

Marlowe, Greene and Nashe in *As You like It*: A Martext View

by Mark Bradbeer

Abstract

As You Like It is a play about outlaws, one of whom was publishing his literature everywhere in the forest. Orlando marred the trees with his poetry, while Jaques marred these verses (3.3.220-1). A literary review of the Mar-prelate pamphlet controversy (1588-9) identifies these characters with the pseudonymous pamphleteering outlaw, Martin Mar-prelate, and with the literary gun-for-hire, Thomas Nashe, alias Cutbert Curry-knave, respectively. Jaques' mentor, Touchstone, resembles Nashe's literary mentor, Robert Greene. The writings of Nashe and Greene and allusions in the play, itself, suggest Martin Marprelate to be Kit Marlowe. This is strongly supported by Martin Marprelate's multiple challenges in 1589, to the Archbishop of Canterbury for a "reckoning". In addition to Marlowe's lethal "reckoning" of the 30th May, 1593, there is the allusion to the 6th April, 1593 hanging of his friend, John Greenwood, from Tyburn gallows; that is, from "the greenwood tree" (2.5.1). Also memorialised is Greenwood's friend, Edward Boys, who also died in prison in 1594 (1.1.45-6). Shakespeare's sympathies are with Marlowe, his collaborator and silent co-author of *Henry VI, Part One*. His antipathy to Nashe and the bishops is reflected in this and other plays. *As You Like It*, more than most, reveals Shakespeare to be a political activist against censorship, and for freedom from absolutist power over people's minds.

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Dating *As You Like It*

Between August and October, 1600, six Shakespeare plays were submitted to the Stationer's Register, but only five were accepted and published as first quartos that year¹. What prohibited registration and publication of the sixth play, *As You Like It*? Was the Bishop's Ban of 1599, which prohibited books relating to the ten-year long vitriolic correspondence between Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey, invoked, to "stay" this play? This paper intends to examine the historical context of *As You Like It*. But let us first review the approximate date of composition.

The play is largely based on Thomas Lodge's prose romance, *Rosalynde, or Euphues's Golden Legacy* (1590). Therefore, the play dates between 1590 and 1600. As there is "no conclusive evidence for either the date of composition or the earliest performance history of *As You Like It*"², some scholars hypothesize a date between the non-citation of *As You Like It* in Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (1598) and the staying of its registration on August 4th 1600, that is, approximately 1599. This is acknowledged as very weak evidence. Recent commentaries largely ignored³ or dismissed⁴ the scholarship of John Dover Wilson⁵ and Arthur Quiller-Couch⁶, who presented evidence of multiple textual allusions in *As You Like It* to the person and works of Nashe, Marlowe and Greene dating from 1592-3. Hotson's account of the death of Marlowe, particularly, has suggested to a number of scholars an original date of composition to 1593/4⁷.

The play has strong resemblances to Shakespeare's early comedies, including a prevalent theme of marriage and a significant proportion of rhyme. Whereas *Love's Labour's Lost* (c.1594) concludes with four engagements to be married, *As You Like It* concludes with four weddings. With its export of the ducal court into a rustic environment, it could also be seen as a practice-run for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c.

1595). Like *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the play, *As You Like It*, has a high proportion of songs and rhymes⁸. Moreover, Wilson revealed multiple references to Nashe's *Strange News* (1592) in both *The Comedy of Errors* (c.1593) and *As You Like It*, (2.2.8 & 3.2.96-113)⁹. The subtle but definite allusions to the death of Christopher Marlowe in May, 1593, in *As You Like It* (3.4.8-10, 3.6.80), are also compelling evidence of an early date. These allusions would have had considerably reduced impact on audiences in 1599-1600.

Shakespeare's *As You Like It* is also influenced by Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (performed 1592). Shakespeare named Orlando and Oliver, after the names of characters in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. After the publication of Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591), and then Greene's dramatized version, in 1592¹⁰, Shakespeare's Orlando in *As You Like It* had relevance and significance in 1593, that would have waned by 1600.

Another small feature suggesting an earlier, rather than later, date for the original play, is the apparently novel use of the word "stanzo" by Jaques – "I do desire you to sing. Come, more, another stanza – call you 'em 'stanzo'?" (2.5.14-15). As Michael Hattaway suggests, "the word [stanza/stanze/stanzo] was obviously new-fangled"¹¹. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, its first use in English was by Thomas Nashe in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*¹² (1589). Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.2.103) and the sonnet, "A Stanza Declarative to the Lovers of Admirable Works" in *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593) by Gabriel Harvey are also early examples. A date of 1593/4 for *As You Like It*, presents a much more new-fangled "stanza", than the date of 1599.

Furthermore, the character, Vicar Martext, is a direct reference to the Marprelate Controversy of 1588-9. The relevance of this character may have been largely lost or distorted by the deletion of this character from *As You Like It* stage performances for over 200 years¹³.

The above allusions are compelling reasons to ask why the original date of composition of *As You Like It* should not be considered as c.1593/4, as Dover Wilson suggested. They also suggest reasons why the play could not be registered or published in 1600.

Some historical background about the Martin Marprelate and the Mar-Martinists may be helpful at this point.

The Return of Episcopal Power

In 1583, Queen Elizabeth I appointed John Whitgift, as Archbishop of Canterbury. He immediately reinvigorated the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, such that it acquired near unlimited power over civil as well as church matters. The Prime Minister, Lord Burghley, complained to the Queen in 1584, saying that they resembled the Spanish Inquisition¹⁴. Furthermore, “in 1585, Whitgift by special order from the Queen, was employed to frame rules for the regulation of the press”¹⁵, and she appointed him to the Privy Council in 1586. His press censorship rules, which became law in 1586, demanded that books be “first seen and perused by the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London” and that the presses be restricted to London, except allowing for one press each in Oxford and Cambridge¹⁶. Whitgift became an active persecutor of Non-Conforming Protestants, as he enforced strict adherence to the Act of Uniformity (1559). That is to say, in matters of religious belief and practice, or of unbelief or non-observance for that matter, anyone stepping out of line faced severe sanctions, compelling all religious ritual and thought only as decreed by the Church of England.

The patrons of the Non-Conformist cause¹⁷ in the Privy Council, were aged and dying, and their reformist influence waning. Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, died in 1585. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, died in November, 1588, and his brother, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, died in 1590. Walter Mildmay,

Chancellor of the Exchequer, died in 1589, and his brother-in-law, Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State and spymaster, died in 1590.

In 1587, a bill was presented by the Member of Parliament (MP), Sir Anthony Cope, to the Commons to repeal the increasing power of the bishops. He was supported by MPs, Sir Peter Wentworth (1524-96) and Job Throckmorton. All three were arrested in parliament and sent to the Tower. Their imprisonment was short, perhaps because Wentworth's brother-in-law was Secretary of State, Francis Walsingham. Peter Wentworth, more than any other, was the parliamentary spokesperson for "liberty" from absolutist power, whether by Monarchy or the Church, and he was first arrested in 1576 for his famous "liberty" speech: "Sweet is the name of liberty, but the thing itself, a value beyond all inestimable treasure"¹⁸. "Liberty" became a catch-cry for the next generation, who were banished to the Low Countries and America. Wentworth's advocacy for freedom of expression was assisted by the printer, Robert Waldegrave¹⁹.

In 1588, Cope's step-father and Wentworth's close friend, George Carleton²⁰, Waldegrave and Throckmorton became involved in the clandestine publishing of Mar-Prelate pamphlets. And Wentworth himself was again imprisoned in 1593 for presenting another petition to Parliament. He remained there until his death in 1596, as Sir Francis Walsingham, now dead, was unable to protect him.

The Theatre

Another fragile legacy of Walsingham was the Queen's Men. He created this theatre company in 1583, and it largely disintegrated after Walsingham's death in 1590. They performed the works of Marlowe, whose patron was Thomas Walsingham, the cousin of Francis Walsingham. This company was a political creation. As McMillin²¹ stated, "The Queen's Men was a deliberately political company in origin, and their repertory appears to have followed the path no doubt pointed out for them by Sir Francis Walsingham".

For example, it has been noted that Marlowe's play *Edward II* appears to be based on confidential intelligence about King James VI's homosexuality after Francis Walsingham's diplomatic visit to Scotland in 1583 and *Massacre at Paris* appears to be based on Walsingham's diplomatic correspondence when he was present in Paris during the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572²². Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, first performed in January 1593, dramatises the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572. Its topic could have been suggested by Francis Walsingham who witnessed first-hand this atrocity and narrowly escaped with his life. From the first scene of *The Massacre at Paris* (1.1.54-6), the Protestant flavour of the play is set. Furthermore, the noble religious martyrs whose deaths feed one's outrage in this play are not only referred to as Huguenots and Protestants, but also Lutherans and Puritans²³. These mentions would have a resonance for English audiences, who were compelled to attend Church of England worship or suffer persecution if found to be of Puritan or Lutheran persuasion.

Walsingham also knew detailed plans of a Spanish invasion of England as early as 1586, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine Parts One and Two* (1587) may be seen as a call to arms to assist the mustering for the defence against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Both plays conflate the Ottoman navy with the Spanish navy²⁴.

Martin Marprelate

From 1588 and 1589, anti-bishop pamphlets were a publishing phenomenon, particularly those authored by the pseudonymous "Martin Mar-prelate". There were numerous people involved in the writing, printing and distributing of the Marprelate pamphlets, including Job Throckmorton, Robert Waldegrave, George Carleton, John Udall and John Penry. But their wittiest member was the mysterious Martin Marprelate, after whom the Marprelate Controversy was named.

The Marprelate pamphlets provided detailed intellectual arguments concerning the weekly worship of all English and Welsh people. “Although the specific matter of the tracts would seem to a modern reader narrowly ecclesiastical..., the pamphlets have a far wider importance in literary and political history”²⁵. The pamphlets “contained arguments against imprisonment and torture which verge on a plea for freedom of conscience”²⁶. They presented “a cry for intellectual and political freedom”²⁷.

In addition, the pamphlets were popular and entertaining reading due to the audacious, witty and satirical writing of Martin Marprelate. Martin Marprelate’s irrepressible and unruly wit “explodes sanctioned hierarchies and pieties, and it is this levelling tendency which makes him so threatening – and so appealing”, and popular, such that it has been called Martin-mania²⁸. It is said:

Elizabethans, who always revelled in an attack on the clergy, rushed to buy the tracts. Courtiers, who gave not a fig for the issues involved, were vastly taken by Martin’s wit. Essex, the royal favourite, is said to have carried one of the tracts about in his pocket. Elizabeth was furious, so much so that she issued a proclamation denouncing the writer and printers of “schismatical books, defamatory libels and other fantastical writings”, and bidding them desist “as they will answer to the contrary at their utmost peril”²⁹.

The Earl of Essex³⁰ was step-son of Earl of Leicester and would later marry Walsingham’s daughter in 1590.

Here is a list of pamphlets to which it is thought Martin Marprelate contributed:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| April, 1588 | <i>State of the Church Laid Open (Diotrephes’ Dialogue),</i> |
| October, 1588 | Martin’s <i>An Epistle to the terrible priests of Convocation House</i> |
| November, 1588 | Martin’s <i>Oh read Over D. John Bridges for it is a worthy work: or An Epitome</i> |

late January, 1589	<i>Certain Mineral and Metaphysical School-points</i>
March, 1589	Martin's <i>Hay Any Work For Cooper</i>
May-August, 1589	<i>Dialogue Wherein Is Plainly Laid Open.</i>
May-August, 1589	J.G.'s <i>M. Some Laid Open In His Colours</i>
late July, 1589	Martin's <i>Theses Martinianae</i>
late July, 1589	Martin's <i>Just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior</i>
August 14, 1589	Martin's <i>More Work For Cooper</i>
September, 1589	Martin's <i>Protestation</i>

The identity of Martin Marprelate is thought to be either, John Penry, Henry Barrow, Michael Hicks, George Carleton, Roger Williams, or Job Throckmorton³¹. The largest ‘pamphlet’, of 110 pages, called *M. Some Laid Open In His Colours*, is signed off as by I.G, and has been attributed to John Greenwood³².

Martin Marprelate Character and Connections

The Church of England reacted. Marprelate publications were burned. When discovered, the presses were smashed. People were arrested and tortured. But Martin Marprelate’s wit was harder for the established church to counter. It appealed to the general public, even if it appalled some Puritans preachers, as well as the Church of England clergy. While a defender of so-called Puritans, Martin Marprelate denied being one of “these wrangling Puritans”³³.

Under torture in September, 1589, ‘it is confessed Penry hath said before any of these libels came forth, that a nobleman deceased, did encourage him to write bitterly against ye Bishops’³⁴. The ‘nobleman deceased’ is generally considered to be the Earl of Leicester³⁵, who died in November, 1588. Given the sympathies of Leicester, it is possible that Leicester’s close associate and fellow reformist Protestant, Francis Walsingham³⁶, knew more than is officially recorded about Marprelate.

Most of the venues selected for the clandestine printing of Marprelate tracts were well over a hundred kilometres north of London and generally within 30 kilometres of Warwick. The Earl of Warwick was Ambrose Dudley, the brother of Leicester. Marprelate printer/writer, Robert Waldegrave, had already dedicated work to Ambrose Dudley in 1578³⁷. And in his *Epitome*, Martin Marprelate also praised the support of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. The illicit printing press venues at East Molesley Priory, Wolston Priory and Coventry were a short ride from Warwick. Furthermore, Wolston Priory was the family home of Susanna Wentworth nee Wigston, whose father-in-law was the outspoken advocate of freedom of speech, Peter Wentworth. Her mother-in-law was Elizabeth Wentworth nee Walsingham, sister of Francis Walsingham (see diagram).

When Francis Walsingham and Ambrose Dudley, died in 1590, Non-Conformist writers lost two powerful patrons, and become greatly exposed to danger.

Thomas Nashe (1567-c.1601)

One of the difficulties faced by the bishops of the Church of England was their need to destroy, not only Martin Marprelate and associates but, his popularity and influence. They needed counter-wits and railers. The prelates discreetly patronized some anti-Marprelate writers to ridicule, denigrate and threaten Martin, his associates, his sympathizers and his readers. As admitted by the pseudonymous author of *Pap with a Hatchet*³⁸ (by Lyly or Nashe), their mission was to create a media-based “hue and cry”³⁹. They employed the 21-year old ambitious but unpublished satirist, Thomas Nashe (1567-1601) as their primary agent. Working with him was his friend, the 30-year old Robert Greene (1558-1592), who was already a most prolific writer, and also John Lyly. By 1592-3, Thomas Nashe was so successful with his slander on behalf of the bishops that he was lauded by them⁴⁰, and he lived at the Croydon palace of John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1592. He is thought to have written:

(a) the anonymous works, such as *Martins months minde* (1589), *A Myrror for Martinists* (1590), and the anonymous poem (with Lyly), called *Mar-Martine I know not why a trueth in rime set out maie not as wel marMartine and his mates*, (1589).

(b) Under the nom-de-guerre of Cutbert Curry-knave, Nash wrote *An almond for a parrat, or Cutbert Curry-knaue's almes* (1590).

(c) It is thought he may have collaborated with Robert Greene and used the nom-de-guerre of Pasquill and Marphoreus when he published – *A countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior* (1589) and *The returne of the renowned caualiero Pasquill of England*, (1589), *Marphoreus to Pasquine of England* (1589) and *The first parte of Pasquil's apologie* (1590)⁴¹.

According to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Nashe was commissioned to “combat these [Marprelate] pamphleteers at their own Weapon. They were attack'd in this Manner by one Tom Nash in his “Pasquil” and “Marforio”...This Nashe had a genius for Satyr, a lively Turn, and Spirit for the Encounter”⁴². In his *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589), Nash mentions his “satirical disguise” for “two summers” which enabled him to “slander”⁴³, while being secretly sponsored by the John Whitgift and other bishops⁴⁴. As well as publications, their works included burlesque theatre with grotesque characters⁴⁵. After a complaint from the Lord Mayor of London, the Privy Council wrote to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, on 12th November, 1589, asking to restrain players who “handle in their plays certain matters of Divinity and State, unfit to be suffered”⁴⁶. Intriguingly, it was not the ‘divines’ complaining of these unfit plays.

The author of *Pap with a Hatchet* also sinisterly said, “They call the Bishops butchers. I like the metaphor. Well, such calves must be knocked on the head. And who fitter than the fathers of the Church to cut the throats of heresies in the Church”⁴⁷.

Nashe was no Renaissance man. In *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589), he wrote “If thou be desirous to attain to the truth of a thing, first learn determinate conclusions before thou dealest with doubtful controversies”, “all students [must] wisely prefer renowned antiquity before new-found toys”, and avoid the “puddled opinions” of “upstart reformers of arts”, who might cause “a man both in life and belief either to snatch up or hatch newfangles”⁴⁸. He concluded his *Anatomy of Absurdity*, saying “Let not learning, which ought to be the level whereby such as live ill ought to square their crooked ways, be the occasion unto them of farther corruption, who have already sucked infection, lest their knowledge weigh them down into hell”⁴⁹.

In 1592, Nashe published his *Pierce Penniless: Supplication to the Devil*, in which he advocates a purification of Christendom, from: “Anabaptists and the adulterous Familists, others with the Martinists, a hood with two faces, to hide their hypocrisy, and, to conclude, some, like the Barrowists and Greenwoodians, a garment full of plague, which is not to be worn before it be washed”⁵⁰. The early Presbyterian Separatist, John Greenwood, as already mentioned, may have contributed to one of the Martinist pamphlets. In his *Pierce Penniless* (1592), the young Nashe continued making commands: “Look to it, you booksellers and stationers, and let not your shops be infected with any such goose giblets, or stinking garbage as the jigs of newsmongers”⁵¹.

Nashe hypocritically enjoyed a freedom to write which he denied other writers. He was “in the favour of God”, to “grant unto me to plague such men as hunt after strife, and are delighted with variance”⁵².

In contrast to his advocacy of censorship, Nashe appears to give himself a clown’s licence for satire in his *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*⁵³ which was written and performed in 1592. In this, he characterized himself as a dolt, a motley, a fop and an ass⁵⁴. In 1592, Gabriel Harvey knew of Nashe’s play about Will Summers⁵⁵, and some of these epithets are repeated by him in *Pierce’s Supererogation, or New Praise for the Old Ass* (1593).

In his *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592), Greene referred to Nashe as “young Juvenal, that biting satirist, that lastly with me together writ a comedy. Sweet boy, might I advise thee, be advised, and get not many enemies by bitter words”⁵⁶. Thomas Nashe was referred to as Juvenal, a Roman author (fl. 100A.D.) of *Satires*. In 1598, both Francis Meres⁵⁷ and John Marston⁵⁸ refer to Nashe as Juvenal. In fact, Marston called him “gloomy Juvenal”, thus resembling the character, Moth, in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (c.1594), who is also called “most acute Juvenal: voluble and free of grace...most rude melancholy” (3.1.64-7). Moth in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, has been considered a satirical portrait of the satirist, Thom Nashe. As well as being an approximate reversal of his first name, Nashe is referred to as “the moth of fame” in the *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*⁵⁹. The buffoon-turned-ass in *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Bottom, is also called Juvenal (3.1.88).

In a time of inescapable censorship that was enforced by severe sanctions, the various traits and epithets of Thomas Nashe help identify him. Nashe had another characteristic, unusual for his time. Despite his contempt for people⁶⁰, he expressed a compassion for animals and an antipathy to the killing of animals. Thus, in *Pierce Penniless* (1592), he says: “we are such flesh-eating Saracens, that chaste fish may not content us, but we delight in the murder of innocent mutton, in the unpluming of poultry, and the quartering of calves and oxen.”⁶¹ He then refers disdainfully to “such as had meat stomachs”, suggesting that he, himself, did not eat meat. In this and other work, he repeats his abhorrence at the killing and cruelty of sheep, poultry, horses and bears⁶².

These particulars will obtain increasing significance in the arguments below.

Thomas Nashe in *As You Like It*

Jaques, the Satirist

In his adaption of Lodge's story, *Rosalynde*, Shakespeare created the new major character, Jaques, in *As You Like It*. According to Cowden-Clarke (1864): "The fact is Jaques has always been taken for what he professes to be – a moralist, but looked at as the Duke demonstrates him to be, and as Shakespeare has subtly drawn him, he is a mere lip-deep moralizer, a dealer in moral precepts, a morality monger"⁶³.

Even before Jaques makes an appearance, noblemen in the forest warn us that Jaques would 'moralise' using 'a thousand similies' (2.1.45). Despite being a hypocrite (2.7.64-9), Jaques says he must "cleanse the foul body of th'infected world, / if they will patiently receive my medicine" (2.7.60-1).

The sensational and excremental quality beneath the superficial character of Jaques⁶⁴ is evident in his name. As Bednarz⁶⁵ notes, "Jaques' phrasing evokes the purge metaphor of comical satire in a passage that reveals the source of his name, which we should not be misled into pronouncing with a French accent. Anglicized in the early modern period, the name was regularly punned with the word 'jakes'". A jake, or jaques, is a toilet, as, for example, in the first (1608) and second (1619) quartos of *King Lear* (2.2.67)⁶⁶. This explains why Touchstone politely calls him the more decorous, 'Monsieur What Ye Call't' (3.4.55). Jaques' railing is his purgative medicine.

Jaques declares that, "I must have liberty ...to blow on whom I please" (2.7.47-9). This reminds one of the 22-year old Thomas Nashe censuring women and writers in his *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589), and the comment on Nashe in *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* (1592): "Thou hast a liberty to reprove all"⁶⁷:

Despite this freedom, the first mention of Jaques in the play is as "melancholy Jaques" (2.1.26), and he later explains that it is "a melancholy of my own" (4.1.13). Thus, he carries in his own being his complaint of the world. He says, "I'll rail against all the first born of Egypt" (2.5.52). He'll "rail even

against our mistress, the world, and all our misery” (3.2.235). He’ll rail against Lady Fortune (2.7.16). Jaques “almost chides God” for giving him his miserable face (4.1.28-9). Well before he appears on stage (scene 2.1), we are made aware of Jaques’ first target. One of the noblemen in the forest tells the outcaste Duke, that Jaques “swears you do more usurp / Than doth your brother that hath banished you”. This is reminiscent of Nashe’s damnation of “outlaws”⁶⁸.

Jaques’s melancholy nature is reiterated through the play⁶⁹. He describes himself in detail, as having “a melancholy of my own...a most humorous sadness” (4.1.13-16). He is the antithesis of Orlando. Jaques is “Monsieur Melancholy” (3.1.248), whereas Orlando is “Signor Love”, a man in love (3.3.247-8). This epithet for Jaques serves little purpose in the play, but seems to be a prescription for a specific identity for an historical satirist – perhaps someone like Thomas Nashe, whom Marston called “gloomy Juvenal”.

There is an aspect of Jaques which may contribute to his melancholia (2.1.41). As the outlaw Duke is about to hunt for some venison, one of his noblemen describe Jaques’s grieving and weeping over the wounded deer, abandoned by his “careless herd” (2.1.52) and “flux of company” (2.1.52). From this, Jaques appears to draw analogies between the “fat and greasy citizens” (2.1.55) of the herd and the human society of meat-eaters. Thus, the nobleman offers his opinion of Jaques, saying (2.1.58-61):

Thus most invectively he pierceth through
the body of the country, city, court,
yea, and of this our life; swearing that we
Are mere usurpers, tyrants, and what’s worse,
To fright the animals and to kill them up
In their assigned and native dwelling-place.

This whole scene (2.1) seems to serve little purpose except to suggest the identity of Jaques – someone like Thomas Nashe, who also expressed grief for wounded animals. In the context of jakes and fluxes, the passage above, employs the unusual phrase “pierceth through the body of the country, city, court”. The word “pierceth” (2.1.58) appears to refer to Nashe’s self-caricature and cognomen, “Pierce Penniless” from his *Pierce Penniless: His Supplication to the Devil* (1592). This is unlikely to be a coincidence. A similar juxtaposition of “pierce” with a braggadocio called a “jake” occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*. When a trumpet blast announces pompous Ajax’s challenge to Hector, Agamemnon declares: “Thou dreadful Ajax: that the appalled air may pierce the head of the great combatant” (4.5.4-5). Ajax, like a Jaques, alludes to a jake or toilet, and again “pierce” seems to allude to Nashe’s cognomen, Pierce Penniless.

There is another brief discussion at the beginning of Act 4, this time between Rosalind and Jaques, which seems to have little bearing on the plot, except to suggest an identity for Jaques. Having described himself a melancholic, Jaques brags that it is a result of his “sundry contemplation of my travels” (4.1.15). Rosalind is not impressed and sarcastically comments, “I will scarce think you have swam [meaning, floated] in a gondola” (4.1.29). Why should she respond to Jaques this way? Perhaps it is a response to Jack (or Jaques⁷⁰) Wilton, Nashe’s protagonist in his *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594). In this book, Jack, travels the Continent with companions, and “by the highway side, we made a long stride and got to Venice”⁷¹. There is little evidence that Nashe ever visited Venice (or even Continental Europe), particularly since he does not acknowledge taking a boat to, or about Venice. Jaques is speechless in response to Rosalind’s challenge, and leaves, taking no further part in the scene. Why was he there in the first place, if not to reveal something about himself, and perhaps the person upon whom he was modelled? The producers of the play in 1740 and 1810 (Bell and Kemble respectively), presumably struggled with this problem, and set a standard response by simply deleting this only exchange between the major characters, Jaques and Rosalind⁷².

Thinking the play dates from 1599/1600, scholars have wondered if Jaques represented the satirist, Ben Jonson⁷³. Few have considered Jaques to be Thomas Nashe, an early influence in Jonson's satire⁷⁴.

Dover Wilson suggests that the writer had Nashe's *Strange News* (1592) in front of him as he wrote scenes 2.2 and 3.3. In *As You Like It* (2.2.8), Touchstone is described as 'the roynish clown'. This is a rare description for the time and only occurs in Nashe's *Strange News*⁷⁵. Furthermore, it is recognised that Act 3 of *As You Like It* paraphrases Nashe's *Strange News*. Nashe writes: "I will trot a false gallop through the rest of his verses, but that if I should retort his rime dogrell aright, I must make my verses (as he doth his) run hobbling like a Brewer's cast upon the stones, and observe no length in their feet which were absurdum per absurdis, to infect my vaine with his imitation"⁷⁶. Likewise, Touchstone, the clown whom Jaques adopts as mentor, asks Rosalind why she likes Orlando's love poetry, saying (3.3.90-1): "This is the very false gallop of verses; why do you infect yourself with them". This suggests that the playwright had at least recently read *Strange News* (1592).

When the fool, Jaques, says "the wise man's folly is anatomised, even by the squandering glances of the fool" (2.7.56), it is hard to avoid considering Nashe's *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589), in which he ridiculed Philip Stubbs's *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), saying, "Being about to anatomize absurdity, [I] am urged to take a view of sundry men's vanity, a survey of their folly"⁷⁷.

In the same scene, Jaques makes another speech - the "world's a stage" speech – also using a metaphor about snail-like schoolboys (2.7.145-6) taken from Nashe⁷⁸.

Jaques and his Mentor, Touchstone

It was previously mentioned that the names, Orlando and Oliver, are likely derived from Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (written 1591, performed 1591/2). But their characters are different. Shakespeare's

Orlando forgives his brother Oliver who was hunting to kill him, and saves him from being eaten by a lion. And Oliver has a conversion. In contrast, Greene's Orlando defeats Oliver, his fellow peer of France, in combat. Shakespeare's compulsive poet, Orlando, does not have the aggressive character of Greene's Orlando. A greater debt to this work of Robert Greene has been suspected⁷⁹.

Touchstone in scene 5.1 does resemble Greene's aggressive Orlando. Act 5 begins with Touchstone expressing his contempt to the gentle vicar Martext, calling him "vile" and "most wicked" (5.1.5, 6), despite Audrey's protests. He then proceeds to jeer and threaten to beat and kill the gentle William, a rival suitor to Audrey. This is despite Audrey's good wishes to "good William". In the process, Touchstone threatens to overrun William with "policy". This refers to cynical Machiavellian policy⁸⁰, in contrast to the godly virtues of Vicar Martext and William.

There is a rare variation in the first publication of *As You Like It* in the First Folio. Originally, the stage directions for Touchstone's introduction to William (5.1.20) were attributed, not to Touchstone but, to "Orlando" despite Orlando not participating in this scene at all. It appears that during the printing, this anomaly was corrected in subsequent print-runs.

A reason for the anomalous occurrence of the name, "Orlando", in this scene may be due to this name referring to Greene's "Orlando". The "Orlando" in line 5.1.20 of the First Folio variation of *As You Like It* refers, not to this play's Orlando but, perhaps to the Orlando from Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. *As You Like It's* short scene 5.1 recalls scene 3.2 of Greene's *Orlando Furioso* with Greene's mad Orlando, his betrothed princess Angelica, disguised as a shepherdess, and the supposed champion of the rival suitor to Angelica. The deluded Orlando challenges this "champion" to single combat and kills him. Like the love madness of Greene's Orlando, likewise Touchstone demonstrates his love madness in his furious jealousy over Audrey and aggression to William (5.1.50-64). And like Touchstone, this scene appears devised to

reflect qualities of Greene. Shakespeare's Touchstone and Greene's "Orlando" appear to represent Robert Greene.

In *Orlando Furioso*, the friend of Greene's Orlando is the clown, Tom. Gabriel Harvey likened Tom Nashe to the "sprite of *Orlando Furioso*"⁸¹, apparently the clown, Tom. Likewise, the friend of Shakespeare's Touchstone is Jaques, who appears to be modelled on Tom Nashe. It is proposed that the two characters, Jaques and his mentor, Touchstone, whom Shakespeare added to Lodge's *Rosalynde*, are modelled on Nashe and his mentor, Greene.

In scene 3.3, Jaques and Touchstone show their antipathy for Vicar Martext (3.3), demonstrating their credentials as anti-Martinists, just like Nashe and Greene. Furthermore, Nashe is demeaning of women and Greene's romantic notions in Nashe's *Anatomy of Absurdity*, saying "with green colours seek to garnish such Gorgon-like shapes"⁸². Likewise, in *As You Like It*, Jaques thwarts Touchstone from marrying Audrey (3.4), and likewise, he tells love-struck Orlando: "the worst fault you have, is to be in love" (3.3.239).

Also in Act 3, Touchstone identifies himself with Ovid (3.4.6), and reflects on his poetry, saying, "when a man's verses cannot be understood, nor a man's good wit seconded with the forward child, understanding: it strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room" (3.4.8-10). The latter part of this sentence is understood to refer to the death of Marlowe, but Marlowe's famous verses were well recognised in his own life-time. It is suggested that Touchstone is speaking as if he were the impoverished Robert Greene, reflecting on his own under-recognised poetry at the time of his miserable death, in the year 1592, just prior to Marlowe's death in 1593.

The name, “Touchstone”, likely derives from *Pierce’s Supererogation*, by Gabriel Harvey⁸³. Touchstone is identified to be Greene in this passage demonstrating Nashe’s indulgence in self-praise : “He [Nashe]..hath not studied his fellow’s *Art of Coney-Catching* [a book by Greene] for nothing. Examine the printer’s gentle preamble before the *Supplication of the Devil* [by Nashe], and tell me in good sooth, by the verdict of the **touchstone**, whether Pierce Penniless [Nashe’s alter ego] commended Pierce Penniless, or no; and whether that sorry praise of the author, Thomas Nashe, be not loathsome from the mouth of the printer, Thomas Nashe.”

Jaques, the Ass

Jaques makes his first brief appearance in *As You Like It*, to offer his new song, which reads (2.5.42-9):

If it do come to pass
That any man turn ass
Leaving his wealth and ease
A stubborn will to please,
Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame;
Here shall he see
Gross fools as he,
An if he will come to me.

This portrait of a foolish man turned ass, with a stubborn will to please, is further highlighted by the interpretation of ‘duc d’ane’, as “duc d’ane”, the French for the Duke of Asses⁸⁴. In Jaques’ next appearance, the Duke believes Jaques to be already ‘transform’d into a beast’ (2.7.1), presumably the aforementioned ass, as Jaques is “ambitious for a motley coat” (2.7.43) to signify his vocation as jester.

Jaques resembles Henry VIII's jester, Will Summer, in Nash's play, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*⁸⁵ (performed Oct 1592). Thomas Nashe, himself, was the model for the Will Summers, and likewise Shakespeare, it seems, has portrayed Nashe as Jaques. From the start of *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Will Summers "like a Foppe and an Asse must be making himself a public laughing stock"⁸⁶, where "the jester is a surrogate for Nashe"⁸⁷. In *A New Praise for the Old Ass* (1593), Harvey appears to respond to this, saying, "He that will suffer himself to be proclaimed an ass in print shall be sure never to want load and load enough"⁸⁸. Likewise, Shakespeare has responded, by portraying Nash as a fool and ass in *As You Like It*.

The Forest of Arden

In 1856, William Lloyd observed that: "In the anecdotes, reflections, and declamations of the pair [Jaques and Touchstone], we have the corruptions of affected or vicious society, brought into immediate contrast with woodland habits...Both are characters with which nothing under the greenwood tree could be congenial"⁸⁹.

The "Vicious Society" of 1593

John Greenwood was one of the early English Presbyterians to advocate Separatism. As mentioned earlier, Nashe likened "Greenwoodians" to the plague. When not tolerated by the Church of England hierarchy, the Separatists established their own churches separate from the Church of England. With the appointment of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Privy Council, the Church of England embarked on a purge, or purification, of the English population that protested against uniformity of religion as prescribed in the Uniformity Act of 1559. The purge involved arrest and imprisonment, torture, banishment or even execution. Many members of Greenwood's London congregation were banished to the Dutch Republic and America.

In October, 1587, John Greenwood was arrested by Church authorities (not by the civil authorities) without any charge and remained in prison (the Fleet and the Clink) till 1592. Despite his incarceration, he managed to publish arguments advocating Separatism⁹⁰. As Carlson suggests, ‘it is probable that Greenwood’s wife was the one who smuggled the manuscripts out of prison’. Some manuscripts were printed in Dort, then conveyed to England.

In July 1592, Greenwood was released on bail into the custody of Roger Rippon, a member of his congregation. Also in 1592, the bishop-sponsored Thomas Nashe published his *Pierce Penniless: Supplication to the Devil*, in which he advocated a purification of Christendom, from: “Anabaptists and the adulterous Familists, others with the Martinists, a hood with two faces, to hide their hypocrisy, and, to conclude, some, like the Barrowists and Greenwoodians, a garment full of plague, which is not to be worn before it be washed”⁹¹. Greenwood was again arrested on the 6th December, 1592, for again worshipping outside the Church of England. Thus, began a busy six-month purge:

Dec 6 (1592) John Greenwood, Roger Rippon, Edward Boys and many others were arrested at worship in Boys’s home. Boys died in prison in 1594.

Feb 16 (1593) Roger Rippon died in Newgate prison. Supporters paraded his coffin in front of the residence of the judge who imprisoned him, Justice Young, with signs pinned to his coffin and in shops⁹². ‘Many copies were taken of this “libel” and showed about’⁹³.

Feb 25 Peter Wentworth, MP, was arrested for advocating free speech in Parliament, and freedom from fear of arrest. He died in prison 3 years later.

March 4 The remnants of Greenwood’s Separatist congregation (at various times also led by Barrow and Johnson), comprising some 56 members were discovered at worship in Islington woods. Most were arrested. Penry almost escaped, but was eventually captured.

March 22 Greenwood was tried and condemned for his publications.

- April 6** Greenwood executed i.e. hanged on ‘Tyburn tree’.
- May 12** Playwright, Thomas Kyd, arrested and tortured.
- May 20** Marlowe commanded to make daily attendance to the Privy Council.
- May 24** Penry was tried and condemned.
- May 26** Marlowe accused of blasphemy.
- May 30** Marlowe murdered by Ingram Frizier.
- May 31** Penry hanged.
- June 28** Frizier pardoned.

At the end of 1592, Thomas Nashe published threats to Gabriel Harvey, saying:

We shall have you a Martinist when all comes to all ... we must have you in the first peeping forth of the spring preaching out of a pulpit in the woods; you have put on wolves’ raiment already, seduced many simple people under the habit of a sheet in Wolfe’s print [Harvey’s publisher, John Wolfe]. If you protest & lie any more, it is not your ending here like a sermon that will make you be reputed for a saint.⁹⁴

The suggestion is that Harvey will also be caught up in the purge of Marprelate Non-Conformists in the woods and he would be considered a saint, not for his preaching but for his martyrdom. Nashe’s threats regarding pulpits in the woods resemble Jaques’s antipathy to the “gentle pulpiter”, Orlando (3.2.151) and Vicar Martext in the Arden woods (3.3).

The play, *As You Like It*, with the railing misfit, Jaques/Jake, intruding upon the happy outlaws (S.D. 2.7.0), closely parallels Thomas Nashe’s railing publications. Of course, while Shakespeare’s comedy begins with threats of death and ends happily, the threats of death in 1592-3 were realized. Harvey himself survived the purge, but he published nothing more after 1593.

Greenwood in *As You Like It*

If John Dover Wilson is correct and *As You Like It* was composed in 1593, or soon after, the exchange between Amiens and Jaques, in Act 2.5, is significant. Amien sings a song to Jaques but warning him it may make him melancholy. But Amien is surprised that Jaques is enthusiastic for the song, which goes (2.5.1-8) –

Amien ‘Under the greenwood tree
 Who loves to lie with me,
 And turn his merry note
 Unto the sweet bird’s throat,
 Come hither, come hither, come hither.
 Here shall he see
 No enemy
 But winter and rough weather’.

If the *As You Like It* song is a purely rustic picture being painted, why the talk of enemies and why might Amien think it will make Jaques melancholy (2.5)? Does Amien think Jaques may have a guilty conscience? Jaques then adds a verse to the song which appears to parody the song. Why? Not understanding the relevance of this scene, early productions from the 18th and 19th century simply deleted parts of this scene⁹⁵.

The greenwood tree appears to be a discreet reference to Greenwood’s gallows of the 6th of April, 1593. It is perhaps discreet enough to pass the censor, relying on the actor’s performance and delivery of this song to emphasize the sombre message. The irreverent response of Jaques to the song is understandable if he is seen as a model for Nashe.

Are there further allegorical references to the contemporary politics of 1593?

Like Jaques, Vicar Martext is not found in the source text, Lodge's *Rosalynde*, but is the author's creation. The very name of Vicar Martext declares this play's association with the Marprelate controversy. He only appears in scene 3.3, where Jaques persuades Touchstone to get married by a priest, rather than by Vicar Martext! Reformist Protestants claimed that the prelates of the Church of England were no better than the priests of the Catholic Church. This scene is revealing of the politics of Jaques, who appears to have an antipathy to Vicar Martext, the representative of Martin Marprelate and his associates.

Jaques uses an unusual metaphor to dissuade Touchstone from employing Vicar Martext for his marriage, saying (3.4.63-7) –

‘And will you, being a man of your breeding, be married under a bush, like a beggar? Get you to church and have a good priest that can tell you what marriage is; this fellow [Vicar Martext] will but join you together as they join wainscot [wood-panelling]; then one of you will prove a shrunk panel, and like green timber warp, warp.’

‘Green timber’ appears to be a further discreet reference to Vicar John Greenwood. As in the case of the previous reference to ‘greenwood’, so here also, Jaques displays an aversion to ‘green timber’. His emphatic ‘warp, warp’ is suggestive that minds, not wood-panelling, are in fear of being corrupted.

Touchstone is persuaded by Jaques to seek another marriage celebrant. Having arranged to meet Vicar Martext in the woods, Touchstone sends him away, initially with the affectionate lines of an old lost ballad – ‘O sweet Oliver, O brave Oliver, Leave me not behind thee’ (3.4.75-7). Following Jaques' influence, Touchstone becomes more averse to Martext, calling him ‘a most wicked Sir Oliver, Audrey, a most vile Martext’ for no apparent reason (5.1.4). Is it because Vicar Martext himself is an outlaw vicar, like Greenwood?

It is significant that Touchstone, who distances himself from Martext, distances himself also from the audience with his faithless intentions to his partner, Audrey (3.4.69-70), contrasting Martext's virtue with the hypocritical piety of Jaques and Touchstone. Like Touchstone, Robert Greene was renowned for deserting his wife.

The marriage of Touchstone and Audrey occurs after the denouement of scene 5.4, when the usurping Duke Frederick has become a convertite (5.4.168) and 'put on a religious life' (5.4.165). Jaques commits to following him and rejecting the 'pompous court'. He intends to live in a cave to seek similar 'matter to be heard and learn'd' (5.4.169 & 180). This may signal a renewed respect for Martext's commitment to his 'calling' (3.4.83). It is to be noted that in performance, the play's Vicar Martext is sometimes portrayed as a buffoon, as in the 1978 BBC televised version, yet there is little textual reason for this. Early representations of this play simply deleted this scene altogether so there was no character called Sir Oliver Martext⁹⁶.

Like Vicar Martext with 'no temple but the wood' (scene 3.4.37), John Greenwood preached to his congregation in places like the Islington woods, until he was arrested on the 6th December 1592. He also officiated at the marriage of his deacon, Christopher Bowman, in 1592 at John Penry's home⁹⁷.

John Greenwood was in prison throughout the Martin Marprelate war of words of 1588-9, yet he was able to have letters smuggled out. He must be considered a candidate for authorship of the largest of the 1589 pamphlets, called *M. Some Laid Open in his Colours*, by I.G. The author acknowledged that a friend from Cambridge submitted his work for publication on the clandestine Marprelate press. Such a friend could well be Marlowe, whom he knew at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University, where Marlowe permitted Greenwood to use some of his scholarship benefits, when Marlowe himself was away⁹⁸.

Greenwood's two friends, Edward Boys and Kit Marlowe, also appear to be eulogised in *As You Like It*.

Edward de Boys in *As You Like It*

In the first scene of the play, Orlando declares, "I am no villain; I am the youngest son of Sir Rowland de Boys; he was my father, and he is thrice a villain that says such a father begot villains" (1.1.45-6). There is no Sir Rowland de Boys in Lodge's *Rosalynde* (where the analogous role is taken by Sir John Bordeaux). From where might the name, de Boys, derive?

The Sheriff of Kent, Sir Edward de Boys (1528-98), was married to Clara Wentworth, the sister of Sir Peter Wentworth, and they had three sons, just as did Sir Roland de Boys in *As You Like It*⁹⁹. One of the sons, also called Edward, married Sir Peter's daughter, Mary Wentworth. Edward was therefore brother-in-law to Susanna Wigston who hosted the Marprelate press in 1589 (see diagram). The older Sir Edward de Boys had been a Marian exile and was also a strong Non-Conformist. He died in 1598.

Another Edward Boys, probably related¹⁰⁰, was hosting John Greenwood at his home, when both of them were arrested on December 6th, 1592. This 33 year old Edward Boys (c.1559-94) was kept in Bridewell prison for 19 months and then kept "close" prisoner in the Clink, where he died of the harsh conditions and jail fever in 1594¹⁰¹.

It is proposed that the younger Edward Boys (c.1559-94) was eulogised in a 1593/4 version of the play, and the older, more French-sounding, Sir Edward de Boys (1528-98) may also have been eulogised in the final 1600 revision submitted for registration. As Amien sang in Act 2, about the winter wind, "thy sting is not so sharp, as friend remember'd not" (2.7.190-1).

Does Shakespeare suggest who might be the real Martin Marprelate?

Kit Marlowe in *As You Like It*

Marlowe in Shakespeare

In his *Admonition to the People of England* (1589), Thomas Cooper, the Bishop of Winchester, exaggerated the threat posed by Martin Marprelate, saying: “I fear he will prove himself to be, not only Mar-prelate, but Mar-prince, Mar-state, Mar-lawe...” In this last word, he may have come very close to identifying the real Martin Marprelate. Martin himself declared in his *Hay Any Work For Cooper* (March 1589), that “he is nearer you than you are ware of”¹⁰²

The next year, 1590, *Part One of Henry VI* is thought to have been written, although first record of its performance was in 1592. Act 3 begins dramatically with the noble Earl of Gloucester affixing a poster to a wall, much as Orlando published his verses on trees in *As You Like It* (3.3.100-144). But Gloucester is thwarted by the corrupt and hypocritical Bishop of Winchester, who snatches the poster and tears it up, saying: “Com’st thou with deep premeditated lines, / With written pamphlets studiously devis’d / Humphrey of Gloucester?” The play gives little indication of the pamphlet’s contents, but knowing the contemporary Bishop of Winchester was Thomas Cooper, audiences in 1592 are likely to assume this pamphlet to be from Martin Mar-prelate and entitled either *Hay Any Work For Cooper* or *More Work For Cooper*. The recent formal acceptance that Kit Marlowe was a silent co-author of *Henry VI, Part One*, is evidence that Marlowe was at least a strong supporter of Martin Mar-Prelate¹⁰³.

The murder of Shakespeare’s collaborator on the 30th May, 1593, is commemorated in *As You Like It*. Phoebe not only quotes Marlowe’s poem, *Hero and Leander* (Sest 1, 175-6), but refers to him as the ‘dead shepherd’, saying: “Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might, Who ever loved that loved not at

first sight?” (3.6.80-1)¹⁰⁴. This reverent reference to Marlowe’s beautiful poem, contrasts with the amusingly prosaic account of *Hero and Leander* given by Rosalind in Act 4 (4.1.79-85).

When Orlando greets Rosalind, saying: “Good day, and happiness, dear Rosalind”! Jaques notes that Orlando can’t resist talking in blank verse (4.1.24-5). Rosalind and Celia had already noted Orlando’s passion for blank verse (3.3.137-142). Kit Marlowe was the first English author to make full use of the potential of blank verse, and in 1593, he was the foremost exponent of the form.

Orlando, the Martinist

From the first scene of the play, *As You Like It*, the Marprelate controversy is declared, with Orlando’s bitter protest to his brother Oliver: “Marry, sir, I am helping you to mar that which God made, a poor unworthy brother of yours, with idleness” (1.1.26). “Mar” is again pointedly used in Jaques’ protest to Orlando, saying: “mar no more trees with writing love songs” (3.3.219). Orlando had earlier declared “these trees shall be my books” (3.2.5), highlighting the parallel with the clandestine Mar-prelate publishing business. In Lodge’s *Rosalynde*, the word “mar” is not used. Jaques concern for trees is also reminiscent of the concern for trees by Greene’s Orlando in his *Orlando Furioso*, in which he questions, “Who wronged happy nature so / To spoil these trees with this “Angelica”? But the word “mar” is an innovation in Shakespeare’s play.

Orlando is persecuted, threatened with assassination (2.3.23-8) and escapes to the wood. The usurper, Frederick, commanded Oliver to ‘bring him [his brother, Orlando] dead or living within twelve months (3.1.6-7). Likewise, the usurper threatened to kill Rosalind if she stayed in the ducal court (1.3.34). They both live like “outlaws” in the woods (see S.D. beginning scene 2.7). Beneath the veneer of this comedy, is a strong threat of violence. Similarly, John Greenwood, John Penry and the rest of the congregation at

the Boys residence or in the Islington Woods were treated like outlaws, indeed worse, dying without trial, as alluded to on the Rippon funeral placard.

In this play, there are strong overtones of a demand for freedom of speech and thought amongst the play's "outlaws", which was also being demanded by Wentworth and other Parliamentarians in 1593. And a similar 'cry for intellectual and political freedom' is found in the Martin Marprelate pamphlets.¹⁰⁵

In response to Orlando's adoring verse, Rosalind says of him, 'O most gentle pulpiter! What tedious homily of love have you wearied your parishioners withal' (3.2.130-1). But Orlando is not like Vicar Martext. He is not your normal religious preacher. Orlando is not John Greenwood.

His religion is Rosalind. Orlando is 'deifying the name of Rosalind' (3.2.303), writing in religious terms (3.2.124-9), resembling Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (Sest1, line 177-180):

He kneeled, but unto her devoutly prayed;

Chaste Hero to herself thus softly said;

"Were I the saint he worships, I would hear him,"

And as she spake those words, came somewhat near him.'

The Reckoning

Another reference to Marlowe, is given by Touchstone in scene 3.3, saying: "When a man's verses cannot be understood, nor a man's good wit seconded with the forward child understanding, it strikes a man more dead than a great **reckoning** in a little room. Truly, I would the gods had made thee poetical."

This passage is well recognised as a reference to the death of the playwright, Kit Marlowe, since the discovery of the coroner's report of Marlowe's death which used similar description: 'Ingram and

Christopher Marlowe were in speech and uttered one to the other divers malicious words for the reason that they could not be at one nor agree about the payment of the sum of pence, that is, *le recknynge* there'¹⁰⁶. Note that the italicised 'le recknynge' is present in the original report, suggestive of a calculated and specific meaning. Note that, despite the French disguise, 'recknynge' has a definite article. Furthermore, whereas the coroner's report is in Latin, *le recknynge* is not.

It was the known government agent, Ingram Frizier, who "strikes a man more dead", and assassinated Marlowe on the 30th May 1593. This was the day before John Penry's execution. The great reckoning appears to be the response of the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, to a challenge made by Martin Marprelate, underlined below (not underlined in the original).

In his *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, in March 1589, Martin declared:

Well, once again, answer my reasons, both of your Antichristian places in my first Epistle [Oct 1588] unto you. Otherwise, the wisdom of the Magistrate must needs smell what you are: And call you to a **reckoning**, for deceiving them so long, making them to suffer the Church of Christ under their government to be maimed and deformed¹⁰⁷.

And also in Martin's *Protestation* (September 1589):

'And as for myself, my life, and whatsoever else I possess, I have long ago set up my rest, making that account of it, as in standing against the enemies of God, and for the liberty of his church, it is of no value in my sight. My life in this cause shall be a gain to the church, and no loss to myself, I know right well: and this is all the **reckning** which by the assistance of the lord, I will make as long as I live, of all the torments they have devised for me'¹⁰⁸.

In his *Theses Martinianae* (July, 1589), Martin Marprelate junior declared -

If you have any of your side, ... that dare write, or dispute against any of these points set down by my father [Theses Martinianae], here I do by these my writings, cast you down the glove, ... And take my challenge if you dare.

By writing, ... By disputations, with promise, that you will not deal 'vi et armis' ['by force and arms'], you shall be taken also by me, if I think I may trust you. Otherwise, the Puritans will, I doubt not, maintain the challenge against you.

But here by the way, John Canterbury, ... play not the tyrant as you do, in God's Church; if you go on forward in this course, the end will be a woeful **reckoning**¹⁰⁹.

The execution of Greenwood, and Penry and the deaths of many others in 1593, demonstrate that Whitgift did resort to 'vi et armis'? And the promised "reckoning" between Martin Marprelate and John Whitgift, coincided with "le recknyng" of Christopher Marlowe on the 30th May, 1593.

Attitudes to Marlowe

Relations with Walsingham

Marlowe appears to have been involved in clandestine work for Walsingham, and was commended for it. There is evidence that he was involved as courier for Lord Burghley and other noblemen¹¹⁰. This secret work also involved visiting in a Catholic seminary in Rheims in 1587. In the next year, in April 1588, Martin Marprelate, or associate thereof, wrote in *Diotrephe's Dialogue*¹¹¹ a supposed Catholic perspective, saying: "while I was in Rheims, that we could never invent any practice, for the furtherance of the Catholic religion, but they [puritans] knew it, often before we put it into execution, so that for the most part, they prevented all our determinations."

This suggests that Martin Marprelate was most prescient about the intelligence gathering work of Walsingham; intelligence of which Kit Marlowe could well have been the very source. *Diotrephes'*

Dialogue was written after Marlowe's return to England, when he would have discovered that his friend, John Greenwood, had been arrested and imprisoned without trial. In the *Dialogue*, Martin Marprelate also noted, in the voice of Demetrius:

‘My Lord, I hear no news [from London], but that our Bishops (God's blessing have their hearts for it) say pretty well, by one and by one, to these precise and hot Preachers, for some of them are put to silence, some of them close prisoners in the Gatehouse, some well laden with irons in the White Lion, and some in the Clink’.

John Greenwood was one of those prisoners in the Clink. Later in the *Dialogue*, the author addressed John Whitgift directly, and powerfully to the point, saying:

‘Indeed, the Clink, Gate-house, White Lion, and the Fleet, have been your only arguments.’

Martin Marprelate had an unusual broad insight into the foibles and peccadilloes of the bishops. For example, he queries why the unmarried Bishop of Peterborough is buying petticoats for his mistress at Sibson, and ponders the unmarried Archbishop of Canterbury's relationship with Mistress Toy¹¹². This is knowledge to which a spymaster, like Francis Walsingham, might be privy. Did Marlowe's patron, Thomas Walsingham inform Martin Marprelate?

Marlowe was good friends with John Penry's fellow preacher, friend and Marprelate martyr, John Greenwood. When he was a first year student at Cambridge, he shared his scholarship benefits with the final year student, Greenwood, a couple of times. Marlowe had a scholarship from Archbishop Parker and is therefore likely to have been a divinity student. Marlowe is possibly the Cambridge friend who received J.G's *M.Some Laid Open in his Colours* for printing (1589). Greenwood was executed less than two months before Marlowe was killed.

Considering that Martin Marprelate was no puritan, it is intriguing to consider that a catalyst for the creation of Martin Marprelate, was Marlowe's anger about the initial imprisonment in 1587 of his good friend and Presbyterian, John Greenwood, who might be considered a Puritan. A relative of his patron was also imprisoned in 1587. He was Sir Peter Wentworth, brother-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, the creator of the theatre company, The Queen's Men.

Marlowe became in these years the most eminent and popular of playwrights. Any such literary figure would have been galled by the church's minute and ruthless control of print and speech. The proposal of this paper cannot be surprising.

The theatricality of Martin Marprelate has already been noted. Ritchie D. Kendall writes 'The theatrical world Martin Marprelate creates in his satires is vibrantly alive with a kaleidoscopic assembly of colourful characters, shifting settings and varied incidents...Keeping this maddening host of plays and players in check is the master of ceremonies, Martin Marprelate, himself'¹¹³. While Kit Marlowe's name was hidden, his talent was difficult to disguise.

The proposed candidates for Martin Marprelate, John Penry and Job Throckmorton were married men, whereas Christopher Marlowe was not married. Martin Marprelate was also unmarried: "Will you believe me then, if I tell you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest unto you with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may seem strange to many, yet the very truth is, that hitherto, I never had wife or child in all my life."¹¹⁴

Most of our conceptions of Marlowe need revision. It is understandable why the authorities did not want to bring to trial a popular, witty playwright. One can also understand why, between 1588 and 1593, he was attacked and arrested, and, posthumously, he was smeared with libel, saying he was an atheist and

sodomite. As noted by Chloe Preedy, ‘When Marlowe’s contemporaries termed him an atheist, ...they might have been using the term in a more generalised sense to denounce a blasphemer, suggest a lack of commitment to the English Protestant Church, or even vilify a professional rival’¹¹⁵.

These government records of confessions of the tortured Thomas Kyd and agents of the government are certain to be distortions. Once it is understood why the Church might loathe the man responsible for the wit and audacity of Martin Marprelate, it is understood why they could go beyond assassination to the murder also of his name and biography.

More believable reports about Marlowe are the cryptic allusions made by Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey.

Thomas Nashe’s Perspective of Martin (Preface to Greene’s *Menaphon*, 1589)

It is possible that Nashe knew who Martin was in 1589. In the preface to Greene’s *Menaphon* (1589), called “To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities”, the young, opinionated and newly powerful Nashe, who had recently left Cambridge, berated the teachers at universities. In particular he was contemptuous of his arrogant teachers at Cambridge who favoured “the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse” and were “so affectionate to dogged detracting as the most poisonous pasquil¹¹⁶ any dirty-mouthed Martin or Momus ever composed”, and “the mind of the meanest is fed with this folly that they impute singularity to him that slanders privily, and count it a great piece of art”¹¹⁷.

In 1589, this “folly” appears to specifically refer to Martin Marprelate; “him that slanders”, and “every ale-house vaunt the table of the world turned upside-down”. In the same passage, Nashe gets more specific, suggesting that Martin is:

the irregular idiot that was up to his ears in divinity before ever he met with *probabile* [credit] in the university, shall leave *pro & contra* before he can scarcely pronounce it, and come to correct commonweals that never heard of the name of magistrate before he came to Cambridge.

Likewise, Christopher Marlowe went to Cambridge, with a scholarship from Archbishop Parker and therefore presumably a divinity student. Marlowe and Nashe were at Cambridge at the same time, both being awarded a BA, in 1584 and 1586, respectively. Whereas Nashe left Cambridge in 1588, without completing his MA, Marlowe was awarded his MA in 1587 under controversial circumstances¹¹⁸. Similarly, the apparently envious Nashe suggests that “the irregular idiot” was prematurely given credit [*probabile*] for his knowledge of Latin and Law. Although unpublished during his lifetime, Marlowe translated from Latin, works by Ovid and Lucan.

Nashe implies that dirty-mouthed Martin “was up to the ears in divinity at Cambridge”. Knowing that Christopher Marlowe’s friend at Cambridge was John Greenwood, a chaplain to Lord Rich when he began his BA at Cambridge in 1581 (the year Nashe began his BA), may suggest that Marlowe himself was also “up to his ears in divinity” while at Cambridge.

Later in the *Menaphon* preface, Nashe attempts to justify his position against Marprelate and “the upstart discipline of our reformatory churchmen, who account wit, vanity, and poetry, impiety”:

The private truth of my discovered creed in this controversy is this, that as that beast was thought scarce worthy to be sacrificed to the Egyptian Epaphus¹¹⁹ who had not some or other black spot on his skin, so I deem him far unworthy the name of a scholar, and so, consequently, to sacrifice his endeavours to art, that is not a poet, either in whole or in part¹²⁰.

Nashe does not explain who “him” is, but the person “unworthy of the name of a scholar”, is likely to be “the irregular idiot”, Martin, from earlier in the preface who was unworthy of his Cambridge qualifications. Being thus blemished and not divine, Martin and his art could be sacrificed. Without alternative explanations, it appears that as early as 1589, Nashe may have suspected his literary enemy and “irregular idiot”, Martin Marprelate, to be the former fellow student of Cambridge, Christopher Marlowe. Martin and his art, was Marlowe and his art, to be sacrificed.

Greene’s Perspective of Martin (*Perimedes*, 1588, and *Mourning Garment*, 1590)

In 1588, the writer, Robert Greene went out of his way to identify the playwright of *Tamburlaine*¹²¹. In the “To the gentlemen readers” prefatory section of *Perimedes* (1588), Greene expressed his concerns about his major rival playwright, Kit Marlowe, saying, “I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins...daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlaine, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the sun”. Was this mere jealousy by Greene to so caustically criticize Marlowe? Greene continues, saying that he would not dare to “wantonly set out such impious instances of intolerable poetry, such mad and scoffing poets that have prophetic spirits as bred in Merlin’s race”.

Thus, in 1588, Robert Greene criticized the “atheist Tamburlaine”¹²² of his major literary rival, Kit Marlowe. Yet his reference to “Merlin’s race”, is thought to be alluding to Marlowe’s kind¹²³. And “prophetic spirits”, in Elizabethan times, were people who attended proscribed Bible-study meetings¹²⁴. Indeed, in the preface to *Greene’s Mourning Garment* (c.1590), he refers to: “scholars... so religious that they almost forget their God. They count no philosophy like love, no author so good as Ovid, no object so good as beauty, nor no exercise in schools so necessary as courting of a fair woman in a chamber”¹²⁵. This could be a good description of the divinity student, Christopher Marlowe, who was “so religious”, yet translated Ovid’s *Amores* (c.1580s) and composed his poem, *Hero and Leander*. To the early Protestant reformists and “puritans”, and in contrast to more conservative prelates of the early Church of England,

these interests were not contradictory¹²⁶. Translations of the profane Classics into English were seen to help literacy and reasoning, empower the individual to make informed moral choices and reduce the power of the prelates.

Other Perspectives of Martin (*Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593 and *Willobie His Avis*, 1594)

The anonymous author of *Willobie His Avis* seems to refer to Marlowe as a "scholar to a novel sect"¹²⁷. This may partly explain why this seemingly innocent poem was specifically prohibited by the Bishops' Ban of 1st June 1599.

At a time when a precisian was a synonym a puritan, Harvey refers to "no religion but precise Marlowism"¹²⁸. When Harvey refers to the Ass, he is meaning Nashe. In apposition to the Ass, is the Fox. The Fox is associated with Martin Marprelate in *Pierce's Supererogation, or New Praise for the Old Ass*, by Harvey¹²⁹. He announces that he wishes to 'allow the encomium of the Fox in [his book called] the praise of the Ass. He then boasts that, in contrast to the efforts of *Pap Hatchett* [Lyly and Nashe] to reveal 'certain poor Martinists', he could 'dismask such a rich mummer' [masked actor] that 'would undoubtedly make this pamphlet the vendiblest [i.e. most marketable] book in London and the Register **one of the famousest authors of England**'. Up until Harvey's writing (April 21st, 1593), the hunted Fox was still at large.

In April, 1593, Marlowe, still the most famous author in England, had only weeks to live.

The Marring of Marlowe

After Robert Greene's death in 1592, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* was published with the potentially deadly accusation that Marlowe was an atheist. The section containing the libel may have been inserted by Nashe¹³⁰.

Then in early May of 1593 when intimidation and control of the presses was at a peak¹³¹, “unauthorised” and illegal pamphlets were published about London in a manner not dissimilar to the Marprelate pamphlets published in London in 1588, five years before. But these pamphlets targeted the French and Dutch Protestant “stranger churches” in London. These churches were for the refugees of the Religious Wars on the continent, who were given exemptions from the dictates of the Church of England bishops. They were the outstanding model of tolerance for separatist Protestant churches which John Greenwood and Martin Marprelate themselves advocated in their pamphlets.

Despite being counter to Marprelate’s policy of tolerating separatist churches, these brazen “unauthorized” pamphlets in a time of heavy censorship, have a superficial resemblance to Martin Marprelate. And unlike Martin Mar-Prelate, their supposed author was easy to trace, as his pseudonym was “Tamburlaine”, and the text was in blank verse, Marlowe’s favoured meter. Either Marlowe, the author of *Tamburlaine*, had suddenly and uncharacteristically become a pamphleteer against religious tolerance and stupidly identified himself to everyone with half a brain. Or Marlowe, the former Martinist pamphleteer, was victim of a simple frame-up to destroy Martin/Marlowe’s popularity, and then destroy the man himself.

Marlowe was arrested on May 18th, accused of blasphemy based on evidence elicited under torture from playwright, Thomas Kyd, and murdered on June 1st, 1593. Marlowe was defeated by ‘vi et armis’ [‘by force and arms’], - and by words to defame him. The ambitious Nashe, avowed seeker of Fame, appended his name to Marlowe’s unpublished play, *Dido, Queen of Carthage* when it was posthumously published in 1594. Winners were able to write the history.

Eulogies

In 1600, the poet, J.M., thought to be John Marston, referred to “kind Kit Marlowe”¹³². Soon after Marlowe’s lethal eye wound on May 30th 1593, a cryptic but tender eulogy¹³³ was written, and subsequently published in *Pierce’s Supererogation* (1593) by Gabriel Harvey. It begins:

Live, Father sweet, and miscreant varlets die,
That wrong my parent heart and brother eye;
Dearest of eyes, contemn thy caitiff foes;
Kindest of hearts, enjoy thy firm repose.
Sky, with a patron eye aspect that eye;
That eye espoused to the virgin sky.

The subject “in firm repose” may also be “kind Kit Marlowe”.

In 1598, five years after his death, Marlowe’s poem, *Hero and Leander*, was completed and published by Henry Petowe, with a brief eulogy to the dead Marlowe, and the forces that killed him:

No bastard eaglet’s quill the world throughout
Had been of force to **mar** what he had made,
For why they were not expert in that trade:
What mortal soul with Marlowe might contend
That could ‘gainst reason force him stoop or bend?

Who made Marlowe stoop or bend? This could be referring to the work of the Mar-Martinists, like Nashe.

As You Like It also offers a eulogy to a Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare’s good “outlaw” and whom the government, via their informer/double agent, Richard Baines, deemed a traitor, a sodomite and atheist. It is unsurprising that, of the six plays submitted to the Stationers’ Register in 1600, *As You Like It* was the only one censored.

Revision

One of the accepted plays was *Henry IV, Part Two* (reg. 23 Aug. 1600), which had a curious epilogue. It refers to a previously performed play which was “displeasing” and drew “displeasure”. This displeasure is likely to be politically-based, and the playwright “beg[s] your pardon”, and concludes “and so I kneel down before you, but, indeed, to pray for the queen”¹³⁴. Barbara Hodgdon noted that this apology is subversive, in that the poet “does and does not apologize”¹³⁵. He refuses to give the “good speech”, which “I should say”. Rather, he is going to say what he wants. The author asks “to pray your patience for it, and to promise you a better” play. This appears to be a promise of a revision.

The nature of the play and its revision is unknown, but there is a possible clue in this epilogue. The author seems to contort his language and promise “what I have to say is of mine own making; and what indeed I should say will, I doubt, prove mine own **marring**”. This recalls *As You Like It*, in which Orlando complains: “Marry, sir, I am helping you to **mar** that which God made” (1.1.26), and “I pray you **mar** no more of my verses with reading them ill-favouredly” (3.3.221). Not only is this epilogue an assertion of free speech against tyrannical censorship, it suggests which play was censored and censored: *As You like It*.

Dover Wilson presented strong evidence suggestive of revision in *As You Like It*¹³⁶. It is uncertain whether this revision occurred before or after Shakespeare’s 1600 submission to the Stationers’ Register. If we assume that the *Henry IV, Part Two* epilogue referred to a revision of *As You Like It*¹³⁷ and was written in the knowledge that the revision was complete and expectantly awaiting its permit, then the play had been revised before the submission and originally written in an earlier year. The numerous allusions to the period 1592-3, presented by Dover Wilson and the additional evidence in this paper, would suggest the original work dates from 1593/4. A few critics¹³⁸ have suggested that *As You Like It* is a

revised and rebadged *Love's Labour's Won*, mentioned in Francis Mere's *Palladis Tamia* (1598). With the above analysis, one could find reason why such a play as *As You Like It* or its precursor may have helped fire the conflagration of books resulting from the Bishops' Ban of the 1st of June, 1599.

Conclusion

As You Like It is a play about liberty, in particular, freedom of expression. It is also a play about censorship, yet it appears that the play, itself, was censored. This censorship has left gaps and contradictions in our understanding of the most famous English playwright of his time, Kit Marlowe. The modern dramaturge is aware that Kit Marlowe is mentioned in this play, yet he may not have been alert to the possibility that the kind character of Orlando represents Marlowe. This essay proposes that Marlowe's silent authorship of the works of Martin Marprelate deserves recognition, just as he was recently acknowledged for writing some of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*.

As You Like It has many dramatic stress points which are given little explanation. For example, there are Touchstone's aggression to William (scene 5.1), Jaques' antipathy for Vicar Martext (scene 3.3) and his enthusiasm for Amiens' song "Under the Greenwood Tree" (scene 2.5). These scenes from *As You Like It* may pose difficulties for the dramaturge uninformed about the hostility between the people upon whom Jaques, Touchstone and Martext are modelled. Considering these characters as modelled on the writers, Thomas Nashe, Robert Greene and John Greenwood, respectively, may stimulate new and informed dramatic interpretations of this play. Nashe's portrait as a fop and ass may also stimulate a review of other Shakespeare comedies for asses, such as Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Malvolio¹³⁹ in *Twelfth Night*, Launce¹⁴⁰ in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and Ajax¹⁴¹ in *Troilus and Cressida*.

Just as the Martinist pamphlets reveal the politics and religion of Marlowe, so also *As You Like It* reveals something of Shakespeare's politics and religion.

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Acknowledgement to be given to website, www.oxford-shakespeare.com and Nina Greene, for clear transcriptions of multiple 16th century publications by Thomas Nashe, Robert Greene, Gabriel Harvey and Martin Marprelate.

Footnotes

- ¹ The plays submitted to the Stationers' register between August and October of 1600 were *Henry IV-Part Two*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Henry V*, *As You Like It*, *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Merchant of Venice*.
- ² Hattaway, 2009, 49.
- ³ Hattaway, 2009.
- ⁴ Brissenden, 1993, 4.
- ⁵ Wilson, J.Dover 1926.
- ⁶ Quiller-Couch & Wilson 1968.
- ⁷ Knowles & Mattern 1977, 369.
- ⁸ Fleay, 1876, 135.
- ⁹ Quiller-Couch & Wilson, 1968.
- ¹⁰ Henslowe's diary records that Greene's *Orlando Furioso* was performed at The Rose theatre on February 22nd, 1592.
- ¹¹ Hattaway, 2009, 128.
- ¹² Greene, R. *Menaphon*, 1589, has a preface by Thomas Nashe. See line 5 of page 5 of this preface on www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Preface_Greenes_Menaphon.pdf.
- ¹³ Knowles & Mattern, 1977, p.645, citing Shattuck, C.H. *Mr Macready Produces As You Like It: a Prompt-book Study* [Urbana] 1962.
- ¹⁴ Guy, 1999, 6.
- ¹⁵ Cunningham, 1837, Vol 2, 213. See <https://ia902704.us.archive.org/25/items/livesofeminentil02cunn/livesofeminentil02cunn.pdf>.
- ¹⁶ Elton, 1995, 183.
- ¹⁷ Non-Conformists in this period included people of Presbyterian or Congregationalist sentiment either within or outside the Church of England (the latter called Separatists). They were derisively called Puritans.
- ¹⁸ Elton, 1995, 271.
- ¹⁹ Wentworth, Peter, *A Pithie Exhortation to her Majesty for establishing her successor to the crown, whereunto is added a discourse containing the Author's opinion of the true and lawful successor to her Majesty*, 1598, printer R. Waldegrave.
- ²⁰ Sir Peter Wentworth was overseer of Carleton's will in 1590.
- ²¹ McMillin, 1987, 59.
- ²² Murphy, D. *The Marlowe-Shakespeare Continuum* (2013), in the Foreward by Cynthis Morgan, p.xv.
- ²³ Romany and Lindsey 2003, 522, 523, 536, 544. See also *The Massacre at Paris* (5.11, 5.39, 14.55, 19..45).
- ²⁴ *Tamburlaine, Part One*, 3.3.248-259, and *Part Two*, 1.2.32-35.
- ²⁵ Wilson, 2012, 280.
- ²⁶ Poole, Kirsten. "Saints Alive! Falstaff, Martin Marprelate, and the Staging of Puritanism", *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1995), Vol. 46 (1), 47-75.
- ²⁷ Wilson, 2012, 280-1.
- ²⁸ Poole, K. "Saints Alive! Falstaff, Martin Marprelate, and the Staging of Puritanism", *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1995), Vol. 46 (1) p. 57, 70.
- ²⁹ Read, 1960, 444. See also Codrington, 1646, 6.
- ³⁰ The Earl of Essex is portrayed nobly by Shakespeare in introductory chorus to Act 5 of *Henry V* (1599).

- ³¹ Carlson, 1981.
- ³² Pierce, 1909, 234, See <https://archive.org/details/historicalintrod00pierrich> .
- ³³ Marprelate, M. *Certain Mineral and Metaphysical School-points*, 1589. See extended title of <http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Minerals.pdf> , 1.
- ³⁴ Amber, 1880, 117. See also <https://archive.org/details/themartinmarprel00arbeuft> .
- ³⁵ Wilson, 1912, 25. See also <https://archive.org/details/martinmarprelate00wilsrich> .
- ³⁶ Bellows, N.J. & Hamilton, D. (2003) PhD. Thesis, University of Maryland – *Purgative Texts: Religion, Revulsion, and the Rhetoric of Insurgency in Early Modern England*. This thesis suggests that the Leicester-Walsingham faction participated in provocative publications ten years previous to 1588-9. See drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/handle/1903/1426/umi-umd-1469.pdf;jsessionid=BF27A720E4D7F99041648D749929298A?sequence=1 , 19.
- ³⁷ Waldegave, Robert *A castle for the soule conteining many godly prayers, and diuine meditations, tending to the comfort and consolation of all faithful Christians, against the wicked assaults of Satan. Dedicated to the right honorable, Lord Ambrose, Earle of Warwick*, 1578.
- ³⁸ While generally attributed to John Lyly, the review by John Petheram in 1844 noted that some scholars have observed Nashe's style (see https://archive.org/stream/papwithhatchetbe00nash/papwithhatchetbe00nash_djvu.txt). The preface to *Pap with a Hatchet* acknowledges "the three tame ruffians of the church", which might suggest that Lyly, Nashe and Greene collaborated on this work.
- ³⁹ Lyly, J. *Pap with a Hatchet* (1589). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pap_With_Hatchet.pdf , 10.
- ⁴⁰ In his early publications, Nash was discreet about his clerical patrons. In the dedication of his *Strange News* (1593), he uses a code name for his patron but terms such as "your Worship", in the "archdeacon's court", suggest patrons of the clergy, supporting his affiliation with Whitgift's Croydon Palace in 1592.
- ⁴¹ Lee, Sidney, on Thomas Nashe, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- ⁴² Forshaw, Cliff, "*Cease Cease to brawle, thou wasp-stung Satyrist*": *Writers, Printers and the Bishops' Ban of 1599*, EnterText, Vol. 3, no. 1, (Spring, 2003). See www.brunel.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0005/111020/Cliff-Forshaw,-Cease-Cease-to-bawle,-thou-wasp-stung-Satyrist-Writers,-Printers-and-the-Bishops-Ban-of-1599.pdf , 114-5, with citation of *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II (1714), 606, cited by McKerrow, V.48
- ⁴³ Nash, T. *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589). See [oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf) , 2.
- ⁴⁴ Maskell, 1845. See <https://archive.org/details/historyofmartin00mask> , 168.
- ⁴⁵ In Marprelate's *Theses Martinianae* (dated about July 1589), mentions how "the rimers and stage-players had clean put [Martin] out of countenance". See also Lyly's *Pap with an Hatchet* (1589) http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pap_With_Hatchet.pdf , 11-12.
- ⁴⁶ Womersley, 2013, p.3.
- ⁴⁷ Lyly, J. *Pap with a Hatchet*, 1589. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pap_With_Hatchet.pdf , p.14.
- ⁴⁸ Nashe, T. *Anatomy of Absurdity*, 1589. See [oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf) , page 19-20.
- ⁴⁹ Nashe, T. *Anatomy of Absurdity*, 1589. See [oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf) , page 22.
- ⁵⁰ Nashe, T. *Pierce Penniless*, 1592. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf p.12.
- ⁵¹ Nashe, T. *Pierce Penniless*, 1592. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf , Page 42.
- ⁵² Nashe, T. *Pierce Penniless*, 1592. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf , Page 41.
- ⁵³ Oddly, this was not published until 1600, soon after the Bishop's Ban of 1599 against Nash and Harvey publications.
- ⁵⁴ Nashe, Thomas, *Pierce Penniless*, see http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf , 42, and *Summer's* ,
- ⁵⁵ Harvey, G. *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets* (1592), in the third letter. See also http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Four_Letters.pdf , 21.
- ⁵⁶ Greene, R. *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Greene's_Groatsworth.pdf , 19.
- ⁵⁷ Meres, F. (1598) *Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury*,

- ⁵⁸ Marston, J. *Scourge of Villainy* (1598), see Early English Books Online, Image 20
- ⁵⁹ Lichfield, Richard, *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (1597). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Trimming_Thomas_Nashe.pdf , 15. “Your name cannot be limited. And now you, having a care of your credit, scorning to lie wrapped up in oblivion, the moth of fame, have augmented the stretched-out line of your deeds by that most infamous, most duncical, and thrice opprobrious work, *The Isle of Dogs*”.
- ⁶⁰ Harvey, G. *Pierce’s Supererogation* (1593). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf , 76.
- ⁶¹ Nash, T. *Pierce Penniless* (1592). See <https://archive.org/details/piercepenniless01nashgoog> , 49.
- ⁶² Murphy, D. 2012, page 46 lists other examples of Nashe’s expressed aversion to meat-eating and animal cruelty..
- ⁶³ Cowden-Clarke, C & M.V. (1864) c.f. *Who’s Who in Shakespeare*, by F.G. Stokes (1993), page 169.
- ⁶⁴ Just prior to the passage likening Jaques to a purge, his name is pronounced with one syllable to accommodate the blank verse (2.1.41) i.e. Jake or Jack. In *Pierce Penniless* (1592), Nashe gave the name “Jack” a French accent as “Jaques”. See <https://archive.org/details/piercepenniless00nashgoog> , 17.
- ⁶⁵ Bednarz, 2001, p.108.
- ⁶⁶ King Lear, 2Q 2.2.67 reads “I will tread this unbolted villaine into mortar, and daub the wals of a Iaques with him”.
- ⁶⁷ Greene, R. *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592), see http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Greenes_Groatsworth.pdf , 19.
- ⁶⁸ Nashe, T. *Pierce Penniless*, 1592, See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf , Page 4
- ⁶⁹ *As You like It* scenes 2.1.41, 2.5.11, 3.3.249, 4.1.2-3 & 9-10.
- ⁷⁰ Nashe, T. *Pierce Penniless* (1592). See <http://archive.org/stream/piercepenniless00nashgoog> , p.17, in which Nashe employs “Jaques” as a French version of Jack.
- ⁷¹ Nashe, T. *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594). See www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Unfortunate_Traveller.pdf , 30.
- ⁷² Knowles. & Mattern 1977, 643.
- ⁷³ Bednarz, 2001, 108.
- ⁷⁴ One of the first known works by Jonson, was a collaboration with Thomas Nashe. The outrage of authorities from their satirical and controversial play, *The Isle of Dogs* (1597), resulted in all theatres being closed and their play disappearing with little trace.
- ⁷⁵ Quiller-Couch and Wilson, 1927.
- ⁷⁶ Nashe, T. (1592) *Strange News*. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Strange_News.pdf , 15
- ⁷⁷ Nashe, T. *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf , 4.
- ⁷⁸ Nashe, T. *First Part of Pasquil’s Apology* (1590). See image 14 of facsimilie on Early English Books Online.
- ⁷⁹ Knowles and Mattern 1977, 4, 147, 184, 344, 498.
- ⁸⁰ Touchstone later admits to having “been politic with my friend” (5.4.44). The use of the terms, policy and politic”, as reference to “Machiavellian policy” is illustrated in the libel by Greene of fellow playwright, Christopher Marlowe in *Greene’s Groatsworth of Wit* (1592): “Is it pestilent Machiavellian policy that thou hast studied? O peevish folly!”. See also “Policy, Machiavellianism and the Earlier Tudor Drama”, by N.W. Bawcutt, *English Literary Renaissance*, Vol.1, No. 3, (Autumn 1971), p.195-209.
- ⁸¹ Harvey, G. *Pierce’s Supererogation*, (1593). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf , 64.
- ⁸² Nashe, T. (1589), *Anatomy of Absurdity*. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Anatomy_Absurdity.pdf , 7.
- ⁸³ Harvey, G. *Pierce’s Supererogation*, (1593). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf , 26.
- ⁸⁴ Hattaway, 2009, 130.
- ⁸⁵ Barber, 1959, 228.

- ⁸⁶ Nash, T. *Summers Last Will and Testament* (writ. 1591, perf. 1591/2, reg. Dec. 1593, publ. 1594)). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Summers_Last_Will_Testament.pdf , 3.
- ⁸⁷ Barbour, Reid, *Biography of Thomas Nashe*, Poetry Foundation. See <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/thomas-nashe>
- ⁸⁸ Harvey, G. (1593) *Pierce's Supererogation*. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf, p. 13.
- ⁸⁹ Lloyd, W.W. *Essays on the Life and Plays of Shakespeare... Contributed to the Edition of the Poet by S.W.Singer, 1856*, as cited in Knowles and Mattern, (ed.) *As You Like It*, (1977), 585.
- ⁹⁰ Carlson, *The Writings of John Greenwood, 1587-90*, 2005, 104.
- ⁹¹ Nash, T. *Pierce Penniless*, 1592, See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf p.12.
- ⁹² The placard read: "This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ and her Majesty's faithful subject, who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his High Commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord; and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints and against Mr Richard Young, who in this, and many the like points, hath abused his power, for the upholding of the Romish Antichrist, Prelacy and priesthood".
- ⁹³ Strype, 1731, 133.
- ⁹⁴ Nashe, T. *Strange News* (1592), http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Strange_News.pdf , p.54.
- ⁹⁵ Knowles & Mattern, 1977, 643.
- ⁹⁶ Knowles & Mattern, 1977, 643.
- ⁹⁷ Carlson, *The Writings of Henry Barrow, 1587-90*, 2005, 355.
- ⁹⁸ Kuriyama, 2010, 57.
- ⁹⁹ In *As You Like It*, their names were Oliver, Jaques and Orlando. Sir Edward de Boys's sons were John, Edward and Nicholas.
- ¹⁰⁰ There is little known about Edward Boys (c.1559-93), apart from his being a haberdasher on Fleet St. He may be the son of Edward Boys who had a "pretended marriage" in April 1558 with Elizabeth Bacon (d.c. 1585). This father, Edward Boys was originally from Nonington, Kent, as was Sir Edward de Boys (1528-98) and his son, Edward.
- ¹⁰¹ Hanbury, 1839, 88. After Edward Boys's death, his widow, Thomasine, married separatist preacher, Francis Johnson, in the Fleet prison, in September 1594. They were banished from England in 1597.
- ¹⁰² Martin Marprelate's *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, (1589). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Hay_Any_Work.pdf , 6
- ¹⁰³ Craig and Kinney, Chapter 3 – "The three parts of Henry VI", by H. Craig. I thank David Ewald for alerting me of this allusion to Marprelate pamphlets.
- ¹⁰⁴ Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* was registered on the 28th of September, 1593. Only 1598 publications of the poem survive. It may have been circulated in manuscript form in 1593/4.
- ¹⁰⁵ Wilson, 2012, 280.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hotson, 1925, 32. See <https://archive.org/details/deathofchristoph008072mbp> .
- ¹⁰⁷ Marprelate, Martin *Hay Any Work for Cooper* (1589). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Hay_Any_Work.pdf , 25.
- ¹⁰⁸ Marprelate, M *Protestation* (1589). See <http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Protestation.pdf> , 6.
- ¹⁰⁹ Marprelate, M. *Theses Martinianae* (1589). See <http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Theses.pdf> , 23.
- ¹¹⁰ Archer, John. *Sovereignty and Intelligence: Spying and Court Culture in the English Renaissance* (1993), p.70.
- ¹¹¹ *Diotrephe's Dialogue*, also entitled, *The State of the Church Laid Open*, was published in April 1588, without authorship attribution. Suggested authors have been John Udall or Job Throckmorton (Carlsen, 1981). Although published before the birth of the pseudonymic Martin Marprelate, the work has a bishop, called Diotrephes, repeated fearing the "marring" of the church of the bishops (see images 8, 13, 25 & 28 on the facsimile on Early English Books Online).

- ¹¹² Marprelate's *Hay Any Work For Cooper* (1589). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Hay_Any_Work.pdf , 56.
- ¹¹³ Poole, 2000, 27.
- ¹¹⁴ Marprelate, M *Protestation* (1589). See <http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Protestation.pdf> , 15.
- ¹¹⁵ Preedy, 2013, Preface.
- ¹¹⁶ A "pasquil is a protest note plastered to a statue in Rome. The most accepted opinion is that Thomas Nashe adopted this as a pseudonym for himself on his 1589 anti-Martin pamphlets, *A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior* (Aug 1589), *Return of the Renowned Cavaliero, Pasquill* (Oct, 1589), and *First Part of Pasquill's Apology* (July, 1590).
- ¹¹⁷ Nashe, T Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Preface_Greenes_Menaphon.pdf 2.
- ¹¹⁸ During his studies, Marlowe appears to have engaged in some spy work at Rheims, causing suspicion that he had Catholic sympathies. The Privy Council endorsed his attainment of the MA.
- ¹¹⁹ Epaphus was the Egyptian cow deity, and was predominantly coloured black. The cows sacrificed to him were therefore not to have any black hairs.
- ¹²⁰ Marprelate, Martin, *Hay Any Work For Cooper*, 1589. See www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Marprelate/Hay_Any_Work.pdf , 4, 5.
- ¹²¹ Rutter, 2012, 12.
- ¹²² Greene, R. *Perimedes*, 1588, in the "To the gentlemen readers" prefatory section. See <http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Perimedes.pdf> , 3.
- ¹²³ Ribner, Irving, "Greene's Attack on Marlowe: Some Light on Alphonsus and Selimus", *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 52, No. @, (April, 1955), p.162-171.
- ¹²⁴ Guy, 2016, 162, and Elton, 1995, 454.
- ¹²⁵ Greene, R. *Greene's Mourning Garment*, 1590. See www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Greenes_Mourning_Garment.pdf , 4.
- ¹²⁶ Conley, C.H. *The First English Translators of the Classics*, Yale University Press: New Haven (1927), p.75-6.
- ¹²⁷ The pseudonymously-authored *Willobie His Avis* (1594), Canto 51, stanza 2, reads: "As a scholar to a novel sect: I bear that liking, few have bore, I love, that never lov'd before". This appears to allude to Marlowe's poem, *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad I, line 176: "Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight".
- ¹²⁸ Harvey, G. *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf , 67.
- ¹²⁹ Harvey, G. *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593). See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf , 88.
- ¹³⁰ Duncan-Jones, 2001, 43-4.
- ¹³¹ 1593 has the lowest number of surviving publications of any of the last 27 years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, as judged from the Early English Books Online database. Some of this may be due to high attrition resulting from, for instance, the 1599 Bishops' Ban and Conflagration of books of 1599. But some of this may be due to low publication rate.
- ¹³² Kenny, M.I., *Christopher Marlowe: His Life and Works* (1932), Masters Thesis, Brown University. See https://archive.org/stream/christophermarlo00kenn/christophermarlo00kenn_djvu.txt , p.39.
- ¹³³ Harvey, G. *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593) has the anonymously-authored poem "An apostrophe to the health of his abused friends" in a section dated 10th July, 1593. See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierces_Supererogation.pdf , p.96.
- ¹³⁴ Melchiori, 2007, 212 with Epilogue, lines 2, 7, 12. 13.
- ¹³⁵ Melchiori, 2007, 62, note 3, quoting Hodgdon, 2014.
- ¹³⁶ Quiller-Crouch and Wilson, 1927, 94-9.
- ¹³⁷ Murry, J.M., "The Creation of Falstaff". *Discoveries*. 1930, pp.47-81 (First published 1924), cited in Knowles & Mattern 1977, 631.

¹³⁸ Knowles and Mattern 1977, 366, refers to the critics, Lee, F. N. "Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Won" *TLS*, 28 Mar. 1958, p.169, and Lee, F.N. "Love's Labour's Won", *TLS* 10 April, 1959, p.209, and Wilson, J. Dover, *Shakespeare's Happy Comedies*. 1962, p.159.

¹³⁹ See *Twelfth Night* (2.3.125 & 2.3.142-3). The name, Malvolio, may derive from Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* (1592), "Envy, awake, for thou must appear before Nicalao Malevolo, great muster-master of hell". See http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penillesse.pdf , 17.

¹⁴⁰ See *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (2.3.36, 2.5.22,40). Launce is a synonym for Pierce. Peachman, J. "Why a Dog? A Late Date for the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona'" in *Notes & Queries* 54, 265-72 (2007) has noted other allusions to Thomas Nashe.

¹⁴¹ In *Troilus and Cressida*, not only is "Ajax" phonetically similar to a "Jaques" in *As You Like It* and associated with "pierce" as described in the text, he is called an ass: "an assinego [a young ass] may tutor thee, thou scurvy-valiant ass!" (2.1.43).