.* I.1.b)

1471 **resort** go (*OED* resort *v.* II.7.a.i)

1473 **naughty** wicked (*OED* naughty *adj.* 2.a)

1474-75 **(on a time)** on one occasion (*OED* time *n.* P.3.1.i)

1477 **wonted** customary (*OED* wonted *adj.* II.3)

1483 **discretion** discernment (in the sense of understanding a situation) (*OED* discretion *n.* I.2)

same is a crafty boy,' quoth the lord chamberlain, 'how say
1485 you, my Lord Chandos?' 'I pray you, my Lord,' quoth the boy,
'give me the figs you promised me.' 'No, marry,' quoth he,
'thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady
Elizabeth or the Lord Courteney.' The boy answered, 'I will
bring my Lady, my mistress, more flowers.' Whereupon the
1490 child's father was commanded to permit the boy no more to
come up into their chambers.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden,
the child, peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her,
saying, 'Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers.' Whereat
1495 she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what
they had done.⁶⁶ Wherefore afterwards the Lord Chamberlain
rebuked highly his father, commanding him to put him out of
the house. 'Alas, poor infant!' quoth the father. 'It is a crafty
knave,' quoth the Lord Chamberlain, 'but let me see him here
1500 no more.'

The fifth day of May, the Constable was discharged of
his office of the Tower and one Sir Henry Bedingfield⁶⁷ placed
in his room, a man unknown to her grace and therefore the

The Constable of the
Tower discharged of
his office and Sir
Henry Bedingfield
with his company
placed about the Lady
Elizabeth.

1484 **crafty** devious (*OED* crafty *adj.* 3.a)

1486 **marry** (an expression of surprise or outrage, often used for emphasis) (*OED* marry *int.* 1)

1497 **his** the boy's

¹**him** the boy's father ²**him** the boy

1499 **knave** boy (*OED* knave *n.* 1)

	more feared, which so sudden mutation was unto her no little	
1505	amaze. He brought with him an hundred soldiers in blue coats, ⁶⁸ wherewith she was marvellously discomforted and demanded of such as were about her whether the Lady Jane's scaffold ⁶⁹ were taken away or no, fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom	Lady Elizabeth both in great fear and doubt of her life.
1510	answer was made that the scaffold was taken away, and that her grace needed not to doubt of any such tyranny, for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henry Bedingfield was and whether he were	
1515	of the conscience or no that, if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof. ⁷⁰ She was answered that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit, they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. 'Well,'	Lady Elizabeth in doubt of Sir Henry Bedingfield.
1520	quoth she, 'God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts and disappoint all such cruel	Lady Elizabeth's prayer.

1505 **amaze** surprise (*OED* amaze *n.* 3)

1506 **discomforted** disheartened: *transitive* (*OED* discomfort *v.* 1)

1508 **scaffold** elevated platform upon which executions took place (*OED* scaffold *n.* 6)

1509 **played her part** performed what would be expected of her (i.e. been executed on the same scaffold)
(*OED* part *n.1* P.3.d.i)

1511 **doubt of** fear: *transitive* (*OED* doubt *v.* II.5.a)

1518 **Howbeit** However (*OED* howbeit *adv.*)

1520 **mollify** soften: *transitive* (*OED* mollify *v.* 2.a)

purposes, and I beseech thee to hear me, thy creature, which
am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace
ever so to remain.'

1525 About which time, it was spread abroad that her grace
should be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his
soldiers, but whither, it could not be learned; which was unto
her a great grief, especially for that such a company was
appointed to her guard, requesting rather to continue there still
1530 than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last, plain
answer was made by the Lord Chandos that there was no
remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the manor
of Woodstock,⁷¹ as he thought. Being demanded of her for what
cause, for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be
1535 furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby
demanded wherewith? With such matter as the Queen and the
council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no
knowledge, and so departed.

 In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth
1540 day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the Lord

1526 **jolly** prideful, arrogant (*OED jolly adj.* II.6)

1528 **for that** because (*OED for that conj.* 1.a)

1533 **Being demanded of her** When she asked

1535 **furnished** occupied (*OED furnish v.* 2.a). The implication is that Elizabeth was being moved out to make room for other prisoners.

1536 **wherewith?** With what? (*OED wherewith intr.* I.1)

- Treasurer⁷² being then there for the loading of her carts and
 discharging the place of the same, where Sir Henry
 Bedingfield (being appointed her gaoler) did receive her, with
 a company of rakehells to guard her, besides the Lord of
 1545 Derby's⁷³ band wafting in the country about for the moonshine
 in the water. Unto whom, at length, came my Lord of Thame,⁷⁴
 joined in commission with the said Sir Henry for the safe
 guiding of her to prison, and they together conveyed her grace
 to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth.
- 1550 The first day they conducted her to Richmond,⁷⁵ where
 she continued all night, being restrained of her own men,
 which were lodged in outchambers, and Sir Henry
 Bedingfield's soldiers appointed in their rooms to give
 attendance on her person. Whereat, she being marvellously
 1555 dismayed [and] thinking verily some secret mischief to be
 working towards her, called her gentleman-usher and desired
 him, with the rest of his company, to pray for her, 'For this
 night,' quoth she, 'I think to die.' Wherewith, he being stricken
 to the heart, said, 'God forbid that any such wickedness
 1560 should be pretended against your grace.' So, comforting her

Lady Elizabeth
 removed from the
 Tower to
 Woodstock.

Lady Elizabeth
 secluded from her
 servants.

Lady Elizabeth in
 despair of herself.

1544 **rakehells** scoundrels (*OED* rakehell *n.* 2)

1545 **wafting** floating around: *figurative* (*OED* waft *v.1* 6.a)

1545-46 **the moonshine in the water** something that looks real but is not: *proverbial* (Dent, M1128). In this instance, the soldiers are looking for something (evidence of treason) that does not exist.

1551 **restrained** deprived: *transitive* (*OED* restrain *v.1* 5.a)

1552 **outchambers** rooms in outbuildings (i.e. not inside the house) (*OED* outchamber *n.* a)

as well as he could, at last he burst into tears and went from her down into the court, where were walking the Lord of Thame and Sir Henry Bedingfield.

Then he, coming to the Lord of Thame (who had
 1565 proffered to him much friendship), desired to speak with him a word or two, unto whom he familiarly said he should with all his heart. Which, when Sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman-usher answered, 'No great matter, sir,' said he, 'but to speak with my Lord a
 1570 word or two.'

Then when the Lord of Thame came to him, he spake on this wise: 'My Lord,' quoth he, 'you have been always my good Lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time is to desire your Honour friendly to declare to
 1575 me whether any danger is meant to my mistress this night or no, that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint, for certainly we will rather die than she should secretly and innocently miscarry.' 'Marry,' said the Lord of Thame, 'God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be

Lady Elizabeth's usher talketh with the Lord of Thame.

The gentle heart of the Lord of Thame to Lady Elizabeth.

1564 **he** Elizabeth's gentleman-usher
 1566 ¹**he** the Lord of Thame
²**he** Elizabeth's gentleman-usher
 1571-72 **on this wise** in this way (*OED* on *prep.* I.iv.11.a)
 1574 **friendly** as a friend (*OED* friendly *adv.*)
 1578 **miscarry** come to harm (*OED* miscarry v. 1.a)

1580 wrought; and rather than it should be so, I with my men are
ready to die at her foot also.' And so (praised be God) they
passed that doleful night with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards, passing over the water at Richmond, going
towards Windsor, her grace espied certain of her poor servants
1585 standing on the other side which were very desirous to see her.
Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by,
she said, 'Yonder I see certain of my men; go to them and say
these words from me, *tanquam ovis*.'⁷⁶ So, she passing forward
to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the Dean of
1590 Windsor's⁷⁷ house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than
a princess.

Tanquam ovis: like
a sheep to the
slaughter.

And from thence, her grace was guarded and brought
the next night to Master Dormer's⁷⁸ house where, much people
standing by the way, some presented to her one gift and some
1595 another, so that Sir Henry was greatly moved therewith and
troubled the poor people very sore for showing their loving
hearts in such a manner, calling them 'rebels' and 'traitors'
with suchlike vile words.

Lady Elizabeth
honourably
received and
beloved of the
people.

Beside, as she passed through the villages, the
1600 townsmen rang the bells as being joyful of her coming, thinking

1593 **much** many (*OED* much *adj.* II.2.e)

verily it had been otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequel
 proved after to the said poor men. For immediately, the said Sir
 Henry, hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who
 apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks⁷⁹
 1605 and otherwise uncourteously misusing other some for their
 good wills.

On the next morrow, her grace, passing from Master
 Dormer's (where for the time of her abode there was a
 strait watch kept) came to the Lord of Thame's house,⁸⁰ where
 1610 she lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of
 knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir
 Henry Bedingfield grunted⁸¹ and was highly offended, saying
 unto them that they could not tell what they did and were not
 able to answer their doings in that behalf, letting them to
 1615 understand that she was the Queen's Majesty's prisoner and no
 otherwise, advising them therefore to take heed and beware
 of afterclaps. Whereunto the Lord of Thame answered in this
 wise: that he was well advised of his doings, being joined in
 commission as well as he, adding with warrant that her grace
 1620 might and should in his house be merry. The next day, as she
 should take her journey from Richmond toward Woodstock, the

The gentle
 entertainment of
 Lady Elizabeth at
 the Lord of
 Thame's house.

Sir Henry
 Bedingfield
 grugged at the
 gentle
 entertainment of
 Lady Elizabeth.

The rude and
 ungentle behaviour
 of Sir Henry
 Bedingfield.

1617 **afterclaps** serious (unwelcome) consequences (*OED* afterclaps *n.* 1)

1619 **warrant** good reason (*OED* warrant *n.*1 I.8.a)

Lord of Thame with another gentleman being at the tables,
playing and dropping vie crowns,⁸² the Lady Elizabeth, passing
by, stayed and said she would see the game played out, which
1625 Sir Henry Bedingfield would scarce permit, the game running
long about and they playing drop vie crowns. 'Come on,' saith
he. 'I will tarry,' saith she, 'and will see this game out.'

After this, Sir Henry went up into a chamber where was
appointed for her grace a chair, two cushions and a foot-
1630 carpet,⁸³ very fair and princelike, wherein presumptuously he
sat and called one Barwick,⁸⁴ his man, to pull off his boots,
which, as soon as it was known among the ladies and gentles,
everyone mused thereat and laughed him to scorn, observing
his indiscreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well.
1635 When supper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that
all the ladies and gentlemen should withdraw themselves, every
one, to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there
such a company, considering so great a charge committed to
him. 'Sir Henry,' quoth my Lord, 'content yourself. All shall be
1640 voided, your men and all.' 'Nay, my soldiers' quoth Sir Henry,

1625 **scarce** only just (*OED* scarce *adv.* 2.a). Sir Henry could hardly bring himself to allow Elizabeth to watch the game.

1633 **laughed him to scorn** ridiculed him (*OED* scorn *n.* 4)

1635 **he** Bedingfield

1637 **his** his own (i.e. everybody should go back to their own rooms)

he Lord Thame (the host)

1640 **voided** emptied (of people) (*OED* void *v.* 1.2.c)

‘shall watch all night.’ The Lord of Thame answered, ‘It shall not need.’ ‘Well,’ said he, ‘need or need not, they shall so do,’ mistrusting, belike, the company which, God knoweth, was without cause.

1645 The next day, her grace took her journey from thence to Woodstock, where she was enclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding and warding both within and without the walls, every day to the number of threescore, and, in the night, without the walls, forty, during the time of her
1650 imprisonment there.

Lady Elizabeth
cometh to
Woodstock.

At length, she had gardens appointed for her to walk in, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always, when she did recreate herself therein, the doors were fast locked up and in as strait manner as they were in the Tower, being at the least five
1655 or six locks between her lodging and her walks, Sir Henry himself keeping the keys and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her goaler and he, kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. ‘From such officers,’ quoth she, ‘good Lord, deliver me!’

The strait watch
kept at
Woodstock.

1642 **he** Bedingfield

1643 **belike** probably (*OED* *belike* *adv.*)

1652 **comfortable** reassuring (*OED* *comfortable* *adj.* I.1.a)

1653 **recreate** refresh, entertain: *transitive (reflexive)* (*OED* *recreate* v.1 4.a)

1659 **officers** people engaged in the management of domestic affairs (*OED* *officer* n. 1.a)

- 1660 And now by the way, as digressing – or, rather,
refreshing – the reader,⁸⁵ if it be lawful in so serious a story to
recite a matter incident and yet not impertinent to the same,
occasion here moveth – or, rather, enforceth – me to touch
briefly what happened in the same place and time by a merry-
1665 conceited man being then about her grace, who, noting
the strait and strange keeping of his lady and mistress by the
said Sir Henry Bedingfield with so many locks and doors, with
such watch and ward about her as was strange and wonderful,
espied a goat in the ward where her grace was, and whether to
1670 refresh her oppressed mind or to notify her strait handling by Sir
Henry, either else both, he took it upon his neck and followed
her grace therewith as she was going into her lodging which,
when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing
to let it alone. Unto whom the same party answered, ‘No, by
1675 Saint Mary (if it like your grace) will I not, for I cannot tell
whether he be one of the queen's friends or no. I will carry him
to Sir Henry Bedingfield (God willing) to know what he is.’ So,

A merry story
concerning the
strait keeping of
the Lady
Elizabeth.

1661 **lawful** permissible (*OED* lawful *adj.* 1.b)

1662 **incident** relating (*OED* incident *adj.* 1.3)

impertinent irrelevant (*OED* impertinent *adj.* 1.a)

1664-65 **merry-conceited man** man who liked devising merry diversions (*OED* conceited *adj.* 2.a)

1668 **strange** exceptional (in the sense of surprising) (*OED* strange *adj.* 10.a)

wonderful astonishing (*OED* wonderful *adj.* 1.a)

1669 **ward** section, area (of a prison) (*OED* ward *n.* 2 V.17.b)

1670 **notify** make known: *transitive* (*OED* notify *v.* 1.a)

1671 **took it upon his neck** cf. on one's head: to accept blame if something goes wrong (Daphne M. Gulland and David Hinds-Howell, *Dictionary of English Idioms* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 80, no. 14 (1))

1672 **therewith** i.e. with the goat

1673 **willing** wishing: *transitive* (*OED* will *v.* 1 I.i.2.b)

leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck and
carried it to Sir Henry Bedingfield, who, when he saw him
1680 coming with it, asked him (half angrily) what he had there.
Unto whom the party answered, saying, 'Sir,' quoth he, 'I
cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found
him in the place where my lady's grace was walking and what
talk they have had I cannot tell, for I understand him not. But
1685 he should seem to me to be some stranger and I think verily
a Welshman, for he hath a white frieze coat⁸⁶ on his back.
And for so much as I, being the queen's subject and
perceiving the strait charge committed to you of her keeping,
that no stranger should have access unto her without
1690 sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I
cannot tell) in the place where her grace was walking and,
therefore, for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it
good to bring the said stranger to you to examine as you see
cause.' And so he let him down. At which words, Sir Henry
1695 seemed much displeased and said 'Well, well, you will never
leave this gear I see,' and so they departed.

The straitness of Sir
Henry Bedingfield
merely noted.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have
digressed, after her grace had been there a time, she made

The Lady Elizabeth,
with much ado,
suffered to write to the
Queen.

1694 **him** the goat

1696 **gear** nonsense: *figurative* (OED gear n. III.11.a)

suit to the council that she might be suffered to write to the
1700 Queen, which at last was permitted. So that Sir Henry brought
her pen, ink and paper, and standing by her while she wrote
(which he straitly observed) always, she being weary, he would
carry away her letters and bring them again when she called for
them. In the finishing thereof, he would have been messenger to
1705 the queen of the same, whose request her grace denied, saying
one of her own men should carry them and that she would
neither trust him nor none of his therein. Then he answering
again, saying, 'None of them durst be so bold,' he trowed, 'to
carry her letters, being in that case.' 'Yes,' quoth she, 'I am
1710 assured I have none so dishonest that would deny my request in
that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before.'
'Well,' said he, 'my commission is to the contrary, and I may not
so suffer it.' Her grace, replying again, said, 'You charge me very
often with your commission; I pray God you may justly answer
1715 the cruel dealing you use towards me.' Then he, kneeling down,
desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant,
and put in trust there by the queen to serve her Majesty,
protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve
her grace as now he did the queen's Highness. For the which

The cruel dealing
of Sir Henry
Bedingfield to
Lady Elizabeth
reproved.

1700 **So that** For that purpose

1708 **trowed** believed (*OED* *trow* v. 3.b)

1709 **in that case** in that situation, charged with that task (*OED* *case* n.1 P.4.c)

1713 **charge** accuse: *transitive* (*OED* *charge* v. II.12.a.ii)

1720 (his answer) her grace thanked him, desiring of God that she
might never have need of such servants as he was; declaring
further to him that his doings towards her were not good nor
answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand
by. To whom Sir Henry replied, and said that there was no
1725 remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should,
trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved
her grace so to say was for that he would not permit her letters
to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in
fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of
1730 Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the
carriage of her grace's letters to the queen or no, and he
answered, 'Yea, sir, that I dare and will with all my heart.'
Whereupon, Sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto
him.

The letters of
Lady Elizabeth
carried to the
queen.

1735 Then about the eighth day of June came down Doctor
Owen and Doctor Wendy,⁸⁷ (sent by the queen to her grace, for
that she was sickly) who, ministering to her and letting her
blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or six days.
Then, she being well amended, they returned again to the court,

Doctor Owen and
Doctor Wendy,
Queen Mary's
physicians, sent to
Lady Elizabeth.

1728-29 **in fine** at last (*OED* fine *n.1*. P.1.a)

1730 **enterprise** undertake (a task): *transitive* (*OED* enterprise *v.* 1.a)

1733 **stomach** inclination, desire: *figurative* (*OED* stomach *n.* 5.b)

1737-38 **letting her blood** extracting her blood for (supposed) therapeutic purposes (*OED* bloodletting *n.* 1)

1740 making their good report to the queen and the council of her
grace's behaviour and humbleness toward the queen's
Highness, which her Majesty hearing, took very thankfully; but
the bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and
told the queen they marvelled that she submitted not herself to
1745 her Majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her
Highness.

The popish
prelates repined
against the Lady
Elizabeth.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret
friend⁸⁸ to submit herself to the queen's Majesty, which would
be very well taken and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto
1750 whom she answered that she would never submit herself to
them whom she never offended. 'For,' quoth she, 'if I have
offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy but the law,
which I am certain,' quoth she, 'I should have had ere this if it
could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be
1755 out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the
peril of mine enemies, and then I am assured I should not so be

Lady Elizabeth
requested to
submit herself to
the queen.

1740 **good** complete, thorough (*OED* good *adj.* I.9.a)

1743 **repined** expressed discontent (*OED* repine *v.* 1.a)

black in the mouth upset to the point of illness: *proverbial* (Dent, M1246.11)

1744 **she** Elizabeth

1748 **submit herself** surrender herself (for judgement and/or correction): *transitive (reflexive)* (*OED* submit *v.* I.3.a)

1749 **her** Elizabeth's

quiet relief (from stress and agitation) (*OED* quiet *n.* 1.a)

commodity benefit (*OED* commodity *n.* 2.a)

1754 **by** about (*OED* by *prep.* IV.ii.26.a)

locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth Him.'

1760	About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another. A lord (who shall be here nameless)⁸⁹ being there, at last said that the king should never	Counsel of the papists to marry the Lady Elizabeth to a Spaniard.
1765	have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from her shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying God forbid that the king their master should have that mind, to consent to such a mischief. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen,	Wicked counsel given against Lady Elizabeth.
1770	speaking after that sort against their own country.⁹⁰ From that day, the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain as he should in delivering the Lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison,⁹¹ whereby, at length, she was happily released from the same.	Spaniards more favourable to Lady Elizabeth than some Englishmen.
1775	Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and	

1761 **stranger** foreigner (*OED* stranger *n.* 1.a)

1762 **portion** dowry (*OED* portion *n.* 1.d)

1765 **commonwealth** well-being, prosperity (in the community) (*OED* commonwealth *n.* 2)

1768 **mind** intention (*OED* mind *n.* 1 II.ii.9)

1770 **after that sort** in that way (*OED* sort *n.* 2 III.22)

1771 **good persuasions** complete (in the sense of being to the purpose) arguments (*OED* good *adj.* I.9.a and persuasion *n.* 2)

nature of the king and his councillors toward her grace (praised
be God therefore, who moved their hearts therein). Then
hereupon, she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton
Court.⁹²

1780 But before her removing from Woodstock, we⁹³ will a little
stay to declare in what dangers her life was during this time she
there remained. First, through fire, which began to kindle
between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she
lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a crevice or whether of
1785 purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know.
Nevertheless, a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire,⁹⁴ which was
there joined the same time with Sir Henry Bedingfield in keeping
that lady, who then took up the boards and quenched the fire,
verily supposed it to be done of purpose.⁹⁵

Lady Elizabeth in
danger of fire.

1790 Furthermore, it is thought and also affirmed (if it be true)
of one Paul Penny, a keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian
and a butcherly wretch that was appointed to kill the Lady
Elizabeth, who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and
also knew thereof.⁹⁶

Lady Elizabeth in
danger of killing.

1778 **hereupon** immediately following this (*OED* hereupon *adv.* 2)

1790-91 **affirmed ... of** confirmed by (if he can be believed): *transitive* (*OED* affirm *v.* 1.b)

1791 **keeper of** person who resides in (*OED* keeper *n.* II.7)

1795	Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Master James Bassett, ⁹⁷ came to Bladon Bridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for Sir Henry Bedingfield to come and speak with him. But as God	Another conspiracy of murder against Lady Elizabeth.
1800	would, who disposed all things after the purpose of His own will, so it happened that, a little before, the said Sir Henry Bedingfield was sent for by a post to the council, leaving strait word behind him with his brother ⁹⁸ that no man, whatsoever he were, though coming with a bill of the Queen's	
1805	hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof, so it fell out that Sir Henry Bedingfield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to approach in, who otherwise (as it is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.	
1810	At what time, likewise, that the Lady Elizabeth was in the Tower, a writ came down, subscribed with certain hands of the council, for her execution which - if it were certain as it is reported - Winchester ⁹⁹ no doubt was deviser of that	Lady Elizabeth preserved by the Lord's providence from execution in the Tower.

1798 **privy coats** men wearing armoured coats (usually chainmail) concealed under ordinary clothing (*OED* privy coat *n.*)

1802 **by a post** via a relay of couriers on post-horses (*OED* post *n.3* P.3)

1804 **bill** written document (*OED* bill *n.3* 1.a)

of originating from (*OED* of *prep.* III.10)

1808 **in no case** under no circumstances (*OED* case *n.1* P.4.a)

1811 **subscribed with** signed by: *transitive* (*OED* subscribe *v.* I.1.a)

mischievous drift. And, doubtless, the same Achitophel¹⁰⁰ had
 1815 brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the
 fatherly providence of Almighty God (who is always stronger
 than the devil) stirred up Master Brydges,¹⁰¹ lieutenant the
 same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the Queen to give
 certificate thereof, and to know further her consent for her
 1820 sister's death. Whereupon it followed that all that device was
 disappointed and Winchester's devilish platform, which he said
 he had cast, through the Lord's goodness came to no effect.

Winchester's
platform
overthrown.

Where, moreover, is to be noted that during the
 imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Master Edmund
 1825 Tremayne¹⁰² was on the rack, and Master Smythwick¹⁰³
 and diverse other in the Tower were examined
 and diverse offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady,
 being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no
 matter could be proved by all examinations, as she, the same
 1830 time lying at Woodstock, had certain intelligence by the means
 of one John Gayer¹⁰⁴ who, under a colourable pretence of a
 letter to Mistress Cleve¹⁰⁵ from her father, was let in, and so
 gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon

1815 **impious** wicked (in the sense of irreligious or profane) (*OED* *impious* *adj.* 1.b)
 1819 **certificate** assurance (*OED* *certificate* *n.* 1)
 1821 **disappointed** thwarted: *transitive* (*OED* *disappoint* *v.* II.2.b)
platform plan, strategy (*OED* *platform* *n.* III.14.a)
 1822 **cast** contrived, devised: *transitive* (*OED* *cast* *v.* VII.43.b)
 1831 **colourable** plausible (*OED* *colourable* *adj.* 1.a)

the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock,

1835 wrote these verses with her diamond in a glass window:

Much suspected by me:

Nothing proved can be.

Quod Elizabeth, prisoner.

Verses written by
Lady Elizabeth in
the glass window.

And thus much touching the troubles of Lady Elizabeth

1840 at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during

the same time, the Lord of Thame had laboured to the Queen

and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his

house, and had obtained his grant thereof. Whereupon,

preparation was made accordingly and all things ready in

1845 expectation of her coming. But, through the procurement

either of Sir Henry Bedingfield, or by the doing of Winchester,

her mortal enemy, letters came overnight to the contrary,

whereby her journey was stayed.

Lady Elizabeth not
suffered to come to
the Lord of Thame's
house.

Thus, this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow,

1850 could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she

had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate

1836 **by** about, concerning (*OED by prep.* IV.ii.26.a)

1837 **proved** (pronounced as two syllables – provèd)

1838 **Quod** Written by (*OED quoth v.* I.1.c)

1841 **laboured to** worked on (in the sense of persuasion): *transitive* (*OED labour v.* 2.a)

1842 **became surety** undertook responsibility (*OED surety n.* I.2.a)

¹her ... ²her Elizabeth

1843 **grant** permission (*OED grant n.1* 1.a)

1848 **stayed** stopped (*OED stay v.1* III.23.a)

and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart,
fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if
she, hearing upon a time out of her garden at Woodstock, a
1855 certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a
milkmaid as she was, saying that her case was better and life
more merrier than was hers, in that state as she was.

Lady Elizabeth
wisheth herself to
be a milkmaid.

Now, after these things thus declared, to proceed
further where we left before, Sir Henry Bedingfield and his
1860 soldiers, with the Lord of Thame¹⁰⁶ and Sir Ralph
Chamberlain,¹⁰⁷ guarding and waiting upon her the first night
from Woodstock she came to Rycote,¹⁰⁸ in which journey such
a mighty wind did blow that her servants were fain to hold
down her clothes about her, insomuch that her hood was twice
1865 or thrice blown from her head. Whereupon she, desirous to
return to a gentleman's house there near, could not be
suffered by Sir Henry Bedingfield so to do, but was
constrained, under a hedge, to trim her head as well as she
could.

1856 **she ... her** the milkmaid

case circumstance (*OED* case *n.1* 6.b)

1857 **hers ... she** Elizabeth

1863 **fain** obliged (it was necessary) (*OED* fain *adj.* 2.b)

1864 **insomuch that** to such an extent that (*OED* insomuch *adv.* 3)

1868 **constrained** compelled: *transitive* (*OED* constrain *v.* 1.a)

trim her head dress or array her head (*OED* trim *v.* II.7)

1870 After this, they journeyed the next night to Master
Dormer's,¹⁰⁹ and so to Colnbrook,¹¹⁰ where she lay all that night
at the George,¹¹¹ and by the way, coming to Colnbrook, certain
of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number
of threescore, much to all their comforts, who had not seen her
1875 grace of long season before. Notwithstanding, they were
commanded in the Queen's name immediately to depart the
town, to both their and her grace's no little heaviness, who
could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night
all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher,
1880 three gentlewomen, two grooms and one of her wardrobe, the
soldiers watching and warding round about the house, and she
close shut up within her prison.

 The next day following, her grace entered Hampton
Court on the back side,¹¹² into the prince's lodging, the doors
1885 being shut to her, and she, guarded with soldiers as before, lay
there a fortnight at the least, or ever any had recourse unto
her. At length came the Lord William Howard,¹¹³ who
marvellous honourably used her grace, whereat she took much
comfort and requested him to be a mean that she might speak

The Lord William
Howard gentle and
favourable to Lady
Elizabeth.

1875 **of long season** for a long (indefinite) time (*OED* season *n.* II.12.b)

1877 **heaviness** sadness, grief (*OED* heaviness *n.* e)

1880 **wardrobe** private chamber (*OED* wardrobe *n.* 2.a)

1886 **or** before (*OED* or *prep.* 1.a)

recourse unto communication with (*OED* recourse *n.1* I.2.b)

1890 with some of the council, to whom, not long after, came the
 Bishop of Winchester, the Lord of Arundel, the Lord of
 Shrewsbury, and Secretary Petre,¹¹⁴ who, with great humility,
 humbled themselves to her grace. She again, likewise saluting
 them, said, 'My Lords,' quoth she, 'I am glad to see you, for
 1895 methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolately,
 alone. Wherefore, I would desire you to be a mean to the king
 and queen's Majesties, that I may be delivered from prison,
 wherein I have been kept a long space, as to you, my Lords, it is
 not unknown.'

1900 When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of
 Winchester, kneeled down and requested that she would submit
 herself to the queen's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt
 but her Majesty would be good unto her. She making answer
 that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the
 1905 days of her life, adding that she craved no mercy at her
 Majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she had
 offended her Majesty in word, thought or deed. 'And besides
 this, in yielding,' quoth she, 'I should speak against myself and
 confess myself to be an offender, which never was, towards her
 1910 Majesty, by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever
 hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion. And therefore I say, my

Lady Elizabeth
 requested by
 Winchester to
 submit herself to
 the Queen's
 mercy.

Lady Elizabeth
 standeth to be
 tried by the law.

1893-94 **saluting them** greeting them with respectful words: *transitive* (OED salute v. 1.a)

Lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince.' And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

1915	On the next day, the Bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace and, kneeling down, declared that the Queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing to have offended, so that it should seem the queen's Majesty wrongfully to have imprisoned her grace. 'Nay,' quoth the Lady	Talk again between Winchester and Lady Elizabeth.
1920	Elizabeth, 'it pleaseth her to punish me as she thinketh good.' 'Well,' quoth Gardiner, 'her Majesty willeth me to tell you that you must tell another tale ere that you be set at liberty.' Her grace answered, that she had as lief be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected of her Majesty. 'And this	Lady Elizabeth denieth to confess any fault done to the Queen.
1925	that I have said, I will,' said she, 'stand unto; for I will never belie myself.' Winchester again kneeled down and said 'Then your grace hath the vantage of me, and other of the lords, for your so long and wrong imprisonment.' 'What vantage I have,' quoth she, 'you know. Taking God to record, I seek	
1930	no advantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also.' ¹¹⁵ With that, the rest kneeled	

1913 **abroad** out and at large (*OED* abroad *adv.* 2)

of by (*OED* of *prep.* V.14)

1917 **use herself** behave: *transitive, reflexive* (*OED* use *v.* III.17.c)

1920 **good** proper, fitting (*OED* good *adj.* I.7.b)

1923 **lief** gladly (*OED* lief *adv.*)

1926 **belie** lie about, misrepresent: *transitive* (*OED* belie *v.*2 I.3.b)

down, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten,¹¹⁶ and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

1935 A sevensnight after, the Queen sent for her grace at ten
o'clock in the night to speak with her, for she had not seen
her in two years before. Yet, for all that, she was amazed at
the so sudden sending for, thinking it had been worse for her
than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and
gentlewomen to pray for her, for that she could not tell
1940 whether ever she should see them again or no. At which time,
Sir Henry Bedingfield, with Mistress Clarencius¹¹⁷ coming, her
grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that
went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen
waiting on her, her gentleman-usher and her grooms going
1945 before with torches, where her gentlemen and gentlewomen
being commanded to stay, all saving one woman, Mistress
Clarencius conducted her to the Queen's bed-chamber where
her Majesty was, at the sight of whom her grace kneeled
down and desired God to preserve her Majesty, not
1950 mistrusting but that she should try herself as true a subject
towards her Majesty as ever did any, and desired her Majesty

Lady Elizabeth sent
for to the Queen.

Lady Elizabeth
brought to the
Queen's
bedchamber.

1934 **sevensnight** week (seven successive days and nights) (*OED* sennight n.)

1943 **her grace** Elizabeth

1949-50 **not mistrusting** not having any doubt in her own mind: *transitive, reflexive* (*OED* mistrust v. 2.b)

she Mary

try discover the truth about (by test or inquisition): *transitive* (*OED* try v. 5.c)

herself Elizabeth

even so to judge of her, and said that she should not find her
to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the Queen answered, 'You will not confess your
1955 offence, but stand stoutly to your truth. I pray God it may so
fall out.' 'If it doth not,' quoth the Lady Elizabeth, 'I request
neither favour nor pardon at your Majesty's hands.' 'Well,'
said the queen, 'you still stiffly persevere in your truth. Belike
you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully
1960 punished.' 'I must not say so, if it please your Majesty,' quoth
she, 'to you.' 'Why then,' said the queen, 'belike you will to
other.' 'No, if it please your Majesty,' quoth she, 'I have borne
the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your Majesty
to have a good opinion of me and to think me to be your true
1965 subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as
long as life lasteth.' And so they departed, with very
few comfortable words of the queen in English, but what she
said in Spanish, God knoweth.¹¹⁸ It is thought that King Philip
was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed
1970 himself a very friend in that matter.¹¹⁹

Talk between the
Queen and Lady
Elizabeth.

Small comfort at the
Queen's hand toward
her sister.

King Philip thought
to be a friend to Lady
Elizabeth.

1955-56 **so fall out** spill out (turn out that way): *figurative* (OED fall v. PV.1)

1958 **Belike** Probably (OED belike *adv.*)

1959 **but** except (OED but *conj.* II.7.a.1). The queen suggests that Elizabeth will not confess anything except that she has been wrongfully punished.

1970 **very** true (emphatic, in the fullest sense) (OED very *adj.* I.3.a)

	Thus, her Grace departing, went to her lodging again and the sevensnight after was delivered of Sir Henry Bedingfield (her gaoler, as she termed him) and his soldiers. And so her Grace, being set at liberty from imprisonment,	Lady Elizabeth by God's providence set at liberty.
1975	went into the country, ¹²⁰ and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, ¹²¹ one of Queen Mary's councillors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, Master Gage. ¹²² And thus straitly was she looked to all Queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her Highness's imprisonment.	Sir Henry Bedingfield discharged.
1980	Then there came to Lamheyre ¹²³ Master Jerningham ¹²⁴ and Master Norris, ¹²⁵ gentleman-usher, Queen Mary's men, who took away from her Grace Mistress Astley ¹²⁶ to the Fleet, ¹²⁷ and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower, which was no little trouble to her Grace, saying that	Mistress Astley sent to the Fleet. Three gentlewomen of Lady Elizabeth's sent to the Tower.
1985	she thought they would fetch away all at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner by occasion of whose opportune decease the life of this excellent princess, the wealth of all England, was preserved. For this is credible to be supposed that the said wicked Gardiner of	
1990	Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to bring this, our happy	Note the wonderful working of the Lord's providence in saving Lady Elizabeth.

1972 **delivered of** freed from: *transitive* (OED deliver v.1 I.1.d)

1987 **opportune** well-timed (OED opportune *adj.* 2)

1989 **supposed** taken as true: *transitive* (OED suppose v. I.i.7.a)

1991 **principal mark** main objective (OED mark n.1 VI.23.a)

and dear sovereign, out of the way, as both by his words and daily doings sufficiently appeared.¹²⁸

Lady Elizabeth delivered by the death of Stephen Gardiner.

1995 But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord to the preservation not only of her royal Majesty, but also the miserable and woeful state of this whole island (and poor subjects of the same), whereby the proud platforms and peevish practices of this wretched Achitophel prevailed not, but, contrariwise, both he and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsel, laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, *malum consilium consultori pessimum*.

How the Lord here began to work for Lady Elizabeth.

2005 After the death of this Gardiner followed the death also, and dropping away, of other her enemies, whereby, by little and little, her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud and, albeit her Grace as yet had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment did daily grow unto her till at length, to the month of November, and seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of Queen Mary,¹²⁹ after whose decease

Lady Elizabeth proclaimed queen the same day that Queen Mary died.

1998 **peevish** hateful (*OED* peevish *adj.* 4)

2000 **pernicious** dangerous, evil (*OED* pernicious *adj.* 1 2.a)

2001-02 **malum consilium consultori pessimum** bad advice is most fatal to the adviser: Verrius Flaccus (Riley, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Quotations*, p. 218)

2008 **entertainment** treatment (*OED* entertainment *n.* II.3.b)

succeeded her foresaid sister, Lady Elizabeth, into her right of
the crown of England, who, after so long restraintment, so great
dangers escaped, such blustering storms overblown, so many
2015 injuries digested and wrongs sustained, by the mighty
protection of our merciful God (to our no small comfort
and commodity) hath been exalted and erected out of thrall to
liberty, out of danger to peace and quietness, from dread to
dignity, from misery to majesty, from mourning to ruling; briefly,
2020 of a prisoner made a princess and placed in her throne royal,
proclaimed now queen, with as many glad hearts of her
subjects as ever was any king or queen in this realm before
her, or ever shall be (I dare say) hereafter.¹³⁰ The Lord long
hold his hand over her and send her to rule many and happy years,
2025 I beseech him. Amen.¹³¹

The Lord make
England thankful to
him for his great
benefits.

In this pitiful and rueful history, thou hast (O England)
three especial things to consider. First, the hardness of the time
then being and the unmercifullness of those men's hearts who
prepared all their devilish policies and invented a world of wiles
2030 and deceits whereby they might gain opportunity to destroy this
worthy and famous lady, whose innocency could not appease their

Consideration of
the hardness of the
time then and the
cruel dealing
against Lady
Elizabeth.

2014 **overblown** having abated: *figurative* (OED overblown v.1 2)

2015 **digested** endured (OED digest v. 6.a)

2017 **thrall** bondage, captivity (in the sense of slavery) (OED thrall n.1 II.2)

2026 **rueful** lamentable (OED rueful *adj.* 3)

2029 **wiles** sly tricks (OED wile n. 1.a)

	bloodthirstiness nor whole virtues could not assuage their cruel dealing, but even as the wicked Jews ¹³² cried death against our saviour, even so these unnatural men did their uttermost against	
2035	this noble lady. Secondly, thou art to note her wonderful patience, her assured trust in God (who never failed her) and even when death was most of all threatened to her (and that many occasions was given to her to doubt the same) her patience was not any jot the more moved, but being confident in God, to whom she referred the state of her innocency and extremity of their rigorous intentions she passed through all those agonies with a cheerful and undaunted heart, and their practices to fear her was not so horrible but her patience in suffering was admirable. Thirdly, they must remember the ready working hand of God for her in all her dangers, how graciously He prevented their devices and had such an especial care over his daughter as no extremity whatsoever could prevail against her. For which exceeding love towards thee, how highly thou art bound to His heavenly majesty, the manifold happy blessings thou hast and dost receive by her can sufficiently tell thee. But, as I have heretofore given thee to understand, the punishment of treason and treacherous practices in the reigns of the kings before passed, so likewise I must crave leave a little to	Consideration of the wonderful patience of Lady Elizabeth.
2040		
2045		Consideration of the present help of God at all times to Lady Elizabeth.
2050		

2038 **doubt** fear: *transitive* (OED doubt v. II.5.a)

2042 **fear** frighten: *transitive* (OED fear v. I.1.a)

2044 **ready** willing (OED ready *adj.* I.3.a)

2046 **extremity** extreme severity (OED extremity *n.* 6)

2055 speak of such matters as hath happened since the reign of our
sovereign lady and queen, and then we will proceed on with the
rest of our intent.

**Since the reign of our most gracious and sovereign lady,
Queen Elizabeth**

2060 The fourth and fifth day of January, did suffer at Durham to
the number of three score and six constables and other, who
were partakers in the rebellion in the north¹ with the Lords of
Westmorland² and Northumberland,³ amongst whom an
alderman of the town⁴ and a priest called Plumtree⁵ were the
most notable. Then Sir George Bowes,⁶ Marshal, finding many
to be faulters in the foresaid rebellion, did see them executed
2065 in every market town and other places betwixt Newcastle and
Wetherby, about three score miles in length and forty miles in
breadth.

Rebels executed at
Durham, 1570.

2070 On Good Friday, the seven and twentieth day of
March, Simon Digby of Aiskew, John Fulthorpe of Islebeck in
the county of York, esquires, Robert Pennyman of Stokesley,
Thomas Bishop (the younger) of Pocklington⁷ in the same

Rebels executed at
York.

2058 **did suffer** were put to death (*OED* suffer v. I.9.a)

2064 **faulters** culprits (*OED* fault n.)

county of York, gentlemen, were drawn from the castle of
York to the place of execution called Knavesmire,⁸ half a
mile without the City of York, and there hanged, headed and
2075 quartered. Their four heads were set on the four principal
gates of the city with four of their quarters.⁹ The other
quarters were set in diverse places of the country. Oskolph
Cleshe¹⁰ was with them drawn to the gallows and returned
again to the castle.

2080 One Hilliard,¹¹ the Earl of Northumberland's man, and
a vagrant person named William Godswhere,¹² were taken
among the other rebels and were brought to Berwick where
they were executed the four and twentieth day of May.

Rebels executed at
Berwick.

2085 The seven and twentieth day of May, Thomas Norton
and Christopher Norton of Yorkshire, being both
condemned of high treason for the late rebellion in the
north,¹³ were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn
and there hanged, headed and quartered.

The Nortons Executed.

2090 A conspiracy was made by certain gentlemen and
other in the county of Norfolk, whose purpose was on
midsummer day at Harleston fair,¹⁴ with sound of trumpets

Conspiracy in Norfolk.

and drum, to have raised a number and then proclaim their
devilish pretence against strangers¹⁵ and other. This matter
was uttered by Thomas Kett¹⁶ (one of the conspiracy) unto
2095 John Kensey,¹⁷ who forthwith sent the same Kett with a
constable to the next justice, before whom (and other justices)
he opened the whole matter. Whereupon, Master Drew
Drury¹⁸ immediately apprehended John Throckmorton¹⁹ and,
after him, many gentlemen of the city of Norwich and the
2100 county of Norfolk who were all committed to prison and at the
next sessions of gaol delivery at the castle of Norwich (the 17th
of July) before Sir Robert Catlin,²⁰ knight, Lord Chief Justice,
Master Gilbert Gerard,²¹ the queen's attorney general, and
other justices, ten of them were indicted of high treason and
2105 some others of contempt. Diverse of them were condemned
and had judgement the one and twentieth day of August, and
afterward three of them were hanged, bowelled and
quartered, which were John Throckmorton of Norwich,
gentleman, who stood mute at his arraignment but at the
2110 gallows confessed himself to be the chief conspirator and that
none had deserved to die but he for that he had procured

2092 **raised a number** incited a substantial group

2097 **opened** revealed: *transitive* (OED open v. II.12.a)

2107 **bowelled** disembowelled: *transitive* (OED bowel v. 1)

them. With him was executed Thomas Brooke²² of Rollesby,
gentleman (the thirtieth day of August) and George Redman²³
of Cringleford, gentlemen, was likewise executed the second
2115 day of September.

The eighth day of August, John Felton,²⁴ who before
had been condemned in the Guildhall of London for hanging a
bull²⁶ at the gate of the Bishop of London's palace, was drawn
from Newgate²⁷ into Paul's churchyard and their hanged on a
2120 gallows new set up that morning before the bishop's palace
gate, and being cut down alive he was bowelled and
quartered.

John Felton
executed in Paul's
churchyard in
London, 1571.²⁵

The first day of June, John Story,²⁸ a doctor of the
canon law who had been a great persecutor of God's flock³⁰ in
2125 the reign of Queen Mary, having been before condemned of
high treason, was drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn
and there hanged, bowelled and quartered, his head set on
London bridge and his quarters on the gates of the city.

Doctor Story
executed at Tyburn,
1572.²⁹

The eleventh day of February, Kenelm Barney and
2130 Edward Mather³¹ were drawn from the Tower of London to
Tyburn, and Henry Rolf³² from the Marshalsea³³ in Southwark
to the same place of execution, where they were all three

Kenelm Barney,
Edward Mather and
Henry Rolf
executed for
treason.

hanged bowelled and quartered for treason: Barney and

Mather for conspiracy and Rolf for counterfeiting the

2135 Queen's majesty's hand.

The sixteenth of January, the Lord Thomas Howard,³⁴

Duke of Norfolk, was arraigned in Westminster Hall before

George, Lord Talbot,³⁵ Earl of Shrewsbury, High Steward of

England for that day, and there by his peers found guilty of high

2140 treason and had judgement accordingly. So, on the second day

of June following, in the morning between the hours of seven

and eight, the said Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was

beheaded on a scaffold set up on the Tower Hill.

The Duke of Norfolk
condemned for high
treason and beheaded
on Tower Hill.

The two-and-twentieth day of August, Thomas

2145 Percy,³⁶ Earl of Northumberland, late of Topcliffe,³⁷ who had

been before attainted by parliament of high treason, as

being one of the principal conspirators in the late rebellion in

the north (and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had

fled) was beheaded at York about two of the clock in the

2150 afternoon on a new scaffold set up for that purpose in the

marketplace.³⁸

The Earl of
Northumberland
beheaded at York for
high treason.

	The eight-and-twentieth day of November, John Hall,⁴⁰ gentleman, and Oswald Wilkinson,⁴¹ late of York and gaoler of York castle, being before arraigned and 2155 condemned of high treason, were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn and there hanged, bowelled and quartered.	John Hall and Oswald Wilkinson executed, 1573.³⁹
2160	The sixteenth day of June, Thomas Woodhouse,⁴² a priest of Lincolnshire who had been long prisoner in the Fleet, was arraigned in the Guildhall of London and there condemned of high treason, who had judgement to be hanged and quartered and was executed at Tyburn the nineteenth day of June.	Thomas Woodhouse executed, 1574.⁴³
2165	Cuthbert Mayne,⁴⁴ being condemned of high treason the thirtieth day of November, was drawn, hanged and quartered at Launceston in the province of Cornwall.	Cuthbert Mayne executed, 1577.
2170	The third day of February, early in the morning, John Nelson,⁴⁵ being condemned of high treason against her majesty, was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn and there hanged bowelled and quartered.	John Nelson executed.
	The seventeenth day of February, one named Thomas Sherwood,⁴⁶ having been before condemned of high treason,	Thomas Sherwood executed.

was drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn and was
there hanged bowelled and quartered.

2175 William Lacy⁴⁷ and one Kirkman,⁴⁸ a priest, being
condemned of high treason, were drawn, hanged and quartered at
York.

William Lacy and
Kirkman executed at
York.

Everard Hanse,⁴⁹ alias Ducket, an obstinate and wicked
traitor, having been condemned of high treason, was drawn from
2180 Newgate to Tyburn and there hanged and quartered according to
his judgement.

Everard Hanse
executed.

The first day of December, Edmund Campion,⁵⁰ Jesuit,
Ralph Sherwin⁵¹ and Alexander Briant,⁵² seminary priests, were
drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn where they were
2185 hanged and afterward were bowelled and quartered for high
treason.

Edmund Campion,
Ralph Sherwin and
Alexander Briant
executed, 1581.

On Monday the eight-and-twentieth day of May, Thomas
Ford,⁵³ John Shert⁵⁴ and Robert Johnson,⁵⁵ priests, who were
copartners with Campion and his traitorous enterprises, were
2190 drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn where they were
hanged, bowelled and quartered for high treason.

Thomas Ford, John
Shert and Robert
Johnson executed.

2181 **his judgement** the judgement he received from the justices at his trial
2189 **were copartners** shared the mission (*OED* copartner *n.* 1)

On Wednesday following, being the thirtieth day of May,
Luke Kirby,⁵⁶ William Filby,⁵⁷ Thomas Cottam⁵⁸ and Laurence
Richardson,⁵⁹ who were likewise of Campion's confederacy,
2195 were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn and there
hanged, bowelled and quartered for high treason.

Luke Kirby, William
Filby, Thomas
Cottam and Laurence
Richardson, 1582.

John Slade⁶⁰ and John Bodey,⁶¹ two obstinate and
notorious traitors, being condemned of high treason, John Slade
was drawn, hanged and quartered at Winchester on Wednesday
2200 (being the third day of October)⁶² and John Bodey executed in
like manner at Andover on the Saturday following.

John Slade and John
Bodey executed.

Edward Arden Esquire,⁶³ being condemned of high
treason, was drawn from Newgate into Smithfield where he was
hanged, bowelled and quartered. And John Somerville,⁶⁴ who
2205 should have been executed with him, being condemned for the
same offence, destroyed himself in Newgate the day before.

Edward Arden
executed in
Smithfield, 1583.

William Carter,⁶⁵ a stationer by occupation, for printing
of traitorous books and other notorious offences was drawn from
Newgate to Tyburn where he was hanged, bowelled and
2210 quartered.

William Carter
executed.

On Wednesday, being the twelfth day of February,
Haydock,⁶⁶ Fenn,⁶⁷ Hemerford,⁶⁸ Mundryn⁶⁹ and Nutter⁷⁰ were
all five drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn where they
were hanged, bowelled and quartered for high treason.

Haydock, Fenn,
Hemerford, Nutter
and Mundryn
executed.

- 2215 Francis Throckmorton Esquire,⁷¹ for diverse traitorous
practises attempted against the Queen's majesty, was arraigned
and condemned in the Guildhall of London and afterward, on the
tenth of July, he was drawn from the sessions house in London
to Tyburn, where he was hanged, bowelled and quartered.
- 2220 Here mayest thou, O England, as in a glass, behold the
success of treason from time to time by these so many and
sundry examples here offered unto thee, whereof full many
remaine fresh and quick in remembrance. Thou mayest discern
how God, who placeth kings and princes in their seats and
2225 signories and by whose appointment they have their ruling on
Earth, does sharply chastise such wicked branches as deals
otherwise than beseems them with their princes and governors.
Be their minds never so haughty, be their devices never so
subtle, yea, and let them work never so closely, His eye
2230 discerneth them and, seeing their secret intentions, is against
them whom He hath anointed, He bringeth them and their
practises to open view that the world may see their undutiful
- Francis
Throckmorton
executed, 1584.
- God sharply
scourgeth all traitors
who practice any evil
against their prince.

2220 **glass** mirror (*OED* glass *n.* 1 II.8.a)

2224 **seats** thrones (as indicative of their authority and dignity): *figurative* (*OED* seat *n.* II.8.a)

2225 **signories** positions of power (*OED* signory *n.* 2.a)

2226 **branches** relatives (in the loosest sense of a genealogical tree). Many of the rebels Munday has discussed in this pamphlet were noblemen related to the monarch either by blood or in terms of being members of the English nobility (*OED* branch *n.* II.5.a).

2227 **beseems them** is fitting or becoming for them (*OED* beseem *v.* 2.b)

2229 **subtle** sly, treacherous (*OED* subtle *adj.* I.2.b)

dealing and, by the punishment which He worthily imputeth to such
offenders, the rest may learn and dispose themselves to better
2235 government.

But let me, England, come a little nearer thee, and order the
matter so as thou mayest find thyself touched indeed. Perhaps thou
wilt say these things are done and past and they were but a certain
few that thus have offended and, being justly scourged for their
2240 misdemeanours, they are now quite worn out of remembrance, in
hope there remaineth none such as they have been. Alas, canst thou
thus blindly overthrow thyself in conceit? Dost thou not consider that
all these evil imps have been of thine own breeding, and that thou
hast fostered such children as have pierced into thy bowels, shaken all
2245 thy sinews, yea, and almost have wrung the very marrow out of thy
joints,⁷² whereby thou hast been so feebled and thy strength so far
decayed as without God's great mercy, thou hadst been unable ever to
arise again? And cannot these irking occasions yet make thee mindful
of thy God? Cannot these bitter passions cause thee to look better to
2250 thy children? To train them up in more awe of God, in better affection

England hath been
greatly endangered
by traitorous
practices.

2233 **worthily imputeth to** justifiably assigns to: *transitive* (OED impute v. 1.a)

2236 **come a little nearer thee** offer you closer scrutiny (OED near *adv.* 2 I.i.2)

2237 **touched** affected: *transitive* (OED touch v. III.30)

2240 **worn out of remembrance** forgotten: *figurative* (OED wear v. II.11.c)

2242 **overthrow** defeat: *transitive* (OED overthrow v. 3)

conceit fantasy (OED conceit n. III.8.a)

2243 **evil imps** devilish children (OED imp *n.* 1 4.a)

2244 **fostered** cherished with affectionate care (OED foster v. 3)

2245-46 **the very marrow out of thy joints** the very innermost part of your being (OED marrow *n.* 1 I.1.d)

2248 **irking** troublesome (OED irking *adj.*)

2249 **look better to** take better care of (OED look v. PV.2.4.a)

- to their prince and in more effectual love than they yet show to
thysself? If thy children be so unnatural as to make their mother
smart, thou shalt but show thysself natural in ministering
correction; for better they weep than thou bleed.⁷³ So shall they
2255 in time find it to their benefit, and thou thysself live to be a happy
mother. But if thou seek that state of quietness, and art desirous
to weed out such bad plants as trouble thy whole soil, thou must
look into the dealings of thy children more heedfully than thou
dost and, spying where the inconvenience lieth, rather slip off
2260 that branch suddenly than hazard the perishing of the whole
body, and then thou shalt take an undoubted good course. Then
treasons and treacherous practises will never be so rife, and such
queasy stomachs as cannot brook necessary council, but follow
every disordered humour, will be glad to call themselves home
2265 again and live within compass of duty and modesty.
- The cause of an evil cut off, the effect can take no place.
- .

But whence grow these dangerous practices? And who
are they that set foot in these traitorous attempts? Alas, it is soon
seen by reason the open appearance from time-to-time doth
make it evident. There is no one that repineth at her majesty's

No greater enemies to the safety of England than papists.

2252-53 **make their mother smart** cause their mother (physical or mental) pain: *transitive* (OED smart v.1 2)

2260 **hazard** risk: *transitive* (OED hazard v. 1)

2263 **brook** tolerate (OED brook v.1 3.a)

2264 **disordered** dysfunctional, unhealthy (OED disordered *adj.* 4). Continuing the image of the nation as a physical body that needs to be kept in good health.

2269 **repineth** complains (OED repine v. 1.a)

2270 safety, no-one that lifteth at the well-settled government of this
 realm, nor anyone more ready to pull down the chief pillar of
 our happiness, but either he is a papist, or else marvellously
 addicted that way. And have we not good cause so to persuade
 ourselves when we see it daily before our eyes that they are men
 2275 of that coat, and either have received encouragement amongst
 their fellows beyond seas, or else have been emboldened by
 such as secretly slip over into the realm to follow that traitorous
 intent which they long time have practised. And then when God
 revealeth their wicked spirits and bringeth them into the light
 2280 that they may be example to other, then they cry out ‘I am a
 Catholic! I will die in the Catholic cause’, and thus under show
 of religion they would deceive the world with their horrible
 treasons.⁷⁴ It is now high time, therefore, when traitors
 themselves have given warning of their own treasons, to search
 2285 the confederacy, yea, and as miners, follow the signs every way
 as they spread in the ground till they be guided to the trunk or
 body of the metal,⁷⁵ so to follow the appearances of suspicions
 and likelihoods till it appear plainly what light made the shadow
 or what fire made the smoke. It is not good tarrying till the
 2290 flame, mounting in the air above the house top, the principles

The common speech
 of traitors at their
 death.

2270 **lifteth at** rises in opposition to (*OED* lift v. 4.b)

2273 **addicted that way** attached to that cause: *transitive* (*OED* addict v. I.2.b)

2275 **of that coat** belonging to that faction (i.e. the papists) (*OED* coat n. I.6)

2283 **high time** fully at or past the time (*OED* high time *adj.* III.16.b)

and pillars consumed, and each part so embraced with fire that
no aid dare approach, do plainly declare the whole building past
hope of recovery. Fires oftentimes negligently raked up, sticks'
ends not thoroughly quenched, embers not regarded, a candle's
2295 end not looked unto, have brought many an honest man to pitiful
calamity.⁷⁶ I like, therefore, better the honest wisdom of those
that study how the Queen's majesty, our most gracious lady, may
stand and not fall, than the reaching policy of those that devise
how themselves may stand when the Queen is fallen. God
2300 preserve her Highness long, for her falling would make a
Samson's post⁷⁷ with us all, yea, and rightly a Samson's post, for
no doubt it would bruise them too that be busiest to pull it
down.⁷⁸

It is the duty of
every good subject
to have a special
care of the safety of
his prince.

But now, England, I will be so bold as to emblazon the
2305 papists a little better, that thou mayst be the more heedful to
them, and give no credit to their secret persuasions, and
according as a worthy learned man⁷⁹ hath heretofore painted
them forth in notable conclusions, even so, since the time, place
and matter require it so fitly, it shall not be amiss here to
2310 remember thee of the very same conclusions, and surely all true

2298 **reaching** far-sighted (*OED* reaching *adj.* 2.a)

2304 **emblazon** make conspicuous (in the sense of exposing, revealing): *transitive* (*OED* emblazon v. 1)

2310 **remember thee of** make you think about: *transitive, reflexive* (*OED* remember v.1 I.i.1.a)

Christians, and all true English subjects, ought to believe
(and many well know) that these are very true and undoubted
conclusions.

2315 First, that every papist (that is to say, everyone that
believeth all the pope's doctrine to be true) is an enemy and
traitor against the majesty and honour of God, against the
crowns and dignities of all kings and temporal princes and
against the wealth and safety of all civil kingdoms, policies
and commonwealths.

The first conclusion of
such as hold all the
pope's doctrine to be
true.

2320 Secondly, that every such English papist is a traitor to
the Queen of England and hateth her life, wisheth the
alteration of her government and liveth in hope of another
world, which even by an ordinary byword, it is said
themselves do call their 'Golden Day'.

The second conclusion
of such as expect their
Golden Day.

2325 Thirdly, that every such English papist is a special
traitor to the realm of England and have no regard into what
slavery, subjection to foreign tyranny, dishonour or other
misery it be thrown, so that their false, idolatrous and
superstitious religion be restored with liberty to spoil and

The third conclusion of
such as would overthrow
their country for their
idolatrous religion.

2323 **ordinary byword** common saying (*OED* ordinary *adj.* 6.a, byword *n.* 1.a)
2328 **so that** in order that (*OED* so *conj.* V.23)

2330 murder, without respect of dignity, age, sex, learning,
reverence, honesty or nature.

Fourthly, that no clemency, gentleness, benefits or
loving dealing can win a papist (while he continueth a
papist)⁸⁰ to love her majesty, how much soever he

The fourth conclusion of
such as cannot be won to
love her majesty.

2335 dissemble, nor bring them to ascribe their safety to any
her benefits, nor to any praise of her own goodness, but
either to their own dissimulation, practice and falsehood
(which some called cunning) or to the holiness of their
cause, for whom God, forsooth, so provided, as his
2340 anointed ones may not possibly by law (or at least
execution of law) be touched. Where indeed, if they
continue still unpunished, it must be thought that God so
purveyeth because the punishments of this world are not
sufficient for them. But yet, in the meantime, it serveth to
2345 make them unexcusable, by whose default so dangerous
wolves remain in the flock.

2338 **cunning** skilful deceit (used in an underhand way) (*OED* cunning *n.* 5.a)

2339 **forsooth** truly (*OED* forsooth *adv.* 1.a)

2343 **purveyeth** provides (in the sense of equips): *transitive* (*OED* purvey *v.* II.4.b)

2345 **default** transgression (*OED* default *n.* I.1.a)

Item:⁸¹ that papistry hath this property of heretics,
contrary to the nature of God's truth, that is to be thrown
down with adversity and to flourish with indulgence and
2350 lenity.

The fifth conclusion of
the property of
papistry.

Item: that as it is reason that the owner of a sheep-
biter mastiff, knowing his dog's quality, should either hang
up his dog or pay for the sheep that his dog worrieth, so
those that have notorious sheep-biters (murderers of God's
2355 stock) in their custody and power must make their account
either to hang up or otherwise dispatch their curs, or else to
answer to God for the blood of His sheep, both such as they
have destroyed and such as they may destroy by any
possibility hereafter.⁸²

The sixth conclusion of
such papists as are
murderers of God's
stock.

2360 Item: that all advices to great personages to
persuade neutrality, or any entertaining of contrary sides in
religion with uncertainty of countenance and favour, is the
way to supplant assured safety, to make sure enemies and
unsure friends, to lie open to parasites and traitors, to be
2365 unknown to other and to be unable to discern what other
be to them.

The seventh
conclusion of the
causes of supplanting
assured safety.

2347 **property** characteristic (*OED* property *n.* 1.a)

2352 **mastiff** large, powerful dog (typically bred for guarding or fighting) (*OED* mastiff *n.* a)

Item: that timorous policy is the worst policy that may
be, whatsoever the cause be, good or bad, and, worst of all, it
is in best causes. Wherein, as her majesty hath neither want
2370 of constant magnanimity nor cause of fear, so is it meet that
her enemies have no stomach to condemn her, nor by
excessive clemency to misconstrue her goodness as lack of
daring.

The eighth
conclusion how
timorous policy is
worst in a good
cause.

Item: that by the great novelties and alterations of
2375 times that have happened within our memory, there is risen a
common policy among the people to join to strong and safe
sides, whereby they are aliened from the fearful. And
therefore, it is to be provided that there be a boldness of
safety to serve the Queen's majesty truly and zealously, and
2380 assuredness of danger to her enemies.

The ninth
conclusion of
zealous boldness in
serving the Queen.

Item: by boldness, and sharp execution upon enemies,
the friends are encouraged. And contrariwise, if the dangerous
traitor be not removed, the true subject may be left in peril
and, thereby, the rest of good subjects disabled, or at least
2385 discouraged to venture so far again, and the freedom of

The tenth
conclusion that
boldness doth
encourage the
friends.

consultation (in the meantime) for preserving the prince,
impeached.

Item: that it is as truly said *improbum hominem*
praestat non accusasse quam absolvere - 'It is better not to
2390 meddle with a dangerous, naughty man than to let him go', for
what were it else but to set an house on fire and run away by
the light.

The eleventh
conclusion of the
danger in meddling
with a naughty man.

Item: that occasions and fit opportunities overslipped
are not recoverable.

The twelfth
conclusion of time.

2395 Item: that many times it is as small an offence to give a
warrant to kill a true man as to pardon a murderer or a traitor.
As a wise shepherd will rather give leave to a hunter to kill the
best lamb in his flock than to let go a fox or a wolf.

The thirteenth
conclusion as good
the killing a true
man as sparing a
traitor.

2400 Item: that the lives of kings and princes are the lives
and souls of their kingdoms and commonwealths, whereby
they are to consider that in being prodigal of their own
safeties, in excess of clemency to traitors or in security of
exposing their persons to perils, *largiuno sur ex alieno* - 'they
be liberal of that which is not their own to give'.

The fourteenth
conclusion that the
life of a king is the
life of his kingdom.

2393 **overslipped** unnoticed: *transitive* (OED overslip v. 1.a)

2402 **security** overconfidence, carelessness (OED security n. 1.1.b)

2405	Item: that no traitor is more perilous than he that wresteth the law to raise an underminer of the prince's crown to her danger.	The fifteenth conclusion, the most perilous traitor.
2410	Item: that he is justly to be suspected that shall practise with any vain device of pacification, or coloured clemency, to rebate or blunt the edge of the prince's sword, or so to tie it in the scabbard that it may not be drawn for her defence, as if such qualifiers, hidiers and cloakers should seek to abuse that most reverend and holy figure of majesty to no good end, or other end than God ordained it.	The sixteenth conclusion of such as stand against the prince's defence.
2415	Item: that God cannot well take it if he be less zealously served than the devil; that there be less fervency showed by truly learned princes for avauncing of God's honour against his enemies than hath been abused and deceived princes for setting up of the kingdom of the devil and Antichrist.	The seventeenth conclusion when God is less served than the devil.
2420	Item: that God's commandments of placability and forgiveness extend to our own enemies but not to His enemies,	The eighteenth conclusion, that no attempt against Her Majesty ought to be accounted a private cause.

2405 **wresteth** twists (*OED* wrest v. I.1.a)

2409 **coloured clemency** false gentleness (*OED* clemency n. 1.a)

2410 **rebate** lessen in force: *transitive* (*OED* rebate v.1 1.a)

2417 **avauncing** advancing, promoting: *transitive* (*OED* vaunce v.)

2420 **placability** mildness of disposition (*OED* placability n.)

against revenge of private displeasures and not against
severity and sharp execution in cases of God's honour and
commonwealths. Wherein is always to be noted that the
2425 prince is so not a private but a public person, as no attempt
against Her Majesty's safety can or ought to be accounted a
private cause.

The full proof and large explication of these
conclusions, though it be easy as a thing which not only all
2430 convenience of reason affirmeth but also daily experience
layeth before all men's eyes that have a free consideration
(not encumbered with corrupt zeal and affection), so yet
surely were it a meet thing to be handled by some man as
could add thereto such ornaments of speech, such strength
2435 of eloquence and pith of persuasion as might not only be
understood and believed, but be felt and move. Here any
most excellent orator's special virtues might be well
employed. A fit argument sure it were to show wit and
knowledge, but specially truth and good meaning. But till
2440 some fit person shall take it in hand to bestow his more

2428 **explication** clarification (*OED* explication *n.* 2.a)

2432 **affection** influence (in the sense that one is being influenced by an outside agent) (*OED* affection *n.* 1 III.9)

2435 **pith** force, energy (*OED* pith *n.* II.5.b)

profitable travail that way, let us yet for unlading of some of the
abundance of entire devotion for God's truth, for her most
excellent majesty and our country, have some remembrance
of the particularities thereof.

2445 For the first article that defineth papists, that accuseth
them of treason to God, to kings and to realms, if it be well
weighed it cannot but quickly be seen for undoubted truth.
Though it be true that everyone that holdeth any one error or
article of doctrine that the pope teacheth varying from the
2450 word of God is in that article a papist, as for example the
heresy of transubstantiation, the blasphemy of popish mass or
any such other, yet count I not every such a one wholly a papist
within compass of this article, that is, under the title of a
traitorous papist. But such a one as holdeth all the pope's
2455 doctrine to be true, that the Roman church erreth not, that it
hath rightfully such superiority and primacy in others'
kingdoms and dioceses as it hath proudly claimed and
usurped, and that Christians are bound to refer their faith unto
it, and to hang upon the pope's determinations, many men
2460 otherwise good and honest subjects are not purged of all

The meaning and
proof of the first
conclusion.

Not all papists are
traitors.

Note this, England.

	errors wherewith Rome hath infected them and must have their time to be better instructed. But those that are perfect papists, that publish the pope to be head of the church (which yet indeed is no member of the true church) and 2465 would have us with an implicit and bond-faith to depend upon that see, and for that reason will refuse by all means to confess the right of princes in their kingdoms over all their subjects, they be perfect traitors indeed, yea, and the learned sort of them be wilful heretics and traitors. For 2470 though, in the dark times when controversies of religions were not brought into searching, the stream of error carried men away without doubting, yet since that, by debating, the light hath been evidently opened and men have sought and thoroughly examined the matter. There is no learned papist, 2475 but he knoweth that he maintaineth error and in defending and spreading the same he defendeth and spreadeth and so directly, advisedly, wilfully and maliciously putteth in execution to his uttermost power high treasons against God, against kings and their kingdoms.	Which papists are traitors.
2480	Against God I call them treasons, though our law (the judge of civil treasons in England) have no such name	Learned papists wilful traitors.
		Treason offence against majesty.

because the nature of the offence so properly receiveth that
title, and also the usual name of high treason *in jure*
gentium, in the ‘common law of nations’ and in other
2485 languages doth so plainly express it. High treasons are, in
their true nature, offences against high majesty, that is,
either to the destruction of the persons or denial and
defacement of the just dignities and authorities of those
that bear the name of majesty, and to whom the highest
2490 duty of obedience, faith and allegiance extendeth. And
therefore is treason called *crimen lesae majestatis* – ‘the
crime of violating or abating majesty’. Greater majesty than
the majesty of God cannot be, therefore higher and verier
treasons than against God cannot be. His person cannot be
2495 destroyed or touched, but His dignity, honour, glory and
authority may be slandered and blasphemed, and his
subjects (who are mortal men) may be withdrawn from their
due obedience and drawn into rebellion against Him. And
this, I say, is high treason to God, to violate or abate the
2500 majesty of God, and this do papists. For though God be king
of the whole world, and so is rightly called the Lord by

Treason against God.

Papists violate the
majesty of God.

2492 **abating** humbling: *transitive* (OED abate v.1 III.14)

2493 **verier** truer, more certain (OED very *adj.* I.3.c)

universal name, yea, even of devils, yet is His church His more
proper and certain Kingdom, whereby He is more restrainedly
and aptly called our king and our father, and so more fitly called
2505 our head in respect of the body, which is His church, and not
the rest of the world. In this kingdom, His highest dignity is to be
the only head thereof, which the papists take from him and
derive it to their pope. And though with glosses they excuse it,
that their popes take it not from God but use it under God as His
2510 vicars, yet must they be admonished that without sufficient
deputation and warrant from the king himself (which the pope
hath not), the subject to thrust himself into the governance of
the kingdom is high treason, where he that being a stranger
would seek to conquer it were but an enemy. And so is it rightly
2515 to be said that the Turk is to God an enemy, and the pope is to
God a traitor, and all his adherents are principal traitors, for
treason admitteth no accessories.⁸³

The pope an high
traitor against
God and the Turk
but an enemy.

But now let us come to that part which toucheth men more
nearly than any love of God. Let us now see how they be traitors to
2520 kings and kingdoms. If we have mind to see that papists, which hold
all the pope's doctrine to be true, are traitors indeed to kings and

Papists traitors to
kings and
kingdoms.

2508 **glosses** disingenuous explanations (*OED* gloss *n.1* 1.a)

2515 **Turk** non-Christian (*OED* Turk *n.1* 2)

2517 **accessories** assistants (to a crime) (*OED* accessory *n.* 1)

	kingdoms, it behoveth us to call to mind what are the pope's	
	doctrines, doings and practises concerning the crowns of kings and	
	states of kingdoms. Popes have challenged and papists (that	Traitorous
		doctrines of popes
2525	affirmed the popes to be free from error, their doctrine to be true	for kings and
	and their authority to be lawful) do also hold that it is their due	kingdoms.
	which they challenge, that is, to have authority of both swords,	
	spiritual and temporal, the one in exercise, the other in power; to	
	have the disposition of all the crowns of Christian princes; to have	
2530	the judgement of deciding to whom the right of any kingdom	
	belongeth; to have power for disobedience to him or, by his	
	discretion, to transfer the crowns of kings to whom he will; to have	
	lawful power to give kingdoms to prey, spoil and conquest to such	
	as can invade and possess them; to have power to assoil and	
2535	discharge Christian subjects from faith and allegiance to their	
	lawful and natural sovereign lords, kings and princes; to have	
	power to give leave, yea, commandment, blessing, reward,	The pope will give
	forgiveness of sins and heaven itself to subjects to rebel against	heaven to subjects
	their prince; to depose the prince, disinherit and destroy him; that	to rebel against
		their prince.
2540	there is of common right (and by the mere law of God) reserved to	

2522 **behoveth us** is morally needful to us (*OED* behove v. 3.a)

2526 **their due** their right (what is owed to them) (*OED* due n. 3.b)

2529 **disposition** control, management (*OED* disposition n. 1.3)

2533 **to give kingdoms to prey** to allow kingdoms to be taken by war or pillage (*OED* prey n. 1.3.a)

2534 **assoil** set free, release (from obligation) (*OED* assoil v. 1.3)

2540 **mere** pure, undiluted (*OED* mere adj. 1.1.a)

the pope a special subjection, resort, appellation and obedience of
 one great part of all princes' subjects, yea, and of all subjects of all
 princes in one great part of their causes. Be not these heinous
 treasons? And these cannot be denied to be the natural and very
 2545 treasons of all papists, that is to say of all that depend upon credit
 of the pope; that hold him for God's vicar, for Peter's successor
 (for whom Christ prayed that his faith should not fail);⁸⁴ that apply
 to him this title *ad quem perfidia non potest accedere* - 'to whom
 falsehood cannot reach'; that hold him for a constant rock, an
 2550 assured preacher of truth, an apostolical man (if he be not some
 other thing than a man) to whom our belief is bounden; with such
 other false titles wherewith popes themselves have garnished
 themselves, and their parasites have overloaden them.

Consider the ordinary practise of popes and papists
 2555 according to these doctrines and then you shall see that from the
 most high treason which the pope committed against his sovereign
 lord, the emperor;⁸⁵ the renting and destruction of the empire; all
 the victories and successes of the Saracens and Turks against
 Christendom;⁸⁶ all the tearing away of most noble and large

Traitorous doings
 of papists against
 kings and
 kingdoms; special
 matter for England
 to mark.

2541 **subjection** ability to bring under his control (*OED* subjection *n.* I.2.b)

resort right of having a final decision (*OED* resort *n.* 2)

appellation ability to appeal to a higher authority (i.e. seeing the pope as the ultimate arbiter of all disputes) (*OED* appellation *n.* I.1.a)

2544 **very** true, real (*OED* very *adj.* I.2.b)

2545-46 **the credit of the pope** the estimation in which the pope is held (*OED* credit *n.* I.1.a)

2550 **apostolical man** man connected to the apostles (*OED* apostolical *adj.* 1)

2557 **renting** splitting apart, breaking into pieces: *transitive* (*OED* rend *v.1* 5.b)

2560 kingdoms and provinces from the body of Christianity; all the
subduing and thralling of infinite Christian souls to Muhammad and
the devil; all the despoilings, murderings, turmoilings, civil wars,
debates between Christian princes, shedding of Christian blood;
indignities and oppressions of Christian kings and emperors;
2565 conquests, rebellions and mischiefs for these five hundred years and
above are wholly and chiefly to be imputed to the treasons of popes
and papists.

All *Grecia*, sometime most noble and learned, yet lamentably
rueth it. All Africa, the mother of most constant martyrs, feeleth it.

2570 The German emperors, with most heinous reproaches and foul
treading on their necks, may not forget it. The kings of France and
Spain, both at home in their native kingdoms and abroad, as well in
Naples, Sicily, Lombardy as in other territories of Italy and of the
empire, have sharply felt it. The lords and states of Italy have been
2575 daily and long shaken with it. The kings of England have been
poisoned, whipped, beaten with rods, murdered, deposed, the land
given in conquest, interdicted, made tributary, robbed, pilld and
scraped of their treasure, brought into slavish subjection, deprived of

2561 **Muhammad** i.e. Islam

2568 **Grecia** Latin name for Greece

sometime formerly (*OED* sometime *adv.* 2.b)

yet still (for emphasis) (*OED* yet *adv.* 1.2)

2577 **interdicted** prevented from doing as they wished (*OED* interdict *v.* 2)

tributary one who pays tribute (i.e. made subservient) (*OED* tributary *n.* 1)

pilld plundered: *transitive* (*OED* pill *v.* 1 II.7.a)

honour and estimation, every way most villainously abused. To
 2580 let pass the elder times and further realms, let us speak of
 disposing of old emperors, erecting of new, setting the son
 against the father, the subject against his lord, making them come
 barefooted themselves with their wives and children long waiting
 with submission in cold frosts, treading on their necks, spurning
 2585 of their crowns and a thousand such abominable prides of popes
 and slaveries of princes. Let us deal but with ourselves and with
 our own feeling, knowledge and memory. The accursing of King
 John,⁸⁷ the receiving him vassal, the making his realm subject
 and feudatory to the pope, the arming his subjects against him,
 2590 the poisoning of him at length, the giving of the land to the
 French king's son, the invading thereof by the dauphin of
 France, his so long possessing a great part of it, the rebellion of
 the barons to take the Frenchmen's part, all the mischiefs that fell
 in all this while, were they not the good works of popes and
 2595 papists? The great division of the two noble houses of Lancaster
 and York, which cost so much English blood that there remaineth
 no house of high or mean nobility that hath not smarted for it, so
 many foughten fields within the realm, so long and so great
 uncertainty which side were true men and which were traitors,
 2600 and for how many days or hours they should be so esteemed,

Behold the horrible
 pride and villainous
 dealing of popes and
 papists and slavery
 of princes.

Example of the
 popes and papists
 dealing with King
 John.

The great division
 between the two
 noble houses of
 Lancaster and York
 caused by the popish
 clergy and papists.

2589 **feudatory to** under the overlordship of (*OED* feudatory *adj.* 1.b)

2598 **foughten fields** battlefields (*OED* foughten *n.* 1)

- such desolation and miseries, to whom are they to be imputed but
to the popish clergy and papists? And among other, to Thomas
Arundel,⁸⁸ Archbishop of Canterbury, that traitorously practised
the deposing of his lawful sovereign lord King Richard the
2605 Second. But come yet to latter times. How was the Queen's
majesty's most noble father⁸⁹ assaulted by the pope⁹⁰ and papists?
His realm was interdicted and given away to him that could catch
it. Legates and one notable English traitor⁹¹ were sent about to
persuade Christian princes to invade England, to destroy and
2610 depose King Henry, and to take the realm in reward for their
labour. When Charles,⁹² the late emperor, was setting forward
against the Turk, Cardinal Pole, being sent by the pope, made a
solemn oration to him (which is yet extant in print) to persuade the
emperor to turn his prepared power from invading the Turk and to
2615 bend it against King Henry the Eighth as one worse than any Turk.
What turmoil was then raised by the northern rebels against him,
whereof some by his clemency (a good example) have lived to this
day to raise a new rebellion? How troubled they her majesty's most
excellent brother with unhappy seditions? How vexed they and
2620 how endangered they the realm and the Queen's own person in her
sister's time (as in the story before rehearsed) you may read at
large. What might Charles the emperor have done for recovery and

Thomas,
Archbishop of
Canterbury,
practised the
deposing of King
Richard the
Second.

King Henry the
Eighth assaulted
by the pope and
papists.

King Edward the
Sixth vexed by the
papists.

2608 **Legates** ecclesiastics representing the pope and invested with his authority (*OED* legate *n.1* 1.a)

enlarging of Christendom if his force that was intended had not
by the pope's practise been perverted sundry ways and times to
2625 the shedding of Christian blood, and wasting of Christendom,
and to the overthrow of his victorious course. What tempests
have the late conspiracy of Trent⁹³ blown up in Christendom
that cannot be yet quieted? And all because the Pope hath
instilled an opinion into his papists that princes, if he dispense
2630 with them, are not bound to keep faith and promise, no, not the
word of a king, whereby no peace can be assured. Whereof yet
riseth one good admonition: to trust them no more and to be
well ware of them, and specially to think of this one particular -
that wicked persons who have given occasion of dangerous
2635 rebellions against the Queen's majesty, their chief and only
succour and refuge will never be withholden by any respect
from attempting or procuring to be attempted any most high
and heinous treason and mischief against our sovereign lady's
safety if an advantageable opportunity may serve them. So long
2640 as such persons are infected⁹⁴ with papistry and can think the
pope able to pardon or, rather, willing to reward them, yea, so
far as they shall suppose themselves not only to win the
kingdom of England thereby, but also the kingdom of heaven, it
is perilous to think what traitorous rage may do, being armed

The conspiracy of the
late council of Trent.

The pope teacheth to
keep no faith.

2625 **wasting** diminution (*OED* waste v. II.12.b)

2645 with drunken superstition. It is a sore thing to consider the
 impotency of ambition, specially when it is joined with the fury of
 reasonless love. The common experience is how dangerous those
 knots of thieves be where there is a woman in the company. Thus is
 it plain that, forasmuch as the pope claimeth such wrongful
 2650 usurpation and tyranny over kings and realms, and sith papists hold
 that he sayeth true and claimeth but his right and cannot err in
 discerning it, all such papists are traitors to all kings and kingdoms.

The Whore of
 Rome⁹⁵ an actual
 dealer in all
 wicked practises
 against kings and
 kingdoms.

As for the second conclusion, which accuseth English
 papists of treason to the Queen's majesty, it is sufficiently proved,
 2655 for that it is a particular within a general included in the former. Yet
 for the special confirmation of it, it hath certain private and several
 reasons. It is well known (and you have read the whole discourse
 before) how they sought her grace's death in her sister's time, what
 practises, what fetches were used for it, what examinations, what
 2660 searchings were to find colour of her destruction, yea, how far
 without colour they proceeded if God had not miraculously kept
 her, to the preservation of this realm and the comfort of all
 Christendom. But to make some demonstration of their hatred to

The second
 conclusion
 proving English
 papists traitors to
 the Queen.

2656 **several** sundry (*OED* several *adj.* I.2.c)

2659 **fetches** stratagems, tricks (*OED* fetch *n.1* 2)

2660 **colour of** a specious reason for (*OED* colour *n.1* II.i.9)

2661 **without colour** without any attempt at disguise (*OED* colour *n.1* P.2.d)

her majesty by reason, and after to descend to the examples and

2665 practises, let us examine the causes.

Whereas the papists hold that the pope is head of God's
universal church, and that such authority as the queen claimeth in
England over ecclesiastical persons and in ecclesiastical causes as
due to her highness' right of her crown, is not due to her but

2670 belonging to the pope. In so saying, they must say that her majesty
claimeth an unjust, tyrannical power. And whosoever shall so say,
though not in the same syllables, is an unjust and an arrant traitor
and cannot love her that has pulled him down whom they call head
of their church.

Papists that hold
the pope head of
the church in
England are
traitors to Her
Majesty.

2675 Where the Pope hath accursed the Queen's majesty as an
heretic and schismatic, all those papists which suppose that the
pope (having the disposition of God's sentence and the thunderbolt
of excommunication in his hand) cannot err do also suppose that
the Queen's highness (our Queen Elizabeth, I mean) is not lawful
2680 queen of England, as many of them have not spared to say, for so
must all papists hold that hold the pope to say true, for the pope
doth not so accept her, as papists have published, that gospellers
(whom they call heretics) ought not to have any office among

Papists that hold
the pope's
excommunication
against the Queen
lawful are traitors

2672 **arrant** downright, unmitigated (*OED* arrant *adj.* 3.a)

2676 **schismatic** one who promotes breaching unity in the church (*OED* schismatic *n.* a)

2682 **gospellers** those who claim exclusive possession of gospel truth (applied derisively to Protestants)
(*OED* gospeller *n.* 5.a)

God's people, much less a Kingdom. And this point is well to be
2685 considered, that they which take from the Queen's majesty the
supremacy over ecclesiastical persons and causes do transfer the
same jurisdiction to the Pope, for they never yet vouchsafed to
give it to any other. And yet I am sure that, after so many
examples of bees and beetles and other things, they will not now
2690 have any particular church headless and destitute of a supreme
governor, either universal like a monarch (as they would have it)
or special under God of each kingdom or dominion (as God's
good disposition hath forced it). If then the Pope have (in their
opinion) any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England, he must have
2695 *jus excommunicandi* - lawful power and authority to
excommunicate - in England, without which the ecclesiastical
power cannot stand. Which power, if he justly have and hath
excommunicated and accursed her majesty, either by a special
name (as he doth) or generally under title of heretics (of which
2700 sort he esteemeth her), then hath he therein done *pro suo jure*, as
he might lawfully do. And this being so supposed true, then is it
good to consider what is taken for God's law and the law
ecclesiastical *de visandis excommunicatis* - for shunning of
excommunicate and accursed persons - which yield not to any
2705 repentant submission or reconciliation to the church. Forsooth,

The pope cannot
excommunicate in
England unless he
had just authority so
to do.

Papists draw
obedience from the
Queen.

2687 **vouchsafed** condescended (*OED* vouchsafe v. II.6.b)

2700 ***pro suo jure*** by his own right (Latin)

what every Christian, on pain of excommunication *de jure*
(wherein to die is thought to die in state of damnation) is bound to
withdraw from such accursed persons, not repenting: all friendly
or loving company and countenance, all aid and relief, all service
2710 and obedience. Which doing, for these good subjects of England
to put in execution toward the queen were a very meritorious act.
But what doth it merit? The just pains of treason for breaking their
due allegiance, and eternal damnation (if they repent not) for
resisting God's lawful ordinance. This gear goeth sore. It is very
2715 evident and plain that, by necessary consequence, to this
confession of traitorousness they must be driven if they will
continue papists (that is, will affirm the pope's sentences not to err
or will give the pope any spiritual jurisdiction in England). But
such salves are not unlike to come out of his shop that dispenseth
2720 with breach of faith, yea, that openly proclaimeth that there is no
faith to be kept with Christ's friends and His adversaries. His shop,
that can send out badges with leave to swear and unswear with so
liberal permission as to say, 'Give me thy heart, and it sufficeth'.
And well may it suffice, for the heart will carry the hand too when
2725 opportunity serveth, and when their golden day approacheth, of
which they make so great account, such fellows would be well
looked on. And because they cannot get her highness to cease to

Papists'
meritorious treason.

2706 **de jure** by right (i.e. by law) (Latin)

2714 **goeth sore** is distressing (*OED* sore *adj.* 1 I.2.a)

	be their lawful queen, themselves have ceased to be her actual	
	subjects. Because they cannot shift her majesty from her crown,	
2730	they have shifted themselves out of her highness' dominions and	
	are fled beyond the seas. Some, being there, send hither their	
	heretical, seditious and traitorous books, yet licensed there,	Seditious writers that send the traitorous libels into England.
	against good precedent of princes and against the example of her	
	majesty's demeanour towards the same princes which, by	
2735	themselves or their officers, rather ought to have restrained such	
	doings than to leave so shrewd occasion of taking harm	
	themselves by the like. In these books her right is impugned, her	
	faith is defamed, her government is discredited, her honour is	The circumstances of those traitorous books.
	touched, her majesty is many ways violated and abated. The	
2740	religion that her highness holdeth and publisheth is called	
	schismatical, heretical, devilish (and with as many ill-favoured	
	names as they can rehearse), being yet in such eloquence perfect	
	traitors. The preachers and professors of the religion that her	
	highness setteth forth and professeth are termed worse than	
2745	infidels. Her title of supremacy over all her subjects is defaced for	
	an usurped and undue name, and her subjects' hearts alienated	
	and persuaded to grudge against her. These wicked and traitorous	
	pamphlets want no favourers to spread them abroad, nor do they	These traitorous books want favourers to spread them abroad and to credit them with what commendations they may.

2736 **shrewd** dangerous (*OED shrewd adj.* 4)

2747 **grudge** complain (*OED grudge v.* 1.b)

2748 **want no favourers** do not lack sympathizers

that disperse them lack any boldness to read them in audiences and
2750 in corners where they commend them, defend them, give them
great praises for learning and substantialness as matters
unanswerable when God, He knows, there is no such surpassing
excellence in them as they that have the spurs yet sticking in their
sides and have been broken-winded with over-galloping them, yea,
2755 they that are of their own faction have not been ashamed to speak
it, how notably they have been wounded by many of her majesty's
learned subjects. Nevertheless, they continue writing still and all
pretences that both the pope and papists can devise are daily and
hourly spread abroad in the realm to weaken the good wills of her
2760 majesty's subjects towards her, and by all false and vain colours
they can imagine they practise how to draw more subjects to take
their parts. But in the meantime, as God gathereth his glory out of
all things, yea, even out of sins, so England out of this great evil
thou mayest gather some good; a good example and a good lesson
2765 for thee to learn that papistry is treason, and he that is infected
with treason is a traitor and so provide against them hereafter. Let
them follow what humours they please, do thou in the meantime
take a contrary course. Where they look for another time, do thou
endeavour to maintain this time. Where they reach with
2770 expectation to altering a government, do thou bend all thy force,
policy and means of service to the defence of this estate. Where
they pray for change, specially of queens, do thou pray for the long

The evil dealing of
papists a good
lesson for England.

and happy continuance of her highness' reign. Where they hide
rebellious stomachs, do thou and thy children show true and
2775 faithful hearts. Where they desire that her majesty and her
council may be deceived with flattering and erroneous pretence
of policy and colour of clemency (that under the shadow they
may lurk and be nourished as serpent in bosom), do thou pray
to God to give judgement to discern them, to search the bottom
2780 of their treasons, that they may be shaken out and used as
dangerous vipers. Where their trust is in the pope and popish
treasons and conspiracies, let thy confidence be in God and his
providence, not shrinking from the same with thy best courage
and prudence. Where they will not stick to use all subtle
2785 underminings and will not lose the vantage of times that they
may one day triumph in cruel violence, do thou pray that on this
part be used all good policies, that God's offered means and
good opportunity be not refused and overslipped, that God rent
not the kingdom from His anointed for sparing of His enemies,
2790 but that it may long flourish in the hands of his most noble and
virtuous handmaid, our most excellent and gracious sovereign
lady. Thus is it evident by reasons and examples what hearts
papists bear to her majesty.

The third conclusion, that such English papists are traitors
2795 to the realm of England etc., hath received two proofs already: the
one in the general treasons of all papists to all realms (wherein
England and English papists are included), the other in their
traitorous minds to the queen's majesty's person and dignity, who
is the highest treason that can be to the realm of England. Yet are
2800 there some other particular doings, more special, to enforce it;
namely, the experience that hath been of their casting away the
care of their country (and all other natural affections) to the end
with all immanity and outrageous unnatural cruelty, to torment
English Christians and to subject the realm to foreign power for
2805 their false religion's sake. I am assured there are enow (and too
many that can remember) both that they have read in credible
histories and seen in lamentable experience how the papists have
showed themselves so addicted to their superstition and so
captived to an undue reverence of their tyrannous pope that they
2810 have for it rejected the care of country and of those to whom
natural duty bound them.

The third
conclusion proving
English papists
traitors to the
realm of England.

The papists'
reverence to their
pope hath made
them careless of
their prince and
country.

It is certain that that Englishman which can be contented
for papistry to raise or favour rebellion in our country; to join in
conspiracy with strangers to help to invade and spoil our country;

2803 **immanity** brutality (*OED* immanity *n.* 1)

2805 **enow** enough people (*OED* enow *pron.* 1)

2809 **captived to** enthralled by: *figurative* (*OED* captive *v.* b)

2815 to convey the crown of our country to a foreigner; to agree with
them in faction that offer our country to prey, spoil and conquest; to
submit his faith to that potentate that hath accursed and given our
country, their souls to the devil and their bodies, lands and
possessions to them that can catch them; to believe or favour them
2820 that spread all vile dishonours against our country; to like well of
his doings and to hold that he doth no more than he lawfully may
do which, being an alien, a foreign bishop, shall take upon him to
extend his curse to the prince of our country and all the people
thereof, and that he hath power to discharge the subjects of the
2825 realm from their faith and allegiance and hath authority to bind
their obedience to whom he will and is able to give heaven to
rebels that shall venture their lives in wasting and destroying our
country, he, I say, that can yield his consent to these doings and
thinkings must needs be a traitor to his country. And such a one is
2830 every such English papist as I have described and can be none
other if he hold the pope for a true teacher and have good opinion
of the pope's doctrine and examples.

Such an one as
alloweth of all
these wicked
cases must needs
be a traitor to his
country.

That clemency and gentleness cannot reclaim them from
traitorous minds while they continue in papistry is as plain and as
2835 true a form of speech as if a man should say 'they must needs be
traitors so long as they remain full of treason'. For treason and
papistry are unseparable while they be kept under, even as cruelty
and papistry are unseparable when they are gotten above. Surely,

Clemency cannot
win a papist while
he continueth a
papist: special
examples for
England to
remember.

he that regardeth not the highest duty will never regard the
2840 meanest. The duty of the love or fear of God cannot hold a papist
from blasphemy against God. The duty of faith and allegiance to
his prince cannot keep a papist from treason to his prince. The
duty of dear love to his natural country cannot withdraw a papist
from assenting to, yea, and procuring the spoil, destruction,
2845 bondage and alienation of the country, as I have already proved.
The duty of kind and natural pity cannot stay a papist from
murdering the feeble sex, nor the silly, tender infancy, nor
reverend eldest age. The duty of familiarity in youth, of
friendship in graver years, of continual society during all the life
2850 past, with heaps of mutual commodities, cannot pull back a
papist from immanity of sacrificing his dearest friends. The duty
of honour of children to parents, or love of parents to children,
removeth not a papist from unnatural cruelty. The duty of entire
love and fellowship between man and wife holdeth no place in
2855 the heart of a papist. No duty of kindred, no estimation of
learning and virtue, no good respect that moveth good men to
love and compassion once toucheth a stubborn papist.

All these duties we have seen broken, yea, neglected and
thrown away by papists. And is there hope that clemency can so

All duties of love,
kindred and nature
broken by papists.

2847 **feeble sex** i.e. women

silly defenceless (*OED* silly *adj.* II.2.b)

infancy infants (collectively) (*OED* infancy *n.* 4)

2850 **commodities** utilities, conveniences (*OED* commodity *n.* 4.a)

2860 far win them as to hold them in truth to the prince, from whom
they receive it, if opportunity served to bring them out of her
danger, or her highness into their danger, which God forbid? But
let us see a little of their thankfulness. Did ever those papists,
whose lives were saved by good Bishop Cranmer's⁹⁶ means, who
2865 were brought up, who were defended, who were avaunced, who
were shielded from harm and peril by him, once requite him with
one drop of kindness? And yet they spake him fair in his
prosperity, availed the great liberality of King Henry the Eighth to
raise up any kind remembrance in papists that were great in Queen
2870 Mary's days to stay them from the assenting to the captivity and
danger and seeking the blood of his most noble daughter, our most
gracious sovereign lady? And yet during King Henry's reign they
showed a serviceable face, as if they would have spent their
bloods to keep wrong from him and his, and did serve against
2875 papistry itself till their treason and papistry was ripe to be
advanced. A number like examples of their gentleness and
kindness might be alleged, but because I would be brief, these few
shall serve at this time.

Example of the
papists'
thankfulness to
Bishop Cranmer.

Example of the
papists' kindness
towards Her
Majesty for the
great liberality of
her most noble
father.

2862 **danger** power (in the sense of being at the mercy of another) (*OED* danger *n.* 1.a)
2865 **avaunced** advanced, promoted: *transitive* (*OED* avaunce *v.* 1.2.a)
2867 **spake him fair** spoke of him with kindness or respect (*OED* fair *adv.* 2.a)
2868 **availed** benefitting from: *transitive* (*OED* avail *v.* 2.a)

Of like truth it is that papistry, being an heresy or rather a
2880 bundle made up of an infinite number of heresies, must needs have
the property of heresy to flourish with indulgence and lenity. We
see the like example in the sect of Arians,⁹⁷ which under heretical
emperors exceedingly increased, and being once condemned and
restrained by punishment, hath worn away to a few. So far as King
2885 Henry the Eighth went in reforming religion, which was to abolish
the primacy of Rome out of this realm (a noble conquest) with
certain gross idolatries, did not the severity of his laws, the awe of
his person and the dread of due execution so hold down those parts
of papistry which he suppressed that they durst not once show
2890 themselves in his days? And yet in the same time, the grievous law
of Six Articles⁹⁸ made against God's truth and sinisterly procured
by the popish clergy, nor yet the earnest inquiry nor cruel
executing of it by bishops and other, could hold down the truth of
the gospel, but that it break out more and more upon them.

Papistry increaseth
and flourisheth by
lenity.

2895 The reason is that papistry and Christian truth have two
several ends: truth respecteth heaven, and papistry the world
whereby their adventures and enterprises are commonly diverse.
The papist dare boldly set upon any mischief where he hath hope
to avaunce his falsehood; the Christian dare constantly abide any
2900 torment to give witness of God's truth. And such quality of God's
truth have the ancient fathers described when one of them calleth
the blood of martyrs 'the water to water God's garden', another

Christian truth
respecteth heaven,
and papistry the
world.

sayeth that they increase with cutting down, and other in other manner have expressed the same meaning.

2905 But now, being under a Christian prince in days of rest
(blessed be almighty God and long preserved her majesty, the
instrument of it), as it is not meet that God's church, after Julian the
Apostate's⁹⁹ manner, be persecuted to make it increase, but holden
down with good discipline for manners, that it grow not wild and run
2910 into wantonness, so is not the church of the devil to be maintained
and multiplied with indulgence, winking and slackness of correction,
but with good severity to be restrained, that it grow not to such
rankness as to choke the true church indeed. Mercy may have her
excess, and clemency may be great cruelty when it overfloweth to the
2915 good men's danger.

Too much
clemency may be
great cruelty.

The other conclusions that follow have great difference from
these whereof I have made some explication, yet have I not made so
large an explication as truth is well and easily able to furnish; neither
can I so well make it as the expedience of the cause asketh, to give
2920 the vantage of eloquence to the goodness of the matter, to help to
draw it into credit and effect of well moving. But being as it is, rude
and true, great cunning and fineness is the less needful where those

2910 **wantonness** recklessness (*OED* wantonness *n.* 1.a)

2911 **winking** 'turning a blind eye' (to an offence) (*OED* wink *v.* 1 5.a)

2912-13 **to such rankness** so vigorously (in a negative sense): *figurative* (*OED* rank *adj.* II.6)

2917 **explication** detailed description (*OED* explication *n.* 1)

2919 **expedience** haste (in the sense of urgency) (*OED* expedience *n.* 1.a)

(for whom it is intended) are so wise, as it is far more easy for
naked troth to inform them than for any gay speech to lead them.

2925 As for the other conclusions that follow, I neither have
nor will wade so far in them because they are matters of
consultation and meditation. The effect thereof, which is the safe
preservation of the Queen's royal majesty and the realm, the
avoiding of dangers that threaten the same, the establishing of
2930 assuredness, boldness, courage and freedom of her highness'
most good counsellors and subjects, the taking avauntage of
opportunity and occasions, the weeding out of deceivers and
underminers, the defence of her majesty's honour and dignity,
the means to answer their charge toward God and, namely, in
2935 dealing with men as they be affectioned to or against God; the
effect, I say, of these other conclusions I know do continually
busy her majesty and her most honourable councillors in
thinking on them and providing for them. Therefore, it shall no
further occupy me and other mean subjects than in prayer and
2940 readiness to serve, as her majesty and her council shall see fit to
employ us. It shall suffice me (and so ought to content all other)
to know, as we do know, what a wise prince we have, what good
counsel she has chosen, how well they have governed, what fruit
we have had of it, so as nothing is left to us but to give thanks,

2945 to beware that our sins give not the occasion of loss and change,
to serve dutifully and to pray devoutly.

The Conclusion

Thus have I, England, briefly collected such matters here
together as, if thou heedfully mark, thou mayst make great profit
2950 of them. And in truth, great need thou hast to be careful of them,
for papists were never bolder, nor treason more put more in
practise, than it has been of late days. Remember that cruel
murder in France at the marriage, when the famous Admiral
Châtillon¹ was so unnaturally murdered. Remember the late and
2955 horrible murder of the noble Prince of Orange,² and let these
teach thee to be more circumspect to that dangerous brood.

I could wade into further matters, as to tell thee of many
other crimes and offences which thou hast marvellous need to
look unto, but because I intended this present purpose in this
2960 first part of my *Watchword*, I desire thee to expect the residue of
my determination as concerning these matters in my other book
called *The second part of the Watchword to England*.³ And for
that many malicious tongues have spoken their pleasures of this
former part because I have set down brief remembrances of
2965 former accidents which the chronicle and Master Foxe (his
Monuments) have in diverse places touched, and were not so
ready to be found out as being now orderly collected together,

for my goodwill in so doing I have sustained their several verdicts,
albeit their betters have neither misliked nor disallowed of anything
2970 in the book.⁴ Therefore, to satisfy their humours (if my poor hability
will stretch so far) in the second part hereof I will (God giving me
leave) set them down such matters as they shall not say hath been
borrowed from any,⁵ but absolute and sufficient of itself. Afterward,
look for my *Court of Conscience*, which I dare awarrant thee to be
2975 such a book as thou hast not read the like in all thy life, as well for
the circumstances of the matter as the worthiness of the whole in
general. But till it come, that thou thyself mayest judge of it, I will
briefly desire thee to join in prayer with me for the good success of
all happiness that may please God to send thee.

A book called *The Court of Conscience* which I intend (God aiding me) to publish very shortly.

2980 Let us pray that we may see when those that shall wrest
or procure to change law, to erect the courage of any dangerous
viper to such ends or to any aspiring hope of preventing and
undermining (under what colour, name, pretence or otherwise),
or to the safeguard of their persons that have so attempted, that
2985 they may be declared and executed as enemies to the state and
to the queen's safety.

God grant that such papists as be enemies to Her Majesty and the realm may be quickly cut off.

Let us pray that we may see such laws provided for her
highness' preservation, and the same so executed without

2974 **awarrant** guarantee (*OED* awarrant v.)

2981 **erect** rouse (*OED* erect v. II.6.a)

restraint or slackness for any respect, as the hope of papists
2990 such as be enemies to God, the queen and the realm may (if
they repent not) be cut off forever.

Let us pray to live to see that none may have place,
office or access into her majesty's court nor household, no,
nor once into her presence, that shall not be known to favour
2995 both God and her so far as any circumspection or policy can
provide it.

Let us pray that no office of dignity, law or justice may be
in their hands who do not favour the law of God and
acknowledge her majesty's right, that is head of law and justice in
3000 this realm.

Let us pray that her majesty and her council may have
such particular knowledge of men that those that have well
deserved, yea, have and yet do hazard their lives in her majesty's
defence and have utterly wasted themselves and their friends in
3005 her majesty's service, yet remaining unrecompensed, that they
may not lose the benefit of their labours, that no evil tongue may
raise slander to their discredit, but that they may, according to
their good service, be effectually and duly rewarded - the only
mean to encourage other to earnest taking of pains.

3010 Let us pray that all such as be her majesty's enemies may
be weakened, and her faithful friends and well willers
strengthened; that all avauntages may be used for her safety, and
all subtle devices and practises may be supplanted.

 We trust it will be so, for God hath not drawn these late
3015 mischiefs into light for nothing. But before all the things, let us
pray to God to send us true repentance, more joyful and effectual
receiving of his gospel and more and more virtuous ensuing of it
lest, as we lost our best king with living ill, we lose our best queen
with living worse.

3020 And that therewith it may please Him to dissect all the
doings of Her Majesty and her council, to proceed in their good,
advancing His glory and preservation of the estate which, without
jealous circumspection for preserving the Queen's most royal
person, cannot be done. And that such good means and provisions
3025 as God offereth to that end be not refused or neglected, which were
to tempt God to forsake his cause, to betray our noble prince and
to give away (or rather cast away) the realm.

 These be the daily and nightly prayers of good subjects,
and while we busy ourselves with these prayers we do (after our
3030 principle confidence in God's goodness) rest ourselves upon the
trust of her majesty and her most honourable council, for whom we
praise God, and to them we refer the guiding of us and ours, ready

to follow them when we are commanded with the uttermost of
our power and peril, knowing how they spare not their uttermost
3035 endeavour and peril with sustaining the most unpleasant life (God
knows) that may be for our sakes, for our quiet profit and
defence.

Finis

God long preserve and bless our Queen Elizabeth and confound
3040 all her enemies.

Honos alit artes

AM

3041 ***Honos alit artes*** *Honours nurture the arts* (Latin): see *SE PT*, title-page. This was Munday's adopted motto. It appears on much of his work.

A WATCHWORD TO ENGLAND - COMMENTARY

PARATEXTS

¹ This pamphlet is not entered into the Stationers' Register and there is no record of any licensing procedure relating to it. This sentence, coupled with the reproduction of the royal coat of arms on the next page, indicate that this is a 'privileged book', published under patent from the privy council.

The 'Queen's injunctions' refer to the Royal Injunctions, which were a set of Tudor laws on ecclesiastical affairs that were begun by Henry VIII and revised in turn by each of his children on their accession to the throne. Queen Elizabeth issued her revised injunctions in 1559, overturning those of her Catholic sister Mary I and largely reinstating those of her Protestant brother, Edward VI, although with various modifications of her own such as the removal of some extreme anti-Catholic measures and revisions on how church services should be conducted (*Oxford Reference*, 'Royal Injunctions', online resource).

² The wording quoted here as Joshua 1.5 does not appear in this form in any version of the Bible current at the time. A closer parallel is v. 9 which reads 'Have not I commanded thee, saying, "Be strong and of a good courage, feare not nor be discouraged? For I the Lord thy God wilbe with thee, whethersoever thou goest."' It should be noted that verses 6, 7 and 9 all exhort the reader to 'be strong'. This could be an attempt at reconstructing the verse from memory. For further discussion of Munday's reconstruction of Bible verses, see Introduction pp. 100-04.

³ Thomas Hacket was a printer and original member of the Stationers' Company (Duff, pp. 63-64). In this instance, Hacket was the publisher of the work and *ESTC* identifies John Charlewood as the printer. Although Charlewood's name does not appear, the pamphlet was published during the period that Charlewood left most of his presswork unsigned (see

Introduction, p. 9). Hacket and Charlewood produced one other work for Munday: the play *Fedele and Fortunio*, published in 1585.

⁴ The first of two dedicatory verses written in Latin but with a single Greek word inserted into the first line of the first poem. Munday is not known as a classical scholar but it is possible that he is the author of the first, shorter, verse. It translates as follows:

Fortunate England which bears [the marks] of royal authority.

This page is marked for your eyes.

You see the English shields, the uniform of war.

A crown is put on, one worthy of your deserts.

The poem appears on the page with the image of the royal coat of arms (the royal warrant for publication of this pamphlet). The poem both addresses and describes the image, symbolic of England, indicating that England is both the subject and the reader of this pamphlet.

⁵ The second poem translates as:

In praise of Queen Elizabeth

The wicked mob of papists threatens the British land;

No less warlike is your Elizabeth.

You alone have escaped the savage traps of the tyrant,

The serpent strove to remove you with sorcery, sword and

Many abominations. But that blazing pillaging brought

What benefit? You are Christ's, who was yours alone.

Your wit, piety and virtue teach you to be the one above all others

Against whom no evil can be perpetrated,

The proof is shown in this work by various examples,

In which the unspeakable deeds of man are laid bare.

Elizabeth, (to begin) trust in God alone;

When the enemy attacks, He will protect you and your people.

This poem sets the tone of the pamphlet, which devotes all its energy into exposing the wickedness of rebellion and promoting Protestant cohesion against Catholic invasion and insurrection.

⁶ The author of this poem is identified only by initials and remains unknown.

⁷ Elizabeth is referred to here as Queen of France, a reference to the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) and the claim by successive medieval English kings to hold dominion over France. The notion persisted and all English monarchs from Edward III (1312-1377) to George III (1738-1820) used the title as part of their royal style until the French Revolution. The governance of Ireland was conferred on the English monarch by the pope in the twelfth century. The title of King of Ireland was formalized into law by Henry VIII during the Reformation and the title remained with the English monarch until the division of Ireland in 1922. The word 'defendress' echoes Elizabeth's father's (Henry VIII's) title as Defender of the Faith, conferred on him by Pope Leo X in 1521, which acknowledges Elizabeth as the true inheritor of the crown. Munday does not, however, use the title in its exact form: that would have aligned Elizabeth too closely with the Catholic faith. Instead, he uses much more general terminology to the same effect. The phrase 'catholic and apostolic' appears in the Nicene Creed, used in prayer by both Catholics and Protestants (*Nicene Creed*, Church of England, online resource).

⁸ Munday uses jewels as a metaphor throughout these dedicatory letters. Here, Elizabeth's virtues are the jewels which may be looked at in admiration (like a precious stone) or her words held in the ear (like an earring).

⁹ Sir Thomas Pullyson had previously served as sheriff in 1573/4, the year the notorious murder of George Saunders took place (see Introduction, pp. 91-92), and served as Lord Mayor in 1584/5 (*Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, ‘Pullyson’, online resource). His coat of arms is described in *The Visitation of London*, (1869: 47). It is interesting to note that Munday refers to ‘Master’ Pullyson rather than calling him ‘Sir Thomas’, despite Pullyson being a knight for more than a decade before the writing of this pamphlet. This is an indicator of the general feeling in this particular dedication that Munday considers himself no longer a supplicant but an equal with those he now addresses. Pullyson was a senior member of the Drapers’ Company of which Munday became a freeman in 1585, just after this pamphlet was published (Eccles 1959: 100).

¹⁰ Of the sheriffs who served with the Lord Mayor, one was elected and the other was chosen by the incumbent Lord Mayor. Slaney was a member of the Skinners’ Company and was the mayor’s choice of sheriff (*Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, ‘1584’, online resource). Later to be knighted, he became Lord Mayor himself in 1595/6 and is twice mentioned in Munday’s 1633 edition of Stow’s *Survey of London*. The first entry notes his charitable giving to the city (1633: 106) and the second records his memorial in the Church of St Swithin, London Stone (1633: 241).

¹¹ Henry Billingsley, soon to become a knight, served this term as the elected sheriff and then served as Lord Mayor in 1596/7 when he replaced Thomas Skinner who died in office in December 1596 (*Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, ‘1596’, online resource). Billingsley was a member of the Haberdashers’ Company. He is also mentioned in Munday’s 1633 edition of Stow’s *Survey of London* as a property developer who converted a large house into separate tenements (1633: 150). He received criticism in the *Survey* for not making proper arrangements for a legacy to the poor, a lack of management which caused the

legacy to fail (1633: 159). He was buried in the Church of St Katherine Coleman and the record of his monument was added to the *Survey* by Munday (1633: 158).

¹² The ‘worshipful brethren’ mentioned here is a reference to the structure of the government of the city. The Lord Mayor was the most senior post; beneath him were two sheriffs, and beneath them were the aldermen, one to represent each of the twenty-six wards of the city. All were drawn from nominated members of the various trade guilds and, once elected, they served for life. ‘The court of aldermen was without a doubt the most powerful governing body in London’ (Rappaport 1989: 174).

¹³ Herodotus of Harlicarnassus was a Greek historian of the fifth century BC. Munday’s discussion of Herodotus in this pamphlet continues his use of classical sources (see Introduction, pp. 96-100).

¹⁴ Herodotus divided his history into nine books, each named after one of the nine muses of classical mythology. The first book is named *Clio* after the muse of history (Hornblower and Spawforth 1998: 477).

¹⁵ This is an account of Babylonian custom taken from Herodotus 1.197 (2008: 87).

¹⁶ Munday says that Elizabeth governs her people with the qualities of a hero. This begins a series of statements in which the Queen is endowed with traditionally masculine characteristics.

¹⁷ This is a reference to the relatively settled nature of Elizabeth’s reign. Since the death of her father, Henry VIII, in 1547, England had endured the short and turbulent reigns of Elizabeth’s siblings Edward VI (1547-1553) and Mary I (1553-1558) which were characterized by religious strife and upheaval. By 1584, the date of this pamphlet, Elizabeth had been queen for 26 years.

¹⁸ The sun was a common metaphor for the monarch, in this case referring to Queen Elizabeth as a representative of the Protestant religion.

¹⁹ This passage shows a detailed knowledge of gemstones. It is extremely rare, if not impossible, to find a perfect emerald. The stones are covered in tiny fissures which cloud the gem's lustre. This is remedied by oiling the stone, thus making the emerald glossy and sparkling (Natural Emerald Company, 'Emerald Enhancements', online resource). In this passage, Munday likens Queen Elizabeth to the rarest of gemstones and suggests that, contrary to the beliefs of her enemies, she is only made stronger and more attractive by the 'venomous oil' they pour on her with their evil plotting. Emeralds were also believed to have healing properties which fits with the general metaphor of the nation as a body that was begun at *WW MT* 78-79 (Anonymous 1560: D4^r).

²⁰ As with 'member' at *WW PT* 122, Munday is using a single word to suggest more than one meaning. In this case, both meanings of 'husband' (as the partner of a marriage and as the good steward) are specifically male and thereby elevate (in Renaissance eyes) Queen Elizabeth beyond the capabilities or expectations of her own sex. Elizabeth I was only the second woman to be generally acknowledged as monarch of England, the first being Elizabeth's older half-sister, Mary I. Other women with claims to the English throne had brought about civil war (Empress Matilda, 1102-1167, daughter of Henry I) and rebellion (Jane Grey, 1537-1554). The relative novelty of a female monarch, along with her Protestant faith, made Elizabeth doubly vulnerable in the eyes of hostile European forces. In this dedication, Munday emphasizes the strength and stability of Elizabeth's reign to discourage any perception of her position as fragile.

²¹ This is a reference to the coronation ceremony, during which the officiating cleric places the coronation ring on the monarch's finger (Starkey 2000: 273), echoing the marriage ceremony and symbolizing union with their country.

²² Having credited Queen Elizabeth with traditionally male attributes at *WW PT* 167, Munday then uses a metaphor which describes her as something else that she is not, namely a mother. Still unmarried and, at the age of 51, vanishingly unlikely to produce an heir of her own body, Queen Elizabeth's future appeared to foreshadow political turbulence. However capable Elizabeth may have been, her advancing years coupled with the lack of any direct descendant (still less a male one) made it increasingly likely that foreign forces would rush to fill the void left by her inevitable death. The reference to a 'usurping tyrant' at *WW PT* 176 suggests that Munday was sensitive to the issue. In order to counter any doubts in the minds of his readers, Munday fosters the idea of the Queen as the mother of the nation with all the connotations of love and loyalty that such an image brings with it.

²³ Munday refers to the holders of public office, such as the dedicatees to whom this letter is addressed. The tone here is not obsequious as in previous pamphlets but rather a polite reminder of their duty.

²⁴ These remarks are addressed to those to whom the Queen has given the 'sword' of justice: Munday is calling on them to be diligent in trying and convicting traitors.

²⁵ Munday moves from general observations on public duty to making a point to his dedicatees. Bearing in mind that this letter could be read by anyone who bought the pamphlet, Munday is taking the bold step of drawing attention to the perceived shortcomings of his dedicatees, not their strengths.

²⁶ There is a delicate balance that has to be struck in this letter. It would be counter-productive for a government official, such as Munday in his capacity as Messenger of Her Majesty's Chamber, to offend those in elected office upon whom the government relied for the maintenance of law and order. On the other hand, there is a clear message here that the conduct of those officials is under constant scrutiny and that they would do well to remember it.

²⁷ Making reference to London is again drawing away from generality and being specific with these dedicatees. The welfare of London was always a main focus of interest for Munday (see his epitaph as 'ancient Servant to the City' in the *Survey*, 1633: 869).

²⁸ Munday's 'request' (WW PT 207-10) is to be seen as a complaint. Use of 'redress' is confirmation that Munday is directing this dedicatory letter as a criticism of the recipients, rather than in praise of them.

MAIN TEXT

For Munday's source material for this section, cf. *A warning against the dangerous practises of papists and specially the partners of the late rebellion. Gathered out of the common fear and speech of good subjects* by Thomas Norton, 1569 (STC 18685.7)

Lines 2-59 are taken from Norton, sig. A2^r-A3^v.

¹ Although Munday was using Norton's words from more than a decade before, this reference would have been very current to his readers. They would almost certainly have seen it as a reference to the very recent 'Throckmorton Plot'. Francis Throckmorton (1554-1584) had been arrested in November 1583 while in the act of writing a cipher-letter to Mary, Queen of Scots. Throckmorton was convicted in May 1584 and executed the following July (John Cooper 2011: 157-61). The plot is discussed in the anonymous pamphlet *A discoverie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Majestie and the Realme by Francis Throckmorton [...]* (STC 24050.5). Both that pamphlet and *Watchword* were published in 1584 while the trial was topical.

² Echoing Munday's comparison of the Queen herself to a 'perfect emerald' at *WW PT* 158; here, her safety is the jewel that must be guarded. Although this metaphor appears to be a continuation of that in the dedicatory letters, its presence here shows that Munday had actually taken it from Norton and framed these opening remarks around the text he had used in the main part of the pamphlet.

³ This sentence is an impassioned plea to encourage the reader's emotional response, 'such consideration' referring to the act of considering the 'grievous and unspeakable miseries' that the reader is urged to think about at *WW MT* 14-15.

⁴ Norton/Munday contrasts the anxiety of mind suffered by people in different conditions. A passionate lover suffers most when his mind is disordered by thoughts of love which, by

their nature, cannot be governed by reason (*WW MT* 31-32). The sober citizen (good mind), in full control of his capacity to reason, suffers most when he considers that the nation and its freedoms may be under threat (*WW MT* 32-34).

⁵ Munday and Norton share the use of the word ‘yea’, a habit of using language more suited to a spoken address (see *SE MT* 5, 78, 326).

⁶ Norton/Munday makes the point that if a man can become so concerned and mentally disordered about something as insubstantial as falling in love (‘delight of fancy’, *WW MT* 39), how much more should a sensible, right-thinking man be concerned about the welfare of the nation because that will affect not only his own wealth and wellbeing but also that of all his descendants (‘his posterity’, *WW MT* 44).

⁷ (s.n.) Munday continues his theme of likening the queen and her status to a jewel that should be treasured.

⁸ This refers to the concerns over the safety of the realm (‘the same’, *WW MT* 50) that has been the subject of the preceding sentences.

⁹ The son of Croesus, who had been dumb from birth, saved his father’s life by shouting at an invading Persian soldier when King Croesus was too overwhelmed to defend himself.

Munday returns to the first book of Herodotus, where this story can be found at 1.85 (2008: 39).

¹⁰ The geese at the Capitol heard approaching invaders and raised the alarm by honking and flapping their wings. This is from another popular classical source, Livy’s *The Rise of Rome* (1998: 331-32, 5.47). Norton/Munday makes the point that the sensible citizen who is alarmed would use every means available to draw attention to a perceived threat, no matter how humble or incapable he may be, and uses these examples from antiquity to

illustrate how the weakest or lowliest in society may save the mightiest in the simplest of ways.

¹¹ Norton was being modest (he was a very senior official), but for Munday this was a self-deprecating nod to his position as a relatively lowly new recruit in Walsingham's national security network.

¹² Although acknowledging his own shortcomings, Munday encourages patriotic zeal in all men, cautioning them to think about how they would be affected if a treasonous plot should succeed and, when they have understood the peril, urging them to hear and spread his warning and to take heed from historical examples in order to prevent similar events in the future. This would protect not only their own interests but would also be an admirable demonstration of the unfeigned affection they bear to their country.

¹³ Munday comments that England had never before been so peaceful and politically stable for such a protracted period. He finds it lamentable that some people should seek to destabilise and defeat those of 'us' who are loyal. As in *SE MT*, Munday uses 'ourselves' (*WW MT* 74) to create a sense of the author being part of a group with the reader.

¹⁴ One way to demonstrate the overthrow of such 'seditious practices' (*WW MT* 76-77) was the display of the dismembered bodies of traitors, a recurring theme in this pamphlet. Munday may have been hoping that others would be deterred by the prospect of a similar fate.

¹⁵ Munday again emphasizes that the potential perpetrators of treasons are Englishmen who are working against the interests of their own country.

Richard I

For Munday's source material for this section, cf. *The Chronicles of England from Brute until this present year of Christ 1580* by John Stow, STC 23333 (hereafter referred to as *CoE*) sig. P1^v-P2^r (pp. 226-27).

King Richard the First: 1157-1199; reigned 1189-1199, also known as Richard Coeur de Lion (Lion Heart). Other titles include Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the third son of King Henry II (1133-1189) and Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204).

¹ William FitzOsbert (d. 1196), 'a younger son of a wealthy family', educated, eloquent and of striking appearance (McEwan 2004: 22-25).

² St Mary-le-Bow church in Cheapside (*MoEML*). Cheapside was well-known to Munday's readers as the mercantile heart of the city and is mentioned several times (usually abbreviated to Cheap) in this pamphlet.

³ This implies that the citizens had turned on FitzOsbert, which would be a misreading of Stow's account. The archbishop spoke with the citizens (who were on FitzOsbert's side) and then called together 'a great number of armed men' including followers of the archbishop himself; they were summoned to move *against* the citizens in the event of a riot (McEwan 2004: 25).

⁴ Hubert Walter (c. 1160-1205), Chief Justiciar of England (1193-1198), Archbishop of Canterbury (1193-1205), Chancellor of England (1199-1205) (Stacey, 'Hubert Walter', *ODNB*).

⁵ This is the first ever recorded execution at Tyburn, and an example of the original custom of dragging (or 'drawing') the prisoner to the place of execution by tying their feet to a horse's tail (Arnold 2012: 6). The drawing of the prisoner through the city in this manner

largely destroyed the body, and many were dead long before arriving at the appointed place for hanging: FitzOsbert's 'flesh was demolished and spread all over the pavement' (Gervase of Canterbury 1991: 692). To avoid this, at later executions the prisoner was tied to a wooden frame (or 'hurdle') before being dragged. This kept the symbolism of not allowing the prisoner's feet to touch the ground (because they were unworthy to touch England's soil) while preserving the body until the proper time of execution (Banks 2013: 5). This remained part of the punishment for high treason until 1870.

⁶ This was a nickname for Smithfield but could also refer to Tyburn: both claim to have staged FitzOsbert's execution (McEwan 2004: 26; Brooke and Brandon 2004: 11-12).

⁷ The names of the other men hanged with FitzOsbert are not known but Holinshed refers to them as 'nyne of his adherents, which had defended the Churche against the king's power' (Holinshed, *First Volume*, STC 13568b, 1577: sig. L1^v, p. 530).

Henry III

Cf. *CoE* sig. R5^v-R6^r (pp. 266-67).

¹ King Henry the Third: 1207-1272; reigned 1216-1272, also known as Henry of Winchester. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the eldest child of King John (1167-1216) and Queen Isabella of Angoulême (c. 1188-1246).

² (s.n.) 1239 *recte* 9 September 1238 (Powicke 1947: 752)

³ Stow provides Munday's source for this punishment (*CoE* 1580: sig. R6^r, p. 267);

Matthew Paris records that the assailant was simply beheaded and quartered (*Chronica Majora* 1876: III, 498). The use of horses to tear the prisoner apart – much more associated with France than England – was reserved for those who had attempted to kill a king (Egmond and Mason 1999: 31-32).

Edward II

Cf. *CoE* sigs X8^v (p. 336), Y1^v (p. 338), Y2^r (p. 339), Y4^r-Y4^v (pp. 343-44) and Y6^r (p. 349).

King Edward the Second: 1284-1327; reigned 1307-1327, also known as Edward of Caernarfon. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the youngest child of King Edward I (1239-1307) and Queen Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290).

¹ Better known as John Powderham, he also appears in various sources as John Tanner and John Exeter (Childs, 'John Powderham', *ODNB*).

² (s.n.) 1316 *recte* July 1318 (Childs, 'John Powderham', *ODNB*).

³ Sources vary in their reports of his claims, some saying that he believed himself to be Edward II's brother and some that he was Edward II (Childs, 'John Powderham', *ODNB*).

⁴ Edward de Bruce (c. 1280-1318), Earl of Carrick; younger brother of Robert de Bruce (Robert I, 1274-1329), King of Scotland.

⁵ (s.n.) 1317 *recte* 14 October 1318. These events took place after the fall of Berwick referred to at *WW MT* 126-29 (Duncan, 'Edward Bruce', *ODNB*).

⁶ Bruce was killed at the battle of Dundalk; he was beheaded after death. His body was quartered and displayed in the four quarters of Ireland; his head was sent to Edward II in England (Phillips 2011: 258).

⁷ (s.n.) 1317 *recte* 1318 (Phillips 2011: 329).

⁸ Peter Spalding (d. 1318) is listed in the garrison of Berwick Castle in 1317. He is sometimes referred to as Simon (or Sym) Spalding, apparently a confusion between him and Simon of Saltoun, a clerk of the customs at Berwick in 1317 (Barbour 1997: 616-17, n. 23).

⁹ Munday claims the Scots hanged Spalding but there is no clear source for this information. ‘Spalding does not occur among those rewarded by the [English] king, suggesting that he was indeed killed, but the chronicle is unclear by whom’ (Barbour 1997: 626, n. 192).

¹⁰ Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (c.1278-1322), was also Earl of Leicester and Earl of Lincoln. He was a grandson of Henry III, nephew of Edward I, cousin of Edward II and grandson of Louis VIII of France. Lancaster’s lineage ‘does much to explain both his political role and his political pretensions’ (Maddicott, ‘Thomas of Lancaster’, *ODNB*).

¹¹ Lancaster was tried at Pontefract before King Edward, the Despensers (Elder and Younger) and the earls of Pembroke, Kent, Richmond, Surrey, Arundel, Atholl and Angus (Phillips 2011: 408). In accordance with a law created by Hugh Despenser the Elder - with this potential situation in mind - Lancaster was not allowed to speak in his own defence (Phillips 2011: 513).

¹² Andrew Harclay (c.1270-1323) was an able soldier who, as Constable of Carlisle, had commanded the king’s forces at Boroughbridge. He was not created Earl of Carlisle until 25 March 1322, three days after Lancaster’s execution (Summerson, ‘Andrew Harclay’, *ODNB*). He was not present at Lancaster’s trial (Phillips 2011: 408).

¹³ The knights were executed by hanging; they may have been quartered after death. Chronicles vary in the number of knights said to have been executed at the same time as Thomas of Lancaster - and whether he was forced to watch their deaths before his own - but six is the generally accepted number (Warner, *Edward II’s Executions of 1322*, online resource).

¹⁴ There is no record of these rebels being drawn and quartered but all three were hanged in chains at York (Phillips 2011: 410). This means that after being executed by hanging, the

corpse was wrapped in chains and hung up on a public gibbet, usually by a roadside. The exposure of the corpse after execution was part of the punishment, as it made a proper burial impossible and left the corpse to be consumed by birds and rotted away by the elements (Spierenburg 1984: 57).

¹⁵ Bartholomew de Badlesmere was drawn through the city of Canterbury before being hanged and then beheaded. His head was displayed on the city gate (Phillips 2011: 411).

¹⁶ Munday groups William Kerdiff and Henry Tyes together as executions that took place (by implication) at the same time in London. ‘William Kerdiff’ is presumably a reference to Sir William Fleming who was probably hanged in Cardiff. Stow makes the mistake in Fleming’s name but separates it from Henry Tyes by a comma, indicating that these executions were two separate events (*CoE* 1580: sig. P4^r, p. 343). Munday ignores this and treats both men as if they were executed in London when actually only Tyes died there (Warner, *Edward II’s Executions of 1322*, online resource).

¹⁷ Harclay was trying to negotiate a marriage between himself and Robert the Bruce’s sister (*CoE* 1580: sig. P4^v, p. 344).

¹⁸ Anthony Lucy, first Lord Lucy (c.1283-1343) was a soldier and administrator from the north of England whose career Harclay had eclipsed (Summerson, ‘Anthony Lucy’, *ODNB*).

¹⁹ Harclay was executed on Harraby Hill, Carlisle. His head was set on London Bridge. His quarters were displayed at Carlisle, Newcastle, Bristol and Shrewsbury (Summerson, ‘Andrew Harclay’, *ODNB*).

²⁰ Hugh Despenser the Elder (1261-1326), Earl of Winchester, was an ‘avaricious and violent’ man who monopolised King Edward and denied others, including the queen, access to him (Hamilton, ‘Hugh Despenser the Elder’, *ODNB*).

²¹ Hugh Despenser the Younger (c.1288-1326) was even more acquisitive than his father. Both men were divisive and unpopular amongst the court and commons alike (Hamilton, ‘Hugh Despenser the Younger’, *ODNB*).

²² He was among the garrison at Bristol that surrendered on 26 October 1326. He was tried the following day using the same law he had created for Thomas of Lancaster, under which he was not allowed to speak in his own defence (Phillips 2011: 512-13). As was customary, the presentation of the prisoner for execution was highly symbolic: ‘For having dishonoured the order of chivalry by hanging knights wearing coats quartered with their arms, [it was decided that] he should be hanged in the same way and his arms destroyed forever’ (Phillips 2011: 513).

²³ ‘Since he had dishonoured the rank of earl [of Winchester] his head was to be taken to Winchester for display’ (Phillips 2011: 513).

²⁴ Hugh Despenser the Younger was convicted using the same law prohibiting a defence created by Hugh Despenser the Elder for the trial of Thomas of Lancaster (Phillips 2011: 516-17).

²⁵ The specially constructed gallows were actually fifty feet high. Despenser was executed on 24 November 1326, wearing a tunic with his coat of arms reversed and a crown made of stinging-nettles. He was drawn to the gallows on a hurdle and after execution his head was displayed on London Bridge. His quarters were displayed at Bristol, Dover, York and Newcastle where they remained for four years (Hamilton, ‘Hugh Despenser the Younger’, *ODNB*).

²⁶ Simon Reading (d.1326) was one of Despenser’s knights who had been captured with him and was executed immediately after him (Phillips 2011: 518, n. 379).

²⁷ Robert Baldock (d.1327) was the king's Chancellor but he was *not* the Bishop of Norwich and Stow does not give him this title. Baldock was, in fact, the only chancellor of the reign who did not hold a bishopric (Haines, 'Robert Baldock', *ODNB*).

Edward III

Cf. *CoE*, sigs Z5^v-Z6^r (pp. 362-63) and 2G2^v-2G3^r (pp. 468-69).

King Edward the Third: 1312-1377; reigned 1327-1377. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the eldest child of King Edward II (1284-1327) and Queen Isabella of France (1295-1358).

¹ Roger Mortimer (1287-1330) was the Earl of March. Mortimer formed an alliance with Edward II's wife, Queen Isabella. He became her *de facto* consort and, effectively, ruler of England from 1326 until his fall from grace in 1330 (Davies, 'Roger Mortimer', *ODNB*).

² Mortimer ordered Edward II to be put to death at Berkeley Castle on 21 September 1327 (Ormrod, pp. 66-67).

³ Mortimer was tried in the Westminster parliament of 26 November 1330 and was not allowed to enter a defence (Ormrod 2013: 92).

⁴ In this case, 'the Elms' refers to Tyburn. The site was chosen deliberately to show that Mortimer deserved no better end than that of a common thief (Davies, 'Roger Mortimer', *ODNB*).

⁵ He was executed on 29 November 1330. After the prolonged public exhibition of the body on the gibbet, King Edward did make the concession not to have the body quartered but gave permission for a Christian burial in London (Ormrod 2013: 92).

⁶ Sir Simon Bereford (d. 1330) was the only other man hanged for the same offence as Mortimer (Warner, *Regicide and Other Ignoble Events: The Participants*, online resource).

Though Munday states that both Simon and William Bereford were hanged with Mortimer, Simon Bereford was actually hanged on 24 December 1330, nearly a month after Mortimer (Ormrod 2013: 94).

⁷ Sir William Bereford had died in 1326, some four years previously (Harding, ‘William Bereford’, *ODNB*). Stow mentions him only in the context of the further identification of his brother, Simon (*CoE* 1580: sig. Z5^r, p. 363). His inclusion in Munday’s list of executed men is a misreading.

⁸ It is not clear why John Deverell (dates unknown) is named by Stow/Munday in this group of executions: he was not Mortimer’s ally and his fate is unknown. Deverell was one of three men condemned for their part in the murder of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent (1301-1330, half-brother of Edward II). All three assailants escaped and were fugitives with a bounty offered for their capture (Ormrod 2013: 94).

⁹ John of Gaunt (1340-1399), Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Aquitaine, styled King of Castile and León. He was the fourth son of King Edward III (1312-1377) and Queen Philippa of Hainault (c. 1310-1369) and the father of Henry Bolingbroke (later King Henry IV). Gaunt was appointed ‘lieutenant of the king to hold the parliament’ (effectively, regent) in 1376 due to the declining health of his father, the deaths of his older brothers and the minority of his nephew, Richard of Bordeaux, later to be King Richard II (Walker, ‘John of Gaunt’, *ODNB*).

¹⁰ Gaunt threatened to ‘drag the bishop from his throne by the hair’ (Walker, ‘John of Gaunt’, *ODNB*). The bishop was William Courtenay (c. 1341-1396), Bishop of Hereford (1370-1375), Bishop of London (1375-1381) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1381-1396) (Swanson, ‘William Courtenay’, *ODNB*).

¹¹ Adam Stable (or Staple, dates unknown), was dismissed as Mayor of London on 21 March 1377 and replaced by Nicholas Brembre (d. 1388) (Prescott, ‘Nicholas Brembre’, *ODNB*).

¹² John Minsterworth was an English soldier who had defected to serve in the French army (Sumption 2009: 93). He was drawn, hanged and quartered on 12 April 1377 at Tyburn (Chapman 2015: 85). Munday links the execution of John Minsterworth to the political situation in London; this is not the case and Stow does not make this connection in *CoE*.

Richard II

Cf. *CoE*, sigs 2G8^v-2H3^r (pp. 480-485), 2H5^r (p. 489) and 2H6^r (p. 491).

King Richard the Second: 1367-1400; reigned 1377-1399, also known as Richard of Bordeaux. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the second son of Edward, Prince of Wales ‘the Black Prince’ (1330-1376) and Joan of Kent (c. 1328-1385) and the grandson of King Edward III.

¹ John Ball (d. 1381) was an itinerant radical preacher twice excommunicated by Simon Sudbury (c. 1316-1381), Archbishop of Canterbury (Prescott, ‘John Ball’, *ODNB*).

² Wat Tyler (d. 1381) was a ‘tiler of houses’ popularly believed to have come from Kent (Prescott, ‘Wat Tyler’, *ODNB*). A fifteenth century manuscript claims the Peasants’ Revolt began when Wat Tyler killed a poll tax collector who sexually assaulted Tyler’s daughter (Matheson 1998: 122).

³ Nothing is known of Jack Straw’s (d. 1381) life before the rebellion.

⁴ Although the gates could have been barred and drawbridges raised, Londoners readily took up arms and joined in the rebellion (Barker 2014: 229).

⁵ Corpus Christi day, a movable feast day celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday (*Britannica*, ‘Feast of Corpus Christi’, online resource). In 1381 this fell on Thursday 13 June.

⁶ The Savoy Palace, magnificent home of John of Gaunt, ‘was sacked so thoroughly it would never be rebuilt [...] Goods and chattels valued at ten thousand pounds’ were all utterly lost (Barker 2014: 231). Gaunt was away from London at the time of the rebellion, a circumstance which probably saved his life.

⁷ A reference to the Priory of St John at Jerusalem, to the north of Smithfield. The priory was sacked and destroyed in a fire that burned continuously for the next seven days (Barker 2014: 234). The prior of St John’s was Robert Hales (d. 1381) (Sarnowsky, ‘Robert Hales’, *ODNB*). Although the poll tax had been granted before his tenure, Hales was associated with ‘the subsequent heavy-handed enforcement of its collection’ (Barker 2014: 234).

⁸ Both the manor of Highbury and the Temple were associated with Robert Hales. ‘A multitude of twenty thousand rustics and common people [...] set fire to [the manor’s] buildings [...] and were striving to pull down with their tools all that the fire could not destroy’ (Barker 2014: 239). Stow describes how the rebels stormed the Temple and took out the church books and records kept there and burnt them in the street before sacking and burning the building (Stow, *Survey*, STC 23341 1599: sig. Y4^v, p. 328).

⁹ The fourteen-year-old king’s presence led to the belief that those within the Tower were safe and that the Tower itself was impregnable: it was not (Barker 2-14: 246-48).

¹⁰ Simon Sudbury (c. 1316-1381), Bishop of London (1362-1375), Archbishop of Canterbury (1375-1381). The archbishop had been appointed chancellor in January 1380,

which made him responsible for the imposition of the poll tax (Walker, ‘Simon Sudbury’, *ODNB*).

¹¹ Robert Hales (d. 1381), Prior of England (1371-1381). Hales was with Sudbury in the White Tower (the central keep in the Tower of London) when they were both seized (Sarnowsky, ‘Robert Hales’, *ODNB*).

¹² William Appleton (d. 1381), a friar who was also a physician. He was executed because he was favoured by John of Gaunt, who was deeply unpopular (Barker 2014: 262).

¹³ John Legge (d. 1381), the king’s sergeant-at-arms (Barker 2014: 262). Several chroniclers claim that Legge also sexually assaulted young women in a similar manner to the assault on Tyler’s daughter (Matheson 1998: 129-30).

¹⁴ Once some of the rebels forced entry to the Tower, they dragged Sudbury out to Tower Hill and beheaded him. Sudbury’s body lay unburied for two days and his head, with the episcopal cap nailed to it, was displayed on London Bridge (Walker, ‘Simon Sudbury’, *ODNB*). Hales was executed on Tower Hill with Sudbury but the fate of his body is unknown (Sarnowsky, ‘Robert Hales’, *ODNB*).

¹⁵ John Cavendish (d. 1381) was a widely disliked government official (Eiden, ‘John Cavendish’, *ODNB*).

¹⁶ Prior John de Cambridge had been appointed as Abbot of Bury St Edmunds by John Cavendish (see n. 15). Both men were beheaded and their heads stuck on poles in Bury St Edmunds. The rebels staged a puppet-show, manipulating the poles to suggest the two men were whispering or kissing one another in order to satirize their close relationship (Eiden, ‘John Cavendish’, *ODNB*).

¹⁷ Richard Lyons (d. 1381) served as Sheriff of London in 1374-75 and is described in the city records as a vintner and a goldsmith (which presumably included lapidary) (*Mayors*

and *Sheriffs of London*, online resource). Some early sources claim that Lyons was personally known to Tyler as a former master (Matheson 1998: 136). The *Survey of London* states that Lyons was beheaded by Tyler himself (Stow, *Survey* 1599 : sig. D4^r, p. 195).

¹⁸ Londoners themselves were responsible for much of the disorder within the city but ‘at least two Kentish men were later indicted for killing Flemings in London’ (Barker 2014: 266).

¹⁹ Sir John Newton, *recte* Sir John Newenton (dates unknown), had been constable of Rochester Castle until he was forced to surrender it to the rebels when they threatened to kill his children (Barker 2014: 178-79). Newenton then accompanied the rebels to London as their prisoner and acted as an intermediary between the rebels and the king (Barker 2014: 227).

²⁰ William Walworth (d. c.1386) had a long career in public service. At the time of the great revolt, he was serving a second term as Mayor of London (Nightingale, ‘William Walworth’, *ODNB*).

²¹ The phrase ‘arrested Wat Tyler on the head’ (*WW MT* 237-38) suggests that the mayor delivered a blow to Tyler’s head that was sufficient to cause him to collapse immediately where he stood.

²² i.e the occupants of the Priory of St John at Jerusalem (see n. 7), all of whom were subordinate to Robert Hales.

²³ Jack Straw’s confession is taken from Stow (*CoE* 1580: sig. 2H2^v, p. 484) which, in turn, is based on the unsympathetic *Chronica Maiora* by Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422) (2005: 147-48). This confession is fictitious. A parliamentary petition of 1383/4 records four rebel captains who were executed without due process, one of whom was Jack

Straw. This document ‘discredits Walsingham’s fanciful account of Straw’s public confession at the gallows after his alleged capture and trial’ (Barker 2014: 425).

²⁴ Stow’s sentence does not end here. Munday omits the quotation from the rebels that Stow includes: ‘we be zealous of truth and justice, and not theeves and robbers.’ This gives rebellion justification and dignity, which was not at all the purpose of this pamphlet.

²⁵ Munday’s text departs significantly from Stow at this point. Stow merely says that the rebels turned on one another ‘for olde grudge and hatred’ (*CoE* 1580: sig. 2H3^v, p. 486). Munday has expanded this to add a level of viciousness that is not in his source, as well as introducing God’s judgement to his argument.

²⁶ (s.n.) 1382 *recte* July 1381 (Prescott, ‘John Ball’, *ODNB*). In the presence of the king, Ball was dragged, hanged, beheaded and quartered (Barker 2014: 292).

²⁷ The names of John Kirkby, Thomas Scot and Ralph Rudge (all dates unknown) appear only in Walsingham’s account of the revolt (upon which Stow’s and then Munday’s is based), where they are described as being from Kent and Essex. Alan Threder (dates unknown) is similarly identified by Walsingham but is also named by inquisitions after the rebellion, where he is described as ‘one of the ringleaders of the London rebels’ (Walsingham 2005: 148 and 148, n. 1).

Stow lists these rebels in this order, but allocates them numbers according (presumably) to their position in command after Tyler.

²⁸ Robert Westbourne (dates unknown) was present at the execution of John de Cambridge but, despite this, was pardoned in 1385 for his part in the rebellion (Barker 2014: 379).

²⁹ This action is not associated with Westbourne and is not mentioned by Stow.

³⁰ John Wrawe (see n. 33).

³¹ Munday indicates that the priest stopped short of proclaiming himself king (figuratively setting a representation of the crown of the realm upon the crown of his own head).

³² John Leicester *recte* Geoffrey Lister (d. 1381), but also mistakenly named as John Lister and William Lister in different sources (Walsingham 2005: 144, n. 3).

³³ John Wrawe (dates unknown) was a chaplain ‘who played a large part in drawing the county of Suffolk into the rebellion’ (Barker 2014: 295). Munday claims that Wrawe was drawn and hanged but Stow is not so clear. Although Stow’s marginal note says that Wrawe was hanged, the text merely says that he was ‘adjudged to hanging and drawing’ (CoE 1580: sig. 2H6^r, p. 491). It is possible that the sentence was never carried out. A document of 1395 excuses a fine for the escape of five men, one of whom was ‘John Raude alias Wrawe of Sudbury’ (Barker 2014: 359).

Henry IV

For Munday’s source material, cf. CoE sigs 2L9^v-2M1^v (pp. 544-546), 2M3^v-2M4^r (pp. 550-51), 2M6^r (p. 555), 2N2^v-2N3^r (pp. 564-65) and 2N7^v (p. 574). Munday’s use of Stow in this section is highly selective. For more information, see Introduction, pp. 107-10.

¹ King Henry IV: 1367-1413; reigned 1399-1413, also known as Henry Bolingbroke.

Other titles include Earl of Leicester, Earl of Derby, Earl of Northampton, Duke of Hereford and Duke of Lancaster. He was the son of John of Gaunt (1340-1399) and Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster (c. 1346-1368). He deposed his cousin, King Richard II, in 1399.

² John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon (c.1352-1400) was half-brother to Richard II, being the son of King Richard’s mother, Joan (c.1328-1385), from her previous marriage to Thomas Holland (Senior), Earl of Kent (c.1315-1360). Although John Holland

was married to King Henry's older sister, Elizabeth of Lancaster (c.1364-1425), he was linked by blood to King Richard, who was still alive at the time of this rebellion.

Munday refers to John Holland as 'late' duke because King Henry had deprived Holland of his dukedom (bestowed by King Richard in 1397) before this rebellion began. His title had reverted to Earl of Huntington (Stansfield, 'John Holland', *ODNB*).

³ Thomas, Duke of Surrey and Earl of Kent (c.1374-1400). Thomas Holland was the son of another of King Richard's half-brothers, Thomas Holland (Junior), Earl of Kent, 1350-1397, making him the nephew of John Holland (see n. 2). Like John Holland, he shared no blood with the new king.

Thomas Holland is referred to as 'late' Duke of Surrey because his dukedom (bestowed by King Richard in 1397, at the same time as that of his uncle John Holland) was stripped from him in November 1399 (before this rebellion) and his title reverted to Earl of Kent (Gillespie, 'Thomas Holland', *ODNB*).

⁴ Edward, Duke of Aumale and Earl of Rutland, son to the Duke of York (c.1373-1415), also known as Edward of Langley. He was a grandson of Edward III and cousin to both Richard II and Henry IV. Like John Holland and Thomas Holland, Edward lost his dukedom in 1399 and reverted to the title Earl of Rutland before this rebellion began. He did, however, become a duke again in 1402 on the death of his father, Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (1341-1402). Edward of Langley survived his involvement in this plot against Henry IV, and another in 1405, eventually dying at the battle of Agincourt on 25 October 1415 (Horrox, 'Edward of Langley', *ODNB*).

⁵ John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (c.1350-1400). During the reign of Richard II, Montacute had acted on behalf of the king against Bolingbroke (now King Henry) (Given-Wilson 2-17: 119).

⁶ Thomas Despenser, Earl of Gloucester (1373-1400). Brother-in-law of Edward of Langley through marriage to Edward's only sister, Constance (1375-1416) (Pugh, 'Thomas Despenser', *ODNB*).

⁷ Sir Ralph Lumley (c.1360-1400) was a kinsman of John Holland, being the grandson of John Holland's uncle, Robert Holland (d. 1349, Doubleday and Walden 1932: 269-70).

⁸ Sir Thomas Blount (c.1350-1400) was a knight in Richard II's household (Clark, 'Sir Thomas Blount', *ODNB*).

⁹ Sir Benedict Cely (d.1400) was a former Mayor of Rye (1361-62) and Bailiff of Winchelsea (1368-72) (*The History of Parliament*, 'Henry Sely', online resource).

¹⁰ The 'other' included Lumley's son, Thomas, Thomas Merk, Bishop of Carlisle (d. c. 1409), Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich (and grandson of Hugh Despenser the Younger, see Edward II, n. 21) (d. 1406) and William de Colchester, Abbot of Westminster (d. 14.20) (Given-Wilson 2017: 161). Also, Roger Walden (d. 1406), a close ally of Richard II who served briefly (September 1397-October 1399) as Archbishop of Canterbury (Davies, 'Roger Walden', *ODNB*).

¹¹ 'Henry [...] was planning to round off the seasonal celebrations with a day of masques and jousts on 6 January, the Epiphany' (Given-Wilson 2017: 161).

¹² Namely, Thomas Knolles (d. 1435), Mayor of London twice (1399/1400 and 1410/11). It is unclear how Knolles found out about the conspiracy but, once in possession of the intelligence, he rode to Windsor in person to warn the king (Nightingale, 'Thomas Knolles', *ODNB*).

¹³ Isabella of Valois (1389-1409), daughter of King Charles VI of France (1368-1422). Isabella was held at Sonning (a village on the Thames in Berkshire) under house arrest

during the deposition of her husband and its immediate aftermath; she was ten years old (Kirby, 'Isabella of France', *ODNB*).

¹⁴ Richard was 'closely guarded at Pontefract Castle' and had not escaped (Given-Wilson 2017: 163-64).

¹⁵ Munday takes his version of this disguise story from Stow in *CoE* at sig. 2M1^r-2M1^v (1599: 545-546). The story does not appear in Walsingham, the principal chronicler of these events, but there is mention of a clerk Walsingham calls John Maude (*recte* Richard Maudeleyn) who was executed for his part in the rebellion (Walsingham 2005: 317 and 317, n. 3).

¹⁶ This sentence confuses John Holland (Exeter) with Thomas Holland (Surrey). John Holland (Exeter) was executed in Pleshy on 9/10 January 1400, as mentioned at *WW MT* 348 (Stansfield, 'John Holland', *ODNB*). Thomas Holland (Surrey) and John Montacute (Salisbury) were executed (together with Ralph Lumley) in Cirencester on 7/8 January 1400 (Gillespie, 'Thomas Holland', *ODNB*).

¹⁷ Sir Thomas Blount was dragged, hanged, beheaded and quartered in Oxford on 12 January 1400, so he was not physically 'with' the other rebels (Clark, 'Sir Thomas Blount', *ODNB*).

¹⁸ Sir Bernard Brocas (c.1354-1400) was tried at the Tower of London on 4 February 1400. The following day he was made to walk to Tyburn for execution; possibly he was hanged first but he was certainly beheaded (Summerson, 'Bernard Brocas', *ODNB*).

¹⁹ John Madeleine (d. 1400) and William Ferriby (d. 1400) were not executed with Brocas but were caught and executed in London by mid-February 1400 (Given-Wilson 2017: 163).

²⁰ This item was a ‘galthrap’ or caltrop, as described by Isaac Kimber in his *History of England* (1722: 383). It is an ancient spiked device, still used today as a booby trap. The perpetrator of this plot is unknown.

²¹ The name of this priest is not known although he was arrested for recording the names of others involved in this uprising (*CoE* 1580: sig. 2M3^v). A rumour that Richard II was still alive and would return to reclaim his throne was spread by itinerant friars from many parts of England who were gathering funds to overthrow Henry IV (Given-Wilson 2017: 210-11).

²² (s.n.) 1403 *recte* June 1402 (Given-Wilson 2017: 210).

²³ Nothing more is known of this person.

²⁴ Richard Frisby (d. 1402). Most references are either to Richard Frisby or Roger Frisby, which appear to be interchangeable Christian names for the same person. They were actually brothers who were both involved in this plot together with nine other friars (Whitfield 1957: 328-29 and 328, n. 21). Those convicted were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, hanged and beheaded (Given-Wilson 2017: 210).

²⁵ Sir Roger Clarendon (c. 1350-1402), illegitimate son of the Black Prince and half-brother to Richard II (Given-Wilson 2017: 210).

²⁶ Thomas Percy (c.1343-1403), Earl of Worcester, great-nephew of Thomas of Lancaster (see Edward II, n. 10) and kinsman to both Richard II and Henry IV.

²⁷ Sir Richard Vernon (1353-1403), Baron of Shipbrook.

²⁸ (s.n.) 1404 *recte* July 1403 (Brown, ‘Thomas Percy’, *ODNB*).

²⁹ Richard Venables, Baron of Kinderton (1365-1403).

³⁰ Old Field, ‘a gentle ridge overlooking farmland thick with peas’. As well as Bull Field (WW MT 373), this area was also known as Hateley, Hussey or Hinsey Field (Given-Wilson 2017: 225 and 225, n. 39).

³¹ Thomas Percy had joined his nephew (Henry ‘Hotspur’ Percy, 1364-1403, the leader of this conspiracy but not mentioned by Munday) in rebellion against the king and played a large part in attempting to negotiate peace between them. Worcester was captured at the battle of Shrewsbury. He was tried and beheaded on 23 July 1403 and his head displayed on London Bridge (Brown, ‘Thomas Percy’, *ODNB*).

³² Henry Percy (1341-1408), Earl of Northumberland, brother of Thomas Percy. He had supported Bolingbroke in his overthrow of Richard II and is characterized by Shakespeare as the ‘ladder’ by which Bolingbroke had climbed to the throne (Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 5.1.55).

³³ Richard Scrope (c.1350-1405), Archbishop of York 1398-1405.

³⁴ Thomas Mowbray (1385-1405), Earl of Nottingham, styled Earl Marshal, eldest son of Thomas Mowbray (Duke of Norfolk, 1366-1399) who had been exiled by Richard II (Archer, ‘Thomas Mowbray’, *ODNB*). Thomas was nineteen years old and still a minor at the time of his execution.

³⁵ (s.n.) 1406 *recte* June 1405 (Archer, ‘Thomas Mowbray’, *ODNB*).

³⁶ Thomas, Baron Bardolf (1369-1408). There had been connections between the Percy family of Northumberland and the Bardolf family for generations: Bardolf’s mother had appointed Henry Percy, jointly with her son, to oversee her will in 1403 (Summerson, ‘Thomas Bardolf’, *ODNB*).

³⁷ Henry Percy and Thomas Bardolf both abandoned this uprising and fled to Scotland. Both died at or after the battle at Bramham Moor in February 1408. Northumberland’s

body was decapitated and quartered and his head set upon London Bridge (Bean, ‘Henry Percy’, *ODNB*). Bardolf’s head was sent to Lincoln and his quarters displayed in London, York, Bishop’s Lynn and Shrewsbury (Summerson, ‘Thomas Bardolf’, *ODNB*).

³⁸ The Archbishop of York (Richard Scrope) and the Earl Marshal (Thomas Mowbray) were arrested in May 1405 and the city of York surrendered to the king shortly thereafter. On 6 June 1405, Scrope and Mowbray were tried and condemned to death. ‘Never before had an English king dared to execute a bishop, let alone an archbishop’ (Given-Wilson 2017: 268-70).

³⁹ Rhys ap Dee (d. 1412) was a supporter of Owen Glendower and did ‘moche destruccion to the kynges peple in Wales’ (Marchant 2014: 74).

Henry V

Cf. *CoE* sigs 2O4^v-2O5^r (pp. 584-585), 2O6^v (p. 588) and 2P3^r (p. 597).

¹ King Henry the Fifth: 1386-1422; reigned 1413-1422, also known as Henry of Monmouth. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the eldest son of King Henry IV (1367-1413) and Mary de Bohun, Countess of Northampton and Derby (c. 1369-1394).

² Eltham Palace had been a ‘royal retreat from the time of Edward III’ and had been developed by successive monarchs until it became ‘a large, luxurious and modern house set in fine parkland’ (Thurley 2017: 91).

³ (s.n.) This is the first time Munday credits Stow by name as his source.

⁴ The king had three brothers, all very close in age: Thomas, Duke of Clarence (1387-1421); John, Duke of Bedford (1389-1435); Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447).

⁵ William Crowmere (dates unknown): he was Mayor of London twice – 1413-14 and 1423-24 (*Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, online resource). These events took place during his first term, at Christmas 1413 (Allmand 1992: 298).

⁶ Stow refers to ‘the sign of the Axe’ as being in the area surrounding the church of St Mary at the Axe in the north of Limestreet Ward, close to Bishopsgate (Stow, *Survey*, 1599: 123-24 and *MoEML*). John Burgate (see n. 7) is described as ‘the man of the house’ (*WW MT* 397), so the Axe was probably a tavern near the church.

⁷ John Burgate (d. 1415) was a known associate of John Oldcastle (see n. 8 and *WW MT* 399-400).

⁸ Sir John Oldcastle (d. 1417); also known as Baron Cobham. He was a Lollard (heretical follower of Wycliff’s teachings). Imprisoned in the Tower for heresy, he escaped in October 1413 and subsequently became involved in this plot. He was executed by burning in December 1417 (Thomson, ‘John Oldcastle’, *ODNB*). Munday collaborated with Michael Drayton, Robert Wilson and Thomas Hathway on *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* (c. 1600), a play in two parts of which only the first part survives (Munday 1908: vi).

⁹ St Giles’ Fields was an area of open countryside outside the city near Ely Place, the London residence of the bishops of Ely; not to be confused with St Giles in the Field (mentioned at *SE MT* 304-324), a rural settlement to the west of the city (*MoEML*).

¹⁰ Sir Roger Acton (c. 1370-1415), a knight from Shropshire (Allmand 1992: 298). Acton is mentioned by John Foxe in *Acts and Monuments* as possibly the one to have helped Oldcastle escape from the Tower (Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments Online*, 1576 edn: Book 5, p. 590).

¹¹ Nothing more is known about William Murle (d. 1414) other than the details given here.

¹² Fickett's Field was a ten-acre plot in Holborn previously owned by the Knights Templar and used by them as a tilt-yard. Following the dissolution of their order in 1312, the land passed into the ownership of the Priory of St John which continued to use it for jousting (*Layers of London*, online resource).

¹³ All were hanged as traitors. Seven were also condemned as heretics and so were burnt after hanging (Allmand 1992: 299).

¹⁴ John Beverley (d. 1414). Often confused with others of the same name, nothing significant is known about this ally of Oldcastle other than his date of death. Munday included 'Beverley' (an insurgent) as a character in his play *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*.

¹⁵ 'In earlier times (pre-1752) it was not unusual [...] to be buried under the gallows', especially if there were no family members who wished to collect the remains or if the punishment extended to the avoidance of a burial in consecrated ground (*Capital Punishment UK*, online resource).

¹⁶ (s.n.) 1416 *recte* August 1415 (Harriss, 'Richard, Earl of Cambridge', *ODNB*).

¹⁷ Henry Scrope (c.1376-1415), Baron Scrope of Masham; he was nephew to Richard Scrope, the archbishop of York who was executed by Henry IV in 1405 (see Henry IV, n. 33 and n. 38) (Harriss, 'Richard, Earl of Cambridge', *ODNB*).

¹⁸ Richard, Earl of Cambridge (c. 1385-1415), also known as Richard of Conisbrough, was twelve years younger than his brother, the Duke of York (and former Duke of Aumale – see Henry IV, n. 4). The age difference fuelled speculation that Richard may have been the product of his mother's illicit liaison with John Holland (see Henry IV, n. 2) (Harriss, 'Richard, Earl of Cambridge', *ODNB*). Richard's first wife was Anne Mortimer, sister to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (see n. 20).

¹⁹ Sir Thomas Grey (1384-1415), who was in debt (and therefore under obligation) to Cambridge's brother, the Duke of York (Harriss, 'Richard, Earl of Cambridge', *ODNB*).

²⁰ Edmund, Earl of March (1391-1425), grandson of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent (see Henry IV, n. 3).

²¹ Such an oath would normally be taken upon the Bible, making it binding upon the immortal soul, but Munday is not specific about this. Perhaps this is because the Earl of March betrayed that oath in order to save the king, thus creating a moral paradox Munday did not wish to explore.

²² Only Lord Scrope and the Earl of Cambridge were questioned on the first of August. Thomas Grey was questioned on 2 August and then all three were put on trial. Grey was convicted that day and beheaded (Mortimer 2009: 313-14). The trial of Cambridge and Scrope continued on 5 August; Cambridge was beheaded and Scrope was drawn and beheaded (Mortimer 2009: 318).

²³ Scrope's head was sent to York (where his family owned property and his uncle had been archbishop) (Vale, 'Henry Scrope', *ODNB*). Grey's head was sent to Newcastle, although he came from Norham, Northumberland, some seventy miles further north (Pugh 1988: 1).

²⁴ John Bennet (d. 1415) was said to be a Lollard, although he was not burnt as a heretic (Gairdner 1908: 93).

²⁵ (s.n.) 1417 *recte* 1416 (Gairdner 1908: 93).

²⁶ William Parchmyner or William the parchment-maker from Smithfield. He had been involved in rescuing Oldcastle from the Tower (Gairdner 1908: 93 and 93 n. 2).

Henry VI

Cf. *CoE* at sigs 2R5^v (p. 634), 2S2^v-2S4^r (pp. 644-47), 2S5^r-2S6^v (pp. 649-52) and 2T4^r (p. 663).

King Henry the Sixth: 1421-1471; reigned 1422-1471. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine. He was the only child of King Henry V (1386-1422) and Queen Catherine of Valois (1401-1437).

¹ (s.n.) 1433 *recte* May 1431 (Thomson, 'William Perkins', *ODNB*).

² Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, youngest brother of Henry V, had been appointed as the king's lieutenant in December 1429, giving him the power to act on the king's behalf when the king was absent: King Henry was at that time in France preparing for his coronation in Paris (Wolffe 2001: 66).

³ William Mandeville (d. 1431) was also known as William Perkins and Jack Sharpe (*WW MT* 454-55 and Wolffe 2001: 66). Multiple aliases were frequently adopted by serial rebels. Mandeville was a Lollard (Thomson, 'William Perkins', *ODNB*).

⁴ Wigmoreland was an area of Wales held by the Mortimers. The implied connection to the anti-Lancastrian Mortimers, so often associated with threats to the Crown, elevated this incident to a matter of serious concern (Wolffe 2001: 66).

⁵ Mandeville admitted that he wished to kill so many priests that their severed heads would have been as plentiful (and therefore as cheap) as those of sheep carcasses in a market.

⁶ Richard Russell *recte* John Russell (d. 1431) was a prominent figure in the Lollard movement. His history of lawbreaking was extensive, having 'been involved with [breaking] the law for over fifteen years before he finally went to his death' (Aston 1960: 25-26).

⁷ Roger Bolingbroke (d. 1441) was an Oxford priest and the Duchess of Gloucester's personal clerk (Griffiths 1969: 386). He was also an astrologer and necromancer (Wolffe 2001: 127) and appears as a character in Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 2*.

⁸ Thomas Southwell (d. 1441). As well as St Stephen's at Westminster, Southwell was also rector of St Stephen's Walbrook and vicar of Ruislip, Middlesex (Griffiths 1969: 387). He appears as a character in Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 2*.

⁹ five-and-twentieth day of July *recte* 23 July 1441 (Griffiths 1969: 388).

¹⁰ St Paul's Cross was an open-air pulpit in the grounds of St Paul's Cathedral. Large crowds could hear prominent preachers of the day give sermons; these were especially dramatic events during the Reformation (*MoEML*).

¹¹ As well as holding the sword and sceptre, both symbols of royal power, Bolingbroke was wearing a surplice and a paper crown. 'The spectacle was devised to mock the heresy of his views and his indulgence in the magical arts' (Griffiths 1969: 388).

¹² John Lowe (c.1385-1467), Bishop of Rochester (1444-1467). This incident actually took place while Lowe was still Bishop of St Asaph (1433-1444). Lowe was a 'noted prosecutor of heretics', involved in the examination and condemnation of several high-profile offenders (Davis, 'John Lowe', *ODNB*).

¹³ (s.n.) 1442 *recte* November 1441 (Griffiths 1969: 394).

¹⁴ Bolingbroke's head was displayed on London Bridge and his quarters were sent to centres of Lollardy and heresy, although there is some dispute over exactly which places were chosen; certainly Oxford and Cambridge – possibly York, Hereford or Bristol (Griffiths 1969: 395).

¹⁵ (s.n.) 1447 *recte* 1446 (Strype, *Survey* 1720, online resource).

¹⁶ Stow mentions (although Munday does not) that William Cater was drunk when he fought his servant. John Strype's *Survey* (1720, online resource) adds that Cater was falsely accused and that John David was hanged at Tyburn for felony shortly afterwards.

¹⁷ Humphrey, last surviving brother of Henry V.

¹⁸ (s.n.) 1448 *recte* February 1447 (Wolffe 2001: 132).

¹⁹ John, Viscount Beaumont (c. 1409-1460). He was a Knight of the Garter, Lord Great Chamberlain and High Constable of England.

²⁰ Humphrey Stafford (1402-1460), Duke of Buckingham. He was the grandson of John of Gaunt's brother, Thomas of Woodstock.

²¹ Edmund Beaufort (c. 1406-1455), Duke of Somerset. He was the grandson of John of Gaunt.

²² Gloucester was arrested on 18 February 1447 and died on 23 February. 'It was said, and it was most likely true, that he died of sheer depression and despair at being prevented from [answering] the charges of treason preferred against him' (Wolffe 2001: 131).

²³ Sir Roger Chamberlain (dates unknown) was a member of the Duke of Gloucester's household (Wolffe 2001: 132).

²⁴ Richard Middleton (dates unknown) (Wolffe 2001: 132).

²⁵ Thomas Herbert (dates unknown) (Wolffe 2001: 132).

²⁶ Arthur of Gloucester (b. c. 1426), the duke's illegitimate son (Wolffe 2001: 132).

²⁷ Richard Needham (dates unknown) was a London mercer in the Duke of Gloucester's service (Wolffe 2001: 132).

²⁸ The prisoners were actually held at the Marshalsea prison in Southwark and were drawn from St George's Fields, over London Bridge and out to Tyburn on 14 July 1447 (Wolffe 2001: 132).

²⁹ Typically, British executioners were of low social status and badly paid. It was commonplace for the hangman and his assistants to expect payment from the prisoner, in coin or in kind, as encouragement for a quick dispatch (Banks 2013: 42-43).

³⁰ Thomas Thany *recte* Thomas Cheyny (d. 1450). Cheyny was an agitator, known by the alias Bluebeard, who started the insurrection generally called ‘Jack Cade’s Rebellion’. (Clay 1914: 164-65).

³¹ (s.n.) 1451 *recte* July 1450 (Harvey, ‘Jack Cade’, *ODNB*).

³² The name of Mortimer was significant as a symbol of the anti-Lancastrian cause: the Duke of York was perceived as neglected by the king and untainted by misgovernment. The authorities took Cade’s claim of being a Mortimer seriously, using the name in reference to him on official documents (Harvey, ‘Jack Cade’, *ODNB*).

³³ Alexander Eden *recte* Alexander Iden (c. 1430-1457), newly appointed Sheriff of Kent (1450/51). Iden served a second term as sheriff in 1456/57 (Harvey, ‘Jack Cade’, *ODNB*).

³⁴ The quarters were actually sent to Blackheath, Norwich, Salisbury and Gloucester (Harvey, ‘Jack Cade’, *ODNB*).

Edward IV

Cf. *CoE* sigs 2Y4^r (p. 711), 2Z8^v (p. 736) and 3A6^r (p. 747).

King Edward the Fourth: 1442-1483; reigned 1461-1483. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Earl of March. He was the eldest son of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (1411-1460) and Cecily, Duchess of York (1415-1495).

¹ Walter Walker’s shop was called ‘the Crown’ and he joked that he would leave the Crown to his son. It is said that the grocer was arrested and executed for high treason just eight days into the new king’s reign. This is an apocryphal story (Mackay 1838: 176).

² Nicholas Faunt (d. 1471) was one of the socially prominent supporters of Faulconbridge (see n. 7) and this was part of a series of minor rebellions against the Yorkists. The king was present to watch him be drawn, hanged and quartered outside Canterbury cathedral gate on 29 May 1471 (Richmond, p. 684).

³ Spicing and Quintin *recte* Quint (both d. 1471) were Faulconbridge's two captains (Richmond 1970: 682).

⁴ Richmond observes that, 'In all there were well over 200 citizens of Canterbury who were involved in the revolt'. Most were fined (Richmond 1970: 684-687).

⁵ Executions also took place in Rochester, Maidstone and Blackheath (Richmond 1970: 684, n. 2).

⁶ Aldgate was chosen because some of the fiercest fighting of the rebellion had happened there (Richmond 1970: 679).

⁷ Thomas Faulconbridge, more commonly known as the Bastard of Fauconberg (d. 1471), was the illegitimate cousin of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (the 'Kingmaker', 1428-1471) (Hicks, 'Thomas Neville', *ODNB*).

⁸ (s.n.) 1472 *recte* September 1471 (Hicks, 'Thomas Neville', *ODNB*).

⁹ Middleham castle was the home of Richard, Duke of Gloucester (later Richard III). He was the younger brother of Edward IV (Hicks, 'Thomas Neville', *ODNB*).

¹⁰ Thomas Burdett (d. 1477) of Arrow Park, Warwickshire, was a member of the Duke of Clarence's household (George, Duke of Clarence, 1449-1478, was King Edward's younger brother).

¹¹ (s.n.) 1478 *recte* 20 May 1477 (Ross, pp. 240-41).

¹² Burdett was accused, along with John Stacey (an astronomer) and Thomas Blake (a chaplain), of using magic to bring about the death of the king. Burdett alone was further accused of having circulated ‘treasonable writings’ (Ross 1997: 240).

Edward V

Cf. *CoE*, sigs 3B3^v-3B4^v (pp. 758-60) and 3F5^v-3F7^v (pp.826-830) and More’s *History of King Richard III* (pp. 12-14 and 85-90).

¹ King Edward the Fifth: 1470-c.1483; reigned April-June 1483. Other titles include Lord of Ireland and Earl of Chester. He was the eldest son of King Edward IV (1442-1483) and Queen Elizabeth Woodville (c. 1437-1492).

² Edward V was 12 years old at the time of his accession; his brother, Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York (1473-c.1483), was 9 years old.

³ Munday refers his readers to such as Holinshed and Stow, distancing his own authorship from closer examination of this version of events as it does not enhance his argument for unquestioning devotion to the monarch.

⁴ Edward IV lingered for about ten days. His illness was sudden but not swift (Horrox, ‘Edward IV’, *ODNB*).

⁵ Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset (c.1455-1501), the Queen’s elder son by her first marriage to Sir John Grey (c. 1432-1461). The marquess was the older half-brother of Edward V.

⁶ William, Baron Hastings (c.1430-1483), stepfather of Cicely Bonville (d. 1530) who was Dorset’s second wife.

⁷ This sentence can be paraphrased as: ‘If the children see their relatives fighting one another then they are likely to begin to fight each other before they have the age and wisdom to bring about peace within the family.’

⁸ This sentence can be paraphrased as: ‘Children (especially royal children) must be protected by the wisdom of their elders and their precarious youth (made more precarious by the potential for poor judgement and bad decisions) supported by good advice.’

⁹ (s.n.) The characterization of ambition as a serpent was current in More’s time. See *This lytell treatyse compendiously declareth the damage and destruction in realms caused by the serpent of division* (STC 17027.5) by John Lydgate, published in 1535 (the year of More’s execution).

¹⁰ This sentence can be paraphrased as: ‘If the princes were to die of natural causes, then it would be God’s will. The kingdom will always find a king, maybe even a good one.’

¹¹ Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester (1452-1485), later Richard III, younger brother of Edward IV.

¹² Sir Anthony Woodville (c. 1440-1483), Earl Rivers. He was the older brother of Queen Elizabeth Woodville and uncle of Edward V.

¹³ Lord Richard Grey (d. 1483), younger brother of the Marquess of Dorset and older half-brother of Edward V.

¹⁴ Sir Thomas Vaughan (d. 1483), courtier and friend of Edward IV. His date of birth is not known but he was an ‘aged knight’ at the time of his execution (Griffiths, ‘Thomas Vaughan’, *ODNB*).

¹⁵ Henry Stafford (1455-1483), Duke of Buckingham, grandson of Humphrey Stafford (see Henry VI, n. 20). He was first an ally and later an opponent of Richard III (Davies, ‘Henry Stafford’, *ODNB*).

¹⁶ All three were tried and executed at Pontefract Castle on 25 June 1483 (Hicks, ‘Anthony Woodville’; Horrox, ‘Richard Grey’; Griffiths, ‘Thomas Vaughan’, all *ODNB*).

¹⁷ The Duke of Gloucester, the late king's only surviving brother, assumed the role of Lord Protector at the request of the privy council on 4 May 1483 (Horrox, 'Richard III', *ODNB*).

¹⁸ Thomas Bourchier (c.1411-1486), cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury (1454-1486). He was related to the Duke of Buckingham's family, the Staffords (Clark, 'Thomas Bourchier', *ODNB*).

¹⁹ Edward of Middleham (c.1474-1484) was the Duke of Gloucester's only lawful son. Gloucester also had two acknowledged illegitimate children: John and Katherine (dates unknown) (Horrox, 'Richard III', *ODNB*).

²⁰ 'John Green' cannot be identified with any certainty. At least two men with this name had connections to Richard III (Hampton 1985: 210-11). In the context of this story, he may not have existed at all.

²¹ Sir Robert Brackenbury (d. 1485) from County Durham. A former treasurer of Gloucester's household, he was created Constable of the Tower and Master of the Mint shortly after the coronation of Richard III and is an example of the king's promotion of his northern retainers. He died fighting for King Richard at Bosworth (Horrox, 'Robert Brackenbury', *ODNB*).

²² Sir James Tyrell (c.1455-1502), a close ally of Gloucester's and trusted with sensitive business. He was appointed Constable of England in 1482. (Horrox, 'James Tyrell', *ODNB*).

²³ 'William Slaughter' cannot be identified with certainty. A William Slaughter was a clerk in the diocese of Bath and Wells where Robert Stillington (d. 1491), a staunch ally of Richard III, was bishop (Hampton 1985: 214). The nickname 'Black Will' is attached to two fictional murderers, one in *Arden of Faversham* (Anonymous, 1592) and the other in

When You See Me, You Know Me (Samuel Rowley, 1605), but whether either of them is derived from this person (if he existed) is a matter of conjecture. See Wiggins 1991: 66 for use of the name in fiction.

²⁴ ‘Miles Forest’ cannot be identified with certainty. A Miles Forest was Keeper of the Wardrobe at Barnard Castle; he was dead by 1484 (Kendall 1957: 400).

²⁵ ‘John Dighton’ cannot be identified with certainty and the description given here, which was originally Thomas More’s (1976: 88), is almost certainly inaccurate. At least two men with this name had connections to Richard III (Hampton 1985: 210).

²⁶ The priest was the only person who knew where the boys were buried. When he died, nobody living knew the location.

²⁷ Tyrell was arrested in 1502 for harbouring Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (c.1471-1513), who was seeking support for his own claim to the throne against that of Henry VII (Horrox, ‘James Tyrell’, *ODNB*).

²⁸ Tyrell was convicted on 2 May 1502 and executed four days later. It is in these four days between conviction and execution that he is supposed to have confessed to the murder of the princes (Horrox, ‘James Tyrell’, *ODNB*).

Henry VII

Cf. *CoE* sigs 3J2^r (p. 867), 3J3^r- 3J3^v (pp. 869-70) and 3J5^r (p. 873).

King Henry the Seventh: 1457-1509; reigned 1485-1509, also known as Henry Tudor.

Other titles include Lord of Ireland. He was the son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond (c. 1430-1456) and Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (1443-1509). His paternal grandmother was Queen Catherine of Valois (1401-1437), widow of Henry V (1386-1422), making his father the younger half-brother of Henry VI.

¹ Thomas Bagnall (dates unknown), John Scot (d. 1494), John Heth (d. 1494) and John Kennington (d. 1494) were using the protection of sanctuary while making and distributing pamphlets supporting Perkin Warbeck's claim to the throne (McSheffrey, 'Treason and Sanctuary', online resource).

² Any religious house could offer temporary sanctuary but St Martin's le Grand, along with Westminster Abbey, operated as a royally-chartered liberty outside the control of the City of London. Such houses could (and did) offer permanent sanctuary to a population of felons, debtors, aliens and political fugitives (McSheffrey, 'Sanctuary and the Legal Topography of Pre-Reformation London' 2009: 483-85).

³ Scot, Heth and Kennington were executed, but Bagnall, who acknowledged his treason, claimed that his removal from sanctuary was illegal and applied to be returned to St Martin's le Grand. Court records suggest his application was successful (McSheffrey, 'Treason and Sanctuary', online resource).

⁴ (with s.n.) Pierce/Perkin/Peter Warbeck (c. 1474-1499) was an imposter and claimant to the English throne. Warbeck was born in Tournai, Flanders, the son of a merchant and civic official named John Osbek (Gunn, 'Perkin Warbeck', *ODNB*).

⁵ (s.n.) 1497 *recte* July 1495 (Gunn, 'Perkin Warbeck', *ODNB*).

⁶ Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy (1446-1503), sister of Edward IV and Richard III, aunt of Edward V and Richard, Duke of York (the Princes in the Tower).

⁷ Munday provides only a few names in association with the Warbeck uprising. In reality, scores of men were implicated nationwide. For a full account of the case and further details of those involved, see *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, pp. 503-07 (online resource).

⁸ John Peche (c. 1473-1522). Peche was from a prominent Kent family and became Sheriff of Kent in his early twenties. He was knighted in 1497 and enjoyed favour at court under both Henry VII and Henry VIII (Robertson 1886: 232-36).

⁹ Rebellion broke out when taxes were levied to pay for a war in Scotland (Arthurson, ‘James Tuchet’, *ODNB*).

¹⁰ (s.n.) 1498 *recte* May/June 1497 (Arthurson, ‘James Tuchet’, *ODNB*).

¹¹ James Tuchet, Baron Audley (c. 1463-1497).

¹² Michael Joseph (d. 1497). Joseph, a blacksmith, was a leading figure in the rebellion alongside Tuchet (Arthurson, ‘James Tuchet’, *ODNB*).

¹³ The king rewarded those citizens who had taken their own food and goods to support his army at the battle of Blackheath (1497) (Rowse 1969: 126-27).

¹⁴ Tuchet was marched through the city from Newgate to Tower Hill wearing a paper surcoat bearing his coat of arms which had been torn to shreds, symbolising the destruction of his status. He was beheaded and buried at Blackfriars in Ludgate (Arthurson, ‘James Tuchet’, *ODNB*).

¹⁵ Thomas Flamank (d. 1497). Flamank, a lawyer, was another leading figure in the rebellion, along with Tuchet and Joseph (Arthurson, ‘James Tuchet’, *ODNB*).

¹⁶ Ralph Wilford (d. 1499), Cambridge student and son of a London cobbler (Wroe 2003: 474)

¹⁷ St Thomas Watring’s or ‘St Thomas a Watering’ (situated on the modern Old Kent Road) was a stopping place for pilgrims on the way to Canterbury. It became a well-known execution site, especially for Catholics and other dissenters (Johnson, *The Execution Sites of London*, online resource).

¹⁸ Edward, Earl of Warwick (1475-1499), nephew of Edward IV and Richard III, cousin of Edward V. Warwick was imprisoned in the Tower and convicted of conspiracy with Perkin Warbeck to depose Henry VII. He was executed on Tower Hill on 28 November 1499 (Carpenter, ‘Edward, Earl of Warwick’, *ODNB*).

¹⁹ George, Duke of Clarence (1449-1478), brother of Edward IV and Richard III, father of Edward, Earl of Warwick. Clarence was executed for treason in the Tower of London on 18 February 1478, supposedly by drowning in a butt of wine (Hicks, ‘George, Duke of Clarence’, *ODNB*).

²⁰ (s.n.) 1500 *recte* 23 November 1499 (Gunn, ‘Perkin Warbeck’, *ODNB*).

²¹ John Atwater (d. 1499), a former merchant and twice mayor of Cork (Wroe 2003: 77).

²² Corfe *recte* Cork, Ireland. Munday repeats Stow’s mistake at *CoE* sig. 2I5^r.

Henry VIII

Cf. *CoE* sigs 3M5^v-3M6^r (pp. 928-29), 3M8^r (p. 933), 3R2^v-3R3^v (pp. 1002-04), 3R6^v-3R7^v (pp. 1010-12), 3S1^v (p. 1016), 3S3^r-3S3^v (pp. 1019-20), 3S4^v-3S5^v (1022-24) and 3S7^r (p. 1027).

King Henry the Eighth: 1491-1547; reigned 1509-47. Other titles include King of Ireland, Duke of York, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester. He was the second son of King Henry VII (1457-1509) and Queen Elizabeth of York (1466-1503).

¹ Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (1478-1521). Buckingham had an illustrious Plantagenet heritage: he was descended from two sons of Edward III (John of Gaunt and Thomas of Woodstock) and was also cousin to Edward V. When Henry VII was ailing in 1504, both Buckingham and Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (c. 1472-1513, Plantagenet cousin to Queen Elizabeth of York) were discussed by the king’s officials as

suitable rulers: Prince Henry was not even mentioned (*Letters and Papers* I 1861: 233).

Henry VII and Henry VIII were both well aware of Buckingham's bloodline and Buckingham certainly expected to govern if Henry VIII should die (Davies, 'Edward Stafford', *ODNB*).

² (s.n.) 1522 *recte* 17 May 1521 (Davies, 'Edward Stafford', *ODNB*). This is a misreading by Munday: Stow gives the correct date.

³ Robert Gilbert (dates unknown), a cleric (Davies, 'Edward Stafford', *ODNB*).

⁴ Munday provides a somewhat confused list of witnesses. These were: Sir Gilbert Perke *recte* Robert Gilbert, the duke's chancellor (see n. 3); John de la Court *recte* Edmund Dellacourt (dates unknown), the duke's chaplain; Charles Knyvett (dates unknown), who had been recently dismissed as one of Buckingham's senior estate officials; Nicholas Hopkins (dates unknown), a Carthusian monk of Henton, Somerset (Davies, 'Edward Stafford', *ODNB*).

⁵ Hopkins had made prophesies that Buckingham would one day be king. The witnesses testified that Buckingham thought the Tudor dynasty was cursed due to Henry VII's execution of Edward, Earl of Warwick. The evidence for such damnation could be seen in Henry VIII's apparent inability to produce a surviving male heir (Davies, 'Edward Stafford', *ODNB*).

⁶ Apart from their executions, nothing further is known about these three individuals listed here. The conspiracy between Phillip, Pickering and Manville (all d. 1524) was the second such plot to rob the royal treasury in as many years. Such conspiracies were a consequence of the poverty brought about by the enclosure of common land (Harris 1911: 161-62).

⁷ Elizabeth Barton (c. 1506-1534) was a nun who suffered from a condition (possibly a form of epilepsy) that caused her to enter a trance-like state and make utterances that were

regarded as prophesies. She was imprisoned in the Tower where she admitted to fraud. She performed public penance in London and Canterbury before her execution at Tyburn. Her head was displayed on London Bridge (Watt, 'Elizabeth Barton', *ODNB*).

⁸ (s.n.) 1535 *recte* 20 April 1534 (Watt, 'Elizabeth Barton', *ODNB*).

⁹ The 'other of her faction' executed were Edward Bocking and John Dering, monks from Christ Church, Canterbury; Hugh Rich, warden of Richmond Priory; Henry Risby, warden of Greyfriars, Canterbury; Henry Gold, parson of St Mary Aldermary, London (all d. 1534) (Watt, 'Elizabeth Barton', *ODNB*). 'These deaths were the first Catholic "martyrdoms" of the English Reformation' (Shagan, 'Edward Bocking', *ODNB*).

¹⁰ (s.n.) 1536 *recte* 4 May 1535 (Camm, I, 1914: 1).

¹¹ John Houghton (1487-1535), Carthusian prior of London (Benedictine Monks 1921: 58, 'Carthusian Martyrs' and Camm, I, 1914: 1-16).

¹² Robert Lawrence (d. 1535), Carthusian prior from Nottinghamshire (Benedictine Monks 1921: 58, 'Carthusian Martyrs' and Camm, I, 1914: 1-16).

¹³ Augustine Webster (d. 1535), Carthusian prior from Lincolnshire (Benedictine Monks 1921: 58, 'Carthusian Martyrs' and Camm, I, 1914: 1-16).

¹⁴ Richard Reynolds (c. 1492-1535), Brigittine prior of Syon Abbey, Twickenham (Camm, I, 1914: 27-36).

¹⁵ John Haile (d. 1535) was the first priest of the secular clergy (he was a vicar but not a monk) to be executed for the Catholic religion under Henry VIII (Camm, I, 1914: 17).

¹⁶ The Carthusians had refused the oath of supremacy and Haile was charged with 'stating that the King was a heretic and an enemy of the Church' (Camm, I, 1914: 20).

¹⁷ William Exmew (c. 1507-1535), confessor to John Houghton (Hogg, 'William Exmew', *ODNB*).

¹⁸ Humphrey Middlemore (d. 1535), former procurator of the Charterhouse (Hogg, ‘William Exmew’, *ODNB*).

¹⁹ Sebastian Newdigate (1500-1535), a widower with two daughters, was admitted to the Charterhouse after his wife’s death (Bainbridge, ‘Sebastian Newdigate’, *ODNB*). Sebastian Newdigate was the uncle of Anne Newdigate, wife of George Saunders (see *SE MT* 35-102).

²⁰ John Fisher (c. 1469-1535), cardinal and Bishop of Rochester (1504-1535). Fisher was arrested for his interest in the prophecies of Elizabeth Barton and executed for his refusal to take the oath of supremacy (Rex, ‘John Fisher’, *ODNB*). Bishop Fisher appears as a character in Munday’s play *Sir Thomas More*.

²¹ (s.n.) 1536 *recte* June and July 1535 (Rex, ‘John Fisher’ and House, ‘Thomas More’, *ODNB*).

²² Thomas More (1478-1535), lawyer and Lord Chancellor (1529-1535). More was imprisoned for refusing to acknowledge the act of succession and went to trial for refusing to take the oath of supremacy (House, ‘Thomas More’, *ODNB*). Munday’s hand is detected, possibly as main author, in the play *Sir Thomas More* (probably 1590s) (Munday and others, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 29). The play dramatizes events surrounding More’s rise to power and subsequent conflict with the king.

²³ Thomas Fitzgerald (1513-1537), also known as Lord Offaly and Earl of Kildare. Munday refers to Fitzgerald as the ‘heir’ to the Earl of Kildare. Fitzgerald had inherited the title of Earl of Kildare on the death (in the Tower) of his father, Gerald Fitzgerald (1487-1534). After Fitzgerald’s arrest in 1535 the Irish parliament attainted his dead father and backdated the act to 1528. This deprived Thomas of the title he had already inherited (Ellis, ‘Thomas Fitzgerald’, *ODNB*).

²⁴ These uncles were James, Oliver, Richard, John and Walter (all d. 1537), half-brothers of Fitzgerald's father by the second marriage of *his* father, Gerald Fitzgerald (c. 1456-1513) (Ellis, 'Gerald Fitzgerald', *ODNB*).

²⁵ The loss of his earldom altered the permitted method of Fitzgerald's execution from beheading to being drawn, hanged and beheaded. Fitzgerald and his uncles were all executed at Tyburn on 3 February 1537 but only the uncles were quartered (Ellis, 'Thomas Fitzgerald', *ODNB*).

²⁶ Nicholas Musgrave (dates unknown) was a yeoman from Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria, who became a captain and commons representative in the Pilgrimage of Grace (a popular revolt in the north of England, 1536-37, which opposed King Henry's church reforms). Despite his prominent involvement in the rebellion, Musgrave escaped the king's reprisals and vanished into obscurity (Moorhouse 2002: xix, 91, 190, 275).

²⁷ Thomas Gilby (dates unknown) is mentioned by Stow in *CoE* at sig. 3R6^v (p. 1010) as an associate of Nicholas Musgrave at the siege of Carlisle. Gilby's fate is not recorded.

²⁸ Sir Francis Bigod, (1507-1537) was a scholarly theologian and committed, even puritanical, Protestant who opposed the king's method of church reform, rather than the reforms themselves. He was hanged at Tyburn on 2 June 1537 (Hicks, 'Francis Bigod', *ODNB*).

²⁹ Sir Robert Constable, (c. 1478-1537), a leader in the Pilgrimage of Grace. He was pardoned for his offences but, after Bigod's rebellion, was arrested again and indicted for alleged crimes committed after pardon. He was executed in Hull on 6 July 1537 and hanged in chains (Newman, 'Robert Constable', *ODNB*).

³⁰ The king demanded that 100 men should die as punishment for the rebellion in Lincolnshire. In the event, 46 men died: 12 were sent to London to be executed at Tyburn and the rest were dispatched in Louth and Hornchurch (Moorhouse 2002: 237-38).

³¹ Matthew Mackerell, (d. 1537) was a Premonstratensian (member of an order of canons founded at Prémontré, France) abbot of Barlings, Lincolnshire, and titular Bishop of Chalcedon (Norbertines, ‘Matthew Mackerell’, online resource). He was known as an eloquent and moving preacher (Dodds and Dodds 1915: 153-56).

³² Thomas Kendall, (d. 1537), the vicar of Louth, Lincolnshire, whose sermon on 1 October 1536 initiated the Lincolnshire uprising (Moorhouse 2002: xviii).

³³ (s.n.) 1538 *recte* April 1537 (Dodds and Dodds 1915: 172).

³⁴ Sir Hugh Paulet (c. 1510-1573), Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset for 1536-37 (Davies, ‘Hugh Paulet’, *ODNB*).

³⁵ Both Munday and Stow (*CoE*, sig. 3R7r) make the point that one of those hanged and quartered was a woman. Women were typically drawn and burned for treason: this male preserve of hanging and quartering was unheard of for a woman.

³⁶ John Forest (c.1470-1538) was a Franciscan friar and an opponent of the king’s divorce. Forest was hanged by the waist because he begged to have his hands free. He was then suspended over the fire which gradually consumed him (Camm, I, 1914: 319-20). He was ‘unique among Tudor and Stuart papalists in being burnt as a heretic, rather than hanged, drawn and quartered as a traitor’ (Marshall, ‘John Forest’, *ODNB*).

³⁷ (s.n.) 1539 *recte* 22 May 1538 (Benedictine Monks 1921: 150).

³⁸ The fire was augmented by an enormous wooden statue of the Welsh Saint Dderfel Gadarn. The statue was so big that it took eight men to carry it and three to hold it upright on the platform next to Friar Forest (Camm, I, 1914: 318). It is often claimed that using the

statue as fuel for the fire was a malicious mockery of the prophecy that Dderfel Gadarn would one day set a forest on fire, but the earliest reference to any such prophecy is 1548, some ten years after this event (Marshall, 'John Forest', *ODNB*).

³⁹ Hugh Cook (d. 1539) adopted the religious name 'Faringdon'. He was a Benedictine monk and Abbot of Reading (1520-1539). Faringdon took the oath of supremacy, so the grounds of his conviction for treason remain uncertain (Cross, 'Hugh Cook', *ODNB*).

⁴⁰ (s.n.) 1540 *recte* 14 November 1539 (Cross, 'Hugh Cook', *ODNB*).

⁴¹ John Rugg (d.1539), former prebendary of Salisbury (Cross, 'Hugh Cook', *ODNB*).

⁴² John Eynon (d. 1539), priest of St Giles, Reading. Both Eynon and Rugg were hanged with Hugh Faringdon before the gatehouse of Reading Abbey (Cross, 'Hugh Cook', *ODNB*).

⁴³ Richard Whiting (d. 1539), was a Benedictine monk and Abbot of Glastonbury (1525-1539). Whiting had taken the oath of supremacy in June 1534 but was accused of stealing from the monastery: this accusation possibly relates to the concealment of precious items when the abbey was despoiled. He was dragged on a hurdle through Glastonbury town and executed before his monastery on Glastonbury Tor (Doggett, 'Richard Whiting', *ODNB*).

⁴⁴ Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540), Earl of Essex and royal minister (Leithead, 'Thomas Cromwell', *ODNB*).

⁴⁵ nine-and-twentieth day of July *recte* 29 June (Leithead, 'Thomas Cromwell', *ODNB*)

⁴⁶ Walter Hungerford (1503-1540), Baron Hungerford of Heytesbury, a minor courtier and client of Thomas Cromwell (Ashton, 'Walter Hungerford', *ODNB*).

⁴⁷ Robert Barnes (c. 1495-1540), Thomas Garrard (1498-1540) and William Jerome (d. 1540) were Protestant reformers. All three were burnt in one fire at Smithfield (Trueman, 'Robert Barnes' and Waduba, 'Thomas Garrard', *ODNB*).

⁴⁸ Thomas Abel (d. 1540), Edward Powell (c. 1478-1540) and Richard Featherstone (d. 1540) were Catholic priests who had spent years in prison for their religious support of the king's first wife, Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536) (Waduba, 'Thomas Gerard', *ODNB*).

⁴⁹ The king made a gesture of religious even-handedness by executing three Protestants for heresy and three Catholics for treason. They all died together on 30 July 1540 (Shagan, 'Edward Powell', *ODNB*). Barnes and Powell, Protestant and Catholic, made the journey from the Tower to Smithfield tied together (Shagan, 'Edward Powell', *ODNB*).

⁵⁰ Laurence Cooke (d. 1540). Nothing more is known about this person.

⁵¹ William Horne (d. 1540) was the last of the Carthusian Martyrs (Benedictine Monks 1921: 58 'Carthusian Martyrs').

⁵² (s.n.) 1541 *recte* 4 August 1540 (Benedictine Monks 1921: 58 'Carthusian Martyrs').

⁵³ Giles Heron (c. 1504-1540) was a former ward of Sir Thomas More and husband of More's youngest daughter, Cecily (b. 1507). He was MP for Thetford (*The History of Parliament*, 'Giles Heron', online resource). Stow has 'Giles Horne' which is possibly a printer's error following 'William Horne' on the previous line.

⁵⁴ Clement Philpott was a servant of Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle (c. 1472-1542) (Wriothsley 1875: 121). Lisle was the illegitimate son of Edward IV (1442-1483) (Grummit, 'Arthur Plantagenet', *ODNB*).

⁵⁵ Nothing more is known about Bromham, Kenham, Bird or Carrow. Wriothsley (1875: 121) and Stow (*CoE*, sig. 3S3^r-3S3^v, pp. 1019-20) both provide slightly differing lists of names for this event, during which approximately thirteen people were executed. The convictions appear to be for a mixture of religious, political and criminal offences.

⁵⁶ William Leigh (d.1541), was from the upper gentry in Middleton, near Leeds, and was executed at Tyburn (Sansom 2013: 223).

⁵⁷ Thomas Tattershall (d. 1541) was a wealthy clothier from the Wakefield district and was executed at Tyburn (Sansom 2013: 223).

⁵⁸ Gilbert Thornton (d. 1541) was a yeoman from the Wakefield district, (Sansom 2013: 223).

⁵⁹ Sir John Nevile (d. 1541) was from the upper gentry in Chevet, near Barnsley. Former High Sheriff of Yorkshire and supporter of the Pilgrimage of Grace since 1536, he was executed at York (Sansom 2013: 223).

⁶⁰ Known as the Wakefield Rising, at least fifteen people were executed for their connection to this rebellion. Of those whose names are known, Munday only mentions four of the five lay-persons (the other was James Diamond, a ‘poor man’ from Wakefield who was executed at York). Munday also omits the four known priests who were executed: Thomas Green, William Swynden, John Dixon and John Gryce (Sansom 2013: 223).

⁶¹ Lord Leonard Grey (c. 1490-1541), Viscount Graney, Lord Deputy of Ireland. Grey’s sister, Elizabeth (1514-1548), was the second wife of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare (1487-1534) and stepmother to Thomas Fitzgerald (1513-1537). Grey was executed on 28 June 1541 (Lyons, ‘Leonard Grey’, *ODNB*).

⁶² 29 June 1541.

⁶³ (s.n.) 1542 *recte* 1 July 1541 (*CoE*, sig. 3S5^v, p. 1024).

⁶⁴ German Gardner (d. 1544), a layman from Southwark. He was a relative (probably nephew) of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester (c. 1495-1555) whom he served as secretary (Camm, I, 1914: 543-47).

⁶⁵ John Larke (d. 1544), rector of St Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate (1504-1530). A personal friend of Sir Thomas More, he was selected as rector of More's parish church at Chelsea in 1530 (Camm, I, 1914: 541-42).

⁶⁶ Robert Singleton (d. 1544) was a former chaplain to the king's second wife, Anne Boleyn. He had written a number of religious pamphlets (now lost) and attempted to recant unspecified heresies, but to no avail (Ryrie, 'Robert Singleton', *ODNB*).

⁶⁷ Nothing more is known of this person.

⁶⁸ Munday does not mention John Ireland, a clerk from Eltham, Kent, who was also executed in this group on 7 March 1544 (Camm, I, 1914: 545).

Edward VI

Cf. *CoE* sigs 3T5^v-3T7^r (pp. 1040-43) and 3T8^v-3U1^r (pp. 1046-47).

King Edward the Sixth: 1537-1553; reigned 1547-1553. Other titles include King of Ireland. He was the only child of King Henry VIII (1491-1547) and Queen Jane Seymour (c. 1508-1537).

¹ William Herbert (c. 1506-1570), Earl of Pembroke. Herbert was a prominent courtier under Henry VIII and on the council of regency for Edward VI. He took an active part in the suppression of the many rebellions that broke out during 1547-49, the king even recording in his journal that Herbert 'did put them down, overrun, and slay them' (Sil, 'William Herbert', *ODNB*).

² This rising is better known as the 'Western Rebellion' or the 'Prayer Book Rebellion'. The nobility supported the imposition of the king's new English Protestant prayerbook; the Cornish speaking locals resisted it (Stoyle 2014: 552).

³ John Russell (c. 1485-1555), Earl of Bedford. Along with William Herbert, Russell was also on the council of regency for Edward VI (Willen, 'John Russell', *ODNB*).

⁴ fifth day of August *recte* 6 August 1549 (Willen, 'John Russell', *ODNB*).

⁵ Hangings took place all over Somerset, including in Bath, Frome, Mells, Beckington, Shepton Mallet, Wells, Glastonbury, Dunster and Ilminster (Rowse 1969: 282).

⁶ Nothing more is known about these people.

⁷ 22 July.

⁸ Mount Surrey was a magnificent mansion built by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (c. 1516-1547). It was located on Mousehold Heath, a hill outside Norwich (Brigden, 'Henry Howard' *ODNB*).

⁹ The rebels camped on the heath in and around Mount Surrey (the house had fallen into disrepair after Surrey's execution in 1547) (Walter, 'Robert Kett', *ODNB*).

¹⁰ John Dudley (1504-1553), Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick, Duke of Northumberland. Dudley was also on the council of regency for Edward VI and was appointed Lord Great Chamberlain of England in February 1547 (Loades, 'John Dudley', *ODNB*).

¹¹ Robert Kett (c.1492-1549) is described as a tanner, which was a trade that required significant investment. Along with his brother William, who was a butcher and mercer, Robert Kett was one of the wealthiest members of his community (Walter, 'Robert Kett', *ODNB*).

¹² A thousand marks was (at that time) about £670.00 (Walter, 'Robert Kett', *ODNB*). To put this in context, one could purchase a substantial provincial house for less than £200.00 (Bearman 2016: 83).

¹³ Although they were imprisoned and tortured in the Tower, Kett and his brother were returned to Norfolk for execution. On 7 December 1549, Robert Kett was hanged from the

walls of Norwich Castle and William Kett was hanged from the steeple of Wymondham church (Walter, 'Robert Kett', *ODNB*).

¹⁴ Nothing more is known about William Ombler (d. 1549) or Thomas Dale (d. 1549) than is recorded here. 'Stevenson' (Christian name unknown, d. 1549) was Dale's neighbour and Ombler's nephew (Dickens 1982: 33, n. 1).

¹⁵ Robert Holgate (c. 1481-1555), Bishop of Llandaff (1537-1545), Archbishop of York (1545-1554). Holgate held the position of Lord President of the Council of the North between 1538 and 1549 (Parish, 'Robert Holgate', *ODNB*).

¹⁶ Wintringham is about fourteen miles from Seamer. The rebels had tried to stir up support at many places in the area (Dickens 1982: 35).

¹⁷ The beacon was situated on high ground overlooking the settlement of Staxton, about four miles from Seamer.

¹⁸ Matthew White (d. 1549), Chantry Commissioner for Yorkshire (Dickens 1982: 35, n. 4).

¹⁹ Nothing more is known of this person with any certainty: the name was a common one in the area (Dickens 1982: 36, n. 1).

²⁰ This is thought to be William Savage (d. 1549), son of Richard Savage, a former Sheriff of York. Both men have been identified as the victim by different historians but the son is the more likely candidate as his will was proved in February 1550, just a few months after this incident (Dickens 1982: 36, n. 2).

²¹ Nothing more is known of this person. Matthew White did have an associate named Edward Bury, but he died in 1582 and, therefore, cannot be the person mentioned here (Dickens 1982: 36, n. 3).

²² Sir Walter Mildmay (c. 1520-1589) was one of the commissioners for the sale of chantry property. He never sought advancement beyond the rank of knight and did not attempt to enrich himself at the crown's expense. He was a valued official throughout the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I (Ford, 'Walter Mildmay', *ODNB*).

²³ The 'other' executed with William Ombler and Thomas Dale were Henry Barton, John Dale, Robert Wright, W. Peacock, Wetherell (Christian name unknown) and Edmund Buttry (all d. 1549). Stevenson is not listed among these executions: he may have accepted the offered royal pardon (*WW MT* 982) (Dickens 1982: 38).

²⁴ Humphrey Arundell (c. 1512-1550) was the ringleader of the Western Rising. He was taken to the Tower and then executed at Tyburn on 27 January 1550. His quarters were displayed on London gates (Cooper, 'Humphrey Arundell', *ODNB*).

²⁵ Thomas Winslow and Bury *recte* John Winslade and John Bury, also with Thomas Holmes (all d. 1550) (Cooper, 'Humphrey Arundell', *ODNB*). Stow has the names correct; Munday has confused them in transcription (*CoE*, sig. 3T8^v, p. 1046).

²⁶ Robert Bell (d.1550) from Gazeley in west Suffolk. Bell's rising was one of the very many small rebellions in the area that started in response to Kett's rebellion (MacCullough, p. 38).

²⁷ Nothing more is known of these people beyond what is recorded here.

Mary I

Cf. *CoE* sig. 3Z3^v–3Z4^v (pp. 1100-02) and *Acts and Monuments* by John Foxe (1583) Book 12, Tome 6, Chapter 101, pp. 2115-2121 (*Acts and Monuments Online*, online resource).

Queen Mary I: 1516-1558; reigned 1553-1558. Other titles include Queen of Ireland. She was the only surviving child of King Henry VIII (1491-1547) and Queen Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536).

¹ Stow records that Constable was about 18 years old when he was imprisoned at the Marshalsea for his first offence in May 1555 (*CoE*, sig. 3Z1^v-3Z2^r, pp.1096-97). Constable then reoffended and was executed on 13 March 1556.

² His punishment had been to be carried through London in a cart with ‘paper on hys head’ before being whipped and returned to his birthplace in the north (*CoE*, sig. 3Z1^v-3Z2^r, pp. 1096-97). The punishment of whipping was frequently imposed by the assizes. There was no prescribed number of strokes ‘but it was usually made clear that blood should be drawn’ (Sharpe 1990: 23-24).

³ According to Stow, Clober (Christian name unknown) had arranged for friends to support him in a rabble-rousing speech at Yaxley church, but a group of strangers was mistaken for his friends and he gave the speech unsupported. He was apprehended in July 1556 and executed at the next judicial sessions (*CoE*, sig. 3Z4^{r-v}, pp. 1101-02).

⁴ Queen Mary died of a fever on 17 November 1558 (Weikel, ‘Mary I’, *ODNB*).

⁵ Munday lists the titles of his own monarch and employer, Queen Elizabeth I (dates and further details supplied in the next section of the Commentary). For most of this section, which relates to the period before her accession, the future Queen Elizabeth is referred to as ‘Lady Elizabeth’.

⁶ Upon her accession in 1558, Queen Elizabeth’s government acted quickly to prevent further civil discord over religious matters. Edward VI’s English prayer book was restored for general use but both Catholic and Protestant interpretations of communion were permitted. ‘It would not be Catholicism. But neither would it be a rigorous, stripped down,

Genevan-style Protestantism’ (Starkey 2000: 285). This balanced approach was intended to avoid the excessive bloodshed of the previous reign.

⁷ John Foxe (c. 1516-1587) is the author of *Acts and Monuments*, an enormous work of martyrology that was ‘immediately and universally referred to as Foxe’s *‘Book of Martyrs’* (Freeman, ‘John Foxe’, *ODNB*). Foxe lived in Grub Street, yards from Munday’s own home in Fore Street in the parish of St Giles Cripplegate (*MoEML*). As near neighbours who shared an interest in government-sponsored religious conformity, it is reasonable to assume that Foxe and Munday knew (or at least knew of) one another.

⁸ This sentence can be paraphrased as: ‘If the writer were to give a full account of every detail concerning this story (and the story is important enough that such an account is a reasonable requirement) then the story would be annoyingly long and may upset some people still living who remember these events. The truth could make the writer an object of hatred.’

⁹ Sir Thomas Wyatt (c. 1521-1554), son of Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet (1503-1542). Wyatt the younger had been opposed to Queen Mary’s intended marriage to Philip of Spain (1527-1598), believing that such an alliance would leave England vulnerable to becoming subsumed in the Spanish empire. Although Wyatt did not have enough practical support to make his rebellion successful, his fears were widely shared. He was executed on 11 April 1554 and within a few days his head had been stolen and preserved as a martyr’s relic (Archer, ‘Thomas Wyatt’, *ODNB*).

¹⁰ Edward Courtenay (1526-1556), Earl of Devon and great-grandson of Edward IV. Courtenay had royal blood and his family had been imprisoned in the Tower for their Catholic sympathies. Those opposed to the Spanish marriage suggested Courtenay as a

suitable alternative husband for Mary. When Mary refused, Wyatt sought to match Courtenay with Elizabeth instead (Archer, 'Edward Courtenay', *ODNB*).

¹¹ Ashridge was a large manor in Hertfordshire, inherited by Elizabeth on 17 March 1550. It had been one of her childhood homes (Starkey 2000: 93). For a description of the sumptuous interior, see Starkey 2000: 94-96.

¹² Sir Richard Southwell (c. 1502-1564) was an administrator and an executor of Henry VIII's will. He had been instrumental in the downfalls of both Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell (Lehmberg, 'Richard Southwell', *ODNB*). It can be inferred that the queen intended him to find evidence against Elizabeth.

¹³ Sir Edward Hastings (c. 1512-1572), Baron Hastings of Loughborough. 'Hastings was regularly used for missions that required a high level of trust' (Loades, 'Edward Hastings', *ODNB*).

¹⁴ Sir Thomas Cornwallis (c. 1518-1604) was an administrator and privy council member. He was a Catholic and a 'trusted servant of Mary'. He became a recusant in the reign of Elizabeth (Weikel, 'Thomas Cornwallis', *ODNB*).

¹⁵ Dr George Owen (c. 1499-1558) was physician to Henry VIII, present at the birth and death of Edward VI and retained as physician to Mary I, with whom he remained on friendly terms until his own death (Lee, 'George Owen', *ODNB*).

¹⁶ Dr Thomas Wendy (c. 1499-1560) became physician to Henry VIII in 1541 and to Katherine Parr in 1546. He was present at the death of Edward VI and was retained by Mary I (Pollard, 'Thomas Wendy', *ODNB*).

¹⁷ (s.n.) Foxe makes a sarcastic comment about Queen Mary taking trouble over her sister's comfort in the full knowledge that she intended to imprison Elizabeth in the Tower on arrival.

¹⁸ Foxe uses the respectful ‘their worships’ to refer to the messengers, possibly with sarcasm.

¹⁹ 12 February 1554: Elizabeth began her journey to the Tower on the day Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554) was executed on Tower Green. Lady Jane was seventeen years old (Starkey 2000: 137).

²⁰ Redbourn is a village in Hertfordshire, approximately 10 miles from Ashridge House.

²¹ Sir Ralph Rowlett (c.1513-1571) was Protestant in sympathies and had been promoted under Edward VI. He was MP for Hertfordshire in 1547 and High Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1559/60, although he did not hold any public office under Mary I (*The History of Parliament*, ‘Ralph Rowlett’, online resource). Rowlett lived at Holywell House (now demolished) in St Albans, nearly five miles from Redbourn.

²² There is no specific record of this stay, but the Master Dodds referred to here could be William Dodds (dates unknown) who owned a house called Dancers Hill in Mimms at this time. His wife, Elizabeth (dates unknown), had inherited the house from her first husband, one John Coningsby (d. 1543). William and Elizabeth sold the house with six acres of land in 1558 (Heritage Statement, *Dancers Hill House*, para 2.2.1, online resource).

²³ Mimms to Highgate is a journey of approximately 12 miles.

²⁴ Mary I was then at Whitehall Palace. Elizabeth arrived on 23 February, the day the Duke of Suffolk (Henry Grey, 1517-1554, Lady Jane’s father) was executed on Tower Hill (Starkey 2000: 137).

²⁵ Palm Sunday fell on 18 March in 1554.

²⁶ Mary’s husband, Philip of Spain, was afforded the right to the style ‘King’ but not the privileges of power that would normally accompany the title. It would not have been possible for Elizabeth to see Philip at this time anyway as he did not arrive in England

until 19 July 1554, some four or five months after these events. He married Queen Mary on 25 July 1554 at Winchester Cathedral (Edwards 2011: 182-87).

²⁷ Sir John Gage (1479-1556) was a staunch Catholic, Lord Chamberlain of the Household for Mary I and Constable of the Tower of London. ‘As constable he received Princess Elizabeth into the Tower and was thought to have treated her severely “more for love of the pope than for hate of her person”’ (Potter, ‘John Gage’, *ODNB*).

²⁸ Sir Henry Jerningham (c. 1509-1572) was a Catholic courtier, privy councillor and captain of the guard as well as vice-chamberlain of the household (Weikel, ‘Henry Jerningham’, *ODNB*).

²⁹ Sir William St Loe (c. 1518- c. 1564) was a friend and loyal servant to Elizabeth. He later served as MP for Somerset (1559) and Derbyshire (1563) (*The History of Parliament*, ‘William St Loe’, online resource).

³⁰ St Loe was charged with complicity in the Wyatt rebellion and committed to the Tower on 28 February 1554. He was fined £2,200 and released in January 1555 (*The History of Parliament*, ‘William St Loe’, online resource).

³¹ Stephen Gardiner (c. 1495-1555), Bishop of Winchester (1531-1551 and 1553-1555). He had been imprisoned under Edward VI for his opposition to the Protestant reformation but was restored to royal favour under Mary I (Armstrong, ‘Stephen Gardiner’, *ODNB*).

³² Immediately on her accession, Mary assembled a privy council of 18 men. This rose to 50 members once the reign was established (Crankshaw, ‘The Tudor Privy Council c. 1540-1603’, online resource). It is not possible to identify all of those present at this event with any certainty.

³³ Sir Peter Carew (c. 1514-1575) had been part of a conspiracy opposed to the Queen’s Spanish marriage. He had fled to France in January 1554 (Cooper, ‘Peter Carew’, *ODNB*).

³⁴ This specific form of words comes from the service of Holy Communion as it appears in the *Book of Common Prayer* (both 1549 and 1559 texts) (2011: 32 and 134).

³⁵ i.e in a sheepish manner, aware of the unjustness of the situation.

³⁶ William Paulet (c. 1474-1572), Marquess of Winchester. He served as a privy councillor under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. He served as Lord Treasurer under Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I (Ford, 'William Paulet', *ODNB*).

³⁷ Stephen Gardiner (see n. 31).

³⁸ Henry Fitzalan (1512-1580), Earl of Arundel. He served as a privy councillor under Henry VIII, lost the position under Edward VI, was restored by Mary I and lost it again under Elizabeth I. He was a Catholic and an advocate of the Spanish marriage. He was appointed Lord Steward in September 1553 and was one of four lords who gave Mary away at her wedding to Philip of Spain in July 1554 (Lock, 'Henry Fitzalan', *ODNB*).

³⁹ Henry Radcliffe (c. 1507-1557), Earl of Sussex. He supported Mary's coup and became a privy councillor on 17 May 1553. He did not, however, support the Spanish marriage and 'upheld the position of Princess Elizabeth as the Queen's heir presumptive' (Grummitt, in 'Robert Radcliffe', *ODNB*).

⁴⁰ Nobility were separated from their servants while under arrest: 'standard procedure was to isolate immediately anyone accused' (Ives 2004: 320). This not only prevented collusion with loyal retainers but allowed for new servants who were loyal to the crown to watch over the prisoner. Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn (c. 1500-1536), had also been deprived of her servants while imprisoned (Ives 2004: 344).

⁴¹ Queen Mary's royal troops wore white coats decorated with red crosses (Lawson 1940: 5-6).

⁴² It was William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester (see n. 36) (Starkey 2000: 139).

⁴³ Versions of this proverb are used twice in quick succession (*WW MT* 1220 and 1223-24). Foxe was keen to make the point that Elizabeth's captors were not in complete control of her captivity: nature (and, by extension, God) was in control of all.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth's captors were wary of moving her at night because they thought it might allow the Queen's enemies to ambush the group and rescue Elizabeth (Starkey 2000: 140).

⁴⁵ There is no evidence for these exchanges that follow to the end of the paragraph; Foxe has allowed himself some poetic licence for this episode.

⁴⁶ These are the words of Sir John Gage who was hostile to Elizabeth (Starkey 2000 141-42).

⁴⁷ John Brydges (1492-1557), Baron Chandos. Brydges was a Catholic who had supported Mary when she took the crown and was rewarded with his appointment as Lieutenant of the Tower (August 1553-June 1554) (Norris, 'John Brydges', *ODNB*).

⁴⁸ The Earl of Sussex supported Elizabeth's position in the line of succession. This urging of caution is self-interest: should Elizabeth become queen, he did not want to be condemned for the rash actions of others.

⁴⁹ Nothing more is known about this person.

⁵⁰ The point is that Elizabeth had been instructed to worship in the Roman Catholic manner (in Latin) but her chaplain was a Protestant and did not know how to say mass and nor did anyone in Elizabeth's party.

⁵¹ Elizabeth's yeomen sent out for books to help the priest learn how to deliver the Catholic liturgy. The yeomen were 'learned' (*WW MT* 1317), so it seems that this exercise was all put on to feign ignorance of the religious requirements thrust upon them.

⁵² Foxe uses the metaphor of searching for a knife to cut Elizabeth's throat to illustrate the frantic search for evidence against her in order to dispose of her.

⁵³ Sir James Croft (c. 1518-1590) was a Protestant who supported Wyatt's rebellion.

Following a trial during which extra jurors had to be found in order to secure a guilty verdict, Croft was sentenced to death and imprisoned in the Tower where, despite robust questioning, he refused to implicate Elizabeth in Wyatt's plot. In January 1555 he was fined £500 and released with a pardon (Ellis, 'James Croft', *ODNB*).

⁵⁴ Near Newbury in Berkshire. Elizabeth had been advised by both Croft and Wyatt to leave Ashridge and go to Donnington during the Wyatt rebellion (Starkey 2000: 137).

⁵⁵ Sir Philip Hoby (c.1504-1558). He was a Protestant and a leading courtier and diplomat under Henry VIII and Edward VI. His influence 'diminished sharply' under Mary I (Bell, 'Philip Hoby', *ODNB*).

⁵⁶ Sir John Gage.

⁵⁷ Sir John exclaims that anybody who claims to be a member of Elizabeth's 'council' has no authority whatsoever at the Tower.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth's supporters effectively went above Sir John's head and petitioned the Queen's council directly for the right to be the sole suppliers of Elizabeth's victuals (thus greatly reducing her chance of being poisoned).

⁵⁹ Still Sir John Gage, to whom Foxe refers variously as Lord Chamberlain and Constable of the Tower.

⁶⁰ John Brydges. By sending for the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Chandos, the constable and the lieutenant of the Tower, Elizabeth arranged to see the two most senior officials of her prison.

⁶¹ Part of the palace complex built by Henry VIII.

⁶² Elizabeth was not imprisoned in a dungeon but in the royal palace, to the south-east of the inner ward of the Tower. It is where her mother, Anne Boleyn, had also been imprisoned (Starkey 2000: 142).

⁶³ The council were unable to offer these liberties to all prisoners and were therefore unwilling to be seen favouring one prisoner over another.

⁶⁴ Seeing the doors and gates locked made a walk in the garden as disturbing as it was welcome.

⁶⁵ Earl of Devonshire *recte* Earl of Devon, Edward Courtenay. The first Earl of Devonshire was William Cavendish (1551-1626); at this time, he was three years old and not imprisoned in the Tower.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth realised that her captors had noticed the boy's communication with her and were suspicious of it. Any further exchange of words could have had serious consequences. This story is confirmed (somewhat less romantically) in a letter dated 1 May 1554 from the Spanish ambassador, Simon Renard (1513-1573), to King Charles I of Spain (1500-1558) (*Calendar of State Papers (Spain)*, May 1554 1-10, online resource).

⁶⁷ Sir Henry Bedingfield (c. 1509-1583) was an administrator and privy councillor from Norfolk, serving in various public offices through the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Mary I chose him to replace Sir John Gage as Constable of the Tower from May 1554 to April 1555 (Weikel, 'Henry Bedingfield', *ODNB*).

⁶⁸ The colour of soldiers' coats varied according to their division. The soldiers who arrived with Bedingfield were directly under his command and wore blue coats to distinguish them from the royal troops who wore white (Lawson 1940: 5-6).

⁶⁹ Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554) had been executed on 12 February 1554 on Tower Green. Her scaffold was still there on 18 March when Elizabeth arrived at the Tower, and

Elizabeth would have been able to see it as she passed under the Bloody Tower and through the Coldharbour Gate, into the royal palace beyond (Starkey 2000:142). From the confines of the palace Tower Green would not have been visible, so Elizabeth could not have known whether the scaffold was still in place.

⁷⁰ Elizabeth was concerned that the new appointee would be prepared to murder her secretly (as Edward V and his brother had been murdered some 70 years before) because the judicial process had been unable to find any evidence to secure her death sentence in court.

⁷¹ Woodstock Manor was a large country house renovated by Henry VII and Henry VIII: ‘the royal lodgings were the largest of any house outside the Thames valley’ (Thurley 2017: 319-11). It was reduced to ruins during the English Civil War.

⁷² William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester.

⁷³ Edward Stanley (1509-1572), Earl of Derby, a Catholic privy councillor and staunch supporter of Queen Mary. He played prominent roles in her coronation and wedding ceremonies (Knafla, ‘Edward Stanley’, *ODNB*).

⁷⁴ John Williams (c. 1500-1559), Baron Williams of Thame, Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire (1553/4) and Chamberlain to King Philip (Jack, ‘John Williams’, *ODNB*)

⁷⁵ Formerly known as Sheen, the royal manor at Richmond had been lavishly rebuilt by Henry VII after a fire in 1497; for a description of the new palace, see Thurley 2017: 47-53. Richmond was Queen Mary’s favourite residence, but for Elizabeth ‘it was foreign territory’ (Starkey 2000: 147).

⁷⁶ The full quotation is ‘*tanquam ovis ad occisionem*’ – like a sheep to the slaughter: Isaiah, 53.7 and Acts, 8.32. It is telling that Elizabeth just gives the first half of the

quotation, leaving her listener to complete it: she is sending the message to her supporters that she is as innocent as the lamb but does not expect to survive her imprisonment.

⁷⁷ Owen Oglethorpe (c. 1502-1559), Dean of Windsor (1540-1544) and Bishop of Carlisle (1557-1559). He officiated at Elizabeth's coronation on 15 January 1559 (Clark, 'Owen Oglethorpe', *ODNB*).

⁷⁸ Sir William Dormer (c. 1512-1575). Dormer was a staunch Catholic: his mother was Jane Newdigate (dates unknown), sister of Sebastian Newdigate (1500-1535), a Carthusian martyr (see Henry VIII, n. 19). Dormer became MP for Wycombe in 1542 and was the serving (1553/4) sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire at the time of Elizabeth's stay with him; he would serve again as sheriff in 1568/9 (Hanley, in 'Dorothy Pelham', *ODNB*). Elizabeth stayed at Dormer's house in West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire (Starkey 2000:149).

⁷⁹ Stocks were 'typically a wooden device which held the feet of offenders, thus immobilizing them and leaving them open to public display', often with a written notice of their offence pinned to their clothes or hat, or some other item symbolic of the crime hung about their neck (Sharpe 1990: 20).

⁸⁰ Rycote Palace in Oxfordshire. Rycote was formerly the home of Sir Giles Heron (see Henry VIII, n. 53) until he was forced to sell it in 1539; it was then acquired by John Williams, Lord Thame (*Thame Local History*, online resource).

⁸¹ The word 'grunted' here and 'grudged' at *WW MT* 1613 (s.n.) indicate a real reluctance from Bedingfield to show any kindness or respect to Elizabeth. Historically, this is unjustified. The guardianship of Elizabeth at this politically sensitive time was extremely difficult to carry out appropriately and there is no evidence that Bedingfield was cruel to her (Weikel, 'Henry Bedingfield', *ODNB*).

⁸² This is a reference to a game of betting coins on the outcome of a hand of cards (see *OED* via *n.3* 1.b). The game is ‘dropping vies’ and, in this case, the coins were crowns.

⁸³ A carpet on the floor, as opposed to a decorative carpet hung on the wall.

⁸⁴ Nothing more is known of this person.

⁸⁵ This is the first time any attempt is made to address the reader directly in the text. Unlike Norton (later in the pamphlet) or Munday himself, Foxe did not customarily use an oratorical style.

⁸⁶ Frieze was a very thick, heavy, plain woollen cloth with a raised hairy surface on one or both sides. It was made from cheaper fleeces that were considered unfit for finer cloth and was often used for heavy outer garments (Mikhaila and Malcom-Davies 2006: 36). The association with Wales is due to that country’s long tradition of sheep farming and frieze production.

⁸⁷ Queen Mary’s retained physicians.

⁸⁸ The identity of this person is unknown, but they were acting on the wishes of the Bishop of Winchester, who attempted to coax Elizabeth into just such a submission towards the end of her imprisonment (*WW MT* 1900-1904).

⁸⁹ Probably Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. He, along with Simon Renard (1513-1573), the Spanish ambassador, thought that Elizabeth was ‘too dangerous to be allowed to live’ (Collinson, ‘Elizabeth I’, *ODNB*).

⁹⁰ It was actually in Spain’s interest to keep Elizabeth alive, at least until Queen Mary produced an heir. Spain was at war with France, and England was an important strategic gain for them. If Mary failed to have children, and with Elizabeth executed, the next heir would be Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). The Scots were close allies of France: Mary had been living in France since 1548 and was betrothed to the Dauphin. Without another

heir, Elizabeth was the only person who stood in the way of France taking England out of Spain's control (Goodare, 'Mary Stewart', *ODNB*).

⁹¹ Foxe says that the Spaniards used reasoned arguments to persuade the king that he would receive respect and gratitude if he could deliver Elizabeth out of prison alive.

⁹² Henry VIII's magnificent palace at Richmond-upon-Thames, Surrey. Mary believed she had conceived a child at Hampton Court, and she returned there for her confinement (Thurley 2017: 306).

⁹³ Foxe addresses the reader directly, drawing them into his narrative in an almost conspiratorial way.

⁹⁴ Nothing more is known of this person.

⁹⁵ This incident is mentioned in a letter from Bedingfield to the privy council, dated 27 May 1554 ('State Papers Relating to the Custody of the Princess Elizabeth [...] 1554' 1854: 163). It does not mention any speculation that the fire was a deliberate attempt on Elizabeth's (or anyone else's) life.

⁹⁶ Nothing more is known about this incident.

⁹⁷ James Bassett (c. 1526-1558), devout Catholic and in the service of Stephen Gardiner since 1538. Bassett was appointed to Mary's privy chamber in 1553 and Philip's in 1554. He was trusted by both and acted as Mary's private secretary. His wife was Mary Roper (d. 1572), granddaughter of Thomas More (Clayton, 'James Bassett', *ODNB*).

⁹⁸ Sir Henry's brothers - Anthony, Humphrey and Edmund - were all part of the guard around Elizabeth: it is not clear which is referred to here ('State Papers [...] 1554' 1854: 141, note g).

⁹⁹ Stephen Gardiner.

¹⁰⁰ Biblical: a close adviser to King David, Achitophel sided with David's son, Absalom, in revolt against the king (2 Samuel 15.31).

¹⁰¹ John Brydges, Baron Chandos.

¹⁰² Edmund Tremayne (c. 1525-1582) entered the service of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon in 1553 and was sent to the Tower in February/March 1554 on suspicion of involvement in the Wyatt rebellion. He was tortured but refused to provide evidence against either Courtenay or Elizabeth. Tremayne was released on 18 January 1555 on payment of a £40 fine (Bartlett, 'Edmund Tremayne', *ODNB*).

¹⁰³ William Smythwick of Bath (dates unknown) had somehow obtained a papal bull on behalf of himself and other previously professed Protestants to excuse them from prosecution. Their agency was under question from the Marian government (Strype 1698: 60-62).

¹⁰⁴ Nothing more is known about this person.

¹⁰⁵ Nothing more is known about this person.

¹⁰⁶ John Williams.

¹⁰⁷ Ralph Chamberlain (c.1523- c. 1570), MP for New Woodstock 1553-54 (*The History of Parliament*, 'Ralph Chamberlain', online resource).

¹⁰⁸ Rycote Palace (see n. 80).

¹⁰⁹ Sir William Dormer's house at West Wycombe.

¹¹⁰ Colnbrook is a village in Berkshire, some 23 miles from Dormer's house.

¹¹¹ The George Inn (now known as 'Ye Olde George') still stands in Colnbrook and remains a functioning hostelry.

¹¹² A private entrance on the garden side of the palace (Starkey 2000: 178).

¹¹³ William Howard (c. 1510-1573), Baron Howard of Effingham. Howard was a naval commander who was appointed to meet Philip of Spain when he arrived for his wedding, and to escort him away from England after Mary's failed pregnancy. Howard was appointed a privy councillor on 3 January 1554 (McDermott, 'William Howard', *ODNB*).

¹¹⁴ These were Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Francis Talbot (1500-1560), Earl of Shrewsbury; and Sir William Petre (c. 1505-1572), long-serving secretary to the privy council.

¹¹⁵ This is a sarcastic exchange between Elizabeth and Gardiner. His 'apology' to Elizabeth is ironic, and her call on God's forgiveness for Gardiner is full of bitterness. It is perhaps as well for Gardiner that he died before Elizabeth succeeded to the throne.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth became known for her furious temper, never hesitating to humiliate politicians or courtiers who crossed her (Somerset 1991: 574). The reaction of the lords present at this exchange suggests that she was a terrifying adversary.

¹¹⁷ Susan Clarencius (c. 1510- c. 1564) had entered Mary's service as a teenager during the reign of Henry VIII and had stayed with her ever since. Clarencius' loyalty was unshakeable: she was the closest to a friend Mary ever had. After Mary's death Clarencius joined the household of Jane, Duchess of Feria, who was the daughter of Sir William Dormer (Loades, 'Susan Clarencius'. *ODNB*).

¹¹⁸ Although proficient in ancient and modern languages, at this time Elizabeth did not speak Spanish: she learned it later but was never fluent (Somerset 1991: 11).

¹¹⁹ Philip's concern for Elizabeth's welfare was politically expedient (see n. 90).

¹²⁰ Elizabeth left court on 18 October 1555 and retreated to her childhood home at Hatfield House in Hertfordshire (Starkey 2000: 185).

¹²¹ Sir Thomas Pope (c. 1507-1559), privy councillor and founder of Trinity College, Oxford. Mary appointed him to be Elizabeth's guardian at Hatfield, and he treated her with 'appropriate kindness and respect' (Hopkins, 'Thomas Pope', *ODNB*).

¹²² Robert Gage (c. 1518-1587), son of Sir John Gage (Potter, in 'John Gage', *ODNB*).

¹²³ It is not clear where or what this location is. As Elizabeth was under close watch at Hatfield it seems unlikely that she would be able to go far and there does not appear to be a village or house of this name nearby. Just five miles away was the manor of Lammershe (later known as Lamer House). At this time (May 1556), Lammershe belonged to descendants of the Carew family. Possibly this is where she was taken as it had a connection with Peter Carew (see n. 33) (*British History Online*, online resource).

¹²⁴ Sir Henry Jerningham.

¹²⁵ John Norris (c. 1481-1564), esquire of the body to Henry VII, usher to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I (Nichols 1859: 162, note a).

¹²⁶ Catherine Astley (d.1565), Elizabeth's governess, companion and confidante. Astley was the granddaughter of Sir Edmund Carew (c. 1464-1513), which may be significant concerning the location of this arrest.

¹²⁷ Fleet prison, located on Fleet Lane to the west of the city of London. Astley must have been moved from there as she was released from the Tower a short while later (Merton, 'Katherine Astley', *ODNB*).

¹²⁸ Foxe celebrates the death of Elizabeth's arch-enemy, Stephen Gardiner, who had laboured ceaselessly to convict Elizabeth of any sort of perceived misdemeanour in order to remove her from the succession; without him, Elizabeth's chances of survival were greatly increased.

¹²⁹ Here, Munday pauses in his quotation from Foxe's text. Foxe continues with a story criticizing the judgement of Edmund Bonner (d. 1569), Bishop of London, as an example of Catholic malfeasance. It is not relevant to Elizabeth or the theme of rebellion, so Munday chooses to leave these details out.

¹³⁰ Munday's quotation of Foxe ends here. Foxe goes on to condemn Mary I for the loss of so many English lives, unparalleled (he says) in time of peace. Typically, Munday shied away from making this direct criticism of the monarch, however much he may have agreed with it.

¹³¹ This prayer was added by Munday to finish off his quotation from Foxe.

¹³² Acts of cruelty and wickedness were identified with 'Jews' and 'Jewish' behaviour. See *SE Commentary* 'Example of the Gentlewoman that Killed her Maid', n. 7. There is an added aspect here in that Elizabeth is being victimized by her own people in the same way as the Jews turned against Jesus.

Elizabeth I

Cf. *CoE* sigs 4B7^v-4C3^v (pp. 1140-48), 4C5^r (p. 1151), 4C7^r (p. 1155), 4D1^r-4D3^r (pp. 1161-65), 4D7^v (p. 1174) and 4E8^v-4F1^r (pp. 1192-93).

Queen Elizabeth I: 1533-1603; reigned 1558-1603. Other titles include Queen of Ireland. She was the only child of King Henry VIII (1491-1547) and Queen Anne Boleyn (c. 1500-1536).

¹ Better known as the Northern Rising. In November 1569, some six thousand rebels marched from Durham cathedral through parts of north Yorkshire, raising support along the way for the restoration of Catholicism, the promotion of Mary, Queen of Scots and the

removal of Protestants from the privy council. The rebellion was quickly suppressed and more than six hundred rebels were executed (Guy 2016: 26).

² Charles Neville (c. 1542-1601), Earl of Westmorland and brother-in-law to Thomas Howard (1538-1572), Duke of Norfolk. When the rebellion collapsed, Westmorland fled first to Scotland, then to the Spanish Netherlands. He died in exile (McDermott, ‘Charles Neville’, *ODNB*).

³ Thomas Percy (1528-1572), Earl of Northumberland. After the rebellion, Northumberland fled to Scotland but was taken prisoner and used as a bargaining tool in negotiations with England. He was eventually sold back to the English and executed in York on 22 August 1572 (Lock, ‘Thomas Percy’, *ODNB*).

⁴ The alderman is identified in contemporary lists only as ‘Sruthar’ (Sharp 1840: 133 footnote).

⁵ Thomas Plumtree (d. 1570) was chaplain to the insurgents at this rebellion. He was executed in Durham on 4 January 1570 (Benedictine Monks 1921: 257).

⁶ Sir George Bowes (1527-1580) was a staunch Protestant and extremely active in the defeat of this rebellion. Immediately after the rebellion, he was appointed Provost Marshal for County Durham and Richmondshire, making him responsible for carrying out the executions that followed (Newman, ‘George Bowes’, *ODNB*).

⁷ Simon Digby (c. 1528-1570), John Fulthorpe (c. 1531-1570), Robert Pennyman (c.1533-1570) and Thomas Bishop (c. 1541-1570) were all native to the area and executed together (Knipe 2010: 4-5).

⁸ An open area outside the city also known as Tyburn (not to be confused with the execution site of the same name in London). This was a permanent execution site from

1379 until 1801, when executions were moved inside the city to York Castle (*History of York*, ‘Executions’, online resource).

⁹ The four gates, or ‘Bars’, of York are Bootham Bar, Monk Bar, Walmgate Bar and Micklegate Bar. It was customary to fix the severed heads and quarters of York criminals to the gates of the city (*History of York*, ‘Micklegate Bar’, online resource).

¹⁰ Nothing more is known about this person.

¹¹ Hilliard (d. 1570) had gone to Scotland with his master, Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Following the suppression of the Northern Rising the English forces invaded Scotland and laid siege to Hume Castle. Two of the defenders of the castle (Hilliard and Godswhere) were afterwards found to be Englishmen who were then transported to Berwick for execution (Pollitt 1985: 12).

¹² Nothing more is known about this person.

¹³ The Norton family were closely associated with the house of the Earl of Northumberland and prominent in the Northern Rising. Thomas Norton (d. 1570) was executed with his nephew, Christopher (d. 1570) (Hicks, in ‘Richard Norton’, *ODNB*).

¹⁴ Regional fairs had been noted as places where many of these local uprisings started. Justices were instructed to watch such fairs and arrest anybody who promoted or threatened disorder (Kesselring 2004: 420 and 430).

¹⁵ This refers to the rebellion against the great ‘stranger’ immigration of 1567, which brought Protestant Flemings and Walloons to Norwich. A Norwich grocer, George Redman, objected to the loss of jobs and livelihoods to the incomers. He led the call for the foreigners to be sent home and, if they were not, declared that he would hang the sheriff. Two groups formed in support of the rebellion but magistrates were quick to mobilize and

the leaders were arrested and crowds dispersed before the rebellion gained any traction (Storey 2011: 39-40).

¹⁶ Nothing more is known about this person.

¹⁷ Nothing more is known about this person.

¹⁸ Nothing more is known about this person.

¹⁹ John Throckmorton (d. 1570) was a gentleman from Norwich (Storey 2011: 40).

²⁰ Sir Robert Catlin (c. 1510-1574) served as lord chief justice from 22 January 1559 until his death on 16 September 1574 (Baker, ‘Sir Robert Catlin’, *ODNB*).

²¹ Sir Gilbert Gerard (d. 1593) was appointed attorney-general on Elizabeth’s accession in 1593, reputedly because he had ably represented her during questioning by the Marian privy council. He served in the post for over 20 years, and spent much of 1570 sitting on a special commission to try participants in the Northern Rising (Brooks, ‘Sir Gilbert Gerard’, *ODNB*).

²² Thomas Brooke (d. 1570) is best remembered for his published poem *Certain verses written by Thomas Brook, gentleman, in the time of his imprisonment, the day before his death, who suffered at Norwich, the thirtieth of August 1570* (STC 3835).

²³ George Redman (d. 1570) was a merchant grocer from Norwich who both owned and leased property in several surrounding towns and villages, all of which would have been confiscated on his conviction. His name appears on the draft of a royal warrant dated 1571 and directed to Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir Gilbert Gerard, among others. In it, his widow, Mary, is granted an annuity of 20 marks for life (Norfolk Record Office, File PHI 512, 578X2).

²⁴ John Felton (d. 1570) was a devout Catholic who lived at the former Bermondsey Abbey in Surrey. His wife had been maid of honour to Mary I (Lock, ‘John Felton’, *ODNB*).

²⁵ (s.n.) 1571 *recte* 8 August 1570.

²⁶ *Regnans in excelsis* or ‘Reigning on High’ was a papal bull of excommunication and deposition issued against Elizabeth I by Pope Pius V. Felton attached the bull (thereby publishing it in England) to the gates of the Bishop of London’s palace by St Paul’s churchyard on 25 May 1570 (Lock, John Felton’, *ODNB*).

²⁷ After his arrest, Felton was taken to Newgate where he confessed his treason. He was then taken to the Tower and racked (Lock, John Felton’ *ODNB*).

²⁸ John Story (c. 1504-1571), from Salisbury, was a professor of civil law at Oxford university and served several terms as a member of parliament for different constituencies in the Wiltshire area. He was a conservative Catholic and an associate of Richard Norton (d. 1585), the brother of Thomas Norton and father of Christopher Norton (Lock, ‘John Story’, *ODNB*).

²⁹ (s.n.) 1572 *recte* 1 June 1571 (Lock, ‘John Story’, *ODNB*).

³⁰ Story was a controversial figure, even in his own lifetime, for the ruthlessness with which he wished to treat dissenters from the Catholic faith. John Foxe, the Protestant chronicler, was forced to withdraw a claim that Story had burnt one of his own relatives, but Story was rumoured to have devised a heatable iron cage with which to torture heretics to death (Lock, ‘John Story’, *ODNB*).

³¹ Edward Mather *recte* Edmund Mather. Barney and Mather (both d. 1572) were Norfolk natives ‘and close followers of the Duke of Norfolk’ (Neighbors 2022: 158). They had plotted to kill members of the privy council and rescue the imprisoned duke.

³² Nothing more is known about this person.

³³ The Marshalsea was a gaol under the control of the Crown (as opposed to the City of London). Most of those incarcerated there were guilty of crimes committed at sea (such as piracy), sedition or debt (Jowett 2017: 15).

³⁴ Thomas Howard (1538-1572), Duke of Norfolk, was a Catholic sympathizer and had already been imprisoned for his attempts to aid Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). He had promised to cease all such activity, but on his release from prison he had once again become involved with Catholic plotters (Graves, 'Thomas Howard', *ODNB*).

³⁵ George Talbot (c. 1522-1590), Earl of Shrewsbury, was appointed keeper of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587) from 1569 until 1584. Shrewsbury was one of the richest men in England with many great houses at his disposal: he was one of the few men in the country able to house Mary and her entourage satisfactorily (Goldring, 'George Talbot', *ODNB*).

³⁶ The Earl of Northumberland who had been captured by the Scots and sold back to the English (see n. 3).

³⁷ The Percy family owned the manor house at Topcliffe in North Yorkshire. The Earl had based himself there and neglected his lands in Northumberland (Lock, 'Thomas Percy', *ODNB*).

³⁸ Percy was drawn the short distance from York castle to The Pavement in the city centre where a scaffold of twelve feet in height had been erected for him. For a description of the execution, see Knipe 2010: 6-7.

³⁹ (s.n.) 1573 *recte* 28 November 1572 (Patterson 1994: 254).

⁴⁰ Nothing more is known about this person.

⁴¹ Loyal to the Earl of Northumberland, Wilkinson enjoyed a reputation as a robust and vocal promoter of the Catholic cause (Cartwright 1872: 142).

⁴² Thomas Woodhouse (d.1573) was a native of Lincoln. He was arrested on 14 May 1561 in a crackdown on Catholic plotters and was sent to the Fleet prison where he continued in his refusal to recognise the authority of Queen Elizabeth or any of her ministers. He offered his own life in exchange for that of John Story. Woodhouse was the first priest to be executed in Elizabeth's reign (McCoog, 'Thomas Woodhouse', *ODNB*).

⁴³ (s.n.) 1574 *recte* 19 June 1573 (McCoog, 'Thomas Woodhouse', *ODNB*).

⁴⁴ Cuthbert Mayne (c. 1544-1577) left his place as chaplain of St John's College, Oxford, to train at the English College in Douai, returning to England in 1576. He was arrested on 8 June 1577 and held at Launceston Castle. After his execution his head was displayed on the gate of Launceston Castle and his quarters were sent to Bodmin, Barnstaple, Tregony and Wadebridge. Mayne was the first seminary priest to be executed in England (Trudgian, 'Cuthbert Mayne', *ODNB*).

⁴⁵ John Nelson (c. 1535-1578) was a native of Yorkshire and another alumnus of the English College at Douai. He was convicted for refusing to take the oath of the Queen's supremacy (Benedictine Monks 1921: 148).

⁴⁶ Thomas Sherwood (c. 1551-1578) had ambitions to study at Douai but was arrested and convicted for refusing to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy before he could complete his studies. He was imprisoned in the Tower and racked for information before his execution (Benedictine Monks 1921: 257).

This is where Munday's quotation from *CoE* ends.

⁴⁷ William Lacy (d. 1582) was a wealthy gentleman from Yorkshire. After the death of his wife, he travelled to study at Rheims and Rome and returned to England an ordained priest. He spent two years ministering to Catholics in York gaol before being detected and

brought to trial. Despite his very advanced age he was executed on 22 August 1582 (Benedictine Monks 1921: 271).

⁴⁸ Richard Kirkman (d. 1582) had studied and been ordained at Douai. He worked in England for four years before being arrested at York. He was executed on 22 August 1582 (Benedictine Monks 1921: 230).

⁴⁹ Everard Hanse (d. 1582), also known as Everard Ducket, was a native of Northamptonshire and educated at Cambridge university. He was originally a Protestant cleric, but converted to Catholicism and went to the seminary at Rheims where he was ordained on 25 March 1581. On his return to England, he went to offer ministrations to prisoners at the Marshalsea, where he was discovered and arrested. He was executed on 31 July 1581 (Camm, II, 1914: 249-65). Munday is credited with writing the anonymous pamphlet *The arraignment and execution of a wilful and obstinate traitor named Everald Ducket* (STC 18259.3) but, as the information in that pamphlet does not correlate with Munday's other writing on this subject, his authorship of the pamphlet is extremely unlikely.

⁵⁰ Edmund Campion (1540-1581) was the son of a London bookseller and a fellow of St John's College, Oxford. He travelled to Douai for study in 1571, returning to England as an ordained priest on 24 June 1580. Campion was arrested on 17 July 1581 and imprisoned in the Tower where he was tortured. Munday was a witness for the prosecution at Campion's trial in November 1581 (Graves, 'Edmund Campion', *ODNB*). Munday wrote extensively on his involvement in Campion's arrest and prosecution: see *A brief discourse of the taking of Edmund Campion* (1581, STC 18264), *A brief answer made unto two seditious pamphlets* (1582, STC 18262) and *A brief and true report of the execution of certain traitors at Tyburn* (1582, STC 18261).

⁵¹ Ralph Sherwin (c. 1549-1581) was from Derbyshire and became a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. He studied at Douai and was ordained on 23 March 1577. He also spent time at the English College in Rome where he met Munday (see Munday, *English Roman Life*, pp. 81-85). Sherwin returned to England in August 1580, but was arrested in November that year. He was sent first to the Marshalsea and then to the Tower, where he was tortured. He was executed after Campion on 1 December 1581 (Williams, ‘Ralph Sherwin’, *ODNB*).

⁵² Alexander Briant (1556-1581) is believed to have come from Somerset and studied at Balliol College, Oxford. He then moved to the English College at Douai where he was eventually ordained on 29 March 1578. He returned to England and was arrested at a bookseller’s shop in March 1581. He was imprisoned in the Tower and tortured before his trial. He suffered a botched execution on 1 December 1581 (Cooper, ‘Alexander Briant’, *ODNB*).

⁵³ Thomas Ford (d.1582) was born in Devonshire and became a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. He travelled to Douai to study and became one of the first students there to be ordained (March 1573). He returned to England in 1576 and was arrested with Campion on 17 July 1581. He was imprisoned in the Tower and tortured before his execution in May 1582 (Camm, II, 1914: 443-59).

⁵⁴ John Shert (d.1582) was born in Macclesfield, Cheshire, and educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. He studied at the English Colleges in Douai and Rome before returning to England in 1578. He was arrested and taken to the Tower on 14 July 1581 where he was racked. He was executed after Thomas Ford (Camm, II, 1914: 460-73).

⁵⁵ Robert Johnson (d. 1582) was born in Shropshire and worked as a servant before studying at the German College in Rome and at the English Colleges in at Douai and

Rheims. He returned to England in 1580 and was arrested on 12 July. He was taken to the Tower on 5 December where he was racked. He was executed after John Shert (Camm, II, 1914: 474-90).

⁵⁶ Luke Kirby (c. 1549-1582) came from Yorkshire and is believed to have been educated at Cambridge. He entered the seminary at Douai in 1576 and then went to the English College at Rome in 1578, where he met Munday (see Munday, *The English Roman Life*, pp. 67-68 and *A brief and true report of the execution of certain traitors at Tyburn* (STC 18261). Kirby returned to England and was arrested on his arrival at Dover in July 1580. He was taken to the Tower, where he was tortured. He was executed after William Filby (Camm, II, 1914: 500-22).

⁵⁷ William Filby (c. 1557-1582) was born in Oxfordshire and educated at Lincoln College, Oxford. He did not take his degree, but left the college to go and study at Rheims. He was ordained on 25 March 1581. He returned to England and was arrested with Edmund Campion on 17 July 1581. Filby was taken to the Tower but there is no evidence that he was tortured there. He was soon removed to the Marshalsea, but then taken back to the Tower before his execution. Filby was the first to be executed on 30 May 1582 (Camm, II, 1914: 491-99).

⁵⁸ Thomas Cottam (1549-1582) was born into a Protestant family in Lancashire and educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. After graduating, he left to study at Douai and was ordained in December 1577. Cottam returned to England in June 1580 and was arrested at Dover. He entered solitary confinement at the Marshalsea on 27 June 1580 and was transferred to the Tower on 4 December; he was tortured in both prisons. Cottam and Laurence Richardson were both taken up to the scaffold at the same time, but Cottam was briefly removed when he seemed to indicate that he would recant. This did not happen, so

Cottam was taken back up to the scaffold and executed last in this group. See Munday, *A brief and true report of the execution of certain traitors at Tyburn* (STC 1826) (Cooper, ‘Thomas Cottam’, *ODNB*).

⁵⁹ Laurence Richardson (born Laurence Johnson, d. 1582) was from Lancashire and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. He studied at Douai, where he was ordained on 23 March 1577, returning to England that summer. He was arrested in London in 1581 and committed to Newgate. After conviction, he was transferred to the Tower to await execution (Camm, II, 1914: 523-35).

⁶⁰ John Slade (d. 1583) was educated at New College, Oxford, but was expelled for being a Catholic. He travelled to Douai to study law but, on his return to England, was unable to practise because of his Catholicism. He became a tutor in Dorset until his arrest and confinement in Winchester gaol. He was executed in Winchester on 30 October 1583 (*Catholic Online* in ‘John Bodey’, online resource).

⁶¹ John Bodey (1549-1583) was born in Wells, Somerset, and became a fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1568. He studied in Douai and returned to England in 1578, becoming a schoolmaster in Hampshire. He was arrested in 1580 and taken to Winchester gaol where he was confined with John Slade. He was tried in Winchester in April 1583 but, for reasons that remain unclear, the guilty verdict was considered unsafe and a retrial was ordered. He was tried again in Andover the following August and was convicted. He was executed in Andover on 2 November 1583 (*Catholic Online*, ‘John Bodey’, online resource).

⁶² third day of October *recte* 30 October 1583. Munday confuses the thirtieth and the third of October, although he cites the correct day of the week for both executions. Munday was no longer using Stow’s *CoE* as his source (these events post-date that publication), but

there was a pamphlet published about these trials: *The several executions of John Slade and John Bodey* by R.B., 1583, STC 1062. That pamphlet gives the date in Roman numerals as ‘xxx’. Perhaps Munday mistook this for ‘three’ instead of ‘thirty’.

⁶³ Edward Arden (1533-1583) was a gentleman from Warwickshire and a distant cousin of Mary Arden (c. 1536-1608), the mother of William Shakespeare. He was the father-in-law of John Somerville. Arden’s execution was widely held to be a miscarriage of justice. (Wizeman, ‘Edward Arden’, *ODNB*).

⁶⁴ John Somerville (1560-1583) from Edstone in Warwickshire was the son-in-law of Edward Arden. During a bout of illness, the Catholic Somerville decided to assassinate Queen Elizabeth and publicized this intention. On his arrest, he implicated other members of his wife’s family. All were convicted and imprisoned in the Tower on 16 December 1583. Arden and Somerville were both moved to Newgate on 19 December for execution at Smithfield the following day, but Somerville was found strangled in his cell within two hours of arrival. His head was cut off and (along with Arden’s) displayed on London Bridge (Wizeman, ‘John Somerville’, *ODNB*).

⁶⁵ William Carter (c. 1549-1584) was part of a group of printers running a clandestine press, printing many Catholic works over several years. He had some short spells in various gaols and prisons, including the Tower, until he was finally held in Newgate and tried on 10 January 1584 on a charge of printing a book that incited the women at court to murder Queen Elizabeth. He was convicted and executed at Tyburn the following day (Gadd, ‘William Carter’, *ODNB*).

⁶⁶ George Haydock (1556-1584) was born in Lancashire and studied at the English Colleges in Douai and Rome. He was ordained on 21 December 1581 and returned to England shortly thereafter. He was arrested in London and imprisoned in the Tower. He

was tried on 6 February 1584 and executed within the week (Burton and Pollen 1914: 34-51).

⁶⁷ James Fenn (c. 1540-1584) was born at Montacute in Somerset and became a fellow at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, although he was stripped of his academic standing when his Catholicism became known. He studied at Rheims and was ordained on 1 April 1580, returning to England shortly thereafter. He was arrested in Somerset and taken to London to the Marshalsea in September 1581. After converting fellow prisoners, he was removed to solitary confinement in the Tower on 4 September 1583. His trial and conviction followed and he was executed on 12 February 1584. (Löwe, 'James Fenn', *ODNB*).

⁶⁸ Thomas Hemerford (c.1553-1584) was born in Dorset and educated at St John's College, Oxford, although he did not take his degree. He travelled to the English Colleges in Rheims and Rome in 1580 and was ordained in March 1583. He returned to England in the summer of that year and was arrested in Hampshire before being sent to the Marshalsea. He was tried and convicted on the same dates as the other priests in this group (Burton and Pollen 1914: 71-75).

⁶⁹ John Munday (c. 1543-1584) was born in Dorset and became a fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1562. He was stripped of his position on religious grounds and became a schoolmaster for the next fourteen years. He went to Rheims and was ordained in 1581. By August 1583, he was in prison in Winchester. He was then transferred to the Tower, tried and executed with the others in this group (Burton and Pollen 1914: 92-106).

⁷⁰ John Nutter (d. 1584) came from Burnley in Lancashire and was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. On 23 August 1579 he joined the English College in Rheims, and was ordained on 10 June 1582, returning to England in November that year. He had intended to go to Scarborough in Yorkshire, but was shipwrecked at Dunwich in Suffolk.

He was arrested there and taken to London, where he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea.

He was tried and executed with the others in this group (Burton and Pollen 1914: 76-91).

⁷¹ Francis Throckmorton (1554-1584) was the son of a Catholic family who had prospered under Mary I. He became involved in a conspiracy to put Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne (see *WW MT Commentary*, n. 1) (Plowden, 'Francis Throckmorton', *ODNB*).

⁷² Munday uses a series of metaphors with the words 'pierced', 'shaken' and 'wrung' to emphasize the devastating effect of seeing one's children carry out acts of treachery. He also interjects 'yea' in the oratorical style, making sure the reader understands he is talking directly and specifically to them.

⁷³ Munday carries on the theme of treacherous children, recommending punishment as an early intervention to prevent disaster for the family.

⁷⁴ Munday draws attention to claims made by Catholics that they had been persecuted for their religion and died in that cause. As a government agent, Munday reinforces the newly enacted treason laws which were emphatic that Catholic priests were guilty of treason, not heresy. Prisoners were executed 'by the secular authorities for a secular offence' (Lake with Questier 2002: 233 and 240).

⁷⁵ Munday displays some knowledge of mining in this metaphor. This complements Norton's metaphor of gemstones (see *WW PT Commentary*, n. 19).

⁷⁶ Munday uses the metaphor of a burning house to illustrate his warning of destruction. In doing this he is bringing ideas of a political nature into the domestic sphere, explaining how a political problem can directly affect the individual and their everyday life.

⁷⁷ A Samson's post was a type of mouse trap (*OED* Samson's post n. 1) whereby the mouse would be enticed under the trap, dislodging a prop which would then cause the trap to fall down and trap the animal. The trap takes its name from the Bible story of Samson

who pushed the pillars of the temple, causing the building to fall and kill those inside (Judges, 16.29-30).

⁷⁸ Lines 2310-2517 are taken from Norton, STC 18685.7, sigs A4^r-A4^v.

⁷⁹ Presumably a reference to Thomas Norton (c. 1530-1584), from whom Munday copied large sections of this pamphlet (see individual notations). Norton was a lawyer and member of parliament, a staunch Protestant whose first wife, Margaret (dates unknown), was the daughter of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) (Axton, 'Thomas Norton', *ODNB*).

⁸⁰ The implication is that these negative connotations could be dispelled if the person concerned ceased to be a papist. This was the government's primary objective: to have Catholics *publicly* renounce their faith. The government hoped that the harsh punishment would be a deterrent that encouraged gallows conversions (Lake with Questier 2002: 244).

⁸¹ This is a common notation for lists or inventories, indicating each new individual entry.

⁸² Norton/Munday uses a religious metaphor to make a political point.

⁸³ Lines 2310-2517 are taken from Norton, STC 18685.7, sig. B1^r-C2^r. Munday makes one minor alteration, in that he begins the list by enumerating the points in the text, but quickly abandons this for the simple 'item' notation used by Norton. Munday does, however, maintain the enumeration in the side notes, which do not appear in Norton.

⁸⁴ According to the Bible, Jesus gave St Peter his name and declared 'upon this rock I will build my church' (Matthew, 16.18); the pope is traditionally seen as the successor to St Peter's role on Earth. Jesus prayed that Peter's faith should not fail because He knew Peter would be tested at the time of Jesus' arrest (Luke, 22.32 and Matthew, 26.69-74).

⁸⁵ This refers to the general deterioration of the relationship between popes, holy Roman emperors and other heads of state from the tenth century onwards. Church and states

disagreed, sometimes violently, over the method of the appointment of senior churchmen, how worship was to be conducted and many other administrative and political concerns.

For more information, see Dvornik, ‘Emperors, Popes and General Councils’ (1951) amongst many other sources.

⁸⁶ in the crusades, which were launched as a result of the discord referred to in n. 85.

⁸⁷ King John: 1167-1216; reigned 1199-1216. Other titles include Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou. He was the youngest son of King Henry II (1133-1189) and Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204). King John had bitter disagreements with Pope Innocent III (1161-1216) over the appointment of senior clergy. The Pope excommunicated King John in November 1209 and many senior clergy were exiled. The vacant livings thereby created diverted revenue from the church to the King, making him content to remain excommunicated (Gillingham, ‘King John’, *ODNB*). This is the first mention of King John in this pamphlet: Munday omitted him from the main body of information on English kings (see Introduction, p. 88).

⁸⁸ Thomas Fitzalan (1353-1414), Archbishop of Canterbury and younger brother of Richard Fitzalan (1346-1397), Earl of Arundel and vocal opponent of Richard II.

⁸⁹ King Henry VIII (1491-1547).

⁹⁰ Pope Clement VII (1478-1534); reigned 1523-1534.

⁹¹ Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558), who was initially recruited by Henry VIII to argue his case for divorce from Katherine of Aragon, but who later turned against the king and moved across Europe, eventually appealing to both the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor to take vengeance on King Henry (Mayer, ‘Reginald Pole’, *ODNB*).

⁹² Charles V (1500-1558), Holy Roman Emperor, reigned 1519-1556.

⁹³ This is a disparaging reference to the Council of Trent, which was a council of the Roman Catholic church held on several occasions between 1545 and 1563 to respond to the doctrinal challenges of the Protestant reformation (*Britannica*, ‘Council of Trent’, online resource).

⁹⁴ Munday uses a metaphor that sees Catholicism as a disease, again playing on the image of health and sickness.

⁹⁵ (s.n.) The ‘Whore of Rome’ (interchangeable with the ‘Whore of Babylon’) was a disparaging slang term used by fervent Protestants to refer to the Catholic church. For an example of this attitude, see *The Whore of Babylon* by Thomas Dekker (1607), STC 6532.

⁹⁶ Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury (1533-1555). Cranmer was one of the architects of the Reformation and author of the Protestant *Book of Common Prayer* (1549). Cranmer had tried to unite religious factions after the Reformation and had attempted to protect the lives of Catholics by allowing them to convert to Protestantism and remain in their social and political positions. Under Mary I he was executed by burning on 21 March 1556 (MacCulloch, ‘Thomas Cranmer’, *ODNB*).

⁹⁷ Arians were followers of the fourth century presbyter Arius, who believed God (the father) and God (the son) to be separate entities, and the father to be superior. Arianism was condemned as heretical in the fourth century, but persisted as a cult for hundreds of years (*Britannica*, ‘Arianism’, online resource).

⁹⁸ The Act of Six Articles (1539) imposed harsh penalties for non-observance of conservative Catholic worship and is believed to have been constructed by opponents of Thomas Cromwell. The act was repealed in 1547 under Edward VI (*Oxford Reference*, ‘Six Articles’, online resource).

⁹⁹ Emperor Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus) (331-363AD). His rejection of Christianity gave him the epithet ‘the Apostate’ (*Britannica*, ‘Julian’, online resource).

CONCLUSION

¹ Gaspard II de Coligny, Seigneur de Châtillon (1519-1572), was a French admiral and Huguenot leader who supported the English Reformation. On 18 August 1572, Coligny attended the wedding of Henry of Navarre (the future King Henry IV of France, 1553-1610) and Margaret of Valois (1553-1615), a union designed to reconcile Catholic and Huguenot differences within France. This was the catalyst for the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, during which Coligny’s house in Paris was stormed by mercenaries and he was thrown from the window, still living, and beheaded in the street (*Britannica*, ‘Gaspard II de Coligny’, online resource).

² William I of Orange (1533-1584), Protestant Dutch head of state, was shot at close range by a fanatical Burgundian Catholic, Balthasar Gérard (1557-1584). This happened on 10 July 1584, making it very current news for this pamphlet.

³ No such second volume was published. It is characteristic of Munday to advertise planned material at the end of current work, whether or not it exists at the time (see *SE MT* 545-47). In *WWQ2H*, all mention of John Foxe and a second volume of *Watchword* has been excised (sig. N2^v). Munday instead jumps straight to the proposed *Court of Conscience*. Munday does not appear to have published that book either, at least not under that title.

⁴ This is a reference to official approval for this royally warranted privileged book.

⁵ Munday seems to be acknowledging that he has reproduced large sections from at least four other authors in this pamphlet. This somewhat sheepish statement promises more original content next time.

A WATCHWORD TO ENGLAND – TEXTUAL NOTES

PARATEXTS

7 commonweals] common weals

MAIN TEXT

7-8 with the times and ages long since past and gone] *Munday*; with ages long agoe passed *Norton*

9-10 princely and comfortable] *Munday*; comfortable *Norton*

10 mind] *Munday*; memory *Norton*

13 hath] *Munday*; not in *Norton*

14 have had and do enjoy] *Munday*; have and do daily receave *Norton*

16 It shall] *Munday*; Then it shall *Norton*

19 heart] *Munday*; brest *Norton*

28 happy] *Munday*; not in *Norton*

38 a] *Munday*; not in *Norton*

49 noble and virtuous Queen Elizabeth] *Munday*; Queen, our I say Queen Elizabeth *Norton*

55 at] *Munday*; of *Norton*

56 our safety] *Munday*; all our safeties *Norton*

102 were] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

112 who] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

113 as] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

King] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

114 forth] *Munday*; out *Stow*

115 then] *Munday*; now *Stow*

116 convicted] *this edn.*; convict *Stow*, *Munday*

when he] *Munday*; and *Stow*

118 for] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

119 this] *Munday*; the which *Stow*

121 for] *Munday*; by *Stow*

123 the king thereof] *Munday*; king *Stow*

124 by the] *Munday*; by Englishmen that were the *Stow*

140 Pontefract] *this edn.*; Pomfret *Stow*, *Munday*,

141 de] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

were] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

143 'and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

Giffard] *this edn.*; Clifford *Stow*, *Munday*

144 Tyes] *this edn.*; Chies *Stow*, *Munday*

148 Harclay, Earl] *Munday*; Harclay, late made Earl *Stow*

153 Carlisle, his] *Munday*; Carlisle: also the third of March his *Stow*
being] *Munday*; was *Stow*

154 his quarters] *Munday*; his four quarters *Stow*

four parts] *Munday*; four several parts *Stow*

160 his body was] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

in] *Munday*; al to *Stow*

164 pair of] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

164-65 afterward was] *Munday*; then *Stow*

192 on] *Munday*; forth *Stow*

195 Islington] *this edn.*; Yseldon *Stow*, *Munday*

197 took] *Munday*; let *Stow*

202 all] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

206 ²as] not in *Stow*, *Munday*

- 215 killing still as before] *Munday*; slaying as afore *Stow*
- 216 sendeth] *Munday*; sent *Stow*
- 218 having done] *Munday*; doing *Stow*
- 219 malapertly] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 220 after the knight] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 221 tarried] *Munday*; abode *Stow*
- 223 understand] *Munday*; know *Stow*
- 224 proudly] *Munday* not in *Stow*
- 231 whose] *Munday*; and when his *Stow*
- 232 Whereupon] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 234 affirmed that it would] *Munday*; affirming it to *Stow*
- 235 suffer] *Munday*; permitte *Stow*
- 237 very valiant courage] *Munday*; incomparable boldnesse, streyght *Stow*
- 238 Wat Tyler] *Munday*; hym *Stow*
- 243 should lose] *Munday*; should by judgement of the mayor lose *Stow*
- 254 killed] *Munday*; destroyed *Stow*
- 257 all such] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 259 through] *Munday*; in *Stow*
- 259-60 at our pleasure, as] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 260 every shire] *Munday*; every other shire *Stow*
- 272 who] *Munday*; which *Stow*
- 273 together] *Munday* not in *Stow*
- 276 again] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 277 after] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 279 number had] *Munday*; number of them had *Stow*

280 exceeding drinking of white wine] *Munday*; what with wine *Stow*

281 houses] *Munday*; howsing *Stow*

286-87 king, was hanged and quartered] *Munday*; king, condemned, drawne and quartered the fifteenth of July *Stow*

291 with other] *Munday*; and many others *Stow*

¹the] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

299 Wrawe, who was] *Munday*; Wraw priest, that was *Stow*

rose] *Munday*; did rise *Stow*

300 was drawn and hanged] *Munday*; was adjudged to hanging and drawing *Stow*

thought] *Munday*; beleevied *Stow*

should] *Munday*; would *Stow*

305 Windsor, John] *Munday*; Windsor where John *Stow*

306 Thomas, late] *Munday*; Thomas Holland late *Stow*

309 Earl of Gloucester] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

310-11 joined with them] *Munday*; favoured King Richard *Stow*

316 with four] *Munday*; with an armed band of 400 *Stow*

318 deposed] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

the] *Munday*; her *Stow*

323 old] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

325 the better] *Munday*; to have the more *Stow*

326 gotten] *Munday*; got *Stow*

329 that] *Munday*; so as *Stow*

330 the] *Munday*; that *Stow*

331 misliked] *Munday*; misliking *Stow*

whereupon they] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

- 333 where they] *Munday*; and *Stow*
- 336 forth] *Munday*; out *Stow*
- so they] *Munday*; and *Stow*
- 340-41 drew them by] *Munday*; ranne upon them with great *Stow*
- 341 violence into] *Munday*; violence and drew them into *Stow*
- 342 Exeter and] *Munday*; Exeter, the Duke of Surrey and *Stow*
- 346 was beheaded at] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- at] *Munday*; about *Stow*
- 348 was beheaded] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 349 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 388 in] *Munday*; of *Stow*
- 389 given to understand] *Munday*; warned *Stow*
- 390 ²have] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 393 The] *Munday*; whereupon the *Stow*
- 396 he] *Munday*; they *Stow*
- 397 named] *Munday*; called *Stow*
- 403 by] *Munday*; of *Stow*
- 408 ambushment in] *Munday*; ambushment gathered in *Stow*
- 409 of them] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 413, 418 day of] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 425 the king] *Munday*; him *Stow*
- above] *Munday*; of *Stow*
- 426 reposed] *Munday*; put *Stow*
- 428 the third was] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 429 three] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

- caused] *Munday*; made *Stow*
- 431 they] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 434-35 he were] *Munday*; was *Stow*
- 442 to be] *Munday*; and there *Stow*
- 443-44 scattered about London diverse] *Munday*; in London scattered *Stow*
- 445 ²And] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 446 Turnmill] *this edn.*; Trylmell *Munday*; Trillmell *Stow*
- 453 who] *Munday*; the which *Stow*
- 454 their] *Munday*; a *Stow*
- and he] *Munday*; who *Stow*
- 458 He] *Munday*; their Captaine *Stow*
- 460 The rest of his company] *Munday*; his other sautors *Stow*
- 461 other places] *Munday*; places and Countreys *Stow*
- for example] *Munday*; to the terror *Stow*
- 478 beside] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 479 before Paul's Cross] *Munday*; in Paule's Churchyarde, before the Crosse *Stow*
- 481 strange] *Munday*; not in *Stow*
- 483 against] *Munday*; missownyng to *Stow*
- 497 being] *Munday*; were arrested and *Stow*
- 500 Arthur] *this edn.*; Arteyse *Stow*, *Munday*
- 501 All which] *Munday*; which were all *Stow*
- 502 but they were let down quickly] *Munday*; letten downe quicke *Stow*
- 503 knife to] *Munday*; knife for to *Stow*
- 504 was shown them] *Munday*; shewed *Stow*
- 507 called] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

509 afterward] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

512 he was called] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

513 and his company came] *Munday*; brought a great number of people *Stow*

515 and spoiling] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

519 afterward] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

525 certain] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

534 was] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

535 sent to London and there set on the bridge] *Munday*; sette on London bridge *Stow*

615 called again] *Munday*; gaine called *More*, *Stow*

617 is] *Munday*; be *More*, *Stow*

681 But when] *Munday*; this *More*, *Stow*

686-87 sent him on the morrow with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury] *Munday*; sente him to Brackenburie with a letter *More*, *Stow*

696 being greatly] *Munday*; sore *More*, *Stow*

fetching a heavy] *Munday*; beganne to *More*, *Stow*

701 who was] *Munday*; not in *More*, *Stow*

703 did anything] *Munday*; aught roughed *More*, *Stow*

704 in] *Munday*; with *More*, *Stow*

705 wretched estate] *Munday*; wretchednesse *More*, *Stow*

714 and they had so] *Munday*; so to *More*, *Stow*

717 them] *Munday*; not in *More*, *Stow*

719 cruel] *Munday*; not in *More*, *Stow*

722 who] *Munday*; which *More*, *Stow*

727 not their] *Munday*; not as I have heard the *More*, *Stow*

730 upon this, as it is reported] *Munday*; whereupon they say that *More*, *Stow*

732 who] *Munday*; which *More*, *Stow*

739 thus were] *Munday*; thus as I have learned of them that muche knewe and litle cause had to lye *More*; *Stow*

741 realm, shortly] *Munday*; Realme, by trayterous tirannie taken, deprived of their estate, shortly *More*, *Stow*

742 thus] *Munday*; slain and *More*, *Stow*

knows] *Munday*; wot *More*, *Stow*

745 realm] *Munday*; world *More*, *Stow*

uncertainty] *Munday*; unsuretie *More*, *Stow*

746 whole] *Munday* not in *More*, *Stow*

748 unnatural] *Munday*; dispiteous *More*, *Stow*

bloody actors] *Munday*; Ministers *More*, *Stow*

749-50 Dighton yet] *Munday*; Dighton indeed yet *More*, *Stow*

751 die. Sir] *Munday*; die by Sir *More*, *Stow*

being] *Munday*; not in *More*, *Stow*

752 was afterward] *Munday*; as ye shal hereafter heare *More*, *Stow*

753 harried] *Munday*; carried *More*, *Stow*

754 tugged] *Munday*; tagged *More*, *Stow*

756 ²was] *Munday*; had *More*, *Stow*

758 was secretly] *Munday*, painely *More*, *Stow*

780 On] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

781 to wit] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

782 who] *Munday*; the which *Stow*

785 for which] *Munday*; for the which *Stow*

786 So] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

787 said] *Munday*; other *Stow*

792 they] *Munday*; he and his companye sawe *Stow*

796 among which] *Munday*; among the which *Stow*

800 persons] *Munday*; prisoners *Stow*

807 who] *Munday*; which *Stow*

of] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

810 taking] *Munday*; and took *Stow*

814 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

816 at] *Munday*; borne in *Stow*

in] *Munday*; of *Stow*

829 who] *Munday*; which *Stow*

831 as] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

835 So] *Munday*; and *Stow*

seventh] *Munday*; seaventeenth *Stow*

843 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

844 they intended] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

847 rest] *Munday*; other *Stow*

857 high] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

So] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

858 following] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

860 saving] *Munday*; save *Stow*

862, 866 day] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

867, 868 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

868 following] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

869 denying] *Munday*; deniall of *Stow*

872 was] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

were] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

889 thereof] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

895 Dderfel Gadarn] *this edn.*; Darvel Gatherine *Stow*, *Munday*

898 in] *Munday*; at *Stow*

904 nine-and-twentieth] *Munday*; nineteenth *Stow*

905 following] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

906 treason] *Munday*; high treason *Stow*

909 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

916 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

were] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

918 who] *Munday*; which *Stow*

921 persons more] *Munday*; persons or more *Stow*

924 and] *Munday*; as *Stow*

926 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

927 on the] *Munday*; at *Stow*

934 was executed] *Munday*; was likewise executed *Stow*

937 Somersetshire made] *Munday*; Somersetshire and Lincolneshire made *Stow*

941 noblemen] *Munday*; nobles *Stow*

967 and] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

968 sundry] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

973 They] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

976 together] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

981 increasing] *Munday*; increased *Stow*

987 Thomas Winslow] *Munday*, Thomas Holmes, Winslow *Stow*

1003 who] *Munday*; whyche *Stow*

1006-07 where he] *Munday*; and *Stow*

1008 whither] *this edn.*; whether *Munday*; and *Stow*

they] *Munday*; not in *Stow*

were all] *Munday*; were there all *Stow*

1008-09 all together] *Stow*; altogether *Munday*

1029-30 our most dread and gracious] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1079 Wyatt] *Munday*; Wyatt (as before was mentioned pag. 1418.1419) *Foxe*

1099 same] *Munday*; sayd *Foxe*

1159 the] *Munday*; her *Foxe*

1165 who] *Munday*; which *Foxe*

1166-67 St Loe] *this edn.*; Sentlowe *Munday*, *Foxe*

1202 or more] *Munday*; or little more *Foxe*

1205 and] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1209 appointed three] *Munday*; appointed in their rooms three *Foxe*

1211-12 was an hundred] *Munday*; were an hundredth *Foxe*

1221 one other] *Munday*; another *Foxe*

1243 content] *Munday*; contented *Foxe*

1253 the foresaid] *Munday*; the two foresaid *Foxe*

1259/60/64 barge] *Munday*; boate *Foxe*

1264 shoes] *Munday*; shoe *Foxe*

1268 it rained] *Munday*; it did then rain *Foxe*

1272 no] *Munday*; none *Foxe*

1281 but] *Munday*; who *Foxe*

1282 old] *Munday*; cold *Foxe*

1290 seeing] *Munday*; sayng *Foxe*

1318 abecedaria] *this edn.*; abecies *Foxe*, *Munday*

1321-22 answer no further] *Munday*; aunswere that no farther *Foxe*

- 1323 ²a] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1326 when] *Munday*; wherein *Foxe*
- 1354 very] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1382 any else] *Munday*; any thing els *Foxe*
- 1384 other prisoners] *Munday*; other the prisoners *Foxe*
- 1397 unto] *Munday*; into *Foxe*
- 1433 been] *Munday*; layn *Foxe*
- 1436 of] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1449 but] *Munday*; by *Foxe*
- 1480 demanded of] *Munday*; examined *Foxe*
- 1496 Lord] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1499 but] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1514-15 were of the] *Munday*; was of that *Foxe*
- 1536 With] *Munday*; He answeared with *Foxe*
- ²the] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1545 wafting] *Munday*; wayting *Foxe*
- 1561 burst into] *Munday*; brust oute into *Foxe*
- 1574 friendly] *Munday*; unfainedly *Foxe*
- ²to] *Munday*; unto *Foxe*
- 1607 next] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*
- 1608 where for] *Munday*; where was for *Foxe*
- 1651 her to walk in] *Munday*; her walk *Foxe*
- 1657 desired] *Foxe*; desire *Munday*
- 1664-65 a merry-conceited] *Munday*; a certayne merry conceited *Foxe*
- 1694 which words] *Munday*; which his words *Foxe*
- 1700 Henry brought] *Munday*; Henry Benifield brought *Foxe*

1720 of] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1727 so] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1765 her] *Munday*; the *Foxe*

1767 the king their master] *Munday*; their king and master *Foxe*

1784 crevice] *Munday*; cranye *Foxe*

1792 that was] *Munday*; that he was *Foxe*

the Lady] *Munday*; the said Lady *Foxe*

1800 who] *Munday*; which *Foxe*

1806 Sir Henry] *Munday*; M. *Foxe*

1810 At what time, likewise] *Munday*; In the life of Steven Gardiner wee declared before,
page 1787. howe *Foxe*

was] *Munday*; beynge *Foxe*

1822 Lord's goodness] *Munday*; Lordes great goodnesse *Foxe*

1843 his] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1846 Sir Henry] *Munday*; M. *Foxe*

1848 stayed] *Munday*; stopped *Foxe*

1859 further where] *Munday*; further there where *Foxe*

1866 a gentleman's] *Munday*; a certaine Gentlemans *Foxe*

1874 who] *Munday*; which *Foxe*

1881 round] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1885 with] *Munday*; without *Foxe*

1911 evil] *Munday*; ill *Foxe*

1927 ²of] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1932 down] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

so] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1941 coming, her] *Munday*; coming in, her *Foxe*

1960-61 quoth she] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

1972 delivered] *Munday*; released *Foxe*

1984 which was] *Munday*; which thing was *Foxe*

1986 Gardiner by] *Munday*; Gardiner through the mercifull providence of the Lords
goodness by *Foxe*

1993 daily] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

doings sufficiently appeared] *Munday*; doyns before notified, may sufficiently appeare
Foxe

2009 day] *Munday*; not in *Foxe*

2014 blustering] *Munday*; blustrous *Foxe*

2092 then proclaim] *Munday*; then to proclaim *Stow*

2124 who had] *Munday*; who before had *Stow*

2159 been] *Munday*; laine *Stow*

2312 very] *Munday*; not in *Norton*

2320 Secondly] *Munday*; Item *Norton*

2325 Thirdly] *Munday*; Item *Norton*

2332 Fourthly] *Munday*; Item *Norton*

2340 by law] *Munday*; by any law *Norton*

2372 excessive] *Munday*; excess of *Norton*

2376 the] *Munday*; not in *Norton*

2379 Queen's majesty] *Munday*; Queene *Norton*

2391 on] *Munday*; a *Norton*

2428 large] *Munday*; larger *Norton*

2433 some man] *Munday*; some such man *Norton*

2437 most excellent] *Munday*; not in *Norton*

2460 not purged] *Munday*; not yet purged *Norton*

2466 all means] *Munday*; all lawful means *Norton*

2497 who are] *Munday*; that is *Norton*

2795 proofs] proves

2980, 2987, 2992 Let us] *Munday*; We *Norton*

2983 or otherwise] *Munday*; or shew in proclamation or otherwise *Norton*

2985 the state] *Munday*; this estate *Norton*

2994 be known] *Munday*; be well known *Norton*

3018 lest] least

CONCLUSION

Between them, *SEQI* and *WWQI* give us context for Munday's life between 1580 and 1584. Without these pamphlets Munday's actions would seem bizarre: a young man without the protection of a family leaving a safe and promising career in order to embrace danger and uncertainty with a real risk of physical harm. The dedicatory letters in *SEQI* show us that he did it for a new career that carried a far bigger reward.

Having secured his new position, Munday then produced *WWQI*, a long and very selective version of English history. To what end? There is little literary merit and most of it is not even his own. Surely this was just another opportunistic publication to keep money in his purse, and yet it ran to at least two editions and it has that royal warrant at the beginning showing it to be a government-sponsored project under patent from the Crown. We should recognize the importance of those carefully chosen sources, and that they were brought together to be useful in a time of political crisis.

As Lake and Pincus observe, 'The regime had used persons of a markedly puritan cast of mind as agents and intermediaries, both in opposing Catholicism and in mobilizing opinion in and outside Parliament'. That is the purpose of these pamphlets.¹ They are not random collections of sensational and ghastly stories, but a logical progression at the beginning of the long and profitable career of just such an agent. One must not, however, mistake them for more than that. These are political pamphlets, not personal letters. They will give you the message of the day, and that is all. These are not necessarily Munday's own thoughts or beliefs. They carry the message of unswerving loyalty that he was paid to

¹ Peter Lake and Steve Pincus. 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England' in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (April 2006), p. 274.

plant in the nation's consciousness. That was his job and he did it well. The free will of Anthony Munday is another story entirely.

AFTERWORD

As discussed in the Introduction, *SEQI* and *WWQI* mark turning points in Anthony Munday's long and remarkable career during which he was able to be very active in a politically sensitive environment without ever finding himself in opposition to his employers. Both pamphlets were written in the early 1580s, a time when the nature of pamphlets was changing. Public literacy was increasing and there was an appetite for news fuelled by tensions within the church and England's precarious position on the world stage during war with Spain.¹ *SEQI* was a news pamphlet and *WWQI* dealt with domestic politics, both written in a characteristically Protestant fashion.² But could there be more to Munday than the persona of the reliable government agent would suggest? In this age of intrigue and plotting, could Munday have been hiding another, deeper allegiance? It is tempting to try to read the man through the literature he produced during his working lifetime or, more dangerously, to gather the clues and personal messages one may think he left. Are there coded references to a secret Catholic faith, or particular ways of tying him to works that are otherwise anonymous?

The mundane truth is that we will never know anything of that nature from his published works. Munday wrote what he was paid to write, that which would serve the purposes of his paymasters (in many cases, the privy council), and he was good at doing it. That is why his career endured so long and why he had a comfortable living. If the modern reader wants to know more about Munday the man, they must look not at what he was

¹ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 11 and 17.

² Neither of these pamphlets dwell on the goriness of a scene: even in the description of a murdered corpse, Munday simply described the position of the body and the nature of the wounds. It was characteristic of publications with Catholic sympathies to be explicit about the agonies suffered by prisoners during execution and death: Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 237.

employed to do, but at what he chose to do in his own private life. In order to do that, we have to understand his environment, including the places we know he frequented and, importantly, the people who were in those places. We can start by looking at the churches where Munday was a parishioner for many years and where there are records of his participation in church life. Why did Munday choose to live in a particular parish and be part of that congregation when he could have gone anywhere?

Nobody was better placed than Munday to understand that, despite the religious conformity required at the time, every vicar had his own opinion of what worship should be and how that could be impressed upon his parishioners. As is discussed in this section, some parishes became known for certain characteristics of worship that caused people of similar opinions to gravitate to that place. This was not true of every church, but it happened to be very, very true of the two churches most associated with Munday. It would have been a strange choice indeed for Munday to spend years of his life (not to mention financial contributions) in places where he really did not fit in. One must conclude the opposite: these were places where he felt happy, accepted and part of the community. So, what was the nature of these churches? Who shared them with Munday? What can we conclude about Munday from his long associations with these places?

St Giles without Cripplegate



Fig. 17. St Giles without Cripplegate, London

Photo: Wendy Armstrong

Anthony Munday was a parishioner of St Giles from about 1580 until he buried his first wife in October 1621, a period of approximately forty years. The church itself is a rare survivor. It escaped the Great Fire of 1666 and recovered from another in the mid-nineteenth century. It was badly damaged during the Blitz of World War II, which destroyed most of the internal monuments and devastated the whole surrounding area, but it was rebuilt and repaired and still stands today within the brutalist embrace of the Barbican Centre.³

³ *St Giles without Cripplegate – History* <<https://www.stgilesnewsite.co.uk/about-us/our-history/>> [accessed in April 2024].

When Munday returned from Rome, he settled in the parish of St Giles without Cripplegate. This, in itself, would not be an unusual choice for somebody in Munday's circumstances. Cripplegate was a relatively cheap area in which to live, being on the northern fringe of the city, and it was peppered with publishers, printers and writers, all of which would have been attractive to a young man with aspirations in that direction.⁴ Munday's choice of living quarters may have been dictated by his purse, but at the time he returned from Rome he had no family obligations in any particular area and no employer who required him to lodge in a specific place. He had the whole city to choose from. What Munday chose to do was to become a regular worshipper at the church of St Giles, where his name appears periodically in the parish registers between 1584 and 1621.⁵

St Giles had an undeniable defining characteristic when Munday joined in the early 1580s: its inclination towards Puritanism. Munday's connections with Robert Crowley, John Foxe, Thomas Norton and the Drapers' Company have already been mentioned in the context of Munday's potential recruitment as a government agent, but these people are found again, and many others with similar sympathies, in the more domestic setting of everyday business at St Giles.⁶

Robert Crowley was the minister in 1580, but his association with St Giles was much older. Crowley had been in exile during the reign of Mary I, and had returned under Elizabeth I to be credited as the author of possibly the earliest Puritan manifesto.⁷ He first became vicar of St Giles without Cripplegate in September 1565, during a heated debate within the church

⁴ John Charlewood, a printer with whom Munday had a professional association, lived in this area at the Barbican. Charlewood's wife was buried at St Giles on 9 August 1589: Mark Eccles, 'Anthony Munday' in *Studies in the English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Josephine W. Bennett and others (New York: New York University Press, 1959), p. 99. Grub Street, a main thoroughfare in the area, became synonymous with the group of poor hack-writers who lived there (*OED*, Grub Street, *n.* 1).

⁵ Eccles, 'Anthony Munday', pp. 99-100.

⁶ See Introduction, pp. 27-29.

⁷ Basil Morgan, 'Robert Crowley', *ODNB*.

over the use of traditional vestments. The Protestant church was divided between those in favour of gradual divergence from the Catholic faith, and those in favour of immediate and complete separation. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, preferred gradual divergence and sanctioned the use of such vestments as the surplice and the rochet, seeing them as acceptable aspects of Catholicism that could be absorbed and recycled within the Protestant faith as an act of concession to draw a divided nation together.⁸ Crowley vehemently disagreed and led about one-third of London's clergy to a confrontation with the archbishop.⁹ Crowley was arrested and imprisoned for causing a disturbance, was suspended from St Giles, and later sought to justify his argument by writing his pamphlet *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel and ministring garments of the popishe church* (1566, STC 6079). By 1568, Crowley had lost all his church positions and was living in retirement in Southwark. In the mid-1570s, Crowley moved back towards mainstream ecclesiastical life, delivering the Guildhall sermon on the election of the new Lord Mayor in September 1574, and then being appointed vicar of St Lawrence Jewry in 1576, a short distance from Munday's residence as apprentice to John Allde. Crowley's re-appointment as vicar of St Giles in 1578 coincided with his admission to the Stationers' Company and his enlistment by the privy council as an agent for religious 'reasoning' with separatists and Jesuits.¹⁰

As vicar, Crowley's powerful personality set the tone of the worship at St Giles. Never far from Crowley, his friend John Foxe also lived in the parish. Foxe had joined Crowley in his protests against the wearing of vestments, but had managed to escape unpunished.¹¹ Instead, Foxe had stepped in for Crowley, preaching at St Giles while his friend was incarcerated. Foxe was a famous figure in the Elizabethan Protestant church

⁸ David J. Crankshaw and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Matthew Parker', *ODNB*.

⁹ Morgan, 'Robert Crowley', *ODNB*.

¹⁰ Morgan, 'Robert Crowley', *ODNB*.

¹¹ Thomas S. Freeman, 'John Foxe', *ODNB*.

during his own lifetime, and his great work, *Acts and Monuments*, sealed his legacy as a pillar of Protestant stoicism. Foxe and Crowley together were a formidable bastion of Protestant doctrine and a firm base for Puritanism to flourish. Both men are buried beneath the same stone in the chancel of St Giles.¹²

The minister, however, was not the whole parish. To understand the nature of the congregation, it is necessary to look at the people who lived there and how they interacted with the church. The parish contained a mixture of wealthy families who donated to the church, many ‘honest traders’, and ‘a large sprinkling of counterfeit-coiners, receivers of stolen goods, ale house keepers of bad repute and also many foreigners’.¹³ This disreputable group was particularly associated with Fore Street (where Munday lived) and Grub Street (where Foxe lived). This suggests that the area immediately surrounding the church was an economically poor one.

Despite Crowley’s robust Protestantism, there were active Catholics in the parish. Some had taken the oath of allegiance to the Queen. Ominously, Baddeley refers to this group as remaining ‘unmolested’, implying that those who did not take the oath (known as recusants) suffered unpleasant social or legal consequences.¹⁴ Crowley certainly did not hesitate in bringing the law to bear against his parishioners: when a seditious (pro-Catholic) pamphlet was left in his church porch, he saw that it was forwarded directly to John Hammond. Hammond, who also resided in Cripplegate, was a lawyer who worked with Thomas Norton on questioning the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Alexander Briant under torture.¹⁵ The discovery of the pamphlet led to twelve recusants being put in prison or kept

¹² Morgan, ‘Robert Crowley’, *ODNB*.

¹³ John James Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles without Cripplegate in the City of London. Compiled from Various Old Authorities, Including the Churchwardens’ Accounts and the Vestry Minute Books of the Parish* (London: J.J. Baddeley, 1888), p. 8.

¹⁴ Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles*, p. 13.

under close surveillance.¹⁶ Their meeting house had been in Golding (or Golden) Lane, which is described in *SEQL* as the location of brick kilns where the murdered body of Abel Bourne was dumped, and was later to become the location of the Fortune playhouse.¹⁷ The impression created is one of a divided parish, partly adhering to an uncompromising form of Protestantism, and partly rebellious, mired in poverty and criminality.

Crowley's influence over the community that used the church was strong, and ran deep even after his death in 1588. A look at the parish registers shows that the church attracted a particular type of person to use it as a place of worship or ceremony. On 18 June 1584, Alexander and Philippa Pym had their son, John, baptized at St Giles, probably by Crowley himself. This is the John Pym (1584-1643) who went on to become a politician and leading light in the Parliamentary forces of the English Civil War.¹⁸ This baptism took place just ten days before Munday's daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized in the same place. It would not be the last time that John Pym and Anthony Munday shared a church.¹⁹

On 22 August 1620, while Munday was still in regular attendance at the church, parishioner Elizabeth Bouchier married Oliver Cromwell at St Giles, Cripplegate.²⁰ It is difficult to imagine a figure from English history who would be more associated with Puritanism and politics than Oliver Cromwell. He was a talented military commander, eventually rising to the position of Lord Protector after the execution of Charles I. Baddeley is very clear about the prevailing attitudes in this parish: 'Crowley's teaching and example no

P.O.G White, 'John Hammond', *ODNB*.

¹⁶ Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles*, p. 13.

¹⁷ *SE MT* 448.

¹⁸ Conrad Russell, 'John Pym', *ODNB*.

¹⁹ See Conclusion, p. 498.

²⁰ Peter Gaunt, 'Elizabeth Cromwell', *ODNB*.

doubt bore fruit in the next generation when, during the great constitutional struggle of the time, the men of Cripplegate were zealous partizans of the Parliament.²¹

The evidence indicates that St Giles was the centre of a defensive Protestant, and latterly Puritan, enclave of worshippers in London. Indeed, when a Royalist churchman, Dr William Fuller, was appointed as vicar in 1628 (after Munday had left the parish, but was still alive), Baddeley coyly says that he was ‘in constant difficulties with his Parishioners, and many unbecoming scenes naturally resulted.’²² Fuller’s curate was assaulted in the church, and later both Fuller and his curate were imprisoned by the Parliamentary party, and Fuller deprived of the living.²³ Although Fuller died while resident in the parish of St Giles, he was so resented by the vestry that his family was refused permission to have him buried there.²⁴

Munday was a parishioner of St Giles for most of his adult life. Other users of the church included prominent Protestant activists and famous Puritan politicians. This church had an aversion to the toleration of Catholics and, in the turbulent years of the early seventeenth century, of Royalists. Whyever would Munday stay there if he felt unhappy with these principles? Could he have been engaged to keep the activities of this church under surveillance? He was, after all, employed to monitor dissent of all kinds, both Catholic and Protestant. If that were the case, then he was as inept at that as he would have been as a Catholic agent. Not only did it take him forty years to make a judgement, but that church’s political stance grew more rebelliously Puritan over time, not less, and resisted intervention that may have attempted to take it in a more moderate direction. And yet Munday chose to stay there. Certainly, later in his life, he had enough money to move parishes if he had wanted

²¹ Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles*, p. 59.

²² Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles*, p. 60.

²³ Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St Giles*, pp. 60-61.

²⁴ Gordon Goodwin (revised by Nicholas W.S. Cranfield), ‘William Fuller’, *ODNB*.

to. If it was his choice to stay in the agitated Puritanical atmosphere of St Giles, it is reasonable to conclude that he felt comfortable there.

Munday spent his working life engaged in putting the privy council's political will into popular media (pamphlets, plays, published history) and delivering government policy in matters concerning social and religious conduct (as a messenger and informer). He lived a very long life, and did not die until 1633, well into the reign of Charles I. Even when the Elizabethan age was swept away, Munday was still an active informer.²⁵ Above all, he was an upholder of government rule, but the nature of government was changing. There were only ten parliaments in the forty-four years of Elizabeth I's reign: it was not parliament but the privy council who had dictated the laws that Munday upheld.²⁶ That situation was not sustainable for a new generation of politicians under Charles I who were faced with an obstinate, confrontational monarch with no grasp of the changing nature of his capital city. The rise of the Puritans from a discontented sect to a powerful political lobby made churches the place where politics and people intersected, and the old Elizabethans, like Munday, had to make a choice between king and country.

In the early 1620s Munday underwent an upheaval in his private life. His wife of some forty years, mother of his children, Elizabeth, died and was buried at St Giles on 7 October 1621. Understandably, it was a watershed for Munday and this was when he decided to move away from St Giles. His lease at Cripplegate had expired, and he moved briefly to Moorgate while he sought more permanent accommodation.²⁷ This is the point at which we

²⁵ In 1612 Munday was a witness against Thomas Bell, gentleman of St Sepulchre and Hugh Holland, poet of St Faith, when they were indicted for recusancy (Eccles, 'Anthony Munday', p. 103).

²⁶ Parliament had only met occasionally, and for short periods, while the Queen and the privy council worked continuously. Parliament was only active for a total of three years during the whole Elizabethan period: A.G.R. Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1967), p. 26.

²⁷ Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 33.

can observe Munday making another choice. With his wife dead, his children grown, money in store and retirement beckoning, Munday could go wherever he pleased. He married again, this time to a widow named Gillian. Evidently, St Giles no longer held the attraction it once had. Perhaps the grip of Puritanism had become uncomfortable. Perhaps he wanted to move away from the people who had enforced harsh treatment on religious non-conformists.

Perhaps he sought a quiet retirement away from the heat of political life. If any of those reasons had been at the heart of Munday's choice, he would not have chosen to move into the parish of St Stephen's, Coleman Street. If St Giles could be seen as a proverbial Puritan frying pan, then St Stephen's was definitely the fire.

St Stephen's, Coleman Street

Munday moved his lodgings into the parish of St Stephen's, Coleman Street. There is little distance between St Giles and St Stephen's: it takes less than ten minutes to stroll from one to the other, so presumably the move was not motivated by the need or desire to change geographical areas, but Munday was happy to leave his old parish and associate himself with another nearby. Not only was he choosing to move to St Stephen's, but he was also paying to do it; church records show that Munday was an active member of his new congregation because 'there are consecutive entries in the St Stephen's churchwarden's accounts for tithe payments of one shilling and five pence by Munday for every year between 1625/6 and 1632/3, the year of his death'.²⁸ Also, when Munday died, his memorial was erected in St Stephen's church with an inscription that was fulsome in its praise of his achievements as a loyal servant of the city. This would suggest that he was a recognized and valued member of

²⁸ Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, p. 33.

the church community. If St Stephen's had been any other church, none of this would have been unusual at all. Coleman Street, however, and the parish church within it, had a very particular position on the political landscape.

'To Londoners of the Caroline and Civil War years, Coleman Street was the capital's most notorious – and therefore, for some, attractive – hive of religious radicalism.'²⁹ As far back as the 1520s, Coleman Street had been a centre for Lollardy and the 'Coleman Street conventicle' had gathered there to read proto-Protestant religious works and teach the cardinal Lollard doctrines.³⁰ John Foxe (Munday's fellow parishioner from St Giles) wrote about them in *Acts and Monuments*, referring to their main preacher, John Hacker, as 'of Colman Stret in London'.³¹

As with St Giles, it would be unfair to assume that the whole parish (which was very large) could be characterized by the church without understanding what made the church and its preaching so individual. The parish included many wealthy mercantile families, but also poverty and overcrowding 'which increased in the early decades of the seventeenth century as tenements were erected', meaning that the parish reached deep into the financial heart of the city but also into the lives of the poor gathered on the fringes of society.³² In the 1590s, the parish managed to secure an unusual dispensation from the Church of England. At the time, the parish living was very poor and it fell vacant for an entire generation. Dissatisfied by the church's inability to provide a preacher, the vestry secured the right to select its own vicar and supplement his income itself. 'This gave the local parishioners – or rather the fifty or so of them who voted in this body – an almost unique power in the Church of England to

²⁹ Adrian Johns, 'Coleman Street' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (2008), p. 33.

³⁰ Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014), pp. 103-05.

³¹ John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments Online*, 1576 edn., Book 8, p. 981 <<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/>> [accessed in April 2022].

³² Johns, 'Coleman Street', p. 36.

ignore the wishes of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.’³³ During the reigns of James I and Charles I, they elected Puritans.

Many of the merchants in St Stephen’s parish were committed Calvinists. The nature of their business gave them contacts abroad. This cosmopolitan atmosphere may have appealed to Munday, with his lifelong interest in European language and literature. ‘The street’s religious identity ultimately extended as far as the centers of international Protestantism and the Puritan colonies of the emerging empire in the New World.’³⁴ Richard Malbon, ‘a leading member of the congregation’ at St Stephen’s, had encouraged others from the church to sail with him to America on the *Mayflower* in 1620.³⁵

Munday’s first tithe payment to the church coincided with the arrival of a new vicar in 1624: John Davenport. Davenport had been educated at Oxford, transferring from Merton College to Magdalen College which was ‘known at the time for its puritan sympathies.’³⁶ In about 1619, he became the curate at St Lawrence Jewry (where Crowley had formerly been vicar), before being elected vicar of St Stephen’s. He believed in a ‘united Calvinist front against Catholicism and Arminianism.’³⁷ The failure of James I and Charles I to support Continental Protestants led to Davenport’s criticism of the government’s foreign policy, and, in 1626, Davenport joined with other prominent Puritans in a scheme to buy the livings of vacant parishes across England and fill them with zealous Puritan preachers. This enterprise was quashed in 1633, the year of Munday’s death, when the struggle between the established church and Puritanism became too great to be contained within the bounds of traditional

³³ Johns, ‘Coleman Street’, p. 36.

³⁴ Johns, ‘Coleman Street’, p. 36.

³⁵ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ‘Scandinavian Colonists Confront the New World’ in *Sweden in America*, ed. by Carol E. Hoffecker and others (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), p. 100.

³⁶ Francis J. Bremer, ‘John Davenport’, *ODNB*.

³⁷ Bremer, ‘John Davenport’, *ODNB* Arminianists believed that God’s sovereignty was compatible with free will, whereas Calvinists believed that sin was predestined (*OED*, Arminianism, *n.*).

worship. Davenport left England that year for Amsterdam. He returned briefly to Coleman Street a few years later, where he joined other parishioners in sailing for America, arriving in Boston in 1636. In 1637 he advised on the formation of Harvard College, and in 1638 he and his companions founded the colony of Quinnipiac, later renamed New Haven.³⁸

In 1627/28, while Munday was worshipping regularly at St Stephen's and Davenport was busy recruiting Puritan preachers, London became a riot of anti-monarchist anger, especially amongst the merchant classes who were Munday's fellow parishioners. King Charles tried to extort money from them, leading to rowdy meetings at Westminster and Puritan placards all over the city.³⁹ Many Puritans refused to pay and were imprisoned, including William Spurstow, 'a leading member of the Puritan congregation at St Stephen's, Coleman Street' and MP for Shrewsbury.⁴⁰ Munday's former fellow-parishioner from St Giles, John Pym, also relied upon Coleman Street, taking refuge there when he fled from Westminster in 1642 as the king attempted to arrest him.⁴¹ Oliver Cromwell (married at St Giles) met his officers at the Star Inn, Coleman Street.⁴² Richard Overton (1640-1663), Leveller, printer and pamphleteer, ran a printing house in Coleman Street, and also attended a Baptist congregation in the adjoining Bell Alley.⁴³ The English revolution that was born in Coleman Street was also ended there when the newly restored Charles II executed his potential assassin, Thomas Venner (c. 1608-1661), outside his meeting house in Coleman Street. The new king was not merely executing a traitor: by drawing attention to that

³⁸ Bremer, 'John Davenport', *ODNB*.

³⁹ Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics 1625-1643* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 74.

⁴⁰ Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 75.

⁴¹ Russell, 'John Pym', *ODNB*.

⁴² Johns, 'Coleman Street', p. 34.

⁴³ Johns, 'Coleman Street', p. 34; B.J. Gibbons, 'Richard Overton', *ODNB*.

particular location and its role in the downfall of his father, King Charles was performing an action full of crushing symbolism.⁴⁴

The activities and opinions that came out of Coleman Street were not secret; they were unmistakeable and they were notorious. It does not seem credible that a man of Munday's experience, who had spent a lifetime engaged in the monitoring of dissent and who was a native Londoner, did not know or understand the nature of St Stephen's church and congregation. He was also aware of his own mortality: he made his will during a bout of illness in 1629.⁴⁵ Although he did not die until 1633, he was thinking about and making provision for his death. He knew he would be buried at St Stephen's, a church famous for teaching and adhering to clear Protestant values, which had sent pilgrims to the New World, and which had a vicar intent on promulgating Puritanism. He may not have known he would be given a substantial monument, but he must have been content to know that the end of his life would be recorded in and associated with 'the most radical Puritan parish in the city.'⁴⁶ And yet, Anthony Munday chose to be there. What is more, they chose him. There was no conflict over Munday's eternal resting place, unlike Dr Fuller from St Giles whose rejection by his parish extended after death. To the vestry of St Stephen's, Munday was not an anonymous worshipper but a valued parishioner whose memory was celebrated within the church; he was part of their community.

The church Munday would have known was razed to the ground in the Great Fire of 1666, and every trace of his mortal remains was erased. The church was rebuilt by 1677, but

⁴⁴ Johns, 'Coleman Street', p. 34.

⁴⁵ Celeste Turner, *Anthony Mundy: An Elizabethan Man of Letters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928), p.170.

⁴⁶ William Birken, in 'Helkiah Crooke', *ODNB*.

was finally obliterated in the Blitz on 29 December 1940. There was no further attempt to replace the church and the parish was merged with that of St Margaret Lothbury.⁴⁷



Fig. 18. Plaque at the site of St Stephen's Church, Coleman Street

Photo: Wendy Armstrong

⁴⁷ *The Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks - St Stephen Coleman Street*
<<https://www.londonparishclerks.com/Parishes-Churches/Individual-Parish-Info/St-Stephen-Coleman-Street>>
[accessed in April 2024].

There is an inescapable irony about the end of Munday's life. *SEQ1* and *WWQ1* are emblematic of his professional endeavours: keeping close to the established church, serving the monarch, preventing rebellion and resistance by promoting the rewards of religious observance and by giving information and evidence against dissenters in order to preserve the status quo. The final years of his life, however, were spent worshipping amongst the perpetrators of the most seismic revolution England has ever known, which saw a king executed and the state of monarchy utterly destroyed. In that seething Puritan melting-pot of St Stephen's that nurtured the Civil War, nobody could have known that neither the Parliamentary party ascendancy nor Munday's resting place would exist for more than a few years after his death. For Munday, it was reality, it was the new age, and it would last forever.

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the bigness of an egg, many cattel being utterly destroy'd as they were feeding in the field. Also the wonderful apparitions which were seen in the air to the great amazement of the beholders, who beheld two perfect arms and hands; in the right hand being grasped a great broad sword, in the left a beul full of blood, from whence they heard a most strange noise, to the wonderful astonishment of al present, the fright caused divers women to fall in travail; among whom the clerks wife one Margaret Pellmore, fell in labour and brought forth 3 children who had teeth and spoke as soon as ever they were born, as you shall hear in the following relation, the like not known in any age. The tune is, Aim not too high (London: Coles, Vere and Gilbertson, 1661) STC K26A

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