

Christopher Marlowe

A Renaissance Life



CONSTANCE BROWN KURIYAMA

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Chronology

- ca. 1536 Marlowe's father, John Marlowe, is born in Ospringe beside Faversham.
- 1559–60 John Marlowe is enrolled as an apprentice of a Canterbury shoemaker, Gerard Richardson.
- 22 May 1561 John Marlowe marries Katherine Arthur, a native of Dover, in the church of St. George the Martyr, Canterbury.
- 21 May 1562 Mary Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- 26 February 1564 Christopher Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- April 1564 John Marlowe is admitted as a freeman of Canterbury, paying a reduced fee of 4s 1d.
- 18 December 1566 Margaret Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- 28 August 1568 Mary Marlowe is buried in St. George's churchyard.
- 31 October 1568 Unnamed son of John Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- 5 November 1568 Unnamed son of John Marlowe is buried in St. George's churchyard.
- 20 August 1569 Jane Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- 26 July 1570 Thomas Marlowe I is christened at St. George's.
- 7 August 1570 Thomas Marlowe I is buried in St. George's churchyard.
- 14 July 1571 Anne Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- Spring 1573 Richard Baines, possible informer on Marlowe, petitions for permission to advance to his B.A. at Cambridge.

- August 1573 Queen Elizabeth holds court in Canterbury.
- 18 October 1573 Dorothy Marlowe is christened at St. George's.
- Spring 1576 Richard Baines proceeds to his M.A. at Cambridge.
- 8 April 1576 Thomas Marlowe II is christened in St. Andrew's parish.
- 4 July 1579 Richard Baines arrives at the English seminary at Rheims to begin study for the priesthood.
- 14 January 1579–
ca. December 1580 Christopher Marlowe is a scholar at the King's School, Canterbury.
- Early December 1580 First entry of Marlowe's name in the Buttery Book of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- Early 1581 Marlowe pays entry fee of 3s 4d as a "pensioner," or scholarship student, at Corpus Christi.
- 17 March 1581 Marlowe matriculates at Cambridge.
- 7 May 1581 Marlowe is formally granted his scholarship.
- 21 September 1581 Richard Baines is ordained as a priest.
- 22 April 1582 Jane Marlowe and John Moore marry at St. Andrew's.
- 18 April 1582 James Benchkin, father of John Benchkin and husband of Katherine Benchkin, is buried in St. Mildred's churchyard.
- Summer 1582 Richard Baines is exposed as a traitor to the Catholic cause and forced to confess; he is eventually released and returns to England, probably in 1583.
- July–August 1582 Marlowe's first absence from Cambridge.
- January 1583 Jane Marlowe dies, apparently in childbirth.
- April–June 1583 Marlowe is absent from Cambridge; his roommates also miss part of this term.
- Spring 1584 Marlowe completes requirements for the B.A.
- July–December 1584 Marlowe is absent from Cambridge; other students are apparently absent as well.
- May–mid-June 1585 Marlowe is absent from Cambridge, along with most other students; there are extensive absences also in the first and second terms, from September 1584 to February 1585.

- 30 June 1585 (or after) John Benchkin registers as a pensioner at Corpus Christi; Marlowe is in residence.
- ca. 15 July 1585 Marlowe leaves Cambridge for the remainder of the summer (with John Benchkin?).
- 19 August 1585 Marlowe, his father, his uncle Thomas Arthur, and his brother-in-law John Moore sign Katherine Benchkin's will in Canterbury, in which she leaves the bulk of her estate to John Benchkin.
- ca. 15 September 1585 Marlowe returns to Cambridge with John Benchkin, who stays for several weeks.
- Early November 1585 Marlowe is absent from Cambridge for two weeks.
- December 1585 John Benchkin returns to Cambridge during Christmas week.
- ca. 25 February 1586 Marlowe leaves Cambridge for two weeks. He returns with John Benchkin, who stays for one week.
- 25 July 1586 Katherine Benchkin is buried.
- 1586–87 John Benchkin reenters Corpus Christi as a fellow commoner.
- 1587 Richard Baines, M.A., becomes rector of Waltham, Lincolnshire.
- 31 March 1587 Marlowe is admitted to candidacy for the M.A.
- 29 June 1587 Privy Council intervenes with a letter to the Cambridge authorities, praising Marlowe's "good service" to the queen and urging that rumors about him be quashed and that his degree be granted on schedule.
- 1587–88 Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, Parts 1 and 2* is performed with great success in London; Marlowe's association with the Admiral's Men, their leading actor Edward Alleyn, and the theatrical manager Philip Henslowe begins.
- 1587 Robert Green obliquely accuses Marlowe of atheism in his Epistle to *Perimedes the Blacksmith*.

- 1587 John Benchkin matriculates at Cambridge.
- 1588-92 Marlowe writes *Doctor Faustus*, *The Massacre at Paris*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Edward II*; the exact order of composition is uncertain, although *Edward II* is usually assigned to 1592. *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, the translation of Ovid's *Amores*, and the translation of *The First Book of Lucan* may (or may not) belong to the university period. The famous lyric "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" also cannot be dated precisely.
- 18 September 1589 Marlowe is involved in a swordfight in London in which William Bradley, an innkeeper's son, is killed by Thomas Watson, Marlowe's fellow playwright and poet, and his probable mentor; Watson and Marlowe are jailed on suspicion of murder.
- 19 September 1589 Coroner's jury finds that Marlowe withdrew from combat and that Watson killed Bradley in self-defense.
- 1 October 1589 Marlowe is released on bail of £20; he agrees to appear at the next Newgate Sessions.
- 3 December 1589 Marlowe and Watson appear at the Newgate Sessions and are exonerated; Marlowe is released; Watson's pardon is issued on 10 February 1590.
- 1590 *Tamburlaine the Great* is published, without the author's name on the title page.
- 6 April 1590 Sir Francis Walsingham, often supposed to be Marlowe's employer in government service, dies in London.
- 1591 Marlowe and Thomas Kyd share the same workroom, as well as the patronage of Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, whose players, Lord Strange's Men, perform their plays.
- 1592-93 Outbreak of plague seriously disrupts theatrical activity in London.
- 26 January 1592 Marlowe, in Flushing, is accused by Richard Baines of counterfeiting and of intent to go over to the enemy (Spain and Catholicism). He is sent back to London by Sir Robert Sidney, the governor of

- Flushing, to be examined by Lord Treasurer Burghley, but is apparently released.
- 9 May 1592 Marlowe is bound to keep the peace by the constable and subconstable of Holywell Street. At some point in 1592, Marlowe loses the patronage of Lord Strange, perhaps because he mentioned Strange's name to Sir Robert Sidney while being questioned in Flushing.
- 19 June 1592 John Benchkin is identified in a plea roll in Canterbury civil court as a student of Cambridge; he becomes an admitted freeman of Canterbury in November.
- 3 September 1592 Robert Greene dies. Shortly thereafter, stronger, more explicit allegations of Marlowe's atheism appear in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, possibly authored or co-authored by Henry Chettle. This pamphlet also attacks Shakespeare, whose work as a playwright is just beginning to be recognized.
- 15 September 1592 Marlowe fights William Corkine in Canterbury. A suit by Corkine and countercharges by Marlowe are filed. The case is dismissed on 9 October.
- 26 September 1592 Thomas Watson is buried at St. Bartholomew the Less in London, possibly a victim of plague.
- December 1592 Henry Chettle, in his preface to *Kind-Hartes Dream*, reports that Marlowe and Shakespeare took offense at the allegations in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*.
- Early 1593 Marlowe writes *Hero and Leander*. His current patron is Thomas Walsingham, the nephew of Sir Francis Walsingham. Marlowe is known to frequent Scadbury, Walsingham's estate in Kent, probably as a refuge from the plague in London.
- 12 May 1593 Thomas Kyd is arrested on suspicion of libel and imprisoned; some papers containing heretical arguments, which he later claims were Marlowe's, are found in his possession.
- 18 May 1593 The Privy Council issues a warrant for Marlowe's arrest.

- 20 May 1593 Marlowe appears before the Privy Council and is instructed to give his "daily attendance"; he is not imprisoned.
- 26 May 1593 Possible date of the delivery of the Baines Note alleging Marlowe's "damnable judgment of religion and scorn of God's word." A second copy of the note claims that the note was delivered on 2 June, but this may be a mistake, since Marlowe was already dead on 2 June.
- 30 May 1593 Marlowe is killed by Ingram Frizer at the house of Widow Bull in Deptford. According to witnesses, Marlowe attacked Frizer after a heated "public" dispute over the "reckoning" or bill in which "divers malicious words" were exchanged.
- 1 June 1593 The coroner's jury finds Frizer acted in self-defense; Marlowe is buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas's Church, Deptford.
- 10 June 1593 Ann Marlowe marries John Cranford at St. Mary Bredman in Canterbury.
- 28 June 1593 Ingram Frizer is pardoned; Richard Cholmeley is arrested on suspicion of seditious activities. Cholmeley was the subject of two reports by an anonymous spy, one of which alleges that Cholmeley claimed he had been persuaded by Marlowe to become an atheist. Two warrants for Cholmeley's arrest had been issued in March 1593 and on 13 May 1593.
- 1594 Publication of *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *Edward II*, both bearing Marlowe's name as author.
- 29 May 1594 John Benchkin takes out a license to marry Katherine Grant of Kingston.
- 30 June 1594 Dorothy Marlowe marries Thomas Graddell at St. Mary Bredman in Canterbury.
- 16 July 1596 Thomasin Benchkin, daughter of John, is christened at St. Mildred's, Canterbury; other children, Thomas (1598) and Katherine (1605), follow.

- 1597 Thomas Beard cites Marlowe's death as an instance of divine retribution in *Theatre of God's Judgments*.
Thomas Walsingham is knighted.
- 1598 *Hero and Leander* is published, with a dedication to Sir Thomas Walsingham by Edward Blunt; Marlowe is identified as author.
- 1599 The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury order Marlowe's translation of *Ovid's Elegies* burned.
- 1600 *Lucan's First Book* is published; Marlowe is identified as author.
- 1602 Philip Henslowe pays William Birde and Samuel Rowley £4 for additions to *Doctor Faustus*.
- 1604 The A-text of *Doctor Faustus* is published; Marlowe is identified as author.
- 23 January 1605 John Marlowe makes his will.
- 25 January 1605 John Marlowe is buried.
- 17 March 1605 Katherine Marlowe makes her will.
- 19 March 1605 Katherine Marlowe is buried.
- 1616 The B-text of *Doctor Faustus* is published; Marlowe is identified as author.
- 2 December 1616 John Benchkin, aged fifty, deposes that he wrote a will for Thomas Harflete, knight.
- 1633 *The Jew of Malta* is published, with a dedication by Thomas Heywood; Marlowe is identified as author, and praised in the prologue as "the best of Poets in that age."

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INTRODUCTION

The Marlowe documents were published piecemeal as scholars discovered them and incorporated them into arguments about Marlowe, beginning in the eighteenth century. For some reason, no one assembled complete texts of the most crucial documents in one volume—to the serious inconvenience of anyone who wanted to study Marlowe's life in detail. What follows is a gathering of the most important documents on which our knowledge of Marlowe is based, arranged in chronological order or a close approximation thereof. Reading through them provides a necessarily fragmentary but vivid impression of significant moments in Marlowe's life.

The location and classification of each document is indicated in its heading, using the abbreviations found at the beginning of this book. I have studied all these documents (and many others) firsthand and have freshly transcribed and translated them as accurately as possible. I have also provided comments on significant features of the documents, their context, and the interconnections among them. Some of these texts have never been printed before. For example, Thomas Walsingham's pardon for outlawry (debt) is a new discovery and appears here for the first time. The coroner's account of the death of William Bradley is translated in its entirety for the first time, rather than being transcribed in Latin and paraphrased or selectively quoted in English.

In transcribing and editing these documents I have preserved individual idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation, including the common use of slashes instead of, or in conjunction with, periods. However, I have modernized the conventional Elizabethan usage of *j* and *i*, *u* and *v*, *ff* for *F*, and *ye* for *the*, which have no interpretive significance. In editing legal documents I have silently expanded Latin abbreviations, since these had no meaning in themselves but were simply a convenient form of shorthand. Conventional abbreviations in English are treated similarly; less familiar ones are expanded in square brackets. Angle brackets indicate words and phrases deleted by the person writing the document. Wavy brackets enclose material added by the scribe.

As I discovered when I was able to examine the Marlowe documents directly, some minor variations in different scholars' transcriptions of these texts are inevitable. Deciding whether a letter is capitalized or not, which punctuation mark the scribe intended, and sometimes even what word the writer meant can be

subjective. Many sixteenth-century documents are now faded, damaged, or dirty, and bad handwriting is difficult to read in any script.

The principles I have followed in deciding which documents to include require some explanation. Most records of Marlowe's schooling are lists including his name, which obviously do not require transcription or lend themselves to it, and present no difficulties in interpretation. These are therefore omitted. The Buttery Books of Corpus Christi College, on the other hand, might constitute a book in themselves, and would be most useful in that form, but it would be impractical to reprint all the possibly significant portions of them here. I therefore chose to discuss significant features of the Buttery Books in the narrative. I have included several documents containing information about people of significance and probable significance in Marlowe's life such as John Gresshop, John Benchkin, Richard Baines, and Thomas Walsingham. I have also included a second letter of Robert Sidney to Lord Burghley, which appears in print for the first time, since it illuminates Sidney's first letter concerning Marlowe and Baines, and may clarify the career of Baines as well. I chose not to include a letter by Thomas Drury to Anthony Bacon dated 1 August 1593 because it does not mention Marlowe, though it obviously is somehow related to events unfolding around the time of his death. It seemed more appropriate to discuss Drury's letter, including its many ambiguous and disturbing features, in the narrative.

MARLOWE FAMILY PARISH REGISTER ENTRIES, CCA

According to a prefatory note, the surviving Parish Register of St. George is a copy of records kept on loose sheets of paper that were in serious disorder. The first sheet of the original record of christenings, marriages, and burials was dated, but if a second sheet was required to continue the entries later in the year, the date was not repeated on the second sheet. These second sheets could easily be shuffled out of order. Therefore the copyists incorrectly entered Margaret Marlowe's christening date, which was written on a loose second sheet in 1566, as 28 December 1548. Someone—probably a forger who wanted to clarify Marlowe's family history—later entered Margaret's birth in the parish register as ii December 1565, erasing and writing over a legitimate entry for "An the daughter of William Man," who was buried on 18 December 1565. The Archdeacon's Transcript of the register records Margaret's birth as 18 December 1566. However, xviii may be an error for xxviii, or vice versa. Such errors in copying Roman numerals were common.

St. George's Parish Marriage

1561 The 22th of May were married John Marlowe and Catherine Arthur./

Christenings

1562 The xxith of May was christened Mary the daughter of John Marlowe.

1563/4 The 26th day of February was christened Christofer the sonne of John Marlow.
1566 [Archdeacon's Transcript] The xviii day off desember was crystenyd Marget the daghter off John Marle
1568 The last day of October was christened the sonne of John Marlowe.
1569 The 20th day of August was christened John the sonne of John Marlow. [This is actually Joan or Jayne, a daughter.]
1570 The 26th day of July was christened Thomas the sonne of John Marle.
1571 The 14th day of July was christened An the daughter of John Marle/
1573 [Archdeacon's Transcript] the same daye [18 October] was crissoned Daretty the daugter of John Marly.

Burials

1568 The 28th day of August was buried the daughter of John Marlowe./
The 5th day of November was buried the sonne of John Marlowe./
1570 The 7th day of August was buried Thomas the sonne of John Marlowe./
1604/5 John Marloe clarke of St: Maries was buried the 25th of January./

Parish of St. Andrew Christening

1576 Thomas Marley the son of John—viii Apell

Marriage

1582 John More & Jayne Marley—xxii Apell

Parish of St. Mary Bredman Marriages

1590 The xvth day of June were maryed John Jorden & Margaret Marlowe./
1593 The xth day of June were married John Cranforde & An Marlowe./
1594 The xxxth day of June were married Thomas Graddell & Dorithie Marle./

All Saints Parish Burial

1604/5 Catheren Marlowe was buryed the xviii daie of Marche anno predicto [in the foresaid year]

ASSORTED PARISH REGISTER ENTRIES IN CANTERBURY, 1582–1605, CCA

A number of entries in the Canterbury parish registers, in addition to those of the Marlowe family, have relevance or possible relevance to Marlowe's life. The St. Mildred's parish register notes the burial of Katherine Benchkin, as well as the

burial of her husband, James, and the christenings of some of their son John Benchkin's children. It also records the burial of Thomas Greenleaf, the husband of Mrs. Benchkin's kinswoman whom she named overseer of her will, and an associate of Marlowe's father in the shoemaker's company. A Thomas Fineaux, gentleman, of Canterbury, possibly a kinsman of the Mr. Fineaux who was allegedly acquainted with Marlowe and converted by him to atheism, was issued a license to marry Susanna Alcock, also of Canterbury, on 2 June 1592. He was killed by Henry Simpson in a tavern brawl (William Urry, *City Archivist's Report*, 19 February 1958) and buried at All Saints in 1597. John Marlowe's old acquaintance Lawrence Applegate, who was tried in ecclesiastical court for slandering Mrs. Chapman's daughter Godelif Hurte, was buried at St. George's in 1612.

All Saints Parish
Burials

Anno Domini 1597. Thomas Fenyuxe gent was buried the, 25. of September.

A "Christopher Feneuxe gent," probably a relative of Thomas, was buried at All Saints on 5 September 1605.

St. George's Parish
Burial

Larrance Applegate buried the iiiii day of January 1612.

St. Mildred's Parish
Christenings

- 1596: Thomasyn Benchkyn daughter of John ii July
1598: Thomas Benchkyn sonne of John 16 July
1605: Katherine the daughter of John Benchkin Jan. 3

Burials

- 1582: James Benchkyn buried 18 Apryll
1586: Katherine Benchkyn widow buried 25 July
1604: Thomas Greeneleafe householder Septemb. 10

INVENTORY OF JOHN GRESSHOP'S ESTATE, 23 FEBRUARY 1580,
CKS PRC21/4, FF. 169-75

This document reveals a great deal about Marlowe's schoolmaster at the King's School, John Gresshop, especially about his education at Oxford, his teaching methods, and his living conditions. The Gresshop inventory is also printed in William Urry, Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury (London, 1988), 108-22. While the printed text in Urry is substantially accurate, it contains a number of minor errors and several omissions. I have corrected most of these. However,

because a few items in the manuscript are not clearly legible, some guesswork has been inevitable.

Gresshop had extensive holdings in reformist/humanist writings; his library included, among many others, works by Luther, Sturm, Bucer, Oeculampadius, Melanchthon, Agricola, Beza, Brughenhagen (Pomeranus), Calvin, Knox, Vives, Erasmus, Pietro Martire (Peter Martyr), Valla, Fabricius, Dolet, and Zwingli. This wide range of material reflects not only Gresshop's thorough familiarity with theological issues but also his knowledge of the most advanced humanist pedagogical literature.

Certainly one of the most recent additions to Gresshop's library was his copy of Stephen Gosson's The Ephemeredes of Phialo, a work modeled closely on Lyly's Euphues and published in 1579. Gosson, a Canterbury native, was baptized in the same parish church as Marlowe and came from a similar family background. After studying under Gresshop at the King's School he proceeded to Oxford, tried his hand as a playwright in London, repented, and attacked the theater in The School of Abuse, published earlier in 1579. Gosson's early career path may well have been a model for Marlowe's, just as Lyly's had been a model for Gosson's.

Greshop

The apprisement of suche goodes as were late Mr John Greshops schoolemaister at Caunterburie deceased made the xxiiith of february 1579 R. R. Eliz. 22 [1580]. By Mr. Thomas Swifte Mr Will. Browne ministers of the saide church, Mr John Marden singinge man, and [blank] Faunt singing man.

Goodes in the great chamber where he died.

- A joined bedstedell wth head and tester of wainescot wth a rope and a mat—xii s.
A fetherbed, a Boulster, and a pillowe—xxx s.
An olde matteris there prised at—ii s vi d.
A paire of old blankets—iii s. iiiii d.
A coverlet of greene dornix—viii s.
A white rug blanket—vi s viii d.
Three olde curtins of say Red and greene wth iii curtin Rods—iiiiii s.
An olde presse cubberd wise of wainescot—xvi s.
A joyned cheste—v s.
A plated cofer—x s.
An olde cubberd—ii s. vi d.
A table upon a frame and a forme—ii s. vi d.
An olde courte cubberd—xii d.
A paire of Andirons, fireshovell, tounges, and gridiron—v s.
A paire of olde bellowes—ii d.
Two olde turned chaires—xii d.
An ould Curtin in the window wth a rod—viii d.
A hoope for a Basan, and a hooke for a towell—viii d.

The painted clothes there—xvi s.
apparell
Two paire of olde carsey hose—iii s. iiii d.
His best dublet of rashe, and best hose of the same—xiii s. iiii d.
Two old dublets one of rashe, and thother of mockadow—iii s. iiii d.
An olde spanishe lether Jerkin—ii s.
A cap, and a hat—ii s.
An olde peese of course serge—xii d.
An olde mockadowe cassok—xii d.
A black cloth cote—viii s.
A cloake w^t sleeves—xiii s. iiii d.
A rounde cloke with silver clapses—xxxx s.
An olde gowne of buffin faced w^t budge—x s.
The beste gowne—liii s. iiii d.
An olde cloth gowne faced w^t budge—x s.

In the plated chest

A surplace and a hood—vi s. viii d.
Five olde shirtes—xii s.
Five iii cornerd kirchers—ii s. vi d.
Three handetowells—xii d.
Three short table clothes—iii s.
Foure olde pillowberes—iii s.
xi table napkins—iiii s.
An olde wallet—iii d.
Certaine new cloth and Remnantes—iii s. iiii d.
vi paire of sheetes—xxx s.
iii course sheetes for boyes—v s.
v sheetes in a bag—xx s.
ii good shirtes wth ii peeses of shirtes in a bag—x s.
v pillowe cotes—vi s. viii d.
An olde corner kircher and vi handkerchers—xx d.
foure tynne spoones—ii d.
A pot, and a glasse—xii d.
A dagger—vi d.
A girdle—i d.
A girdle of changeable silke—xii d.
And olde crowne of a velvet hat—ii d.
A Jacket of olde damaske—iii s. iiii d.
Sixe bookes in the cofer—ii s.

In the paved Chamber

A foldbedsteadell, coorde, and mat—xiii s. iiii d.
The tester of the same bed w^t iii curtins of unfriised cotton all greene—vi s. viii d.

A little fether bed, a boulder, a pillowe, and a matrice—xxvi s. viii d.
A course paire of blankets, whereof one is linse wolve—iii s. iiii d.
A coverlet of tapistrie course—xiii s. iiii d.
iii curtyn rodde—xii d.
5 olde joinde stooles and a courte cubberd—iiii s.
A square table, and a joined foorme—iiii s.
A little old cubberd, and an olde chaire—ii s.
Two pewter Basons, and one pewter dishe—ii s.
A glasse lanterne—xii d.
Two tyn candlestickes and a pewter pot—xvi d.
A rapiar, and a skene—iiii s.
Two stone pots—iiii d.
A table of praedestination—iiii d.
The hanginges—x s.
A curtin rod in the windowe—vi d.
viii cushins—viii s.
A longe cushin—xvi d.
A cubberd clothe partie coloured w^t rowse—ii s.
A peece of penniston greene—vi d.
A deske—iiii d.
ii chaires—xii d.
A lattin candelsticke—viii d.
An olde ches boarde and men—xii d.
A cofer w^t a locke upon it for Wilder—xx d.
A covering of rowed worke and coloures much like to churche worke—x s.
A flocke bed and a strawe bed, and a flocke boulder—v s.
An olde fethered boulder—ii s.
A matterice, a mat, and a flocke boulder in the chamber underneath Mr Dorrels chamber ad lavam—xvi d.

In the chamber of W. D.

A bedsteadell—xx s.
A rounde table wt a seat very olde—xii d.
A joyned stoole—vi d.
Two olde courte cubberds—ii s.
Two olde peweter chamber pots—xvi d.
An old lattin candlestick—

In Buls chamber

A little olde fetherbed and an olde flocke boulder—x s.
A truckle bed and a mat—ii s. vi d.
A table wt trestells—vi d.
An olde foorme—iiii d.

Summa totalis xxviii^h iiii s. v

Thomas Swyfte
William Browne

In the upper study by the schoole doore

(In primis in the windowe bookes—xxxvi
Item upon the east shelve bookes—Cxiiii
Item upon a hie shelve westward bookes—xxviii
Item upon a shelve under that bookes—xxxvi)

Viz. Libri in folio

Brentius in Osea, una cum Buceri libro de regno christi—iii s. iiii d.
Concordantiae Zisti Graeca—ii s.
Hofman de paenitentia—iiii s.
Tabulae locorum Philippi Melancthonis—ii s. vi d.
Roffensis [John Fisher] contra Lutherum—ii s.
Philippus presbiter in Jobu—xii d.
Biblia pagnini—ii s. vi d.
Liber Charlaceus—
Tomus tertius et 4^{us} et v^{us} operis Melancthonis—iii s. iiii d.
Commentarius in rhetorica Ciceronis—iii s. iiii d.
Commentarii Doleti vol 2 libri due—x s.
Urbani grammatica graeca—viii d.

quarto

Institutiones Juris Civilis graecae—xii d.
Demosthenis Epistolae, pars thucididis, Comaediae Aristophanis uno vol
graeca—postilla pervetus—
Opuscula quaedam Lutheri, Calvini, Bullingeri, Gualteri uno volumine in
quarto—x
Claudius Sissellus de providentia—vi d.
Martir [Peter Martyr] de Eucharistia—iiii d.
Martir in Epistolam ad Corinthios—iii s.
Casnius in Galatas—viii d.
Victoria papatus—xii d.
Calvinus in psalmos—xx d.
Oecolampadius in Danielelem—x d.
Retmanius de Justificatione—iii d.
An Answer to the Crosse Anglice—x d.
And Englishe booke for the government of women alias the harborow etc.
—iiii d.
Lanaeetus in Josnan—xii d.

octavo

Petrus Lombardus—vi d.
Liber Digestorum—viii d.
Opera quaedam minuta Augustini—iiii d.
Zodiacus vitae Anglice—vi d.
Bezae Epistolae—
Liber vetus hieromini vidae de poetica—1 d.
Martir de Caelibatu et voti—12 d.
Lutherus in Ecclesiasten—4 d.
Wolfgangus Capito de Missa et iure magistratus—6 d.
Ecclesiasticae disciplinae liber—4 d.
Sturmii prolegomena—4 d.
Pii poetae uno volumine—6 d.
Lutherus in 7 caput prioris ad Corinthios—4 d.
Carmina phocilidis graeco latina—2 d.
An English booke of divinity Commen places—4 d.
Catechesis Christiana—2 d.
De linguae graecae pronunciatione liber—3 d.
Ars loquendi et tacendi Knanstino Autore—2 d.
A viewe of mans estate englishe—2 d.
A Catechisme Englishe—1 d.
Nowels Catechismes two in Latin, one in Englishe—
Portius de ponderibus et mensuris—1 d.
the Sickmans salve—6 d.
Melancthon de renovatione Ecclesiasticae disciplinae cum caeteris—6 d.
Liber de vitae et obitu Buceri Carro authore—6 d.
Prima pars Biblioni graece et Secunda graece, item at tertia—3 s. 4 d.
A faithfulll admonicion made by Knoles—2 d.
Varia poemata quorundam veteris de corrupto Ecclesiae statu—6 d.
Liber psalmorum Davidis cum Annotationibus Stephani—
Gregorius Nissenus de opificio hominis, cum opellis Ignatii—12 d.
Boetii Consolatio—14 d.
Epistolae Calvinii duae—6 d.
Catechismus Calvinii—2 d.
Beconus et Bertramus de Caena domini uno volumine—8 d.
The Anatomie of the Masse—4 d.
De religionis Conservatione, et de primatu magistratuuum Laurentio humfredo
autore—
Pandectae Scripturarum—6 d.
Oecolampadius in Mathaeu—6 d.
Oecolampadius in Joanni—6 d.
De compescendis animi affectibus Aloisius Luisinus—3 d.
Oecolampadius in Genesiu—5 d.
Opera Erasmi quadam uno volumine—4 d.

Dionisius Carthusianus in Luca—5 d.
 Ecclesiastes Erasmi—
 Sententia prosperi—8 d.
 Virelus upon the Lordes Praier in Englishe—6 d.
 Liber de differentia Ecclesiasticae et regalis potestatis—4 d.
 Apologia Erasmi adversus quosdam Monachos—
 Herman Archbishop of Colenia in Englishe—6 d.
 Peregrinatio Belgica—6 d.
 Oecolampadius in 4 minores prophetas—6 d.
 historia ecclesiastica Eusebii Latine—3 d.
 Silva Bibliorum Hominis—6 d.
 Oecolampadius in haebraeos—4 d.
 Trahern Upon the Apocalipse Englishe—
 fabritius in Abacuc [?] et prophetas minores—12 d.
 Artopaeus in Genesisu—4 d.
 Opera Cypriani aliquot 2 vol—16 d.
 Ratio perveniendi at veram theol. Erasmo autore—6 d.
 Lutherus de servo arbitrio cum aliis—6 d.
 Pomeranus in Epistolas Pauli—4 d.
 The reliques of Rome—
 Pandectes of the evangelical Law made by pannel English—6 d.
 Colonienses adversus Melancthonem et aliorum—5 d.
 Anthologicon, id est florilegium graecorum aliquot—6 d.
 Synesii Epistolae—6 d.
 Bezae poemata—6 d.
 Lavaterus de spectris—6 d.
 Olaus magnus de gentibus Septentrionalibus—8 d.
 Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentii—6 d.
 hemmingius de superstitionibus vitandis—4 d.
 Sermones aliquot Oecolampadii—3 d.
 Catechismus Carnuti—
 A sermon of Porders Englishe—3 d.
 Jewel against Cole—
 Peter Viret Englished by Shute—
 Nowels Catechisme in Englishe 2 of them—
 Doctor Smithes unwritten verities—2 d.
 Stephen Gardiners devels sophistry—o
 Perrins sermons Englishe—2 d.
 Aliquot orationes demosthenis conversae a Carro Anglo—6 d.
 Wittingham of obedience to superior powers—2 d.
 A treatise for ministers apparrel Englishe—4 d.
 Marsilius ficinus de Christiana religione—6 d.
 Methodus Confessionis—3 d.
 Danaeus de beneficiis—

Knoxe upon praedestinacion—4 d.
 Confessio Saxonicarum Ecclesiarum—2 d.
 Quaestiones pueriles Joannis Agricolae—2 d.
 Catechismus Anglicus autore Anonumo—2 d.
 Liber de Commuratione Scoticae reginae—
 Cranmers Confutation of unwritten verities—4 d.
 Sillogisticon foxii—3 d.
 The Christian state of matrimonie Englishe—1 d.
 of obedience of Subjectes Englishe—2 d.
 An Englishe booke of the disclosing of the greate bull—1 d.
 A booke of Songes and Sonnettes Englishe—1 d. [Tottel's Miscellany]
 The philosopher of the Court in Englishe—2 d.
 Confessio Ecclesiarum helveticarum—4 d.
 An Invective ageinst treason in Englishe—1 d.
 Epistola Lutheri contra Sabbatharios—1 d.
 The benefit of Christes death in Englishe—1 d. ob
 Goughes answere ageinst fecknam—
 Norton's admonicion to the Queenes subjectes—1 d.
 An Admonicion in Scottishe—
 Against the use of Popishe garments in the Church—1 d.
 A politicke discourse—
 An Informacion to the parliament englishe—ob
 Luciani dialogi aliquot—viii d.
 Fentons discourse of the Warres in France—2 d.
 An Englishe Catechisme—
 Bonners Dirige—i d.
 A sermon of Deringes—1 d.
 An Englishe Catechisme—2 d.
 Quaestiones Bezae—3 d.
 A Sermon D fulcke—
 A warning ageinst papists—1 d.
 Calvinus de Praedestinatione—3 d.
 A Sermon of Bradfordes—1 d.
 Tragical discourses by the L Buckhurst— [Sackville's *Mirror for Magistrates*]
 The fall of the Late Arrian—2 d. [by John Proctour]
 Vincentius Livinensis de Antiquitate fidei Cath.—2 d.
 Vives de Anima Libri tres—16 d.
 Macrobbii opera—8 d.
 Aristoteles de mundo—4 d.
 Lexicon graecolatium Ciceronianum—8 d.
 Institutiones fricksii Medicinales—10 d.
 Gazae Grammatica Graeca—4 d.
 Syntaxis linguae graecae Varennio authore—4 d.
 Demosthenis et Aeschinis orationes contrariae—8 d.

Marcellus de proprietate linguae latinae—12 d.
 Marsilii ficini opuscula—vi d.
 Albertus magnus de formatione hominis—1 d.
 Luciani dialogi Latini facti—8 d.
 Digestorum liber secundus—8 d.
 Hesiodus Graecolatinus—6 d.
 Budaei Annotationes in Pandectas—6 d.
 Lingua Erasmi—6 d.
 Adrianus Cardinalis de Sermone Latino—3 d.
 Platinae dialogus de falso et vero bono—2 d.
 Some of Zenophon translated into Englishe—4 d.
 Vives de Lingua Latina—2 d.
 Polibius in Englishe—4 d.
 Vives de disciplinis—12 d.
 De ratione studii puerilis—6 d. [also by Vives]
 Erotemata rhetorica Jodoci—8 d.
 Sabellicus de moribus gentium—
 Poema Alcimi—2 d.
 Balduinus de Constantino Magno—20 d.
 Caelius Secundus de Artificio Disserendi—4 d.
 Sebastianus forius de historiae institutione—4 d.
 Aristoteles de arte rhetorica graece—2 d.
 Histora Sacramentaria de Caena—8 d.
 Phocilidis Poema ἑλληρικον—2 d.
 Nominis in Evangelium Joannis—3 d.
 Alciattus de quinque pedum praescriptione—3 d.
 Aristophanis εἰρηηνή graece—2 d. [*Peace*]
 Item thre Paper bookes—
 Demosthenes πρὸς Ἀεπίτην—1 d.

 bookes in decimo sexto
 herodianus graece—4 d
 Cominei historia—8 d.
 Bellum grammaticale—1 d.
 Galeni de Compositione pharmacorum—8 d.
 Ilias homerii graece—6 d.
 Petrus Crinitus—12 d.
 Methodus medendi Galeno auctore—10 d.
 Biel de Canone Missae—3 d.
 Pentateuchus Moisis—4 d.
 Catechismus Calvinii Graecolatinus—4 d.
 Gribaldus de ratione studendi—6 d
 Contemplationes Idiotae—2 d.
 Problemata Arist.—4 d.

Fenestella de Magistratibus—8 d.
 Knoxes Epistles—1 d.
 Compendium theologiae veritatis—o
 Ovid de tristibus Englishe—2 d
 Nowel's Catechismes in numbr v—12 d.

Plate and other things of the said Mr Greshops

Inprimus a pot of silver and gilt with a covir waying ix ounz one quarter at iii s
 ix d the ounce—xlvi s viii d
 Item iii silver spones waying iiii ounces and a quarter—xx s. vi d.
 Item a bosse of a gyrdle and a whistle ii ounces almos—ix s. vi d.
 Item two gold Rings half an ounce—i s.
 Sum of the plat—vi li. iiii s. viii d.

In the lower study

in folio
 Imprimis Plato Latine—ii s.
 Opera Petrarchi—vi s.
 Scotus in 4^{um} Sententiarum—viii d.
 Officia Ciceronis cum Commentario—
 Munsteri Cosmographia—iiii s.
 Thesaurus Ciceronis—vi s viii d.
 Annotationes Erasmi in novum testa[mentum]—iiii s.
 Fabians Chronicle—iii s.
 Biblia Latine—iii s. iiii d.
 Biblia Castalionis—iiii s.
 Martir in Judicum, et Samuelem—vi s. viii d.
 Concordantiae Bibliorum—xii d.
 Martir in Rom. Anglici—iii s iiii d.
 Flores historiarum—iiii s.
 Familiares Epistolae Ciceronis cum Comment[ario]—ii s. vi d.
 Chaucer—ii s.
 Boccatus de genealogia Deorum—ii s.
 Loci Communes Martiris—v s.
 Galenus de temperamentis cum aliis—ii s.
 A Geneva Bible—v s.
 Virgilius cum Commentario—ii s.
 Jewesl [*sic*—slip for Jewels] Defence of the Apologie—iiii s.
 Ovidii Metamorphosis cum Comment[ario]—viii d.

In quarto

Grammatica Clenardi cum annot. Antesignani—xii d.
 Lavaterus in proverbia—xx d.

Foxius in Osorium—
 Aschams Schoolemaster—iiii d
 Camerarius et Alii in tusculanas quaest[ionibus]—xii d.
 Dictionarium poeticum—xvi d.
 Officia Ciceronis, cum diversorum Commentariis—xvi d.
 Philo Judaeus in Decalogum—vi d.
 Martir in Ethicam Arist.—ii s.
 Valla de summo bono—viii d.
 Langnettes Chronicles—xvi d.
 The Image of both Churches—iiii d.
 Psalterium Latinum—iiii d.
 Dionisius Carthusianus de orthodoxa fide—iiii d
 Bibliand. de fatis Monarchiae Romanae—
 Alworthus [?] contra de visibilim Monarchiam Saunderi—iii d
 Cartwrightes replie ageinst Whitegift—ii d
 Higini historia—iiii d.
 Aristophanes Graec.—vi d
 Arist. Politica Strabaeo tralatore—iiii d
 Wilsons logick English—viii d
 Some bookes of Ovides Metam. English—ii d.
 the praise of foly Englishe—ii d.
 Haddoni Opellae—iiii d.
 A discourse of the affaires in Germany by Ascham—ii d.
 Liber Juris Canonici prima pars—xii d.

In octavo
 Institutiones Calvinii—ii s. vi d.
 Plautus—xii d.
 Grammatica Graeca Crusii—xx d.
 Pii quidam poetae uno vol.—x d.
 Pars quarta Livii—vi d.
 Diallacticon Sacramentarium Boqnino [?] autore—vi d.
 Plutarchi quadam opuscula—viii d.
 Terentius Cum Commentario—xii d.
 Sophiclis Tragaediae Latine—viii d.
 Confessio Bezae, cum aliis—xii d.
 Claudinaus poeta—xii d.
 Locii Communes Joannis Manlii—xii d.
 Facetia Bebetii cum aliis—viii d.
 Facetia Brusonii—viii d.
 A praesident for a prince—ii d.
 Valnetinus Erithraeus de Conscribendis Epistolis—viii d.
 Agrippa de vanitate Scientarium—vi d.
 Apollinarius graecus in psalmos—vi d

Tusculanes Quaestions Englishe, wth the offices—vi d
 Ovides Metamorphosis wth the pictures—viii d.
 Syntaxis Linguae graecae—iiii d
 Linacri Grammatica—viii d
 Sophoclis Tragaediae graece—viii d.
 Solinus polyhistor.—viii d.
 A pretious perle, id est, an englishe booke so called—iii d.
 Eliottes governor—vi d
 Erasmus Enchiridion englishe—iii d.
 Castalionis Dialogi Sacri—xii d.
 Catechismus Chytraei—iii d.
 Physica, et Ethica valerii—iiii d.
 De ratione descendae linguae Graecae—vi d.
 Sadoletus de pueris instituendis—iiii d.
 The new testament in Englishe—xii d.
 Erotemata de Copia rerum et verborum, cum aliis—vi d.
 Arithmetica Gemmae frisii—iiii d.
 Processus Judiciarius Panormitani—ii d.
 Aesopii fabulae—ii d.
 Juvenalis—iii d.
 Orationes. 6. Isocratis sex exiguis sed distinctis vol—ii s.
 Utopia Mori Latine—ii d.
 Theophil in evangelica—xii d.
 Theoph. in Epistolas—xii d.
 Homilae Bedae—viii d.
 Cranmerus de Transubstantiatione—iiii d.
 Claris theologiae—iiii d.
 Sermones de tempore—iiii d.

In decimo sexto
 Fabritius de poetica—vi d
 Flaminius in psalmos—viii d.
 Novum testam. graece—viii d.
 Epistolae ad Atticus—xii d. [Cicero]
 Epistolae familiares—vi d [Cicero]
 Commentarii Caesaris—vi d.
 Flamini paraph. in 30 psalmos cum aliis—iiii d.
 tres lib. de vitis Imperatorum Romanorum—ii s. [Suetonius]
 Preces Sacrae—iiii d.
 Officia Ciceronis et Terentius uno vol—xii d.
 Testamentum graecis in duabus partibus—x d.
 Frutisius de medendi—viii d.
 Sibillina Oracula cum aliis—vi d. [supposedly by Phocylides]

Virgilius—viii d.
 Manutii Epistolae—viii d.
 Libri proph. omnium—vi d.
 Palingenius—vi d.
 Aulus Gellius—xii d.
 Concordantiae biblioni et Canonum perexignae—ii d.
 Ephemerides Phialo—ii d. [by Stephen Gossen, Gresshop's former pupil;
 published 1579]
 A Dispraise of the Courtiers Life—ii d.
 A praeparacion to the Lordes Supper—i d.
 A touche stone for this praesent time—i d.
 Symbola Joannis Laezii—i d.
 Vassaeus de Judicio Trinarum—i d.
 Summa totalis Inv^m—xlviⁱⁱ xii s. x d.

Priced by Mr John Hill Prebendarye in ch[r]ists church in Canterbury
 Frauncis Aldriche and [blank] Rose the ii Martii 1579

Besides the bookes above named there are of old rustie bookes about xviii

Monye found after his deathe
 Inprimis a spurre royall and a frenshe crowne of the value of—xxi s.
 Item in mylle sixpences and Edward twelvecpenns—xix s. vi d.
 Item in pence and thre halfe pence—xl s.
 Item in ready sylver in the tawnye purse—iiii^{li} ii s. xi d.
 Item in an other purse—ii s. x d.
 Summa Totalis viii li. vi s. iii d.

INVENTORY OF JAMES BENCHKIN'S GOODS, 30 NOVEMBER 1582,
 CKS PRC 10/10 FF. 740-50

After John Benchkin's father, James Benchkin, died in April 1582, an inventory of his property was prepared under the supervision of Mrs. Benchkin's kinsman Thomas Greenleaf. Like the inventory of John Marlowe's property, this document gives a clear indication of the relative wealth and social status of the Benchkin family, which was definitely superior to that of the Marlowes. However, it differs from John Marlowe's inventory in that it was prepared during Christopher Marlowe's lifetime, not long before Mrs. Benchkin changed her will, and therefore it records much of what Christopher and his kinsmen saw when they came to her house to serve as witnesses. The fireplace equipment adorned the fireplace in the parlor where Mrs. Benchkin burned her old will in their presence. In all probability the virginals, armor and weapons, map, painted cloths, and the table bearing the queen's coat of arms were also there when the will was signed and witnessed.

The inventory reveals that the Benchkins were engaged in manufacturing wool cloth, which explains why Mrs. Benchkin made provision in her will for loans to assist others in the same trade.

The inventory of all such goodes, debtes, mony & householde stuff, as were late James Benskyne, of the parish of Saint Mildred in the Cittye of Canterbury deceased. Prised by Thomas Greeneleafe, and Marck Clarck, the xxx day of November Anno 1582; Anno Regina Nostro Elizabeth xxv.

In the hall viz

In primus one joynd cubbard, with a loftexiii^s iiii^d
 Item one table with a frame, iiii stooles, & ii formesx^s
 Itm v great Cushens & iiii small & ii old Carpetesxiii^s iiii^d
 Itm one payre of cobirons & a cradle of ironv^s viii^d
 Itm one barrell of Tarrysiiii^s
 Itm two old Chayresii^s
 Itm a payre of old virginalsxx^d
 Itm all the paynted clothes & a cubbard clothev^s
 Itm one woolen wheele & ii payre of cardesxii^d

Chamber over the hall

Item one joynd Bedstedellxiii^s iiii^d
 Itm iii fether Beddesiiii^{li}
 Itm I coverlyt & iiii blankettesxxx^s
 Itm xvi pyllowes of fethersxxxiii^s
 Itm xii chestes great & smallxxiii^s
 Itm iiii small coffersiiii^s
 Itm one lyttle tablexii^d
 Itm one Bassen & a Ewer of pewterv^s
 Itm v chaffing dishes of lattynxiii^s iiii^d
 Itm xxvi pottes of pewter great & smallxx^s
 Itm v saltes of pewter & one gobletii^s
 Itm xxii saucers of pewtervi^s viiii^d
 Itm one dossen of poringers of pewterv^s
 Itm xxv pewter dishes & ii frutes dishesxiii^s iiii^d
 Itm two tasters of pewtervi^d
 Itm iiii chamber pottes of pewtervi^d

Many other metal utensils are listed, including a large number of platters, a colander of pewter, five basins, a charger, and a mortar and pestle of brass.

Itm ii old Lutesv^s
 Itm one dagg with a case and 2 old capcases2^s 6^d

Itm iii swordes & ii daggers	vi ^s ii ^d
Itm ii old Deskes	xvi ^d
Itm III old hampres & a basket	viii ^d
Itm one gowne of grograyme	xxx ^s
Itm one gowne of broad cloth furred	xxx ^s
Itm one Cloake cowller browne [?] blewe	xxxvi ^s vii ^d
Itm iii Cloakes newe & old	xx ^s

Many items of men's clothing are listed, including a buff leather jerkin, a leather doublet, hose, jackets, a satin doublet valued at twenty shillings, and gaskins. The household linen includes thirty pair of sheets, a dozen tablecloths, damask napkins worth thirty shillings, thirteen silver spoons, a carpet, more painted cloths, and "9 stone pottes covered."

In the parler

[the room where Mrs. Benchkyn's will was signed]

Item one joyned press	xx ^s
Item one payre of vyrgynalls	xx ^s
Itm ii lyttle cubbards	x ^s
Itm two Callyvaes a Curryss & ii head peeces	xx ^s
Itm one bible & a Testament & a booke of comon prayer	xiii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm iiiii payre of Tonges, ii fire panns & a pothangers	vi ^s viii ^d
Itm one payre of Andyrones of Iron	v ^s
Itm one rownd Table & ix stooles	x ^s
Itm vi old Cushions	xx ^d
Itm one Cubbard cloth & a cushen	iii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm all the paynted clothes, a mapp & a table with the queenes Armes: an old curtayne	iii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm one little casket of bone	xii ^d
Itm ii olde matted chayres	iiii ^d
Itm iii dossen of trenchers	vi ^d
Itm one payre of bellowes	iiii ^d

The Second Chamber

Itm xii quarters of wooll	xxiii ^s
Itm one long chest & a wadding [?] trowgh	iii ^s
Itm one bushell & a basket & ii old boxes	ii ^s

The Third Chamber

Itm one chest with sertayne bookes in it	xxv ^s
Itm ii long settles	iii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm xii quarters of corse wooll	xiii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm iii lyttle Tables	vi ^s

Itm iii old chest	xviii ^d
Itm ii old formes & a fann	xx ^d
Itm one stone mortar & a wayght of lead	xx ^d
Itm one old presse & iii baskettes	xx ^d
Itm all the very old clothes in the sayd chamber	ii ^s vi ^d
Itm one olde chayre	vi ^d

The Chamber over the parler

Item one joyned Bedstedell	xiii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm one truckle Bedd	xii ^d
Itm ii fether beddes iiiii bolsters, & iii coverlittes	iii ^{li}
Itm two coverlittes of Tapistrye	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Itm an old coverlyt	ii ^s vi ^d
Itm iii old carpettes & a vallannse	v ^s
Itm iii corstettes & ii allmayne Ryvettes	i ^s
Itm ii old chestes	v ^s
Itm one halbart a pollax & a bedsine [?] byll	ii ^s
Itm iii Javelyns & a forrest byll	ii ^s
Itm vi quarters of corse wooll	vi ^s
Itm v baskettes & iii payre stock cardes	iii ^s iiiii ^d
Itm one close chayre of stringe	xx ^d
Itm a payre of scales	xi ^d
Itm ii t[illegible] & a plumbe	xii ^d
Itm xxx ^{li} of leden waytes	xx ^d

In the woll lofte

Item one hundreth quarters of wooll	vi ^{li} x ^s
Itm ii old sarplats & a quill	ii

In the kichin

This part of the manuscript is badly faded and mostly illegible. However, among the items listed are eleven brass pots great and small, valued at three pounds, two old swords, three iron trivets, a tin bottle and other old bottles, two grates and two old lanterns, mattocks, shovels, augurs and wimbles.

In the house next adjoyninge

Item one great chest	vi ^s viii ^d
Itm one folding table & a forme	iii ^s
Itm one old cubbard & a little table	ii ^s
Itm old paynted clothes	ii ^s
Item in cloth redy made in the house russett & white	xi ^{li}
Item in his purse in redy monye	x ^{li}

Item debtes owing at his diseasexxxvi^{li}
 Item owing him in desperate debttesxxxv^{li}

xvii^{li} iiii^s xi^d
 Summa totallis—Ciiixx <xi^{li} x^s vi^d>

WILL OF KATHERINE BENCHKIN, 19 AUGUST 1585, CKS PRC 16/36

The will of Katherine Benchkin is remarkable if only because it preserves the only undisputed sample of Marlowe's handwriting, his signature as a witness. The note "this is Katherine Benchkin's mark" also resembles the hand of Marlowe's signature far more than it resembles the other hands on the will, and we know from later depositions by the other witnesses that Marlowe read the will aloud before Mrs. Benchkin signed it. However, we cannot be certain he added the note.

The will is dated 19 August 1585 and was undoubtedly signed at this time, during one of Marlowe's long absences from Cambridge. John Benchkin made his first appearance at Corpus Christi College that summer, just before Marlowe left, and it seems likely that the two of them returned to Canterbury together. John Benchkin apparently was, or soon became, a close friend of Marlowe's.

It is possible that John Benchkin wrote the will for his mother, since the scribe does not identify himself and sign as a witness, as the scribes did on both of Marlowe's parents' wills. In September 1617, John Benchkin wrote out a will at the request of a neighbor, Sir Thomas Harflete, who was on his deathbed, as John later swore in a deposition (CCA X.11.15, 245b–247b). And if John did write Mrs. Benchkin's will, which named him as chief beneficiary and executor, it was prudent to have several witnesses who could later testify to its legitimacy. Perhaps this is why John Marlowe and Thomas Arthur were asked to join the younger men, John Moore and Christopher Marlowe, as witnesses.

Thomas Greenleaf, who is named overseer of the will, belonged to the same shoemaker's guild as Marlowe's father, so the two undoubtedly knew each other well. Although it is obvious from Mrs. Benchkin's will that John Benchkin's family was far wealthier than the Marlowes, this does not seem to have prevented amicable relations between the two families.

Words in wavy brackets are later additions by the scribe.

In the name of God Amen. The xixth day of August in the xxviith year of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god of England France and Ireland Quene Defender of the feith &c/ I Katherine Benchkyn of the parishe of St Myldred of the cite of Canterbury widowe being in good and perfect remembrance (god be prayesed therefore) considering with my self that all peop[l]e are mortall and uncertaine of the hower of their deathe, I do therefore make my last will and Testament in manner and forme following That is to say.

First I commend my sowle to almightie god my maker redemer and comforter most stedfastly trusting to be saved and inherite eternall life only by the deathe and passion of my Lord and savior Jesus Christ, And my will is that after my disease my body be decently buried in the churchyard of the parishe of St Mildredes aforesayd As nere to the grave of my late husband Jeames Benchkyn as may be. Item I will, there be made att my buriall a sermon by some learned preacher, Item I give to the poore peop[l]e of the parishe of St Mildred aforesayd xx^s, to be distributed amongst them within one weeke next after my buryall. Item I give to the poore people of the parishe of St Marie of Northgate of the same cittie, xx^s, to be distributed amongst them within one weeke next after my buryall. Item I will that my executor shall pay to the mayor and cominaltie of the said cite of Canterbury for the time being xx^{li} of good and lawfull monie of England within one {yere} next after my disease. And my will is that the sayd Mayor and cominaltie of the same citie for the time being shall with the said monye within one yere next after the receipt thereof buy one Tenement within the sayd cite of Canterbury or within the liberties of the same And that the yearlie proffittes and revenewes of the said Tenement shalbe and remaine to the use of the brothers and sisters of the Hospitall commonly called Maynardes spittle Sett and being within the said parishe of St Myldred forever, And my will is that the said Mayor and cominaltie of the said cite of Canterbury for the time being shall uppon the receipt of the sayd xx^{li} be bounden in writing obligatory to my executor his heires or assignes in dowble the value thereof, either to bestowe the same xx^{li} in manner and forme as is aforesaid and to the use as is aforesaid, or ells to repay the same xx^{li} to my executor or to his assignes To the use of my {said} executor his heires & assignes within one yere and a quarter next after the said receipt thereof. Item I give and bequethe to Jehan Ansted my mayd servant v^{li} of good and lawfull mony of England, A fetherbed A bolster a blanckett a coverlet iii^{or} payer of Sheetes ii^o pillowes two fine pillowe coates a spitt a dripping pan a brasse pott of ii^o Gallons or thereaboutes, a cobyron a Stupnett a chafing dishe & a chest To be payd and delivered her within one yere next after my disease, Item I constitute and appoint John Benchkyn the sonne of my late diseased husband Jeames Benchkyn to be the sole executor of this my last will and testament and I desyer my kinsman <Robert> Thomas Greneleaf to be the overseer of the same. Also I will that the ccc^{li} that is now in my cosen Greneleafes handes, to the use of the said John Benchkyn yf he dye before he comme to the age of xxi^{ly} yeaes shalbe payd to the mayor and cominaltie of the cite of Canterbury for the time being to the uses and intentes herafter following That is to say I will that the sayd ccc^{li} shall from time to time herafter forever, by the major and cominaltie of the sayd cite of Canterburie or the more part of them for the time being be freely lent to suche persons as shall inhabite & dwell within the sayd cite of Canterbury and liberties of the same, using the trade of clothe making, that is to say in making of wollen clothe And my will is that noe man shall have above l^{li} thereof att one time. But a lesse portion thereof as yt shall seme meete to the sayd mayor and cominaltie of the sayd cite of

Canterbury or the more part of them for the time being during the space of fower yeres without paying anie thing for the use and occupieng thereof, And that every {suche} person which shall receive suche summe of mony or lesse (as to the {sayd} mayor and cominaltie or the more part of them for the tyme being shall seme good as aforesaid) shalbe bound with two sufficient suerties to the mayor and cominaltie of the said citie of Canterbury or the more part of them in dowble the value thereof for the repayment of the same to them, att every suche iiiii yeares end, and so from iiiii yeares to fower yeares in manner and forme as is aforesaid forever, Item I give and bequethe to Julyan Bonham of Stalesfeld iiiⁱⁱ of good and lawfull monie of England to be payd unto her Immediately after my discease, Item I give and bequethe unto the ii^o children of my sayd sister Julian Bonham xl^s apeece to be payd unto them within one yere next after my discease. Item I give and bequeth to the iii children of my sister Johan Wells xl^s a peece to be payd to them within one yere next after my discease Item I Give and bequethe unto Stephen Glover Josua Glover Richard Glover Nicholas Greneleafe and John Greneleafe the childeren of Margaret Greneleafe my kynswoman now wife of the sayd Thomas Greneleafe xl^s a peece of good and lawfull mony of England to be payd unto them within one yere next after my sayd decease, Provided alweis and my will is that if anie of the said childeren shall chaunce to die before his or their portion shalbe due to be payd, then my meaning is that my said executor shall have his and their portions so dyeing to his owne use for ever, Item I give and bequethe to the sayd Margaret Greneleaf my kinswoman xl^s of good and lawfull monie of England to be payd her within one yere next after my sayd decease. Item I give and bequethe to Margery Drawnam my kinswoman xl^s of good and lawfull mony of England to be payd her within one yere next after my sayd decease. Item I give to John Benchkyn my late husband Jeames Benchkyns brothers sonne xl^s to be payd unto him imediatlie after my decease, Item I give unto Margaret Fusser my daughter in lawe xl^s to be payd unto her imediatlie after my discease, Item I give unto Haywardes wief my late husband Jeames Benchkins kynswoman xl^s of good and lawfull monie of England, Item I give to the five childeren of John Fusser vi^s viii^d a peece, Item I give to my daughter in lawe John Wevells wief xl^s Item I give to her ii^o childeren vi^s viii^d a peece, Item I give to my sonne in lawe John Hart xl^s, and I give to his sonne George Hart vi^s viii^d, Item I give to Agnes Post widowe my kinswoman xx^s, Item I give to my cosen Harris wife of Pluckley xx^s Item I give to Fordes widowe of the parishe of St Mary of Northgate xx^s to be payd imediatelie after my decease, Item I give to Aunsells widowe of St Mildredes aforesayd xx^s, Item I give to Crowder of the same parishe xx^s Item I give to Joane Ys of the same Parishe xx^s Item I give to Adams widowe xx^s Item I give to Drables widowe xx^s. Item I give to my cosen Agnes Poyser xx^s, Item I give to Agnes Aunsell the daughter of the foresayd widowe Aunsell xx^s, Item I give to Johan Aunsell her sister xx^s. And my will and meaning is that all those above named whene noe time of payment is expressed shalbe payd presentlie after my descease. Item I give to Mr Hills parson of St Mildredes aforesayd xx^s to be payd him within one yere next after my said

decease. Provided that if anie here mencioned in this my will shall fortune to dye before the payment of the monie above bequethed, Then I will that the legacie of him her or them so dyeing shalbe and remaine unto the aforesaid John Benchkyn my executor his heyres and assignes. The resydewe of all my goods chattells and moveables whatsoever not bequethed my debtes and legaces payd and all ordenarie charges satisfied I give and bequethe unto the aforesaid John Benchkyn my sayd executor and his assignes for ever. Provided alweis and my will and minde is, that if the sayd John Benchkyn shall dye beofre the age of xxi^{iv} yeres that then the foresayd John Benchkyn my late husband Jeames Benchkins brothers sonne shall have v^{li} of lawfull monie of England and of the resydewe of my goodes given as aforesayd to the sayd John Benchkyn my executor. And also I will that if my executor shall dye, (as aforesayd) Then I will that Richard Glover my godsonne shall have out of the same resydewe of goodes, given as aforesayd to the sayd John Benchkyn my executor. A fetherbed and a dozen of damaske napkins, And the resydewe of that goodes to be sold to the value thereof And my cosen Thomas Greneleafe (if he shalbe then living) to have the buying thereof before another. And the monye thereof coming to be payd to the mayor and cominaltie for the time being of the citie aforesayd by them to be employed towards the maintenance and bringing up of poore childeren within the same citie. Provided also and my will and intent is, that yf my executor John Benchkyn dye (as is aforesayd) That then the sayd Thomas Greneleafe shall have to him and his assignes the ii leases whereof thone is of ii gardens in the parishe of St Mary of Northgate aforesayd and now in the occupacon of one George Jeffrey, and the other is of ii howses within the parishe of St Mildred aforesayd./ In witnes whereof I the sayd Katherine Benchkyn to this my present will have sett my marke and seale in the presence of

Jhan Marley this is Katherine Benchkins mark
 Thomas Arthur [cross drawn] [Remnants of seal]
 Christofer Marley
 John Moore

DEPOSITION OF JOHN MOORE CONCERNING KATHERINE
 BENCHKIN'S WILL, 30 SEPTEMBER 1586, CKS PRC 39/11, F. 234

After Katherine Benchkin died in July 1586, her will was contested. When the case came to court in September 1586, Marlowe had returned to Cambridge to complete his M.A., but the three witnesses living in Canterbury, John Marlowe, Thomas Arthur, and John Moore, all testified to the validity of the will. John Moore's deposition is preceded by a paragraph in Latin identifying him as a shoemaker who has lived in Canterbury for six years. Before that he lived in Feversham for seven years, and in Ulcombe, where he was born, for fifteen years. His age is given as approximately twenty-six.

super testamentum Benchkin [on the Benchkin Will] examinatus ultime Septembris 1586 [examined 30 September 1586]

... somewhat more then a twelvmonthes agon as this deponent now remembreth aliter certum diem et tempus non recolit ut dicit [otherwise the exact day and time he does not recall as he says] hee this deponent together with Thomas Arthur John Marly and Christofer Marley beeing requested by John Benchin the testatrix her sonne came all unto the house of the saide testatrix scituat in St Mildreds parishe in Canterburie which at their coming they founde the said testatrix in a lower parlor of her saide howse in very good health to this deponentes judgment and ymedyatly the saide testatrix went upp into a chamber of her saide howse and brought downe her will written in such forme as is exhibited and alsoe an other will which was made beefore the will now exhibited and towlde this deponent and the rest that shee had sente for them to be witnesses unto her will, and to see her owlde will burned wheruppon she cast her saide owlde will into the fire and burned the same in the presence of this deponent and the other parties afforenamed and then shee gave her saide will now exhibited unto Christofer marley to bee redd, which hee redd plainly and distinctly and being so red the saide testatrix acknowledged the same to bee her laste will and testament, revoking and disannulling all other wills and testamentes by her before made and in witnes of the same she put thereunto her hande and seale in the presence of this deponent and the parties afforesaide, and requested this deponent and the saide parties to sett to their handes wheruppon this deponent and the saide parties subscribed their names with their owne handes to the said will as witnesses to the same, and this deponent saith that the saide testatrix was by all the tyme afforesaide not onely in good remembrance but in perfect health to this deponentes judgment and this deponent very well knoweth that the will whereuppon hee is now examined being viewed and red by him at his examinacion is the self same will soe acknowledged by the testatrix as is afforesaide as well for that hee seeth his name subscribed to the saide will with his owne hand as also for that hee remembreth divers legacies given in the saide will and amongst the rest that she named and appointed John Benchkin her sonne executor of the same and one Greenleafe of Cant her overseer and further willed as in the saide will executed is deduced et aliter nescit deponere [and otherwise he knows nothing to depose].

DEPOSITION OF JOHN MARLOWE CONCERNING KATHERINE BENCHKIN'S WILL, 5 OCTOBER 1586, CKS PRC 39/11, F. 237

John Marlowe's deposition supports that of his son-in-law John Moore regarding the signing of Mrs. Benchkin's will. However, he recalls that Christopher Marlowe and John Moore were already at the house when he and Thomas Arthur arrived,

suggesting that the Benchkins had decided it would be prudent to recruit two additional witnesses. Probably they anticipated that the will would be contested.

v Octobris 1586

dixit [he says] that abowte a twelmonethes agon or moe as this deponent remembreth and uppon a Sondag abowte the same daye as this deponent remembreth aliter certum diem et temporis non recolit ut dicit [otherwise the exact day and time he does not recall as he says] he this deponent beeing requested by John Benchkin to come to the house of his mother Catherine Benchkin scituat in St Mildreds parishe in Canterburie went thether accompanied with <Joh> Thomas Arthur his prontese and coming thether they founde there this deponentes Sonne Christofer Marley and John Moore, this deponents sonne-in-lawe and prontesse, and beeing there altogether the testatrix Catherine Benchkin towlde them that she had sent for them to bee witnesses to her will and theruppon she tooke the will whereupon this deponent is now examined unto Christofer Marly this deponents Sonne & requested him to reade the same which beeing by him soe read the saide testatrix acknowledged the same to bee her laste will and testament, and alsoe caste into the ffire one other owlde will which she had before tyme made and Burnt the same, and she utterlie disanulled all other wills and testamentes by her beefore made and subscribed her hand and mark and set her seale unto the saide will whereuppon this deponent is now examined and also requested this deponent and other the parties afforenamed to subscribe their names to the same as witnesses unto yt which they did accordinglie. . . .

WILLIAM CLITHEROWE TO RICHARD BAINES, 21 SEPTEMBER 1586, PRO SP 53/19

While Richard Baines was studying in the Catholic seminary at Rheims, he would have known his fellow student William Clitherowe. Clitherowe may well have been the friend Baines tried to persuade to return to England with him. However, Clitherowe remained a staunch Catholic who, after his ordination, continued to live in exile on the Continent.

It appears that after Baines returned to England he did indeed, as he had hoped, find employment supplying intelligence regarding Catholic activities on the Continent. For that purpose he established a correspondence with Clitherowe using the pseudonym Gerard Burghet, an alias later assumed by the agent Thomas Barnes. However, it is evident from the note that Clitherowe knew the identity of his correspondent, as well as the purpose of the correspondence. His communication with Baines is guarded, but congenial.

The first half of the manuscript is written entirely in cipher, which is transcribed in a text written between the lines. The transcription is in the hand of Thomas Phelippes, who oversaw all coded correspondence for Walsingham. The

remainder is in Latin. For some reason Phelippes failed to transcribe a name that appears in cipher in the Latin portion of the note.

The lieutenant colonel referred to in the last sentence of the ciphered section is presumably Iacomo Francisci or "Captain Jacques," who held that rank in Sir William Stanley's renegade Catholic regiment in the Low Countries. Mr. Owen, whose head was broken, may be Hugh Owen, one of the Welsh faction of exiled Catholics whose specialty was intelligence. The letter gives no clue regarding the matter of the lieutenant colonel, but Clitherow's glancing reference to it suggests that he had mentioned it in an earlier letter, or that the incident was well known.

As Clitherow indicates, he is using the new Gregorian calendar, so his date differs from the date assigned to the document in the Calendar of State Papers.

The following transcription omits the ciphers, which cannot be reproduced typographically—except for the one Clitherow uses for his last name.

Addressed: A Monsieur

Monsieur [sic] Gerarde Burghet gentilhome Francois
A Londres

Payez le port

[To Mr. Gerard Burghet, a French gentleman in London. Pay the bearer.]

Endorsed: From Clitherow to Baynes [in Phelippes hand]

You are sayde to practise a mariage for the sonne of the D. of Parma with Arbella and hit is writen so in to Hage & Spain. For to disgrace and plage you, and one of the Counsell of England gave out this mattere of you as hit is sayd. The Brother of Sr Wm Stanley hath broken the heade of Mr. Owen and is in the sanctuary for hit. For the D. taketh hit done in despite for the matter of the Lieutenat Co: Conell

Ego cupio librum ultimae editionis/ petis ille de quo quaeris, vivit, et valet. Erat abhinc 20s menses semel in periculo praedonum, sed evasit beneficio pedum/

Vestrum nuper per perditionem tradebatur, sed brevi per dei gratiam expugnabatur. Sunt nunc in obsidione eius nostri milites. Alioquin magna fortasse hic caritas victualium. Rem gratium facies si poteris vel per te ipsum vel per omnia significare uxor domini [ciphers] quod soror eius est in manga egestate necessariorum/ bene vale A Leo/ prima Octobris stylo novo

Wm [•]

[I would like a book of the latest edition. The one whom you seek and ask about lives, and thrives. He was away once for two months in danger of thieves, but he escaped by fleetness of foot.

To yours {your army} recently it {a town—reference uncertain; possibly Doesburg, which fell in early September 1586} was surrendered by treachery, but soon by God's grace it will be conquered. Our soldiers are now besieging it. Otherwise, perhaps, the price of victuals will be very high. You will do a kind-

ness if you are able, either yourself or by other means, to inform the wife of Lord {ciphers} that her sister is in great want of necessities.

Gently farewell from Leo {?} the first of October new style.]

MARLOWE'S SUPPLICATS FOR ADVANCEMENT TO HIS DEGREES, 1584 AND 1587, UNIVERSITY REGISTRY, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Part of Marlowe's formal request to the Senate to permit him to advance to the B.A. is torn off, but since these petitions followed a set formula, the missing words can be supplied. I have enclosed them in square brackets.

The "question" referred to in the supplicat is a ritual performed in the colleges in which an official called "the Father" posed a question that the degree candidates were required to answer. The exchange was ceremonial rather than an actual test of knowledge. Having completed this ceremony, the students could then participate in the Lenten disputations—the final requirement for the degree.

Coll. Supplicat reverentiis vestris Christopherus Marlin, ut d[uodecim]
Corp. termini completi, in quibus ordinarias lectiones audivit (lice[t non
Christi. omnino] secundum formam statuti) una cum omnibus oppositionibus, r[esponsionibus,] caeterisque exercitiis, per statuta regia requisitis, sufficient ei [ad respon]dendum quaestioni./

Thomas Harris: pr[aelector]

[Christopher Marlowe prays your honors that, having completed twelve terms, in which he heard the regular lectures (not all of them, as permitted according to the statute), together with all the opponencies, responsions, and other exercises required by the royal statutes, they may suffice for him to respond to the question.

Thomas Harris: tutor]

Marlowe's supplicat for the M.A. follows a similar formula, omitting the reference to the "question" and making other changes appropriate to the more advanced degree. This time the Master of Corpus Christi College, Robert Norgate, signs the petition.

Coll. Supplicat reverentiis vestris Christophorus Marley, ut novem termini
Corp. completi Corp. (post finalem eius determinationem) in quibus lectiones ordinarias audivit (licet non omnino secundum formam
Chri. statuti) una cum omnibus oppositionibus responsionibus caeterisque exercitiis per statuta regia requisitis sufficient ei ad incipiendum in artibus.

Robertus Norgate

Henricus Ruse praelector

[Christopher Marley prays your honors that, having completed nine terms (after his final disputation), in which he heard the regular lectures (not all of them, as permitted according to the statute), together with all the opponencies, respensions, and other exercises required by the royal statutes, they may suffice for him to commence in arts.

Robert Norgate
Henry Ruse, tutor]

MARLOWE'S GOVERNMENT SERVICE, 29 JUNE 1587, PRO ACTS OF
THE PRIVY COUNCIL

This record of Privy Council proceedings indicates that Marlowe was reportedly planning to go to the English seminary at Rheims and remain there. As a result of this rumor, Marlowe was threatened with denial of his M.A. degree, so the council intervened on his behalf.

Unfortunately, the record is tantalizingly vague. It states that Marlowe was "employed . . . in matters touching the benefit of his country," which apparently gave rise to the rumors, but it does not indicate their nature. Perhaps Marlowe actually went to Rheims, or perhaps he had no intention of going there. Since no record exists indicating Marlowe's presence at the English seminary, it is virtually certain that he never presented himself there as a student. Perhaps he went somewhere overseas on official business, or perhaps not. Without more information, we cannot fully recover the meaning of this document.

The individuals listed at the left of the note are those privy councilors who were present when this action was taken, notably including Lord Treasurer Burghley, the lay chancellor of Cambridge. Mr. Secretary Francis Walsingham, who is often assumed to have employed Marlowe in intelligence work, was absent, yet the other members of the council were sufficiently familiar with Marlowe's service to the queen that they were prepared to vouch for him. It therefore seems plausible that from the very beginning of his government service, Marlowe did not work exclusively for Walsingham.

A plate of this document in manuscript form can be found in A. D. Wraight, In Search of Christopher Marlowe; A Pictorial Biography, *photography by Virginia F. Stern* (New York, 1965), 88.

xxix Junii 1587

Lord Archbishop:
Lord Chancellor:
Lord Treasurer:
Lord Chamberlaine
Mr Comptroler.

Whereas it was reported that Christopher Morley was determined to have gone beyond the seas to Reames and there to remaine their Lordships thought good to certefie that he had no such intent, but that in all his acions he had behaved him selfe orderlie and discretelie wherebie he had done her Majestie good service, and deserved to

be rewarded for his faithfull dealinge: Their Lordships request was that the rumor thereof should be allaiied by all possible meanes, and that he should be furthered in the degree he was to take this next commencement: Because it was not her Majesties pleasure that anie one employed as he had been in matters touching the benefit of his countrie should be defamed by those that are ignorant in th'affaires he went about/

MARLOWE AND THOMAS WATSON COMMITTED TO NEWGATE PRISON,
18 SEPTEMBER 1589, GLRO MJ/SR 284, NO. 12 NEWGATE CALENDAR

This document records the confinement of Watson and Marlowe in Newgate on suspicion of murder in the death of William Bradley. Apart from providing the correct date of the fight in Hog Lane (which is confirmed by the record of Bradley's burial), it also indicates where Watson and Marlowe lived at the time of the incident and reveals that Watson was recognized by Sir Owen Hopton as a gentleman, whereas Marlowe was not. Perhaps Watson was already known to Hopton, or perhaps he simply dressed and behaved more like a gentleman than Marlowe.

The fact that the name of the deceased is left blank is worth noting, since Watson and Bradley certainly knew each other. As Mark Eccles reveals in Christopher Marlowe in London (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 57-59, Bradley had bound Watson, Hugo Swift, and John Allen to keep the peace toward him not long before his fatal encounter with Watson in Hog Lane. Since Watson was pleading self-defense, perhaps he deemed it wise not to mention his previous differences with Bradley.

Beside Watson's name is the notation "balliatus" (bailed); Marlowe's bears the notation "deliberatus per proclamationem" (released by proclamation). Latin abbreviations are silently expanded.

Thomas Watson nuper de
Norton Fowlgate in Comi-
tatu Middlesex generosus
& xpoferus Marlowe nuper
de eadem yoman

qui ducti fuerunt Gaole xviii^o die Septembris per
Stephanum Wyld Constabularium ibidem pro
Suspicione Murdri viz pro morte [blank] et
commissi fuerunt per Owinum Hopton Militem

[Thomas Watson late of
Norton Folgate in the
County of Middlesex
gentleman and Christo-
pher Marlowe late of
the same, yeoman.

who were led to jail the 18th day of September by
Stephen Wild Constable of the same on suspicion
of murder namely in the death of [blank] and were
committed by Owen Hopton, Knight.]

After the coroner's finding on 19 September 1589 that Thomas Watson had killed William Bradley in self-defense, Marlowe, who had been imprisoned with Watson in Newgate as a possible accessory, became eligible for bail. This document reveals that Marlowe raised the needed sum with the help of two sureties. He was then released pending trial, and on his appearance at the trial on 3 December was cleared of any wrongdoing. Latin abbreviations are silently expanded.

Marginal note: venit & deliberatur per proclamacionem [He appeared and was released by proclamation.]

The first abbreviated word was previously read as revertitur (he returned), but similar documents in the sessions rolls indicate that the word used was venire.

Middlesex sessionis [?] Memorandum quod primo die octobris Anno regni domine nostre Elizabethę Regine nunc Etc. Tricesimo primo Richardus Kytchine de Clyffordes Inne generosus et Humfridus Rowland de East Smythfeilde in Comitatu predicto horner venerunt coram me Williamo Fletewoode Servi-enti ad Legem et Recordatore Civitatis London uno Justiciarium domine nostre Regine in Comitatu predicto assignatorum Etc et manuceperunt pro xpofo-ro Marley de London generoso: vizt uterque manucaptorum predictorum sub pena viginti librarum et ipse predictus xpoforus Marley assumpsit pro seipso sub pena quadriginta librarum de bonis Catallis terris et tenementis suis et eorum cuiuslibet ad opus et usum dicte Domine Regine levandarum sub Condi-cione quod si ipse predictus xpoforus personalliter comparebit ad proximam Sessionem de Newgate ad respondendum ad omnia ea que ex parte dicte Domine Regine versus eum objecientur et non discedet absque Licencia Curie Quod tunc Etc. Aut alioquin Etc.

[Middlesex session memorandum that on the first of October in the thirty first year of the reign of our lady Queen Elizabeth now Etc. Richard Kytchin of Clifford's Inn, gentleman, and Humphrey Rowland of East Smithfield in the aforesaid county, horner, came before me, William Fleetwood, Serjeant at Law and Recorder of the City of London, one of the justices appointed by our lady the Queen in the county aforesaid, etc., and put up bail for Christopher Marley of London, gentle-man: that is to say, each of the sureties aforesaid under penalty of twenty pounds, and the same aforesaid Christopher Marley undertook for himself, under penalty of forty pounds to be levied of his goods and chattel lands and tenements by the said Lady the Queen for her business and use, on condition that the same aforesaid Christopher personally appear at the next Newgate Session to answer to all things that may be objected against him on the part of the said Lady the Queen, and not depart without the permission of the court Because then etc. Or otherwise etc.]

The text of the coroner's inquest on the death of Bradley has been preserved in several documents: the inquest itself, the gaol delivery roll, Watson's pardon, and a copy in Originalia. All of these records are cited by Eccles (Christopher Marlowe in London, 8–9) except the inquest, which seems to have been located later by Bakeless. All of them also erroneously record the dates of Bradley's death and of the inquest as the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of September, rather than the eighteenth and nineteenth. Eccles confirmed the earlier dates by finding the record of Bradley's burial on the nineteenth.

The text below, translated completely for the first time, is excerpted from Watson's pardon. Latin abbreviations are silently expanded.

perdona se defendendo pro Tho. Watson

Inquisicionis indentate capte apud Fynesburye in Comitatu middlesex vicesimo nono die Septembris Anno regni nostri tricesimo primo coram Iuone Chalkehill Generoso uno Coronatorum dicti Comitatus middlesex super visum corporis Willelmi Bradley ibidem iacentis mortui & interfecti Quod ubi prefatus Willelmus Bradley & quidam Cristoferus morley nuper de london Generosus vicesimo octavo die Septembris Anno regni nostri tricesimo primo supradicto fuerunt in simul pugnantes in quadam venella vocata hoggelane in parochia sancti Egidii extra Crepulgate in predicto Comitatu middlesex inter horas secundam & terciam post meridiem eiusdem diei ibi intervenit eisdem die & Anno & infra horas predictas quidam Thomas Watson nuper de london Generosus super clamorem populi ibidem adstantis ad separandum prefatos Willelmum Bradley & Cristoferum morley sic pugnantes ad pacem nostram conservandam Et gladium suum eam ob causam tunc & ibidem extraxit Super quo prefatus Willelmus [*sic*—a slip for Christopher] morley seipsum retraxit & a pugnando desistit Et super hoc predictus Willelmus Bradley videns eundem Thomam Watson sic intervenientem ibidem cum gladio suo extracto dixit ei in hiis anglicanis verbis sequentibus videlicet Art thowe nowe come Then I will have a bouthe with the Et instanter idem willelmus Bradley in prefatum Thomam Watson tunc & ibidem insultum fecit & cum uno gladio & uno pugione de ferro & Calibe predictum Thomam Watson tunc & ibidem verberavit vulneravit & male tractavit Ita quod de vita eius desperabatur racione cuius prefatus Thomas Watson cum gladio suo predicto de ferro & chalibe precii trium solidorum quatour denariorum quem in manu sua dextra tunc & ibidem habuit & tenuit seipsum contra predictum Willelmum Bradley tunc & ibidem defendidit & a predicto Willelmo Bradley pro salvacione vite sue usque ad quoddam fossatum in venella predicta fugiit ultra quoddidem fossatum idem Thomas Watson absque periculo vite sue fugere not potuit. Et predictus Willelmus Bradley insultum suum predictum continuando prefatum

Thomam Watson tunc & ibidem recenter insecutus fuit Super quo predictus Thomas Watson pro salvacione vite sue predictum Willelmum Bradley cum gladio suo predicto tunc & ibidem percussit dans ei unam plagam mortalem sive vulnus in & super dextram partem pectoris ipsius Willelmi Bradley prope mamillam profunditatis sex pollicum & latitudinis unius pollicis de qua quidem plaga mortali idem Willelmus Bradley apud Fynesburie predictam in predicto Comitatu middlesex instanter obiit. . . .

[Pardon of Thomas Watson for self-defense

Inquisition in duplicate taken at Finsbury in Middlesex County, the twenty-ninth day of September in the thirty-first year of our queen before Ion Chalkehill, gentleman, a coroner of the said Middlesex County, upon view of the body of William Bradley, there lying dead and slain. Because in that place the aforesaid William Bradley and a certain Christopher Morley, late of London, gentleman, on the twenty-eighth day of September in the thirty-first year of our queen above mentioned were fighting one another in a certain lane called Hog Lane in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate in the aforesaid Middlesex County between the second and third hour of the afternoon of the same day, a certain Thomas Watson, late of London, gentleman, arrived on the scene, in the same day and year and between the hours aforesaid, upon the noise of the crowd standing there, in order to separate the aforesaid William Bradley and Christopher Morley who were thus fighting, to preserve our peace. And for this reason he then and there drew his sword. Whereupon the aforementioned Christopher Morley withdrew and stopped fighting. And whereupon the aforesaid William Bradley, seeing the same Thomas Watson intervening with his sword drawn spoke to him in these English words, as follows, "Art thou now come? Then I will have a bout with thee." And immediately the same William Bradley then and there assaulted the aforementioned Thomas Watson, and, with sword and dagger of iron and steel, then and there beat, wounded, and maltreated the same Thomas Watson. So that, despairing of his life, the aforementioned Thomas Watson then and there defended himself against the aforesaid William Bradley with his aforesaid sword of iron and steel of the value of three shillings, four pence, which he then and there had and held in his right hand, and for the saving of his life he fled from the aforesaid William Bradley all the way to a certain ditch in the aforesaid lane to the point where, on peril of his life, he could flee no further. And the aforesaid William Bradley continuing his attack, the aforementioned Thomas Watson was then and there newly cut. Therefore the aforesaid Thomas Watson, for the saving of his life, then and there struck the aforesaid William Bradley with his aforesaid sword a mortal blow or wound in and on the right side of the chest near the nipple of the same William Bradley, of the depth of six inches and of the width of one inch, of which same mortal stroke the same William Bradley, at Finsbury aforesaid in the aforesaid Middlesex County, instantly died.]

This document certainly concerns the Richard Baines who took his B.A. from Christ's College and his M.A. from Caius College, Cambridge, in 1576. Presumably he is the same Richard Baines who went over to the English seminary when it relocated at Rheims in 1578—either as a sincere Catholic or as a government agent. His movement from Christ's to Caius for his M.A. would suggest that he had genuine Catholic leanings. One of Baines's fellow students at Rheims was John Ballard, who had migrated to Caius College a few years before Baines. Ballard was ordained at Rheims, and later was implicated in the Babington conspiracy and executed. Baines was also ordained at Rheims, but he returned to England in 1583 after being imprisoned as a suspected spy and induced to confess. He seems to have worked for Walsingham or the Privy Council as a newsgatherer before seeking William Ballard's help in securing a benefice in 1587. This Richard Baines probably knew the plaintiff William Ballard because both were natives of Southwell, Nottinghamshire. A Thomas Baines of Southwell, son of John Baines, yeoman, followed Richard Baines to Cambridge, matriculating at Caius on 1 April 1577. It seems likely he was Richard's younger kinsman.

While we cannot be certain that this is the same Richard Baines who informed twice on Marlowe, the dates and other facts of his life available at the time of this writing are consistent with this conclusion. But whether he was or not, what we have learned about him adds to our understanding of Marlowe's government service.

To the Right honorable Sir Christopher Hatton of the most honorable order of the Garter Knight Lord Chancellor of Englande.

Humbly complayning sheweth unto your good Lordshipp your daylye orator William Ballard of Southwell in the Com[itu—i.e. county] of Nottingham gentleman that whereas one Rychard Banes clarke beinge of acquaintance with your saied orator & destitute of anie staye of lievinge, did about twoe yeares & a halffe past earnestly entreate your saied orator to be some meanes for him that he mighte be preferred as a personne to some benefyce in some convenyente place, faithfully promisinge him your saied orator in so doynge that he the saied Rychard Banes would not only paye unto him your sayd orator such sommes of monye as he should disburse in that behalffe to the uttermoste but would also be thankfull to him your sayde orator, for his your saied orators paynes takynge in that behalffe whereuppon he your saied orator havinge a good opynion in the saied Richard & thinkynge he mighte geve creditt to his word, did att this your saied orators own costes and charges travell on the behalffe of the saied Rychard & in thend by and througe his your saied orators great travell diligent Inquisition & charges to the valewe of twentye poundes & above, did procure for him the sayd Rychard the benefyce of the parishe church of Waltham within the com[itu] of Lyncolne whereuppon by and att his your saied orators meanes procurment & charges as aforesaid he the saied Richard about twoe yeares laste paste was in

dewe form of lawe presented as parsonne to the sayd church. And to the same in lycke due formes of lawe _____tted [manuscript damaged], _____ituted, & Inducted and att this present dothe and ever sithence hathe Injoyed the sume as parsonne the yearly revenewes thereof to hym comming beinge to the valewe of threscore pound and above./ But nowe so yt is yf yt may please your good Lordship that the sayd Rychard Banes nothings att all regardyng his faythfull promise made to your sayd orator (as aforesayd) now the great benefitt to hym receyved by the meanes of your sayd orator as afforesayd dothe denye to paye to your sayd orator the sayd Some of twenty poundes as afforesaid disburssed & laied out for his great benefitt by your sayd orator havinge bene sundrye tymes requested to pay the same./ Albeit he certenlye knoweth your saied Orator hathe disbursed the same without fraud./ And for that also the saied promise was made in secrett betwene him & your saied Orator & the sayd Richard wythout anye wyttnesse & therefore hath your sayd orator no remedy att the common lawe unlesse the sayd Rychard will confesse the same uppon his othe which by all lyklyhood he will doe in discharge of his consyence./ May it therefore please your good Lordshipp the promise consydered to graunt unto your sayd orator the Queenes Majesties most gracious writt of Subpoena to be directed to the saied Rychard Baynes comanndinge him _____ att a certen daie & under a certene payne therein to hym to be lymitted & appoynted to be and personallye to appeare before your good Lordshipp in her Majesties hyeghe court of Chauncerye, then and their to answere to his promise and to receive suche order as to your good Lordshipp shall seme to stand with equitye and good conscience & your sayd orator as his bounded dutye ys shall dayly praye for your good Lordshippe longe in health to contynewe.

PARDON OF THOMAS WALSINGHAM FOR OUTLAWRY, 27 MAY 1590,
PRO C66/356, M. 35

p[er]d[o]n[a] Regina Omnibus Balliuis & fidelibus suis ad quos &c salutem
utlagar[ia] Cum Thomas Lounde nuper in Curia nostra coram Justiciariis
[pro] Thomas nostris de Banco per breve nostram implacitasset Thomam
[W]alsingham Walsingham nuper de London Generosum alias dictum
Thomam Walsingham de Chislehurst in Comitatu Kancia
generosum unus filiorum nuper Thome Walsinham nuper de
Chislehurst praedicto militis defuncti de debito ducentarum
marcarum quod idem Thomas Lounde a praefato Thoma
Walsingham exigit Ac idem Thomas Walsingham pro eo
quod non venit coram praefato Justiciariis nostris praefato
Thome Lounde secundum legem & consuetudinem regni
nostris Anglie inde responsurus in exigendo positus fuisset in
hustengo nostro London ad utlagandum & ea occasione
postmodum utlagatus sicut per tenorem recordi & processus

utlagariae praedictae quem coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra venire fecimus plene liquet Iamque idem Thomas Walsingham se reddiderit Prisone nostre de Flete occasione praedicta & in eadem moretus sicut dilectus & fidelis noster Edmundus Anderson milites Capitalis Justiciarius noster de Banco praedictus nos in Cancellaria nostra praedicta ad mandatum nostrum certificavit. Nos pietate moti perdonavimus eidem Thomas Walsingham utlageriam praedictam & firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus Ita tamen quod stet rectum in Curia nostra si praedictus Thomas Lounde versus eum loqui voluerit de debito supradicto. In Cuius rei &c Teste Regina apud westminster xxvii die Maii./

[Pardon of outlawry for Thomas Walsingham

Whereas Thomas Lund recently in our court of the Queen's Bench before our Justices, by our writ pled against Thomas Walsingham, late of London, gentleman, alias Thomas Walsingham of Chiselhurst in the County of Kent, gentlemen, one of the sons of the late Thomas Walsingham, knight, late of the said Chislehurst, deceased, concerning a debt of two hundred marks, which the same Thomas Lund had demanded of the said Thomas Walsingham. And because the same Thomas Walsingham did not come before the said Justices, the said Thomas Lund, according to the law and custom of our English queen, therefore filed a writ of exigent of outlawry in our court of Hustings in London, and when, for this reason, the outlawry described and the said action of outlawry shortly came before us in our court of Chancery, we found it evident. Therefore the same Thomas Walsingham was delivered to our Fleet Prison for the said reason and in the same remained, as our beloved and faithful Edmund Anderson, knight, Chief Justice of our said Queen's Bench, certified in our said Chancery according to our mandate. Moved by pity, we have pardoned the same Thomas Walsingham for the said outlawry and grant our firm peace to him henceforward. Provided nevertheless that the jurisdiction remain in our court if the said Thomas Lund should wish to complain of him concerning the above-mentioned debt.

Witness the Queen at Westminster the 27th day of May.]

MARLOWE IN FLUSHING, 26 JANUARY 1591/92, PRO SP 84/44

A letter from Sir Robert Sidney, the governor of Flushing, to Lord Treasurer Burghley. Although his older brother Philip criticized Robert's poor penmanship, his clear, flowing hand is less ornate and more modern in appearance than secretary hand. Sidney wrote on the front and part of the back of an unusually thin sheet of paper. Consequently the ink bled through, making parts of the letter less

legible. Sidney signed in a bold signature script, quite distinct from the script he used in the rest of the letter.

Right Honorable

Besides the prisoner Evan Flud, I have also given in charge to this bearer my anciant twoe other prisoners, the one named Christofer Marly by his profession a scholer and the other Gifford Gilbert a goldsmith taken heer for coining, and their mony I have sent over unto your Lo:[rdship] The matter was revealed unto me the day after it was done, by one Ri: Baines whome also my Anciant shal bring unto your Lo:[rdship] He was theyr chamber fellow, and fearing the succes made me acquainted with all. The men being examined apart never denied anything, onely protesting that what was done was onely to se the goldsmith's conning; and truly I ame of opinion that the poore man was onely brought in under that couler, what ever intent the other twoe had at that time. And indeed they do one accuse another to have been the inducers of him, and to have intended to practis yt heerafter: and have as it were justified him unto me. But howsoever it hapned a dutch shilling was uttred and els not any peece: and indeed I do not thinck that they would have uttred many of them: for the mettall is plain peuter and with half an ey to be discovered. Notwithstanding I thought it fitt to send the[m] over unto your Lo:[rdship] to take theyr trial as yow shal thinck best. For I wil not stretch my commission to deale in such matters, and much less to put them at liberty and to deliver them into the towns hands being the Queens subjects and not required neyther of this sayd town I know not how it would have bin liked, especially since part of that which they did counterfet was Her Ma:[jesties] coine. The goldsmith is an excellent worckman and if I should speake my conscience had no intent heerunto. The scholer sais himself to be very wel known both to the Earle of Northumberland and my Lord Strang. Bains and he do also accuse one another of intent to goe to the Enemy or to Rome, both as they say of malice one to another. Hereof I thought fitt to advertis your Lo:[rdship] leaving the rest to their own confession and my Anciants report. And so do humbly take my leave at Flushing the 26 of January 1591

Your honors very obedient
to do yow service

R. Sydney

MARLOWE'S BOND, 9 MAY 1592, GLRO MIDDLESEX SESSIONS ROLL
309, NO. 13

Evidently Marlowe was brought before the Middlesex justice of the peace on 9 May 1592, and was bound to appear at the next general session of the court, or else pay a penalty of £20. The next session would have begun in the second week of October, but there is no indication that Marlowe appeared. His absence is probably

explained by the fact that in late September and early October of 1592, he was defending himself in a civil suit in Canterbury. Such failures to appear in court were far from unusual, because it was easy to flee county jurisdictions, but Marlowe's absence seems to have been involuntary. Standard legal abbreviations have been silently expanded.

Endorsed: Chr[ist]ofer Marle his Recognizance

Middlesex sessionis [?] memorandum quod ix^{mo} die Maii 1592 Annoque Regni domine nostre Elizabethæ Nunc &c xxxiiii^{to} Venit coram me Owino Hopton Milite uno Justiciariorum dicte domine Regine ad pacem in comitatu predicto conservandam assignatorum Christopherus Marle de London generosus et recognovit se debere dicte domine Regine xx^{li} bone et legalis monete Anglie: Sub condicione quod personaliter comparebit ad proximam generalem Sessionem pacis in et pro comitatu predicto tenendam: et interim geret pacem versus cunctum populum dicte domine Regine et præcipue versus Allenum Nicholls Constabularium de Hollowellstreet in comitatu predicto et Nicholaum Helliott subconstabularium de eadem:/ Quam summam predictam concessit de bonis et Cattallis terris atque tenementis suis ad usum dicte domine Regine per formam Recognicionis levari Si defecerit in præmissis &c.

[Middlesex Sessions memorandum: that on the 9th day of May, 1592, in the 34th year of our lady queen Elizabeth, now etc., there came before me, Owen Hopton, Knight, one of the Justices of the Peace appointed by the said lady the queen in the aforesaid county, Christopher Marlowe of London, gentlemen, and acknowledged himself bound to the said lady the Queen in the amount of 20 pounds of good and lawful English money: on the condition that he personally appear at the next general session of the peace held in and for the aforesaid county: and in the meantime that he keep the peace toward all subjects of the said lady the Queen and especially toward Allen Nicholls, Constable of Holywell Street in the aforesaid county, and Nicholas Helliott, subconstable of the same:/ Which aforesaid sum conceded to be levied from his goods and chattel lands and tenements for use by the said lady the Queen according to his recognizance if he should fail to keep his promise, etc.]

CORKINE'S CHARGES AGAINST MARLOWE, SEPTEMBER 1592,
CCA BAC J/B/391, I, F. 13V

This entry in the Plea Roll of the Canterbury Civil Court, initiated on 26 September 1592, records the filing of charges against Marlowe by Corkine, the

amount of bail and who paid it, the dates on which Marlowe was scheduled to answer the charges (apparently he asked for a brief postponement), and the outcome of the case.

Manucapcio Willelmus Corkyn (ponit loco Egidium Winston) queritur versus
iiii d. Christopherum Marlowe (ponit loco Johannem Smith) in placito
transgressionis plegii de presequendo Johhanes Doo Et Richarum
Roo/defendens captus est et manucaptus per Johannem Marlowe
iiii^d iiiii^d secundo Octobris querens narravit defendens habet
licenciam loquendi/quinto Octobris defendens habet licenciam
loquendi/ix^o Octobris non pros^o/ex assensu /

[Bail
4^d William Corkyn (represented by Giles Winston) sues Christopher
Marlowe (represented by John Smith) on a plea of transgression
and pledges to prosecute viz. John Doo and Richard Roo. The
defendant was arrested and bailed by John Marlowe 4d 4d the
second of October the suit narrated the defendant has license to
speak/the fifth of October the defendant has license to speak/9
October not prosecuted/by agreement/]

CORKINE'S COMPLAINT AND MARLOWE'S COUNTERCHARGES,
SEPTEMBER 1592, CCA BAC J/B/S/391

*Corkine's attorney submitted the following narrative of his plaint on 25 September
1592 in the Canterbury Civil Court.*

Civitas Cantuar'
Willelmus Corkyn queritur de Christophero Marlowe generoso in placito
transgressionis Et sunt plegii de prosequendo scilicet Johannes Doo et Ricar-
dus Roo Et unde idem querens per Egidium Wynston attornatum suum quer-
itur quod predictus defendens quinto decimo die Septembris anno regni
domine nostre Elizabeth Dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie regine fidei de-
fendoris etc. tricesimo quarto hic apud civitatem Cantuar' predictam in
parochia sancti Andree et in warda de Westgate eiusdem civitatis vi et armis
videlicet baculis et pugionibus in ipsum querentem insultum fecit et ipsum
querentem adtunc et ibidem verberavit vulnerabit et malectavit Et alia
enormia dicto querenti adtunc et ibidem intulit ad grave dampnum ipsius
querentis et contra pacem dicte domine regine nunc unde idem querens dicit
quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam quinque librarum et
inde producit sectam.

[City of Canterbury

William Corkine sues Christopher Marlowe, gentlemen, on a plea of transgres-
sion. And pledges to prosecute viz. John Doo and Richard Roo. And hence the
same plaintiff, by Giles Winston his attorney, makes plaint that the foresaid de-
fendant on the fifteenth day of September in the thirty-fourth year of our lady
Queen Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, etc., in the city of Canterbury aforesaid, in the parish of
Saint Andrew and in the ward of Westgate of this same city, by force of arms,
that is to say with staff and dagger, assaulted this same plaintiff and then and
there struck, wounded, and maltreated this same plaintiff. And then and there
inflicted other outrages on the said plaintiff to the grave damage of the same
plaintiff and against the peace of the said lady the queen, wherefore the same
plaintiff says that he has suffered loss and incurred damages to the value of five
pounds and hence brings this suit.]

*The following Grand Jury indictment was sought by Marlowe at the Canterbury
Quarter Sessions held 26 September 1592. The jury threw out the indictment.*

Endorsed: Ignoramus ["We disregard." Three diagonal slashes further invali-
date it.]

Civitatis Cantuar'

Jur' present' pro domina regina quod Willelmus Corkyn de civitate Cant' pre-
dicta taylor decimo die septembris anno regni domine Elizabethe dei gracia An-
glie Francie et Hibernie regine fidei defensoris etc. tricesimo quarto hic apud
civitatem Cant' predictam in parochia sancti Andree et in warda de Westgate
eiusdem civitatis in quendam Christopherum Marlowe generosum insultum
fecit ac ipsum Christopherum Marlowe adtunc et ibidem verberavit et vulner-
avit et male tractavit et alia enormia dicto Christophero Marlowe adtunc et ibi-
dem intulit ad grave dampnum ipsius Christopheri et contra pacem dicte
domine regine nunc etc.

[City of Canterbury

The Grand Jury present for our lady the queen that William Corkine of the city
of Canterbury aforesaid tailor on the tenth [evidently an error for quinto dec-
imo—fifteenth] day of September in the thirty-fourth year of our lady Queen
Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender
of the faith, etc., in this same city of Canterbury aforesaid, in the parish of Saint
Andrew and in the ward of Westgate of this same city, assaulted a certain
Christopher Marlowe, gentleman, and then and there struck, wounded, and
maltreated the same Christopher Marlowe and then and there inflicted other

outrages on the said Christopher Marlowe, to the grave damage of the same Christopher and against the peace of the said lady the queen, etc.]

AGENT'S REPORT ON RICHARD CHOLMELEY, DATE UNKNOWN, PROBABLY MARCH 1593, PRECEDING A WARRANT FOR CHOLMELEY'S ARREST ON 19 MARCH 1593, BL HARLEIAN MSS 6848, F. 190, R. AND V.

The manuscript is a fair copy of an unknown agent's report. It is in the same hand as Harleian MS 6848, fol. 191, a fair copy of a letter concerning Cholmeley. Both this document and the letter presumably represent the work of the same informant.

The document is endorsed in a different hand. The "Yong" mentioned in the endorsement is no doubt the Henry Young referred to in the manuscript, "borage" is Jasper Borage, also identified in the manuscript as one of Cholmeley's followers, while "harriet" presumably refers to the mathematician and scientist Thomas Harriot, an associate of the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh and an acquaintance of Marlowe. However, there is no evidence that Harriot was arrested or questioned as a result of this report. The Tipping brothers, James and John, were implicated in Catholic plots and counterplots. James, like Robert Poley, was involved in the Babington plot.

Endorsed: The atheisme of Cholmeley & others
yong taken & made an instrument to take the rest
harriet./
borage dangerous
tippinges ii.

Remembrances of wordes & matter againste Ric Cholmeley

That hee speaketh in generall all evill of the Counsell; sayenge that they are all Atheistes & Machiavillians, especially my Lord Admirall/
That hee made certen libellious verses in commendacon of papistes & seminary priestes very greatly inveighenge againste the State, amonge which lynes this was one, Nor may the Prince deny the Papall crowne/
That hee had a certen booke (as hee saieth) delivered him by Sir Robert Cecill of whom he geveth very scandalous reportes. That hee should incite him to consider thereof & to frame verses & libells in the commendacon of constant Priestes & vertuous Recusantes, this booke is in custodie & is called an Epistle of Comforte & is printed at Paris
That he rails at Mr. Topcliffe & hath written another libell jointlye againste Sir Francis Drake & Justice Younge whom hee saith hee will couple up together because hee hateth them alike
That when the muteny happened after the Portingale voyage in the Strand hee

said that hee repented him of nothing more then that hee had not killed my Lord Threasorer with his owne handes sayenge that hee could not have done god better service, this was spoken in the hearinge of Francis Clarke & many other Souldiours

That hee saieth hee doeth entierly hate the Lord Chamberleyn & hath good cause so to doe/

That hee saieth & verely beleveeth that one Marlowe is able to shewe more sounde reasons for Atheisme then any devine in Englande is able to geve to prove devinitie & that Marloe tolde him that hee hath read the Atheist lecture to Sir Walter Ralieghe & others.

That hee saieth that hee hath certen men corrupted by his persuasions who wilbee ready at all tymes & for all causes to sweare whatsoever seemeth good to him. Amonge whom is one Henry Younge & Jasper Borage & others.

That hee so highly esteemeth his owne witt & judgement that hee saieth that noman are sooner deceived & abused then the Counsell themselves. & that hee can goe beyonde & cossen them as hee listeth & that if hee make any complainte in behalfe of the Queene hee shall not onely bee privately heard & enterteyned, but hee will so urge the counsell for money that without hee have what hee listeth hee will doe nothinge/

That heinge employed by some of her Majesties prevy Counsaile for the apprehension of Papistes & other daungerous men hee used as hee saieth to take money of them & would lett them passe in spighte of the Counsell/

That hee saieth that William Parry was hanged drawn & quartered but in jeste, that he was a grosse asse overreached by conninge, & that in trueth hee never meante to kill the Queene more then himselfe had/

A SECOND REPORT ON CHOLMELEY, MARCH 1593, BL HARLEIAN MSS 6848, F. 191

Righte worshipfull whereas I promised to sende you worde when Cholmeley was with mee; these are to lett you understande that hee hath not yet bene with mee for hee doeth partly suspecte that I willl bewray his villanye & his compaignye. But yesterday hee sente two of his companions to mee to knowe if I would joyne with him in familiaritie & bee one of their dampnable crue. I sothed the villaynes with faire wordes in their follies because I would thereby dive into the secretes of their develishe hartes that I mighte the better bewray their purposes to drawe her Majesties subjectes to bee Athiests, their practise is after her Majesties decease to make a kinge amonge them selves & live accordinge to their owne lawes, & this saieth Cholmeley wilbee done easely, because they bee & shortely willbe by his & his felowes persuasions as many of their opynion as of any other religion Mr Cholmeley his manner of proceedinge in seducinge the Queenes subjectes is firste to make slannderous reportes of most noble

peeres & honorable Counsailors, as the Lord Threasorer the Lord Chamberleyn the Lord Admirall, Sir Robert Cecill. Those saith hee have profoude wittes, bee sounde Athiestes & their lives & deedes showe that they thinke their soules doe ende vanishe & perishe with their bodies his second course is to make a jeste of the Scripture with these fearefull horrible & damnable speeches, that Jhesus Christe was a bastarde St Mary a whore & the Anngell Gabriell a Bawde to the holy ghoste & that Christe was justly persecuted by the Jewes for his owne foolishnes. That Moyses was a Jugler & Aaron a Cosoner the one for his miracles to Pharao to prove there was a god, & the other for taking the Earerings of the children of Israell to make a golden calfe with many other blasphemous speeches of the devine essence of god which I feare to rehearse This Cursed Cholmeley hath Lx of his company & hee is sel-dome from his felowes & therefore I beesech your worship have a speciall care of your selfe in apprehendinge him for they bee resolute murderinge myndes

Your worshippes

SIDNEY TO BURGHLEY CONCERNING WALTER MARSH, 22 MARCH
1592/93, PRO SP 84/44, F. 145

Another letter of Robert Sidney to Burghley, which indicates that it was not unusual for English students at Rheims to have second thoughts, as Richard Baines may well have done. In these cases, turning informer was the safest and surest means of effecting repatriation. The letter also reveals Flushing's importance as a center of intelligence activity on the continent. Sidney's comments about the duration of Marsh's stay in Flushing are probably meant as assurances of Marsh's good faith. The last sentence seems to be inspired by the serious illness Burghley suffered in the early months of 1593.

Right Honorable.

This bearer Walter Marsh having bin a certen time in the seminary at Reims (as he tels me) and finding at the last his error came hether from Cales voluntarily to yeald himself unto me and tels me that he wil discover matters which do greatly concern her Ma:[jesty] and the State of England: Hath therefore desired me to direct him unto yowr Lo:[rdship] which I would not fayle to do, withall signifying unto yow that his abode hath not bin longer heer then he hath bin forced to stay for wind. And this being to no other effect. I humbly end yt praying God to graunt your Lo:[ordship] long and happy lyfe at Flushing the 22 of March. 1592.

Yowr Honors very humble to do yow service.
R: Sydney.

ANTI-TRINITARIAN ARGUMENT FOUND AMONG KYD'S PAPERS,
MAY 1593, BL HARLEIAN MS 6848, FF. 187-89

This manuscript was probably copied from John Proctour's The Fall of the Late Arian, an attack on anti-trinitarianism. However, it consists of one of the heretical arguments that Proctour quotes at length rather than Proctour's own views. John Bakeless suggests in The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), 1:115-16, that the "Arian" (whom Proctour never names) was probably John Assheton, a priest arrested for heresy in 1549. According to Proctour, copies of the Arian's attempt to explain and justify his views were circulated in manuscript, and one of these copies came into Proctour's possession, inspiring him to write an answer. Bakeless concludes that the manuscript found among Kyd's papers was one of these copies, but Proctour's book was more widely available and is therefore a more likely source. Since Proctour's book is extant, I have transcribed only a brief portion of the manuscript that illustrates its use of biblical references. The endorsement is arguably more important, since it indicates what the investigator thought he had found when he read the manuscript. Kyd seemingly had no idea where the manuscript originated, because if he had known about Proctour's book, he could have claimed that the manuscript derived from a perfectly orthodox source. All Kyd knew was that he was in serious trouble and that the manuscript was considered incriminating. He therefore denied his knowledge and ownership of it and declared that it must belong to Marlowe. This was plausible, not only because Kyd and Marlowe had once shared a workroom, but also because Marlowe had already acquired a reputation for heterodoxy.

Perhaps this manuscript actually belonged to Marlowe. Marlowe's schoolmaster in Canterbury, Mr. Gresshop, owned a copy of Proctour's book, but since Marlowe was only sixteen or younger when he studied with Mr. Gresshop, it is unlikely that he acquired a copy of portions of the book then. All Mr. Gresshop's ownership of the book indicates certainly is that it was not rare. We do not know if Marlowe was the only writer with whom Kyd shared a workroom, or the only person whose papers might accidentally have been shuffled in with Kyd's, but if Kyd still did some copying work or collaborated with other playwrights, he almost certainly was not alone in these regards. Tucker Brooke felt that the manuscript might be in Kyd's hand, since it is written in a neat italic script. However, the hand is not similar to the italic in Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering, and if Kyd had copied passages from Proctour's book, he would certainly have known their origin. The manuscript does cite "contrarities out of the scripture," which Richard Baines accused Marlowe of doing. Later Vaughan claimed that Marlowe "wrote a book against the Trinity" (Bakeless, Tragical History, 1:147), and since Vaughan obviously had inside information about Marlowe (Charles Nicholl, The Reckoning [London, 1992], 78-80), his source may have believed that Marlowe was the author of this manuscript. Indeed, the Arian's arguments might have appealed to the skeptical

Marlowe, and he might have kept a copy of them for reference, but this is only a possibility.

One page of the manuscript and the endorsement are reproduced in Wraight, *In Search of Christopher Marlowe*, 239.

Endorsed: 12 May 1593
Vile hereticall conceiptes denyng the
deity of Jhesus Christ our Saviour fownd
amongst the papers of Thos Kydd prisoner
Which he affirmeth that he had ffrom Marlowe

What the Scriptures do witness of God it is clere & manifest enough for first Paul to the Romains declareth that he is everlasting. And to Timothi immortall & invisible to the Thessalonians living & true. James teacheth also that he is incommutable which thing in the old law & prophecy likewise are thought infixid inculcate so often that they cannot escape the Reader. . . . We therefor call God which onlie is worthie this name & appellation Everlasting, Invisible, Incommutable Incomprehensible Imortall &c. . . .

And if Jhesus Christ even he which was borne of Marie was God so shall he be a visible God comprehensible & mortall which is not compted God with me quoth great Athanasius of Allexandria &c.

For yf we be not able to comprehend nor the Angels nor owr own sowles which ar things creat so wrongfully then & absurdly we mak the creator of them comprehensible especiallie contrary to so manifest testimonies of the Scriptures &c.

WARRANT FOR MARLOWE'S ARREST AND HIS APPEARANCE, 18 AND 20 MAY 1593, PRO ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

As C. F. Tucker Brooke pointed out long ago in his *Life of Marlowe* (New York, 1966), 58–60; 69 n. 2, there is nothing extraordinary about this document. The Privy Council required numerous individuals to appear before them using similar formulaic language. Individuals were summoned either to answer charges or to serve as witnesses, often regarding rather trivial matters, and the council's summons and instructions were occasionally ignored or even flouted. Failure to comply usually resulted in no more than a reprimand and an emphatic repetition of the order to appear. The warrant for Marlowe contains no indication that he was being brought before the council to answer charges, since such warrants normally contained a variation of the phrase "to answer such matters as should be objected against him before their Lordships."

When Marlowe appeared promptly in response to the council's warrant, his

treatment continued to be routine. He was not imprisoned, but instead was required to give his daily attendance (that is, remain conveniently available) until their lordships dismissed him. He was then ignored for over a week, so it hardly seems that the council had urgent business with him. Perhaps they merely wanted information regarding his association with Kyd, or wanted to know more about the "vile hereticall Conceiptes" Kyd had claimed belonged to Marlowe. Kyd, who was imprisoned and apparently tortured in connection with the recent anti-alien libels, appears to have been in far more trouble than Marlowe.

The refernce to Marlowe's probable whereabouts in the warrant indicate that his association with his patron Thomas Walsingham and his frequent presence at Scadbury, Walsingham's estate, were well known to the council.

In the entry recording Marlowe's appearance, the spelling of his name shifts to the form he used himself. Perhaps, as he probably did at Cambridge, Marlowe insisted that his name be properly recorded.

Legible plates of these documents can be found in Wraight, *In Search of Christopher Marlowe*, 284.

- 18: May: 1593 A warrant to Henry Maunder one of the Messengers of her Majesties chamber to reparaire to the house of Mr. Tho. Walsingham in Kent, or to anie other place where he shall understand xpofer Marlow to be remaying, and by vertue hereof to apprehend and bring him to the court in his companie. And in case of need to require ayd.
- 20: May: This day xpofer Marley of London gent, being sent for by warrant from their lordships hath entered his apparance accordingly for his indemnity herein; and is commanded to give his daily attendance on their lordships, untill he shalbe lycensed to the contrary./

BAINES'S NOTE ON MARLOWE, CA. 26 MAY 1593, BL HARLEIAN MSS 6848, FF. 185–86

The Baines Note is one of the most puzzling of the Marlowe documents. The manuscript, which was preserved among the papers of Sir John Puckering, seems to have been hastily prepared, because it contains a number of corrections and revisions and, particularly toward the end, lacks the cogency of a carefully composed statement. The list of allegations proceeds roughly by association or random recollection. This spontaneity is evident in the first entries, where several items about Moses are followed by several items about Christ. The format of beginning each item with "that" (implying "he affirmeth that" or "he saith that") was widely used in state papers to record testimony, to make note of answers given during an interrogation, or to report what someone said. The same pattern is followed in Harleian MS 6848, f. 190, a copy of an informer's report on Richard

Cholmeley's conversation. However, in the latter document the person whose statements are being recorded is clearly the informant, whereas initially the Baines note seems to be reporting Marlowe's opinions directly. But in the last two paragraphs of the note the writer vacillates confusingly between direct statements by Baines and alleged statements by Marlowe. Whether the note is in Baines's autograph, or was taken down by someone else and signed by Baines, is uncertain. For that matter, the note may be entirely a copy, since the edited copy sent to the queen also includes a simulated signature which differs from that on the supposed original text, or it may have been compiled by more than one person, though Richard Baines signed it. The document falls into two sections. After the heading, which provides a context for what follows, it begins abruptly with a list of alleged statements by Marlowe, not all of which are consistent with the heading's emphasis on religion. It then shifts to a sweeping first-person denunciation of Marlowe's conduct, apparently by Baines, and a promise to produce more witnesses.

The main body of the note is written in a pedestrian but legible secretary hand, while the signature, like those on many documents of the period, is executed in a different, bolder style. The signature is not, however, particularly ornate. Marlowe's name is spelled three different ways in the manuscript. The two spellings used toward the end are common sixteenth-century variants of the name as we know it today. But the spelling used in the heading, Marly, suggests a different pronunciation, the one used by Marlowe himself, raising the possibility that the heading and the note were not composed by the same person.

We cannot be absolutely certain which of several men named Richard Baines was the informant—if indeed any of the candidates who have been suggested are this man—but he must have been the same Richard Baines who informed on Marlowe at Flushing in January 1592.

The manuscript is undated. However, the heading of the edited copy of it intended for the queen seems to indicate that it was delivered on Saturday evening a few days before Marlowe's death. It was probably submitted on 26 May in response to Marlowe's summons by the Privy Council on 18 May.

Portions of the manuscript which were deleted during revision are enclosed in angle brackets.

A tightly cropped and not quite complete plate of the Baines note, along with a fairly accurate transcript, is supplied by Wraight, *In Search of Christopher Marlowe*, 308–9.

Endorsed: Bayns Marlow of his blasphemyes

A hand with index finger pointing to "Marlow" has been drawn beside the endorsement.

A note containing the opinion of on Christopher Marly concerning his damnable <opini> Judgment of Re <g>ligion, and scorn of Godes word. That the Indians and many Authors of antiquity have assuredly written of above

16 thousand/ yeares agoe wher as <Moyses> Adam is <said> proved to have lived within 6 thowsand yeares.

The handwriting of these two inserted corrections is neater than the handwriting of the rest of the note.

He affirmeth that Moyses was but a Jugler, & that one Heriotes being Sir W Raleighs man can do more then he.
That Moyses made the Jewes to travell xl yeares in the wildernes (which journey might have bin done in lesse then one yeare) ere they came to the promised land to thintent that those who were privy to most of his subtilties might perish and so an everlasting superstition remain in the hartes of the people.

That the first beginning of Religioun was only to keep men in awe.
That it was an easy matter for Moyses being brought up in all the artes of the Egiptians to abuse the Jewes being a rude & grosse people.

That Christ was a bastard and his mother dishonest.
That he was the sonne of a carpenter, and that if the Jewes among whome he was borne did crucify him theie best knew him and whence he came.
That Crist deserved better to dy then Barrabas and that the Jewes made a good choise, though Barrabas were both a theif and a murtherer.

That if there be any god or any good Religion, then it is in the papistes because the service of god is performed with more ceremonies, as Elevation of the mass, organs, singing men, Shaven Crownes, &c. That all protestantes are Hypocriticall asses.

That if he were put to write a new religion, he would undertake both a more Exellent and Admirable methode and that all the new testament is filthily written.

That the woman of Samaria and her sister were whores & that Christ knew them dishonestly.

That St John the Evangelist was bedfellow to Christ and leaned alwaies in his bosome, the he used him as the sinners of Sodoma.

That all they that love not Tobacco & Boies were fooles.

That all the apostles were fishermen and base fellowes neyther of wit nor worth, that Paull only had wit but he was a timerous fellow in bidding men to be subject to magistrates against his conscience.

That he had as good right to coine as the Queen of England and that he was acquainted with one Poole a prisoner in Newgate who hath greate skill in mixture of mettals and having learned some thinges of him he ment through help of a cuning stamp maker to coin French crownes, pistoletes and English shillings.

That if Christ would have instituted the sacrament with more ceremoniall reverence it would have bin had in more admiration, that it would have bin much better being administred in a Tobacco pipe.

That the Angell Gabriell was bauld to the holy ghost, because he brought the salutation to Mary.

The next two lines are cramped and might have been inserted later. Unlike the preceding statements, they do not seem to be a report of what Marlowe said.

<That {illegible}> That on Ric Cholmley<hath Cholmley> hath confesst that he was perswaded by Marloes reasons to become an Atheist.

These things with many other shall by good & honest witnes be aproved to be his opinions and comen speeches and that this Marlow doth not only hould them himself but almost into every company he cometh he perswades men to Atheism willing them not to be afeard of bugbeares and hobgoblins and utterly scorning both god and his ministers as I Richard Baines will Justify & approve both by mine oth and the testimony of many honest men, and almost al men with whome he hath conversed any time will testify the same, and as I think all men in Christianity ought to indevor that the mouth of so dangerous a member may be stopped, he saieth likewise that he hath quoted a number of contraities oute of the Scripture which he hath given to some great men who in convenient time shalbe named. When these things shalbe called in question the witnes shalbe produced.

Richard Baines

The signature is in a large quasi-italic script.

CORONER'S INQUEST ON MARLOWE, 1 JUNE 1593,
PRO C260/174, NO. 127

Two documents accompany the inquest: a writ of certiorari dated 15 June requesting the results of the coroner's inquest, in order to determine whether or not Marlowe's slayer acted in self-defense, and a pardon issued to Frizer on 28 June 1593. The writ is catalogued with a copy of the inquest. The pardon is in the Patent Rolls, PRO C66/1506, mm. 17, 18. Since the writ solicits information rather than containing any, only the inquest and the pardon are transcribed here.

Many of the speculative theories about what happened in Deptford implicitly or explicitly question the competence or integrity of the presiding coroner William Danby, who had jurisdiction because the incident occurred within the verge—a twenty-mile radius of the body of the queen. However, Danby was appointed coroner of the queen's household for good reason. A number of his inquests survive in the Middlesex records, and all those I examined were models of efficiency. Danby was a shrewd, experienced professional.

Conspiracy theories about Marlowe's death generally assume that only Marlowe, Frizer, Skeres, and Poley knew what happened in the room where they

dined. However, the verb "publicaverant" used in the inquest suggests that Marlowe and Frizer quarreled loudly enough to be heard in other parts of the house, and information about the men's quiet behavior earlier in the day must have come from other witnesses as well.

The inquest is reproduced in Frederick S. Boas, Christopher Marlowe (Oxford, 1940), between pages 270 and 271.

Kanc./ Inquisicio indentata capta apud Detford Strand in praedicto comitatu Kancia infra virgam primo die Junii anno regni Elizabethae dei gratia Anglie Francie & Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris & tricesimo quinto coram Willelmo Danby Generoso Coronatore hospicii dicte domine Regine super visum corporis Christoferi Morley ibidem iacentis mortui & interfecti per sacramentum Nicholai Draper Generosi Wolstani Randall generosi Willelmi Curry Adriani Walker Johannis Barber Roberti Baldwyn Egidii Feld Georgii Halfepenny Henrici Awger Jacobi Batt Henrici Bendyn Thome Batt senioris Johannis Baldwyn Alexandri Burrage Edmundi Goodcheepe & Henrici Dabyns Qui dicunt sacramentum suum quod cum quidam Ingramus Frysar nuper de Londonia Generosus ac praedictus Cristoferus Morley Ac quidam Nicholaus Skeres nuper de Londonia Generosus ac Robertus Poley de Londonia praedicta Generosus tricesimo die Maii anno tricesimo quinto supra dicto apud Detford Strand praedictam in praedicto Comitatu Kancia infra virgam circa horam decimam ante meridiem eiusdem diei insimul con-venerunt in Camera infra domum cuiusdam Elionore Bull vidue & ibidem pariter moram gesserunt & prandebant & post prandium ibidem quiete [sic] modo insimul fuerunt & ambulaverunt in gardinum pertinentem domui praedicto usque horam sextam post meridiem eiusdem diei & tunc recesserunt a gardino praedicto in Cameram praedictam & ibidem insimul & pariter cenabant & post cenam praedicti Ingramus & Christoferus Morley locuti fuerunt & publicaverunt unus eorum alteri diversa maliciosa verba pro eo quod concordare & agreare non potuerunt circa solucionem denariorum summe vocatum le recknyng ibidem & praedictus Cristoferus Morley ad tunc iacens super lectum in Camera ubi cenaverunt & ira motus versus praefatum Ingramum Frysar super verbis ut praefertur inter eos praelocutis Et praedictus Ingramus ad tunc & ibidem sedens in Camera praedicta cum tergo suo versus lectum ubi praedictus Cristoferus Morley tunc iacebat prope lectum vocatum nere the bed sedens & cum anteriori parte corporis sui versus mensam & praedicti Nicholaus Skeres & Robertus Poley ex utraque parte ipsius Ingrams sedentes tali modo ut idem Ingramus Frysar nullo modo fugam facere potuit Ita accidit quod praedictus Cristoferus Morley ex subitio & ex malicia sua erga praefatum Ingramum praecogitata pugionem praedicti Ingrams super tergum suum existentem maliciose ad tunc & ibidem evaginabat & cum eodem pugione praedictus Cristoferus Morley ad tunc & ibidem maliciose dedit praefato Ingrams duo vulnera super caput suum longitudinis duorum policum & profunditatis quartii

unius policis Super quo praedictus Ingramus metuens occidi & sedens in forma praedicta inter praefatos Nicholaum Skeres & Robertum Poley Ita quod ulterius aliquo modo recedere non potuit in sua defensione & salvacione vite sue adtunc & ibidem contendebat cum praefato Cristofero Morley recipere ab eo pugionem suum praedictum in qua quidem affraia idem Ingramus a praefato Cristofero Morley ulterius recedere not potuit Et sic in affraia illa Ita accidit quod praedictus Ingramus in defensione vite sue cum pugione praedicta precii xii^d dedit praefato Cristofero adtunc & ibidem unam plagam mortalem super dexterum oculum suum profunditatis duorum policium & latitudinis unius policis de qua quidem plaga mortali praedictus Cristoferus Morley adtunc & ibidem instanter obiit Et sic Iuratores praedicti dicunt super sacramentum suum quod praedictus Ingramus praefatum Cristoferum Morley praedicto tricesimo die Maii anno tricesimo quinto supradicto apud Detford Strand praedictam in praedicto Comitatu Kancia infra virgam in Camera praedicta infra virgam modo & forma praedictis in defensione ac salvacione vite sue interfecit & occidit contra pacem dicte domine Regine nunc coronam & dignitatem suas Et ulterius Iuratores praedicti dicunt super sacramentum suum quod praedictus Ingramus post occisionem praedictam per se modo & forma praedictis perpetrata & factam non fugit neque se retraxit Sed que bona aut catalla terras aut tementa praedictus Ingramus tempore occisionis praedictae per se modo & forma praedictis facte & perpetratae habuit Iuratores praedicti penitus ignorant In cuius rei testimonium tam praedictus Coronator quam Iuratores praedicti huic Inquisicioni sigilla sua alteratim affixerunt
Datum die & anno supradictis &
Per Willelmum Danby
Coronatorem

[Kent./ Inquisition in duplicate taken at Detford Strand in the aforesaid county of Kent within the verge on the first day of June in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France & Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., in the presence of William Danby, gentleman, coroner of the household of our said lady the Queen, in view of the body of Christopher Morley, there lying dead & slain, upon the oath of Nicholas Draper, gentleman, Wolstan Randall, gentleman, William Curry, Adrian Walker, John Barber, Robert Baldwin, Giles Feld, George Halfepenny, Henry Awger, James Batt, Henry Bendyn, Thomas Batt senior, John Baldwin, Alexander Burrage, Edmund Goodcheape & Henry Dabyns, who say upon their oath that when one Ingram Frysar, late of London, gentleman, and the aforesaid Christopher Morley and one Nicholas Skeres, late of London, gentleman, and Robert Poley of London aforesaid, gentleman, on the thirtieth day of May in the thirty-fifth year above mentioned, at Detford Strand aforesaid in the aforesaid County of Kent within the verge around the tenth hour before noon of the same day met together in a room at the house of one Eleanor Bull, widow and there

passed the time together and lunched, and after lunch kept company quietly and walked in the garden belonging to the aforesaid house until the sixth hour after noon of the same day, and then returned from the aforesaid garden to the room aforesaid and there together and in company dined, and after dinner the aforesaid Ingram and the said Christopher Morley were in speech and publicly exchanged divers malicious words because they could not concur nor agree on the payment of the sum of pence, that is to say, *le recknynge*, there; and the aforesaid Christopher Morley then lying on a bed in the room where they dined and moved by ire towards the aforesaid Ingram Frysar because of the aforesaid words that had passed between them, and the aforesaid Ingram then and there sitting in the aforesaid room with his back towards the bed where the aforesaid Christopher Morley then lay, near the bed, that is sitting *neere the bed* and with the front part of his body towards the table and the aforesaid Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley sitting on either side of the same Ingram so that the same Ingram Frysar could in no way flee, thus it befell that the aforesaid Christopher Morley suddenly and of malice aforethought towards the aforesaid Ingram then and there maliciously unsheathed the dagger of the aforesaid Ingram which was visible at his back and with the same aforesaid dagger then and there maliciously gave the aforesaid Ingram two wounds on his head of the length of two inches and of the depth of a quarter of an inch; whereupon the aforesaid Ingram, in fear of being slain and sitting on the aforesaid bench between the aforesaid Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley, so that he was not able to withdraw in any way, in his own defense and to save his life then and there struggled with the aforesaid Christopher Morley to take back from him his aforesaid dagger, in which same affray the same Ingram could not withdraw further from the aforesaid Christopher Morley. And thus it befell in that affray that the said Ingram, in defense of his life and with the aforesaid dagger of the value of 12 pence, gave the aforesaid Christopher then and there a mortal wound above his right eye of the depth of two inches and of the breadth of one inch, of which same mortal wound the aforesaid Christopher Morley then and there instantly died. And thus the aforesaid jurors say upon their oath that the aforesaid Ingram killed the aforesaid Christopher Morley the aforesaid thirtieth day of May in the thirty fifth year abovementioned in the aforesaid Detford Strand in the aforesaid county of Kent within the verge in the room aforesaid within the verge in the manner and form aforesaid in defense and for the salvation of his life, against the peace of the said lady the Queen, her present crown and dignity. And further the said jurors say upon their oath that the said Ingram after the slaying aforesaid perpetrated & done by him in the manner & form aforesaid neither fled nor withdrew himself. But concerning what goods or chattels, lands or tenements the said Ingram had at the time of the aforesaid slaying done & perpetrated by him in the manner and form aforesaid, the said jurors are

totally uninformed. In witness whereof the aforesaid Coroner as well as the jurors aforesaid to this inquisition have in turn set their seals.

Dated the day and year abovementioned, etc.

by William Danby
Coroner

MARLOWE'S BURIAL ENTRY, 1 JUNE 1593, PARISH REGISTER,
CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, DEPTFORD, GREATER LONDON
AUTHORITY RECORD OFFICE, WESTMINSTER BRIDGE

The original vicar's error in recording Ingram Frizer's given name as "Francis," and a nineteenth-century vicar's misreading of "Frezer" as "Archer," caused a long delay in the discovery of documents such as the coroner's inquest on the death of Marlowe. J. Leslie Hotson finally ferreted out Frizer's actual name, a process he describes in detail in The Death of Christopher Marlowe (New York, 1965).

Plates of this document can be found in Hotson, facing page 21; Bakeless, Tragical History, vol. 1, facing page 152; Boas, Christopher Marlowe, facing page 277; and Wraight, In Search of Christopher Marlowe, 305.

Anno Domini 1593

Christopher Marlow slaine by Francis Frezer; the .1. of June

COPY OF THE BAINES NOTE, JUNE 1593 OR LATER, BL HARLEIAN
MSS 6853, FF. 307-8

Not long after Marlowe's death, someone copied the Baines note, revised or shortened several items, and deleted allegations not directly bearing on Marlowe's alleged religious opinions. The deleted portions are included here, enclosed in angle brackets. The manuscript is, as indicated by the endorsement on the back, a rough draft of a copy sent to the queen. Among the items shortened was the reference to Harriot, in which the phrase "being Sir W Raleigh's man" was omitted. The omission appears to be deliberate, and it is hard to reconcile this with the theory that Raleigh was the target of the attacks on Marlowe.

Why should the opinions of a man who was already dead, as the heading clearly indicates, be of any interest to the queen? Apparently someone was trying to convince Elizabeth that an atheist threat existed, and that vigilance and timely action on the part of the government were necessary to contain it.

This manuscript is in a different hand from the Baines note, and exhibits very different spelling characteristics. The endorsement and the notation that Cholmeley is "layd for" are not in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript.

Endorsed: Copey of Marloes blasphemes
As sent to her H. [ighness]

Original heading: A note contayninge the opinon of one Christofer Marlye concernynge his damnable opinon and Judgment of Religion and scorne of Gods worde. who since Whitsundy dyed a soden & vyolent deathe.

Revised heading: A note delived on Whitsun eve last of the most horrible blasphemes and damnable opinions uttered by Xpofer Marly who wthin iii dyes after came to a soden & fearful end of his life.

That the Indians and many Authors of Antiquitei <have> have assuredly writen of above 16 thowsande yeeres agone, wher Adam is proved to have lyved within 6 thowsande yeeres.

<He affirmeth> That Moyses was but a Juggler and that one Heriotes can do more then hee.

That Moyses made the Jewes to travell fortie yeeres in the wildernes (which jorny might have ben don in lesse then one year) er they came to the promised lande, to the intente that those whoe wer privei to most of his subtileteis myght perish, and so an everlastinge supersticion remayne in the harts of the people.

That the firste beginnyng of Religion was only to keep men in awe.

That it was an easye matter for Moyses beinge brought up in all the artes of the Egiptians, to abuse the Jewes beinge a rude and grosse people.

That Christ was a Bastard and his mother dishonest.

That he was the sone of a carpenter and that yf the Jewes among whome he was borne did crucifye him, thei best knew him and whence he came.

That Christ deserved better to dye then Barrabas, and that the Iewes made a good choyce, though Barrabas were both a theife and a murtherer.

That if ther be any God or good Religion, then it is in the Papists because the service of God is performed with more ceremonyes, as elevation of the masse, organs, singinge men <shaven crownes >, &c. That all protestantes ar hipocriticall asses.

That, if he were put to write a new religion, he wolde undertake both a more excellent, and more admirable methode and that all the new testament is filthily written.

That the woman of Samaria were whores and that Christ knew them dishonestlye. That St John the Evangelist was bedfellow to Christe, that he leaned always in his bosom, that he used him as the synners of Sodoma.

<That all thei that love not tobacco and boyes ar fooles.>

That all the Appostles were fishermen and base fellowes, nether of witt nor worth, that Pawle only had witt, that he was a timerous fellow in biddinge men to be subject to magistrates against his conscience.

<That he had as good right to coyne as the Queen of England, and that he was acquainted with one Poole a prisoner in Newgate whoe hath great skill in

mixture of mettalls, and havinge learned some things of him he ment through help of a connyng stampe maker to coyne french crownes, pysto-lettes and englishe shillinges.>

That if Christ had instituted the Sacraments with more ceremonyall reverence, it wold have been had in more admiration, that it wolde have been much better beinge administered in a Tobacco pype.

That the Angell Gabriell was bawde to the holy Ghoste because he brought the salutation to Marie.

That one Richard Cholmelei hath confessed that he was perswaded by Marloes reason to become an Atheiste.

There is a marginal note in an italic hand on the above entry: "he is layd for." The remainder of the note, including the name of Baines, is deleted.

<Theis things with many other shall by good and honest men be proved to be his opinions and comen speches, and that this Marloe doth not only holde them himself, but almost in every company he cometh, perswadeth men to Atheisme, willinge them not to be afrayed of bugbeares and hobgoblins, and utterly scorning both God and his ministers as I Richard Bome will Justify both by my othe and the testimony of many honest men, and almost all men with whome he hath conversed any tyme will testefy the same. And as I thinke all men in christianitei ought to endeavor that the mouth of so dangerous a member may be stopped.

he sayeth moreover that he hath coated a number of contrarities out of the scriptures, which he hath geeven to some great men whoe in convenient tyme shalbe named. When theis things shalbe called in question, the witnesses shalbe produced.

Richard Baines>

KYD'S LETTER TO PUCKERING, CA. JUNE 1593, BL HARLEIAN MSS 6848, F. 154

Kyd, after his release from prison, sought Sir John Puckering's aid in his attempts to regain the favor of his patron, Lord Strange. This letter is a further attempt, after a personal meeting, to persuade Puckering of his innocence in all matters of which he was suspected, especially, it appears, of atheism. The fact that Kyd emphasizes this issue suggests that he knew it was a matter of special interest to Puckering. The letter is written in an elegant secretary hand, with a highly ornate signature appended far below the text of the letter.

Excellent plates of Kyd's letter and note are included in Frederick S. Boas, Marlowe and His Circle (Oxford, 1931), frontispiece, and facing page 73. They are also reproduced in Wraight, In Search of Christopher Marlowe, 314, 316.

Addressed: To the R.[ight] honorable Sir John Puckering Knight Lord Keeper of the great seale of England.

Notation: Kidde

At my last being with your L[ordshi]p. to entreate some speaches from yow in my favor to my Lorde, whoe (though I thinke he rest not doubtfull of myne innocence) hath yet in his discreeter judgment feared to offende in his reteyning me, without your honors former pryvitie. So is it nowe R.[ight] ho:[norable] that the denyall of that favor (to my thought reasonable) hath movde me to conjecture some suspicion, that your L[ordshi]p holdes me in, concerning *Atheisme*, a deadly thing which I was undeserved chargd withall, & therefore have I thought it requisite, aswell in duetie to your L[ordshi]p, & the Lawes, as also in the feare of god, & freedom of my conscience, therein to satisfie the world and yow:

The first and most (thoughe insufficient surmize) that ever..as..[? ms damaged] therein might be raisde of me, grewe thus. When I was first suspected for that Libell that concern'd the state, amongst those waste and idle papers (which I carde not for) & which unaskt I did deliver up, were founde some fragmentes of a disputation toching that opinion, affirmed by Marlowe to be his, and shuffed with some of myne (unknown to me) by some occasion of our wrytinge in one chamber twoe yeares synce.

My first acquaintance with this Marlowe, rose upon his bearing name to serve my Lo:[rd] although his L[ordshi]p never knewe his service, but in writing for his plaiers, for never cold my L.[ord] endure his name, or sight, when he had heard of his conditions, nor would in deed the forme of devyne praiier used du-
elie in his l[ordshi]ps house, have quadred with such reprobates.

That I should love or be familiar frend, with one so irreligious, were verie rare. When *Tullie* saith *Digni sunt amicitia quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur* [They are worthy of friendship in whom there is cause for esteem.] which neither was in him, for person, quallities, nor honestie, besides he was intemperate & of a cruel hart, the verie contraries to which, my greatest enemies will saie by me.

It is not to be nombred amongst the best conditions of men, to taxe or to opbraide the deade *Quia mortui non mordent* [because the dead do not bite], But thus muche have I (with your L[ordshi]ps favor) dared in the greatest cause, which is to cleere my self of being thought an *Atheist*, which some will sweare he was.

For more assurance that I was not of that vile opinion, Lett it but please your L[ordshi]p to enquire of such as he conversd withall; that is (as I am geven to understand) with *Harriot*, *Warner*, *Royden* and some stationers in *Paules chruchyard*, whom I in no sort can accuse nor will excuse by reson of his companie, of whose consent if I had been, no question but I also shold have been of their consort, for *ex minimo vestigio artifex agnoscit artificem* [from the least trace the craftsman recognizes the craft].

Of my religion and life I have already given some instance to the late commissioners & of my reverend meaning to the state, although perhaps my pains and undeserved tortures felt by some, would have engendered more impatience when less by farre hath dryven so many *imo extra caulas* [even out of the fold] which it shall never do with me.

But whatsoever I have felt R.[ight] ho:[norable] this is my request not for reward but in regard of my trewe innocence that it would please your L[ordshi]ps so to use [? ms damaged] the same & me, as I maie still reteyne the favors of my Lord, whom I have servd almost this vi yeris nowe, in credit untill nowe, & nowe am utterlie undon without herein be somewhat donn for my recoverie. For I do know his L[ordshi]p holdes your honors & the state in that dewe reverence, as he would no waie move the leste suspicion of his loves and cares both towards hir sacred Majestie your L[ordshi]ps and the lawes whereof when tyme shall serve I shall geve greater instance which I have observd. As for the libel laide unto my chardg I am resolved with receyving of the sacrament to satisfie your L[ordshi]ps & the world that I was neither agent nor consenting therunto. Howbeit if some outcast *Ismael* for want or of his own dispose to lewdnes, have with pretext of duetie or religion, or to reduce himself to that he was not borne unto by enie waie incensd your L[ordshi]ps to suspect me, I shall besech in all humillitie & in the feare of god that it will please your L[ordshi]ps but to censure me as I shall prove my self, and to repute them as they ar in deed. *Cum totius iniustitia nulla capitalior sit quam eorum, qui tum cum maxime fallunt id agunt ut viri boni esse videantur.* [Since no injustice can be worse than that of those who act deceptively while seeming to be good men.] For doubtles even then your L[ordshi]ps shalbe sure to breake open [? ms damaged] their lewde designes and see into the truthe, when but their lyves that herein have accused me shalbe examined & rypped up effectually, soe maie I chaunce with Paul to live & shake the vyper off[f] my hand into the fier for which the ignorant suspect me guiltie of the former shipwrack. And thus (for nowe I feare me I growe teadious) assuring your good L[ordshi]p that if I knewe eny whom I cold justlie accuse of that damnable offence to the awefull majestie of god or of that other mutinous sedition towrd the state I would as willinglie reveale them as I would request your L[ordshi]ps better thoughtes of me that never have offended yow.

Your L[ordshi]ps most humble in all duties
Th Kydde

KYD'S NOTE TO PUCKERING, CA. JUNE 1593,
BL HARLEIAN 6849, F. 218

Puckering evidently pressed Kyd to reveal more of what he knew about Marlowe's opinions and associates. Kyd responded with this note, which shows little

enthusiasm for the task, provides minimal information, and does not bother with formalities, including a signature.

Tucker Brooke thought someone other than Kyd added the numbers in the margins, and indeed they enumerate the religious opinions Kyd reports, while the political remark is ignored. The numbers are also slightly out of alignment with the lines they precede.

Pleaseth it your honorable L[ordshi]p touching Marlowes monstrous opinions as I cannot but with an agreved conscience think on him or them so can I but particulariz fewe in the respect of them that kept him greater company, howbeit in discharg of dutie both towrdes god your L[ordshi]ps & the world thus much have I thought good brieflie to discover in all humblenes

First it was his custom when I knew him first & as I heare saye he contynewd it in table talk or otherwise to jest at the devine scriptures gybe at praiers, & stryve in argument to frustrate & confute what hath byn spoke or wrytt by prophets & such holie men/

- 1 He would report St John to be our Savior Christes *Alexis* I cover it with reverence and trembling that is that Christ did love him with an extraordinary love/
- 2 That for me to wryte a poem of St *Pauls* conversion as I was determined he said would be as if I should go wryte a book of fast & loose, esteeming *Paul* a Jugler.
- 3 That the prodigall childe's portion was but fower nobles, he held his purse so neere the bottom in all pictures and that it either was a jest or els fower nobles then was thought a great patrimony not thinking it a parable.
- 4 That things esteemed to be donn by devine power might have aswell been don by observation of men all which he would so sodenlie take slight occasion to slyp out as I & many others in regard of his other rashnes in attempting soden pryvie injuries to men did overslypp though often reprehend him for it & for which god is my witnes aswell by my lords comaundment as in hatred of his life & thoughts I left & did refraine his companie/ He would perswade with men of quallitie to goe unto the K[ing] of *Scotts* whether I heare *Royden* is gon and where if he had livd he told me when I sawe him last he meant to be.

INGRAM FRIZER'S PARDON, 28 JUNE 1593, PRO C66/1401, MM. 33-34

Frizer's pardon closely follows the wording of the coroner's inquest. A few minor changes were necessary to accommodate the text to the formula for pardons. The detail that Frizer did not flee, which was necessary for the jury to find that he acted in self defense, and the reference to the jury's lack of knowledge regarding his

possessions, are omitted. The ending is purely conventional. Only the final section is translated here.

Regina perdona se defendendo pro Ingramo Frisar Regina Omnibus Ballivis & fidelibus suis ad quos &c salutem Cum per quandam Inquisicionem indentatam captam apud Detford Strand in praedicto comitatu nostro Kancia infra virgam primo die Junii ultimo praeterito coram Willelmo Danby Generoso Coronatore hospicii nostri super visum corporis Christoferi Morley ibidem iacentis mortui & interfecti per sacramentum Nicholai Draper Generosi Wolstani Randall generosi Willelmi Curry Adriani Walker Johannis Barber Roberti Baldwine Egidii Feld Georgii Halfepenny Henrici Awger Jacobi Batte Henrici Bendin Thome Batte senioris Johannis Baldwyn Alexandri Burrage Edmundi Goodcheape & Henrici Dabyns compertum existit Quod quidam Ingramus Frisar nuper de Londonia Generosus ac praedictus Cristoferus Morley Ac quidam Nicholaus Skeres nuper de Londonia Generosus ac Robertus Poley de Londonia praedicta Generosus tricesimo die Maii ultimo praeterito apud Detford Strand praedictam in praedicto Comitatu nostro Kancia infra virgam circa horam decimam ante meridiem eiusdem diei insimul convenerunt in Camera infra domum cuiusdam Elionore Bull vidue & ibidem pariter moram gesserunt & prandebant & post prandium ibidem in quieto modo insimul fuerunt & ambulaverunt in Gardinum pertinentem domui praedicto usque horam sextam post meridiem eiusdem diei & tunc recesserunt a gardino praedicto in Cameram praedictam & ibidem insimul & pariter cenabant & post cenam praedicti Ingramus & Christoferus Morley locuti fuerunt & publicaverunt unus eorum alteri diversa maliciosa verba pro eo quod concordare & agreare non potuerunt circa solutionem denariorum summe vocatum le Reckoninge ibidem & praedictus Xpoferus Morley adtunc iacens super lectum in Camera ubi cenaverunt & ira motus versus praefatum Ingramum Frisar super verbis ut praefertur inter eos praelocutus Et praedictus Ingramus adtunc & ibidem sedens in Camera praedicta cum tergo suo versus lectum ubi praedictus Cristoferus Morley tunc iacebat prope lectum vocatum nere the Bedd sedens & cum anteriori parte corporis sui versus mensam & praedicti Nicholaus Skeres & Robertus Poley ex utraque parte ipsius Ingrami sedentes tali modo ut idem Indramus Frysar nullo modo fugam facere potuit Ita accidit quod praedictus Cristoferus Morley ex subito & ex malicia sua erga praefatum Ingramum praecogitata pugionem prae-

dicti Ingrami super tergum suum existentem maliciose adtunc & ibidem evaginabat & cum eodem pugione praedictus Cristoferus Morley adtunc & ibidem maliciose dedit praefato Ingramo duo vulnera super Caput suum longitudinis duorum policum & profunditatis quartii unius policis Super quo praedictus Ingramus metuens occidi & sedens in forma praedicta inter praefatos Nicholaum Skeres & Robertum Poley Ita quod ulterius aliquo modo recedere non potuit in sua defensione & salvacione vite sue adtunc & ibidem contendebat cum praefato Xpofero Morley recipere ab eo pugionem suum praedictum In qua quidem affraia idem Ingramus a praefato Xpofero Morley ulterius recedere not potuit Et sic in affraia illa ita accidit quod praedictus Ingramus in defensione vite sue cum pugione praedicta precii duodecem denariourm dedit praefato Cristofero adtunc & ibidem unam plagam mortalem super dexterum oculum suum profunditatis duorum policum & latitudinis unius policis de qua quidem plaga mortali praedictus Xpoferus Morley adtunc & ibidem instanter obiit Et sic quod praedictus Ingramus praefatum Cristoferum Morley praedicto tricesimo die Maii ultimo praeterito apud Detford Strande praedictam in praedicto Comitatu nostro Kancia infra virgam in Camera praedicta infra virgam modo & forma praedictis in defensione ac salvacione vite sue interfecit & occidit contra pacem nostram, coronam & dignitatem nostras Sicut per tenorem Recordi Inquisicionis praedictae quem coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra virtute brevis nostri venire fecimus plenius liquet Nos igitur pietate moti perdonavimus eidem Ingramo Frisar sectam pacis nostre que ad nos versus praedictum Ingramus pertinet pro morte supradicta & firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus Ita tamen quod stet rectum in Curia nostra siquis versus eum loqui voluerit de morte supradicta In cuius rei &c Teste Regina apud Kewe xxviii die Junii

[And thus because the aforesaid Ingram killed & slew the aforesaid Christopher Morley on the aforesaid thirtieth of May last at Detford Strand aforesaid in our aforesaid County of Kent within the verge in the aforesaid room within the verge in the manner and form aforesaid in defense and salvation of his life against our peace, crown, and dignity, according to the tenor of the Record of Inquisition aforesaid which we caused to come before us in our Chancery by virtue of our writ. We therefore, moved by pity, pardon the same Ingram Frisar the breach of our peace which pertains to us against the said Ingram for the death above mentioned & grant him our firm peace, provided nevertheless that

the jurisdiction remain in our court if anyone should wish to speak against him concerning the above mentioned death, in which case etc. Witness the Queen at Kew the 28th day of June]

WILL OF JOHN MARLOWE, 23 JANUARY 1605, CKS PRC 16/125/M
(REGISTERED COPY: PRC 17/52, FF. 373V-374R)

Marlowe's parents both outlived him. Their wills, and the inventory of John Marlowe's possessions, reflect the family's modest means and social standing, especially when their wills are compared to the far more elaborate will of Katherine Benchkin that Marlowe, his father, his uncle, and his brother-in-law witnessed in 1585.

In the name of God, Amen, 1604 [1605]. the xxiiith day of January, I John Marlowe beeing sicke of body, but thankes be to Almighty God of good & perfect remembraunce, doe make constitute & ordeyne this my last Will & Testament in maner and forme following. First I give & commend my soule into the handes of Almighty God my maker & Redeemer, & my body to be buried in the churchyard of the parish of St George within Canterbury. As touching my temporall goods my debts & funeralls dischargd & paid I give and bequeath wholly to my wyfe, Katherine whome I make my sole executrix. In witness whereof I John Marlowe have to this my last Will & Testament set to my hand & seale the day and yeere above written.

The marke of John Marlowe. [mark]

In the presence of us whose names are heere underwritten.

James Bissell the writer hereof./
Vyncent Huffam
Thomas Plesyngton

INVENTORY OF JOHN MARLOWE'S GOODS, 21 FEBRUARY 1605, CKS
PRC 10/34, F. 80

This inventory was taken not quite a month after John Marlowe's death. In contrast to the inventory of James Benchkin's goods, which contains a superfluity of items, it indicates that Marlowe's aging parents lived comfortably, but simply. Many of the items in this inventory appear in Katherine Marlowe's will in the same numbers, although the pillowcoates seem to have multiplied. The inventory indicates seven pairs, but ten pairs and an odd one are mentioned in Katherine's will.

Given the appraised value of the sheets and silver spoons in the inventory, one can understand why Katherine was particularly anxious to divide these items equally among her daughters and grandchildren.

An inventorye of the goodes of John Marlowe taken uppou the 21 daye of Februarye Anno Domini 1604 [1605]. Prized by Mr Cripse Thomas Pleasington and Robert Lyon.

Inprimis his girdle and his purse—iiii^s

In the litle parlour nexte the streete

A litle table with a frame and 3 joyne stooles—v^s

Item a court cubborde with a carpet, a greate cushion, and 5 other—v^s

In the halle

Item a litle table with a frame—iii^s

Item one chest 3 chayres, and a glasse cage—iii^s iii^d

Item one payre of brandirons, a payre of tonges, and a fire shovell, a payre of bellowes, a fire rake, and a payre of pothangers—iiii^s

Item the paynted clothe—xii^d

In the kitchen

Item a litle table with a cubbord in it, an olde joyne stoole and an olde form and one cushion a dressinge borde and an old coupe—ii^s

Item one olde plate cubborde and brine tubbe—iiii^s

Item one brandiron, one creeper, one spitte, one gridgiron, one drippingge panne and a choppinge knife—iiii^s

Item 6 ketles 2 brasse pots, 2 stupnets, 2 iron pots, one chafinge dishe, 6 brasse candlestickes, and a mortar with a pestle, one chafer of brasse a skimmer and a bastinge ladle, and a warminge panne—xx^s

Item a payre of reckes, a fryinge panne, a trivet, and a tostinge iron—ii^s

Item 3 basons x greate platters, two chamberpots, 3 small dishes, 5 porrengers, 7 spoones, x saucers, 2 pewter cuppes, 2 salt sellers, <3>4 pewter pots—xx^s

In the seller

Item 3 stellinges, and a litle table—v^s

Item for pots and glasses—xii^d

In the greate chamber

Item a playne bedstedle, matte and rope, and a flocke bed and a fether bed, one blanket and a rugge, two bouldsters, 5 curtaines and roddes—xxxx^s

Item one presse, and 3 chests—xx^s

Item one wicker chayre—viii^d

Item one truckle bed, and a bouldster, and a bagge of feathers—ii^s

Item eighteene payre of sheetes—iiii^{li}

Item 4 fine tablecloathes, and 4 course ones, and 2 dosen of napkins and a doson of course ones—xxvi^s iii^d

Item 4 payre of fine pillowcoates, and 3 payre of course—xii^s
Item halfe a dosen of course hand towells—ii^s

In the litle chamber

A litle standinge bed without a testerne. And a truckle bed with two flocke beds,

2 boulsters, 2 blankets and a coverlet—xvi^s

Item 3 blankets more and 2 kiveringings and a rugge—xv^s

Item 4 pillowes—v^s

Item 6 cushions—vi^s

Item his wearinge apparell—xxxx^s

Item an olde cheste, and olde presse, a buntinge hutche and a meale tubbe—ii^s

Item 4 payre of bootes—xx^s

Item a bible—vi^s

Item for X silver spoones—xxxx^s

Item 3 loades of woode—xv^s

Item for olde lumber about the howse—ii^s vi^d

The whole summe xxi^l xiiii^s ii^d

Thomas Crispe

Thomas Plesyinton

Robart Lyon

WILL OF KATHERINE MARLOWE, 17 MARCH 1605, CKS PRC 16/127/M
(REGISTERED COPY 17/54)

The dating of Katherine Marlowe's will has misled many Marlowe biographers about the time of her death. The will is dated 1605 and was probated on 22 July 1605, but if the will was probated in July 1605, the day and month of the will, 17 March, would have fallen in 1604 under the system of dating then in use in Elizabethan England, according to which the new year began on Lady Day, 25 March. Katherine's burial in All Saints churchyard (not in St. George's, as she wished) is recorded on 18 March 1604/5, so the writer of the will, Thomas Hudson, evidently dated it incorrectly. Katherine survived her husband by less than two months, not by over a year, as William Urry was the first to point out.

In her will, Katherine seems anxious to distribute her property as equitably as possible among her three surviving children—all daughters. In deference to the principle of primogeniture, she gives somewhat more to her eldest daughter, Margaret Jordan, and also entrusts Margaret with the family christening linen. She treats all her grandchildren equally within gender, but the males get larger silver spoons than the females. Interestingly, she leaves John Moore, the husband of her third daughter, Joan, who died at fourteen, a sizable legacy. Apparently she was fond of him.

Katherine certainly had more property than she mentions in her will. She had shoes and other items of clothing, kitchen utensils, a bed, and coverlets in addition to the sheets she parcels out so meticulously, and probably all of the furniture noted in the inventory of her husband's possessions. All this she gives to John Cranford, the husband of her second oldest daughter Ann, whom she appoints her executor, in lieu of the legacies of forty and twenty shillings she gives to the eldest and youngest daughters. Since John Cranford was, according to Urry, "literate and able," he was a logical choice for this task.

Perhaps the most touching detail of Katherine's will is her concern that the odd tablecloth replace "the sheete which is taken away"—that is, her winding sheet—so that none of her daughters need feel deprived by the humble requirements of her burial.

Endorsed (in Latin): Will of Katherine Marlowe widow, late of All Saints Canterbury, deceased.

Probated: 22 July 1605

In the name of god amen. I Katherine Marlowe widdowe of John Marlowe of Canterbury late deceased though sicke in bodye yet in perfect memorye I give god thankes, do ordayne this my last will and testament written one the 17 of Marche, in the yeare of our Lorde god 1605 in manner & forme as followethe.

ffirst I doe bequeathe my soule to god my saviour, and redeemer, and my bodye to be buryed in the Churchyarde of St Georges in Canterburye neare where as my husbände John Marlowe was buryed.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Margaret Jurden the greatest golde ringe.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter An Cranford a golde ringe which my daughter Cradwell hath which I would have her to surrender up unto her sister An. and an other silver ringe.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Doritye Cradwell, the ringe with the double posye, <she>

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Jurden my <cloathe> stufe gowne <which I weare everye daye> and my kirtle.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Cranforde my best cloathe gowne and the cloathe that is lefte of the same.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Cradwell my cloathe gowne which I did weare everye daye.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Jurden <two> one silver spoone<s> and unto her eldest sonne John Jurden one greate silver spoone and unto her <yongest> sonne William one of the greatest silver spoones of the sixe, and to Elsabethe Jurden, one spoone.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter An Cranforde one silver spoone and to her sonne Anthonye one of the greatest spoones, and to John an other of the greatest silver spoones, and unto Elisabeth Cranforde one spoone.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Dorytye Cradwell one silver spoone and to her sonne John Cradwell on of the greatest silver spoones.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Jurden two cushions and unto my daughter Cranforde 2 cushions of taffate, and to my daughter Cradwell two cushions./

I doe bequeathe my Christeninge linnen as the kercher, the <drinkinge> dammaske napkin, a face cloathe, and a bearinge blanket to bee used equallye betweene them, and to serve to everie of their needs but if my daughter Jurden doe goe out of the towne, my daughter An Cranforde to have the keepinge of the same Christeninge linnen.

I doe bequeathe to everye one of them one tablecloathe, and the fourthe, to goe for an odde sheete that he which hath the odde sheete may have the tablecloathe.

I doe bequeathe unto everye one of my daughters sixe paire of sheetes, to be <chossen> divided equallye. And in steade of the sheete which is taken awaye, there is one <sheete> tablecloathe added.

I doe bequeathe to every one of my daughters a dosen of napkins to be divided equallye because some are better then other.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Jurden three payre of pillowecoates, and to my daughter Cranforde three payer of pillocoates, unto my daughter Cradwell three paire of pillocoates/ one payre of pillocoates I doe bequeathe unto Katherine Reve. and unto Goodwife Morrice one pillocoate./

I doe bequeathe unto John Moore fortye shillings, and the joyne presse that standeth in the greate chamber where I lye.

I bequeathe unto Mary May my mayde my red petticoate, and a smocke.

I bequeathe unto goodwife Morrice my petticoate that I doe weare daylye and a smocke and a wastcoate.

I doe bequeathe unto Goodwife Jurden fortye Shillings.

I doe bequeathe unto my daughter Cradwell twentye shillings.

I <doe> would have All these porcions <are> to bee paied within one yeare after my decease.

I doe bequeathe unto my sonne Cranforde all the rest of my goodes <so> payinge my debts and legacies and excharginge my funeralls, whoome I doe make my whole executor of this my laste will and testamente.

In wittnesse whereof I have heereunto set my hande and seale.

Wittneses <I> those names that are heere under written, and I Thomas Hudson. the writer heereof.

The marke of Katherine Marlowe
[mark and seal]
The marke of [mark] Sarai Morrice
The marke of [mark] Mary Maye

HENRY OXINDEN'S COMMONPLACE BOOK, 1640, BL ADDIT. MS
28012, FOL. 514

The dating of these notes suggests that Oxinden frequently recorded memorable bits of his conversations with his neighbor Simon Aldrich. The duplication of much of their content in the Folger Commonplace Book probably represents a later recollection of their conversations.

Some of the lore Oxinden repeats, such as the story about the book against the scripture, and the claim that Marlowe was stabbed in the head with a dagger and died swearing, seems to be based on Thomas Beard's Theater of Gods Judgments. At one time, an edition of this book existed with handwritten notes in it that closely resemble some of the entries in Oxinden's commonplace books, so it is likely that Oxinden had a copy of Beard in his large library. Aldrich may also have owned or read a copy of Beard, of course.

Feb. 10, 1640 He [Simon Aldrich] said that Marlo who wrot Hero, & Leander was an Atheist, & had wrote a book ag[ain]st. the Scripture, how that it was all one mans making, & would have printed it but would not be suffered. He was the son of a shoemaker in Cant: he [Aldrich] said hee was an excellent scholler & made excellent verses in Latin. Died aged about 30. He was stabd in the head with a dagger, & dyed swearing.

Feb. 12 He said that one Finei of Dover was an Atheist, & that he would goe out at midnight into a wood, & fall down upon his knees & pray heartily that the Devill would come & he would see him: for he did not beleive there was a Devill: Mr Alderich said he was a very good scholer but would never have above one book at a time, & when he was perfect in it he would sell it away, & by another. He learned all Marlo by heart & divers other bookes. Marlo made him an Atheist. This Finei was faine to make a speech upon the foole hath said in his heart there is no god, to gett his degree. Finey would say as Galen said that man was of a more excellent composition than a beast, & thereby could speake: but affirmed his soul dyed with his body & as we can remember nothing before we were borne: soe we shall remember nothing after.

HENRY OXINDEN'S COMMONPLACE BOOK—"MISCELLANEA,"
FOLGER MS 750. 1

Mr Ald. sayd that Mr Fin[eau]x of Dover was an Atheist & that hee would go out at midnight into a wood, & fall downe upon his knees & pray heartily that the devil would come, that he might see him (for hee did not beleive that there was a devil) Mr Ald: sayd that hee was a verie good scholler, but would never

have above one booke at a time, & when hee was perfect in it, hee would sell it away & buy another: he learned all *Marlo* by heart & divers other bookes: *Marlo* made him an *Atheist*. This Fineaux was faine to make a speech uppon *The foole hath said in his heart there is no God*, to get his degree. Fineaux would say as Galen sayd that man was of a more excellent composition than a beast, & thereby could speake: but affirmed that his soule dyed with his body, & as we remember nothing before wee were borne, so we shall remember nothing after wee are dead. (page 54)

he [Aldrich] said that Marlo who wrot Hero & Leander was an *Atheist*: & had wrot a booke against the *Scriptur*, how that it was al of one mans making, & would have proved it but wold not be suffered,: he said that the sayd Marlo was an excellent scoller, & made excellent verses in latin hee was stabd with a dagger & dyed swearing. (page 56)

References

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Since some of the manuscript locations specified in Bakeless's *Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe*, such as Middlesex Guildhall and Christ Church Gate, are outdated, as are some of his document references, I have listed the Marlowe documents by current archival location. Within locations, items are arranged in chronological order as they pertain to events in Marlowe's life, insofar as that is possible. Documents concerning Marlowe's birth and family background are located at Canterbury; therefore the Canterbury and Kent archives are listed first, followed by the Cambridge archives, the London archives, and the Folger Shakespeare Library, whose biographically significant documents date after Marlowe's death. Archives containing the most material are listed first, followed in descending order by those containing less material. I have of course relied on Bakeless and Urry for some information on John Marlowe and other members of Marlowe's family; those particularly interested in Marlowe's relatives should consult Bakeless's and Urry's documentation for further references.

I have recently been advised by the cathedral archivist at Canterbury that the BAC (city collection) and DAC (diocesan collection) references for CCA documents are now being replaced, respectively, by CC and DCb. However, the references in effect during my research, which are those supplied in this book, should present no difficulty in accessing the Canterbury documents.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES (CCA)

Parish registers of All Saints, St. Andrew's, St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Bredman, and St. Mildred's, Canterbury.

Archdeacon's transcripts of parish records.

Treasurer's accounts, King's School, New Foundation, #9, 20–21 Elizabeth, 1578–79.

John Benchkin identified as student of Cambridge, 29 June 1592, BAC J/B/391 iv. Corkine vs. Marlowe, 15 September–9 October 1592, BAC J/B/391 i, f. 13v.

Deposition of John Benchkin re. Harflete will, 2 December 1617, DAC X.11.15, ff. 245–47.

CENTRE FOR KENTISH STUDIES, MAIDSTONE (CKS)

[Copies of the records held at Maidstone are available at CCA on microfilm.]

Deposition of John Marlowe et al.: *Hurte vs. Applegate*, 19 February 1565, PRC 39/5, ff. 55+.

John Gresshop inventory, 23 February 1580, PRC 21/4, ff. 169–75.

James Benchkin inventory, 30 November 1582, PRC 10/10, ff. 740–50.

Will of Katherine Benchkin, 19 August 1585, PRC 16/36.

Deposition of John Moore re. Benchkin will, 30 September 1586, PRC 39/11, f. 234.

Deposition of John Marlowe re. Benchkin will, 5 October 1586, PRC 39/11, f. 237.

Nuncupative will of Dorothy Arthur, 21 August 1597, PRC 17/50, f. 161.

Will of John Marlowe, 23 January 1605, PRC 17/52, ff. 373–74.

John Marlowe inventory, 21 February 1605, PRC 10/34, f. 80.

Will of Katherine Marlowe, 18 March 1605, PRC 16/127.

ARCHIVES OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Buttery Books, 1580–86 (1586–87 missing).

Chapter Book, which includes the Registrum Parvum (1581).

Audit Books, 1580–85, 1586–87 (1585–86 missing).

UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Matriculation Book (1581).

Supplicats for degrees, 1584 and 1587.

Cambridge University Grace Book Delta, 1542–1588.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (PRO), LONDON

Clitherowe to Baines, 21 September 1586, S. P. 53/19.

Acts of the Privy Council, 29 June 1587; 18 and 19 May, 1593.

Petition of William Bradley re. Watson et al., 15 March 1589, K. B. 29/226.

Coroner's inquest on William Bradley 19 September 1589, C 260/174, no. 5.

Gaol Delivery Roll (killing of Bradley), 3 December 1589, C 268/12, no. 362.

Ballard vs. Baines, 1590, C 2 Eliz I, Bundle B 7/8.

Watson's pardon, 10 February 1590, C 66/1340.

Thomas Walsingham's pardon for outlawry (debt), 27 May 1590, C 66/1356, m. 35.

Letter from Robert Sidney to Burghley, 26 January 1592, S. P. 84/44, f. 60.

Letter from Robert Sidney to Burghley, 22 March 1593, S. P. 84/44, f. 145.

Coroner's inquest on Marlowe, 1 June 1593, C 260/174, no. 27.

Pardon of Ingram Frizer, 28 June 1593, C 66/1401, mm. 33–34.

Inquisition post mortem, Robert Woodleff, 15 March 1593, C 142 234/34.

Pardon of alienation for Anne and Drew Woodleff, 2 April 1596, C 66/1443, m. 2.

Pardon of alienation for Anne and Drew Woodleff, 2 September 1596, C 66/1445, m. 24.

BRITISH LIBRARY (BL)

Names of auditors of lectures, Cambridge, 1581, Lansdowne 33, ff. 84–85.

Evil dealings of Thomas Parish, May 1581, Lansdowne 33, ff. 67–68, and 33, f. 56.

Words and matter against Ric Cholmeley, ca. March 1593, Harleian 6848, f. 190, r. and v.

Another report on Cholmeley, ca. March 1593, Harleian 6848, f. 191.

Heretical papers found in Kyd's possession, May 1593, Harleian 6848, ff. 187–89.

Baines note, 26 [?] May 1593, Harleian 6848, ff. 185–86.

Copy of Baines note, June 1593, Harleian 6853, ff. 307–8.

Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering, June 1593, Harleian 6848, f. 154.

Kyd's note to Sir John Puckering, June 1593, Harleian 6849, f. 218.

Commonplace book of Henry Oxinden, February 1640, Addit. 28012, ff. 492, 495, 496, 514–15.

GREATER LONDON RECORD OFFICE (GLRO)

Marlowe and Watson committed to Newgate, 18 September 1589, MJ/SR 284, no. 12.

Marlowe bailed, 1 October 1589, MJ/SR 284, no. 1.

Marlowe bound to keep the peace, 9 May 1592, MJ/SR 309, no. 13.

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY (LP)

Thomas Drury, letter to Anthony Bacon, 1 August 1593, LP MS 649, f. 246.

FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

Thomas Walsingham conveys Rose Acre, 3 May 1630, MSS Z.c.24 (18).

Henry Oxinden's commonplace book, "Miscellanea," 1640s, MS 750.1.

Oxinden Amici (ca. 1640s).

Letter of Andrew Blair to John Wilson, 29 April 1819, Y.c.165 (1).

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