

NOTE AND DOCUMENT

Thomas Ward, ‘Thomas Webster’ and the 1687 Translation of Henry VIII’s Assertio Septem Sacramentorum

by DAVID BAGCHI
University of Hull
E-mail: david.bagchi@gmail.com

The most influential English translation of Henry VIII’s Assertio septem sacramentorum against Martin Luther, which is still widely available online and through e-publishing, was originally printed in London in 1687. Its translator, known only by the initials ‘T. W.’ that appear on the title page, is commonly identified in library catalogues as one Thomas Webster. Closer investigation reveals this identification to be based on a series of misunderstandings. It is suggested that this Thomas Webster never existed, and that the more likely translator was the Yorkshire-born controversialist, Thomas Ward.

Henry VIII’s *Assertio septem sacramentorum contra Martinum Lutherum* of 1521 was one of the most successful pieces of anti-Luther polemic of the early sixteenth century.¹ The translation, first published in 1687 by the London printer Nathaniel Thompson, is undoubtedly its most successful incarnation in English.² Without substantive changes, it was adopted by the Irish bishop John Hornihold for his Dublin edition of 1821 and by the American Fr Louis O’Donovan for his Baltimore edition of 1908. The Baltimore edition is the source of the many English translations of the *Assertio* currently available online and as e-books. As a result,

¹ On its printing history and international reception see the introduction to the modern edition, *Heinrich VIII.: Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, ed. Pierre Fraenkel, Münster 1992, 29–39. ² Wing H.1468.

even those versions which trumpet their modernity as translations ‘for the new millennium’ in fact offer their readers a hefty serving of late Jacobean prose. According to the title pages of the 1687 edition and the second edition of 1688, this translation was made by ‘T. W., *Gent.*’. He is identified in the *English short title catalogue* and in most library catalogues as ‘Thomas Webster, b. 1646 or 7’. I intend to suggest that this identification is mistaken, that this Thomas Webster never existed, and that the work should instead be attributed to the swashbuckling Catholic adventurer and controversialist Thomas Ward (1652–1708).³

The Assertio translation of 1687

When James II signed the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, Catholic anti-Protestant titles poured from English presses in record numbers. More than 8 per cent of the total Catholic book production in England for the entire century following 1615 appeared in that year alone.⁴ An important contributor to this effort was the London printer Nathaniel Thompson, who in 1687 published no fewer than forty-three titles explicitly promoting Catholic doctrines and practices. The author of four of these was identified only by the initials ‘T. W.’, or ‘T. W., *Gent.*’. They were: *Some queries to the Protestants concerning the English Reformation* (Wing W.836); *Speculum ecclesiasticum: or, An ecclesiastical prospective-glass* (Wing W.838); *Monomachia: or, A duel between Dr. Tho. Tenison ... and a Roman Catholick souldier* (Wing W.834); and a translation of Henry VIII’s *Assertio septem sacramentorum* against Martin Luther (Wing H.1468).⁵ The following year the same press, now managed by Nathaniel’s widow, Mary, issued a second, ‘Revis’d and Corrected’ edition of T. W.’s *Assertio* translation (Wing H.1469).

At first sight, the *Assertio* translation stands somewhat apart from the other works signed by T. W., which all focused on the key issue for Catholic controversy in the 1680s, namely the legitimacy of the Church of England following the break with Rome. Henry VIII’s refutation of Luther pre-dated that event by more than a decade. None the less, its first appearance in English dress served several important polemical

³ Geoffrey Scott, ‘Ward, Thomas (1652–1708)’, *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford 2004, at <<https://doi-org.hull.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28707>>, and ‘Thomas Ward (1652–1708) and Hexhamshire: Catholic apologetics in the Tyne valley’, *Northern Catholic History* xli (2000), 32–7.

⁴ Thomas H. Clancy, ‘A content analysis of English Catholic books, 1615–1714’, *Catholic Historical Review* lxxxvi (2000), 258–72, esp. p. 272 (Fig. 6).

⁵ Gerard Maria Peerbooms, *Nathaniel Thompson: tory printer, ballad monger and propagandist*, Nijmegen 1983, 256–63.

functions in 1687. It showed that there was a royal precedent for James II's public promotion of the Catholic cause; it challenged a century of Protestant claims that there was something essentially disloyal and seditious about being Catholic; and it complicated the Church of England's origin story with a reminder that its prime mover remained a devout Catholic all his life.

The *Assertio* translation was therefore a potent addition to contemporary Catholic propaganda. It is however interesting that no attempt was made editorially to underline its relevance for 1687, for instance with a new preface or other apparatus. The only seventeenth-century addition was a portrait of Henry VIII, which appeared as the frontispiece to the second edition. Otherwise, besides the royal treatise itself, the translation included only the preliminaries of editions published between 1521 and 1523: the oration of John Clerk, the English emissary who presented the treatise to Pope Leo X; the pope's reply to Clerk; the papal bull conferring on Henry the title 'Defender of the Faith' as a reward for his literary efforts; Henry's dedicatory preface to Leo; and his preface to the reader. No single Latin edition of the *Assertio* contained all, and only, these preliminaries, so it is not possible to identify the source used by T. W. in his translation. It is likely that more than one Latin version was consulted, with different preliminaries drawn from each. The *marginalia* are translations of those attached to the earliest editions of the *Assertio*.⁶

The translation itself is largely an accurate one, which undoubtedly explains why it has remained in print and e-print up to the present day. That is not to say, however, that it is free from idiosyncrasies and even defects. It is worth examining these in a little detail for the insight they give into T. W.'s translation practices. There are occasional lexical inaccuracies. For instance, in the king's preface to the reader, 'traditos ab antiquis patribus ecclesiasticos ritus eludit' is rendered 'who abolishes the Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies left by the Fathers', where the translator has apparently confused *eludere* ('to make sport of') with *eluere* ('to wash away', 'to remove').⁷ To take an example from the body of the *Assertio*, from its discussion of communion in both kinds, we see that 'cui populum sperabat alacriter applausurum' is rendered 'which he foresaw would be Prais'd and Applauded by the People', where one might object that foresight is not the same as hope.⁸ As both these examples also show, the translator was quick to expand on the original, often by the use of doublets: 'Rites and Ceremonies' for the simple *ritus*, 'Prais'd and

⁶ For a descriptive bibliography of the various Latin and vernacular editions of the *Assertio* up to 1924 see Fraenkel, *Assertio*, 77–87.

⁷ Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum: or, An assertion of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther; ... faithfully translated into English by T. W., Gent.*, London, 1687, sig. C3v. (The preliminaries are unpaginated.)
Ibid. 11.

Applauded' for *applausurum*. This can cross the line from stylistic embellishment to glossing, for instance when, in the king's treatment of papal power, T. W. translates 'papatum negaverat esse divini iuris' as 'he deny'd the Popes Supremacy to be of Divine Right, or Law'.⁹ It can also lead the translator to add ideas unwarranted by the original, most remarkably in the king's discussion of communion in both kinds, where the original 'cum Christi corpore' is rendered as 'with the body and blood of Christ'.¹⁰

In addition to lexical inaccuracies and liberties taken with the content, there are also some fundamental syntactical errors. For instance, in the preface to the reader, the king declaims of Luther 'quam putris huius animus, quam execrabile propositum, qui et sepulta resuscitat schismata' ('how diseased his soul, how damnable his design, who revives even buried schisms').¹¹ T. W. translates this as 'how infectious is his Soul who revives these detestable Opinions and buried Schisms', clumsily making the nominative *execrabile propositum* the object of *resuscitat*.¹² An example of poor translation from the body of the *Assertio* is another of the king's criticisms of Luther: '[a]nd this he Whispers, not only in one City, but publishes to the whole World' for 'idemque non in una quapiam urbe susurrat, sed per totum buccinat orbem'.¹³ Here the translator makes *non* qualify *in una urbe* when it clearly qualifies *susurrat*.

The case for Thomas Ward as translator of the Assertio

The author of the first three 'T. W.' tracts published by Thompson in 1687 has long been identified as Thomas Ward.¹⁴ Ward was born near Guisborough, north Yorkshire, into a Protestant family but he converted to Roman Catholicism in early adulthood, leaving England to serve with the papal guard and participate in maritime operations against the Ottomans. On the accession of James II, he returned to England and undertook to defend Catholicism with the pen, using the *nom de plume* 'the Roman Catholick souldier', as in the title of his *Monomachia*. He engaged in numerous controversies, notably with the later archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, over the aspersions cast on the Church of England in the *Speculum*. Ward again left England after James vacated

⁹ Ibid. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid. 10.

¹¹ Fraenkel, *Assertio*, 122.

¹² T. W., *Assertio*, sig. C4r.

¹³ Ibid. 3.

¹⁴ In addition to Scott, 'Ward', see Robert Watt (ed.), *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Edinburgh 1824, ii. 949b; Joseph Gillow (ed.), *A literary and biographical history or biographical dictionary of the English Catholics from the breach with Rome in 1534 to the present day*, London–New York 1885, v. 570–2; and Thomas H. Clancy (ed.), *English Catholic books, 1641–1700: a bibliography*, Chicago 1974, nos 1041, 1043–5. The details on Ward's life that follow are taken from Scott's *ODNB* entry.

the throne, but continued to write anti-Protestant polemic while presumably attached to the exiled court. He died, like the former king, at St-Germain-en-Laye.

The most natural conclusion to draw, and the one advocated here, is that the 'T. W.' who translated the *Assertio* for Thompson's press in 1687 was the same 'T. W.' whose *Some queries*, *Speculum* and *Monomachia* appeared from the same press in the same year, namely Thomas Ward. (There is the possibility that 'T. W.' was a sort of cypher that Thompson used for some of his Catholic authors to protect them and him from legal action; but this possibility is remote, given that Catholics had little to fear from litigation in 1687, and that Thompson himself evidently did not fear prosecution and seemed rather to welcome it.)¹⁵ Against this conclusion stand two considerable difficulties. The first is the fact that no-one has ever previously proposed Ward's authorship. In particular, the earliest biography of Ward, an anonymous notice which began to appear in the nineteenth-century reprints of his work, is notably silent on the question.¹⁶ The second difficulty, which will be considered in the next section, is that another T. W., Thomas Webster, is now generally credited with the translation.

In favour of Ward's authorship is the fact that he had experience of translating theological Latin: his *Some queries* was a rendering of the *Dubia quaedam super reformatione anglicana* of Peter Manby, the Catholicising dean of Derry, though it was omitted from the list of his works in the anonymous biography of 1807.¹⁷ This may suggest that translations were deliberately excluded from that account, making the absence of the *Assertio* from it less problematic. If the claim of that biography is to be believed, that Ward attended his local grammar school in Pickering where he excelled at classics, the translation of Henry's *Assertio* can be assumed to have been broadly within his capabilities.¹⁸ The same biography tells us that, while working as a private tutor to the children of a

¹⁵ 'The scourge of his fellow stationers, the "papist" Thompson defied the accusations of his Protestant adversaries and, despite the threats of government and his guild, pursued his trade, his faith, and his [Tory] conviction': Leona Rostenberg, 'Nathaniel Thompson, Catholic printer and publisher of the Restoration', *The Library* 5th ser. x (1955), 186.

¹⁶ 'A life of Mr Ward', which first appeared in the 1807 edition of Ward's *Errata to the Protestant Bible* and in the 1815 edition of his Hudibrastic poem *England's Reformation*, was reprinted many times. I consulted the version prefaced to the New York 1853 edition of *England's Reformation*.

¹⁷ The *Dubia* formed an appendix, in Latin, to Peter Manby, *The considerations which obliged Peter Manby dean of Derry to embrace the Catholique religion* (Wing M.384), yet another work published in London by Nathaniel Thompson in 1687. On Manby see Justin Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken: the Church of England and its enemies, 1660–1730*, Cambridge 1992, 84–8.

¹⁸ Anon., 'The life of Mr. Ward', in Thomas Ward, *England's Reformation: a poem in four cantos*, New York 1853, p. xxiii.

wealthy gentleman, '[c]hurch history, the ancient Fathers, the Scriptures, and the more modern Catholic controversies, always occupied his literary hours', and that while in Italy he conducted independent historical research in various libraries, including the Vatican.¹⁹ Certainly, his *Speculum* reveals a knowledge of the Bible and the Fathers that would have been sufficient to enable him to navigate the evidence marshalled in the *Assertio*. Indeed, Ward's theological acumen was such that one literary opponent, Tenison, believed him to be a Jesuit masquerading as a former soldier, while another, Henry Wharton, deduced that he was Cambridge-educated.²⁰ Ward was swift to deny it:

For so far off was my thoughts from ever being either a Cambridge Scholar, or wearing a Clergy-Man's Black Coat, that on the contrary, I was a Catholick before I was 19 years of Age, and (God Almighty be prais'd) have remain'd a Catholick ever since, which is now another 19 years; which if I had but time to write into Yorkshire I could prove by hundreds of witnesses.²¹

The testimony of Ward's admirers and opponents alike therefore confirms that he was capable of translating the *Assertio*. That he did so is not provable; but it is possible to gain an insight into Ward's idiosyncrasies as a translator. This is because there exists an independent translation of Manby's *Dubia*, published in Dublin in the same year that Ward's *Some queries* appeared in London.²² The comparison is instructive. For instance, Manby had described Cranmer as 'primus ille Reformator Ecclesiae Anglicanae', which the Dublin translator rendered accurately as 'that first Reformer of the Church of England'. Ward, however, offered a doublet that enlarged on the author's meaning: 'that first Patriarch or Reformer of the Church of England'.²³ Again, Manby's question 'Utrum defectus Missionis sit error in fundamentis?' is rendered literally in the Dublin version as 'Whether the want of Mission be a fundamental Error?', while Ward glosses: 'Whether want of Mission be not an error in the Foundation of any Church?'²⁴ Manby concludes his point by demanding that Anglicans explain the warrant by which Cranmer and other reformers challenged Catholic doctrine, declaring 'aut hic nodus solvendus est, aut simul agis & Judicem & testem & Accusatorem'. Again, the Dublin translator plays a straight bat: 'If you do not untie this knot, you do act as Judge, Witness and Party.' Ward, by contrast, seems to lose his way,

¹⁹ Ibid. pp. xxiv, xxv.

²⁰ Scott, 'Ward'.

²¹ Thomas Ward, *The Roman Catholic souldiers letter to Dr Thomas Tenison*, London 1680 [i.e. 1688] (Wing W.835), 1.

²² Peter Manby, *Certain doubts touching the English Reformation ... translated by another hand*, Dublin? 1687? (Wing M.382A).

²³ Manby, *Considerations*, 12, and *Certain doubts*, 1; Thomas Ward, *Some queries to the Protestants concerning the English reformation*, London 1687, 3.

²⁴ Manby, *Considerations*, 12, and *Certain doubts*, 2; Ward, *Some queries*, 3.

offering an extensive gloss that does violence to the syntax of the original: 'Untie this knot, or confess that Cranmer, Luther, Calvin, Socinus, &c., made themselves Judges, Witnesses, and Accusers.'²⁵ Ward's doublets, glosses and syntactical lapses, in contrast with the accuracy offered by Manby's Dublin translator, have clear parallels with those characteristics of the *Assertio* translation already noted. These parallels do not prove that Thomas Ward was the T. W. who translated the *Assertio*, but they strengthen the already strong suspicion, established on other grounds, that he was.

The fictitious 'Thomas Webster'

By 1908, the catalogue of the British Museum had already identified the author of the 1687 *Assertio* translation as Thomas Webster.²⁶ No less a bibliographical authority than Donald Wing canonised this identification with his annotation '[c]f. BM'.²⁷ The basis for it is, however, unclear. It seems to have originated in a tentative query to be found in Francis Peck's 1735 catalogue of controversial religious tracts from the reign of James II.²⁸ When Peck came to describe *Some queries to the Protestants* by 'T. W., Gent.' – which was, as already established, by Ward – he posed the following question: 'Quaere, if this Mr T. W. was not one Mr. Webster of Lynne. See No. 184. *infra*.'²⁹ Peck's cross-reference was to a tract published in 1688 by a priest at Great Yarmouth, Luke Milbourne: *A short defence of the orders of the Church of England, as by law establish'd: against some scatter'd objections of Mr. Webster of Linne: by a presbyter of the diocess of Norwich*.³⁰ The British Museum cataloguers seem to have taken this query to be a positive identification, and while Peck himself had made no connection between this T. W. and the author of the *Assertio* translation, Wing was to do so. He confidently described Milbourne's tract as '[a] reply to remarks by Webster in his translation of the *Assertio*'.³¹

The difficulty with Wing's description is that the *Assertio* translation contains no objections, scattered or otherwise, to the validity of Anglican orders. It faithfully represents Henry's original, and for obvious reasons of chronology the king was not concerned either with the wording of the Edwardine Ordinal or with the validity of Matthew Parker's consecration.

²⁵ Manby, *Considerations*, 12, and *Certain doubts*, 2; Ward, *Some queries*, 4.

²⁶ See the transcription from the catalogue provided in Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum or defence of the seven sacraments*, ed. Louis O'Donovan, Baltimore 1908, 102.

²⁷ Wing H.1469, the second edition of 1688.

²⁸ Francis Peck, *A complete catalogue of all the discourses written both for and against popery, in the time of King James II*, London 1735.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 21.

³⁰ London 1688 (Wing M.20238).

³¹ Wing M.20238, 20238A.

As already observed, there are no additional interpolations into the text (in the form of an added introduction, conclusion, or excursus) by the translator. Even the notes are simply translations of the *marginalia* which appeared in Pynson's 1521 version of the king's work, and have not been augmented or updated (though some were silently omitted). Moreover, nothing in Milbourne's tract relates to any part of the *Assertio*. Having satisfied himself that 'Mr. Webster of Linne' was T. W., the author of the *Assertio* translation, Wing assumed that Milbourne was responding to that translation. But what must have seemed to be confirmatory evidence was in fact a circular argument.

Wing and the British Museum cataloguers were evidently not aware that Peck's query about 'Webster of Linne' had already been satisfactorily resolved in the mid-nineteenth century by the librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, James Henthorn Todd. Todd was well advanced in his plans to update Peck's catalogue of works on popery when he heard that Chetham's Library in Manchester was working on a similar project, based on its own extensive holdings in this area. He therefore abandoned his project and generously handed over his papers to Chetham's. The Chetham project was published, in 1859, under the editorship of Thomas Jones, and Jones was scrupulous in identifying Todd's contributions. This is how we know that it was Todd who exploded Peck's suggestion (if it amounted to that) that 'T. W.' was 'Mr. Webster of Linne'.³² Todd's comments on the entry for Milbourne's *A short defence* shows that he was disinclined to speculate on this Webster's identity: 'I do not know who was the Mr. Webster of Linne, against whom this tract was written, nor where his "scatter'd objections" are to be found.'³³ But on Peck's musings as to whether T. W., the author of *Some queries to the Protestants*, and Webster were the same man, Todd was more forthright:

I know not why Peck has made this suggestion as to T. W., except that Webster begins with W.; there is no allusion in the Tract No. 184 [Milbourne] to the queries of T. W., nor anything to identify T. W. with Mr. Webster of Linne. It seems much more probable that the initials T. W. stand for Thomas Ward, 'the Roman Catholic soldier'.³⁴

³² See Thomas Jones (ed.), *A catalogue of the collection of tracts for and against popery (published in or about the reign of James II) in the Manchester library founded by Humphrey Chetham*, [Manchester] 1859. For an acknowledgement of the extent of Todd's contribution see Jones's preface at pp. v–vi. The correspondence between Jones and Todd is still held at Chetham's Library. For Todd's life see Andrew O'Brien and Linde Lunney, 'Todd, James Henthorn', *Dictionary of Irish biography*, Cambridge 2009, at <<https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.008577.v1>>.

³³ Jones, *A catalogue of the collection of tracts*, 208, no. 184.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 201, nos 173, 174.

Todd was correct in supposing that the author, or rather the translator, of *Some queries to the Protestants* was Ward. This had been established by Watt in the *Bibliotheca Britannica* some twenty-five years previously. Had Todd's reference to Ward, and his scepticism about the relevance of Webster, been heeded by the British Museum's cataloguers, no confusion need ever have arisen. As it was, Peck's query about Webster had set a hare running which resulted in the creation of a fictitious 'Thomas Webster' in the records.

Milbourne's 'Mr Webster of Linne' was evidently a man from King's Lynn who challenged the validity of Anglican orders. He was almost certainly the Revd Mordaunt Webster (1636–92), vicar of All Saints', King's Lynn, and resident thorn in the flesh of the Norwich diocese. Despite being a clergyman of the Church of England, holding not only the appointment at All Saints' but also the post of schoolmaster in St Clement Danes in London, Webster had spent some time at the Jesuit college of St Omer in the last years of Charles II's reign. He had returned to England on the accession of James II, and by late 1686 was proselytising for the Roman Catholic cause in the King's Lynn area under the protection of the king himself. He even arranged a meeting with his own bishop (William Lloyd of Norwich) in August 1687, at which he hoped to prove that salvation could not be found in the Church of England. This was a meeting in which the 'validity of Anglican orders was a crucial element' – and which, as both parties later reported, was so ill-tempered that it nearly came to blows.³⁵ It is difficult to imagine what other Webster of King's Lynn Milbourne, as a loyal 'presbyter of the diocese of Norwich', could have had in mind.

It seems therefore that the identification of T. W., author of the 1687 translation of the *Assertio*, as 'Thomas Webster' came about as the result of a series of assumptions and inferences. Starting from the reasonable assumption that the translator was the same T. W. who wrote other anti-Protestant works from London in the late 1680s, the title of Milbourne's tract (wrongly assumed by Peck to be a refutation of T. W.'s *Some queries to Protestants*) was used to supply the surname Webster. That T. stood for Thomas was a safe bet, given that name's historic popularity in England.

³⁵ Peter Smith, 'Bishop William Lloyd of Norwich and his commonplace book', *Norfolk Archaeology* xlv (2005), 702; Amos C. Miller, 'William Lloyd, bishop of Norwich: "a very able and worthy pastor"', *Norfolk Archaeology* xxxix (1985), 150–68, and "'A man of unquiet spirit": Mordaunt Webster', *Recusant History* xvii (1984), 1–16. As Miller notes, Webster seems to have been careful never to put his objections to Anglican orders in writing ('William Lloyd', 158), and in this respect Milbourne's description of them as 'scatter'd' seems apt.

The resulting amalgam ‘Thomas Webster’ was subsequently credited with another of T. W.’s works, the *Assertio* translation. But he was a figment of bibliographical imagination who never existed.³⁶

³⁶ A Thomas Webster of Downham Market, who was admitted to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, on 13 July 1664 as a sizar, aged seventeen, fits Wing’s suggested birth date of 1646/7 so exactly that he was very probably the Webster Wing had in mind. There was a further factor which may have decided the matter for Wing: according to the college entry, Thomas had attended school in King’s Lynn: *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge, March 1558–9 to Jan. 1678–9*, ed. John Venn and Susannah Venn, London 1887, 260; according to diocesan records, on being made deacon in 1670 Webster was assigned as curate to the parish of Gaywood, then next to, now part of, King’s Lynn: ‘Webster, Thomas (1670–77)’, person ID 128721, *Clergy of the Church of England database* (www.theclergydatabase.org.uk). This Webster had, however, long ceased to be connected with Lynn by the time Milbourne wrote: in 1677 he became curate at Monk Soham in Suffolk, and in 1679 had his MA incorporated at Oxford, indicating that he held a position there or a benefice in Oxford’s gift; there is a suggestion that he served afterwards as a naval chaplain: *Clergy of the Church of England database*, ‘Thomas Webster, ID WBSR664T’; *ACAD – A Cambridge alumni database* at <<https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>>, accessed 20 May 2023. Unlike Mordaunt Webster, who was demonstrably agitating very publicly against Anglican orders at Lynn in 1687/8, we know nothing about any activities that the Caiian Webster might have undertaken in this regard. More important, from our point of view, there is nothing to connect him to the *Assertio* translation. Perhaps because this Cambridge candidate is so unconvincing, Fraenkel proposed an Oxford alternative: ‘Über Thomas Webster, am 16. Juli 1660 in Oxford immatrikuliert, S. FOSTER: *Alumni*, series 1, Bd 3, S. 1592’: Fraenkel, *Assertio*, 85. The entry in *Alumni Oxonienses* gives his matriculation date as 13 July and describes him as a ‘ser[vitor?]’ at Lincoln College: *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, ed. Joseph Foster, at <<http://british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1577-1600>>. This Webster would have been around the age of fourteen or fifteen when he matriculated. As with the Caiian Webster, however, there is no evidence that this man either rejected Anglican orders or translated the *Assertio*.