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CHAPTER 1



The importance of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

MARGARET SPUFFORD

The social and economic spectrum of religious belief

Early modern historians are deeply divided, or at least uncertain, about the importance of religion to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century society. 'It is not clear', Professor Collinson has written, 'where this crucial period of religious change stands in the supposedly secular degeneration from a high level of religious practice in the Middle Ages to the socially circumscribed place occupied by institutionalised religion in modern society. When did traditional Christian society come to an end, or show signs of disintegration?'¹

The sources available may not ever permit of a clear answer, but this introductory essay will try to make a contribution to the subject. First, we must investigate and discard the distinction usually made between the self-styled 'godly' and the multitude.

'The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England' is the title of a splendid paper written in 1986 by Dr Eamon Duffy and I cannot do better than to quote part of his Introduction.

It is well on the way to being an axiom that the poor in early modern England were hostile, or resistant, or at best indifferent to protestant Christianity. Protestantism, runs the axiom, being a religion of the book, was the preserve of the literate. It flourished amongst townsmen and prospering 'rural elites'. It was an instrument of social control, a form of moral, ideological and economic discipline. The world of minister and godly book, of Sabbath observance, sermon-gadding and repetition, sobriety, chastity, respectability and thrift, stood over against the world of the alehouse and the cunning-man, of ballad and broadside, may-poles and dancing, and sunday-sports, tabling and dicing, bowling and cards, cakes and ale and getting wenches with child. This was the world of disorder and social inversion, in which magic and survivals of the old religion provided the supernatural vehicle for the repudiation

¹ Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982, p/b 1984), p. 198.

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of law and order and social discipline, which the middling and better sorts sought to impose on the 'rabble that cannot read'.²

Historians are engaged in a lively debate, springing out of the axiom of which Dr Duffy speaks, about whether seventeenth-century society was increasingly polarized.³ If the poor were indeed hostile, resistant, or indifferent to protestant Christianity, the tension between 'rural elites', 'godly' townsmen, and the rest, cannot but have been heavily accentuated. If, on the other hand, we can demonstrate that some knowledge of, or even adherence to, protestant religious beliefs, whether radical or orthodox, spread right across many layers of the better, middling and even worse sorts of Tudor and Stuart England, we will be better able to judge the reality of this particular tension, or whether it is mainly an historical construct, taken wholesale from the minds and opinions of the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century 'godly' themselves, and extrapolated from their mouths by contemporary historians to cover the whole of society.

As well as Dr Duffy's paper, we also have Professor Collinson's very balanced consideration and summary of our knowledge of 'popular and unpopular religion'⁴ which suggests, entirely rightly, that

The absence of reliable data [on religious practice] has understandably resulted in historians finding what they have been disposed to find. On the one hand we have Peter Laslett's extraordinary statement that 'all our ancestors were literal christian believers all of the time', which is undermined by evidence cited on almost the same page of *The World We Have Lost*,⁵ and Margaret Spufford's more cautious persuasion,

² *Seventeenth Century Journal*, 1, no. 1 (1986), pp. 31–49. I quote p. 31 here. It is a matter of great regret to me that Dr Duffy's book on popular religion, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (Yale, 1992), was in press while I wrote this.

³ A.J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985, p/b 1987), pp. 1–15; Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (London, 1982), pp. 140–8, 220–1; and Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700* (New York and London, 1979), p. 162; Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 105 (Nov. 1984), pp. 79–113; *The Religion of Protestants*, Collinson, p. 194. The point is discussed many times in Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1985). I have not attempted to footnote individual agreements and disagreements with this volume here. The primary disagreements are probably that I emphasize the closely intertwined nature of oral and literate culture born of reading skills in the seventeenth century much more, pay much more attention to the spread of orthodox and unorthodox doctrinal belief amongst even the 'meaner' sort of people, whilst in no way dismissing folk religion, and doubt the development of great social polarity in the seventeenth century, except, of course, on the great chalk uplands where the 'thresher poet' Stephen Duck recorded it so well in the early eighteenth century.

⁴ Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* chapter 5, *passim*.

⁵ Peter Laslett, *The World we Have Lost* (2nd edn, London, 1971), p. 74.

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derived from the study of certain Cambridgeshire village communities, that 'even the humblest members, the very poor, and the women, and those living in physical isolation, thought deeply on religious matters and were often profoundly influenced by them'.⁶ Whereas Keith Thomas thinks it likely that certain sections of the population, 'below a certain social level', managed without religion altogether: 'Although complete statistics will never be obtainable, it can be confidently said that not all Tudor or Stuart Englishmen went to some kind of church, that many of those who did went with considerable reluctance, and that a certain proportion remained throughout their lives utterly ignorant of the elementary tenets of christian dogma.'⁷ Peter Clark has been bold enough to put a figure on this 'certain proportion':⁸ 'Probably something like a fifth of the population of Kent stayed away from church on a regular basis in the later sixteenth century.'⁹

Patrick Collinson's own main sources, which must, as he says, be used with extreme caution, are the 'pessimism of the sermons and the literature of complaint' and the 'implied complacency of the records of ecclesiastical administration and justice'.

As Professor Collinson says, I am myself an interested party, inclining towards the view that there was a deep interest in religious matters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which crossed all social divides, and which involved some of the very poor, even including, perhaps, the vagrants, on whose opinions little information can ever be obtainable.¹⁰

So far historians involved in this debate on the percolation of 'godly' religious belief throughout society have mainly proceeded by case-studies of particular communities. I found very different patterns of diffusion of Congregationalist adherence in two Cambridgeshire villages in the 1670s: in Orwell, the adherence was spread right through village society from top to bottom with a slight bias towards the poor; in Willingham, both Congregationalists and Quakers were normally neither drawn from the top, nor the bottom, of the social structure. They were the relatively comfortable, but not outstanding, taxpayers on two or three hearths. Further work on two more settlements only confused the picture further. In one, Congregationalists and Quakers were rather more evenly socially spread than at Willingham, but less so than at Orwell; at yet another, Quakers were only to be found amongst the poor.¹¹

Since then, Dr Wrightson and Dr Levine have found a heavy concentration of 'godly' and indeed sectarian puritan beliefs amongst the 'better

⁶ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 343.

⁷ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 159.

⁸ Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society* (Hassocks, 1977), p. 156.

⁹ Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 198.

¹⁰ But see below, pp. 64–5.

¹¹ *Contrasting Communities*, pp. 300–6.

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sort' at Terling in Essex¹² and Dr Wrightson has extrapolated from this to write

the sober piety of the Reformation ideal could appeal to people of all ranks, and demonstrably did so, but it found its most receptive audience among a minority of the gentry, the yeoman and craftsman of the villages, and the merchants, tradesmen and artisans of the towns. It was they who formed the reading public for devotional works . . . The Interregnum saw the disintegration of English puritanism into a multiplicity of denominations and sects . . . In the proliferation of the sects . . . we have incontrovertible evidence of the extent to which one part of the common people – notably the literate 'middling sort' had become closely involved with the central issues of the day.¹³

Professor Collinson, on the other hand, has sounded a warning. 'Historians will do well not to jump to hasty conclusions about the "better sort", or to assume too lightly that the meaning of puritan evangelism was a class war of a kind.' He draws attention to three more studies of religion in society in the Kent and Sussex Weald, which 'all failed to discover any clear-cut difference of class between the reformed and unreformed elements . . . We conclude it is premature simply to equate the godly elite of early Stuart England with a social elite, or even with the broad band lying across the middle rungs of the social ladder.'¹⁴ Dr Ingram's study of Keevil, in Wiltshire, likewise fails to find a correlation between prosperity and religious belief.¹⁵ In view of the fact that the results of microscopic studies of nine communities have been summarized here, it seems extremely likely that further village studies will produce further varied results: that what we are in fact faced with is a variety of puritans and sectarian groups, formed of an infinite mix of different social and economic compositions. It is likely that a true analogy would be with the very wide variations between parish and parish, even in the same area, in literacy levels, which Dr Wrightson brings vividly to our attention. In Cornwall, for instance, the worst

parish for which we have evidence has an illiteracy rate of 92 percent, but the best had a rate of only 54 percent. In Essex, the worst parish had a rate of 82 percent, yet the best had one of only 36 percent . . . doubtless such variations owed their existence to a host of local factors – The important point to grasp, however, is that despite the gross social bias in the attainment of literacy, there were places where great cities or tiny hamlets, in which a much more widespread literacy had

¹² Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village*, pp. 158–62.

¹³ Wrightson, *English Society*, pp. 213–14, 217.

¹⁴ Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, pp. 239–41.

¹⁵ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1987).

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been achieved. Some husbandmen, artisans, labourers, servants and women could read and write.¹⁶

It seems therefore that a change of procedure is indicated. If instead of attempting further community case-studies, and coming up with more variants to confuse ourselves, we take the social and economic composition of whole heretical or sectarian groups, there is some hope of finding an adequate sample of the members of these groups to illustrate their social antecedents with conviction. This particular method is capable of providing proof. I touched on the subject in 1985, and then wrote:

The distribution of reformed beliefs has not yet been adequately studied at the village level. No one, to my knowledge, has looked properly at the social backgrounds of the later Lollards, and this could be done with precision . . . I have also looked at the social distribution of post-Restoration dissent and have found it certainly did not spread downwards. The deaf old fenwoman, a day-labourer who was converted to Quakerism by the written word, was one proof of that. So also were the villages where dissent concentrated at the bottom of the social structure, or spread evenly through it. But there were other communities where dissent did make more appeal to the more prosperous. We simply do not know enough yet, and it would be unwise to generalise on the basis of less than a full examination of all the varieties of dissent across at least the whole of two contrasted counties of England. This has not yet been done.¹⁷

Now it has. Thanks to the enormously hard and enthusiastic labour of Dr Derek Plumb, Dr Christopher Marsh, and Dr Bill Stevenson, we now know, in a way we did not, of the social and economic spread of the later Lollards in the mid-Thames valley area of Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, of the Family of Love in the 1570s and 80s in Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, and at the royal court, and of the social background of Quakers, Baptists, Open Baptists, Independents and even Muggletonians in no less than five counties, (Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Hertfordshire). Dr Eric Carlson has explored the backgrounds and bias of the churchwardens in Cambridgeshire who made the all-important presentments to the church courts on which the historian relies so much. Dr Tessa Watt has investigated the nature of the cheap 'godly' print which increased in volume from a trickle to a flood in this period. Dr Michael Frearson has investigated the roads and routes along which the carriers and pedlars who distributed this cheap print travelled.

¹⁶ Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 194.

¹⁷ Margaret Spufford, 'Puritanism and Social Control?', in Fletcher and Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, pp. 46-7.

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Because the results produced by the first three were so full, we were encouraged onwards to tackle a question first explicitly argued as long ago as 1661,¹⁸ and rather more recently by Dr Christopher Hill.¹⁹ For a very long time, historians of dissent have supposed there might be linear continuity between radical dissenters: that later Lollardy might have been the seedbed from which, more than a century later, the post-Restoration dissenting sects finally put out their fully grown shoots. Our possession of lists of names of the later Lollards in Buckinghamshire and over the border into Hertfordshire, and Dr Plumb's identification of a 'gathered church' around Amersham in the 1520s, as well as the names of the early Friends attending the Upperside Meeting in exactly the same area in the seventeenth century collected by Dr Stevenson, together with the lists of Baptists attending Ford and Cuddington 'gathered church' in south Buckinghamshire immediately after the Restoration, suggested powerfully to us that it might be worth tackling this old historical chestnut yet again, by using surname evidence and genealogical techniques, and attempting to trace family and linear linkages between late Lollards and post-Restoration dissenters.

To our delight and our own astonishment, this painfully laborious and tedious exercise proved possible: thanks to the work of Mrs Nesta Evans (Chapter 7) we now have a continuity through time, and through family, of radical dissenters focussed on exactly the same market towns. We have carried out this work for two of the seven main areas designated as 'likely' by Dr Hill. These were Kent,²⁰ Essex,²¹ the Chilterns, Berkshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, and the midlands around Coventry. These other areas deserve further investigation, using the same surname techniques by other historians, since the ecclesiastical court records are unlikely to prove continuity of dissenting opinion through time, unless it be that of 'popish recusants'.²²

¹⁸ *Semper Fidem: Or, a Parallel betwixt the Ancient and Modern Fanaticks* (1661).

¹⁹ 'From Lollards to Levellers', in Maurice Cornforth (ed.), *Rebels and their Causes: Essays in Honour of A.L. Morton* (London, 1978), now most accessible in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, vol. II: *Religion and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Brighton, 1986), pp. 89–116.

²⁰ There is a thesis which suggests that such continuity may be very likely in Kent. Robert J. Acheson, 'The Development of Religious Separatism in the Diocese of Canterbury, 1590–1660' (University of Kent at Canterbury, PhD, 1983). Dr Acheson writes: 'other examples, such as the Knotts of Dover and Eythorne, the Innises of Dover and Prescotts of Guston, tend to lend some credence to the idea that the family played a crucial role in the perpetuating of dissenting attitudes over a number of generations, although there is clearly much research before this can be established reasonably firmly'. I am much indebted to Dr Jacqueline Bower for abstracting this thesis for me.

²¹ See Appendix A.

²² Margaret Spufford, 'The Quest of the Heretical Laity', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, *Studies in Church History*, (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 225–6.

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Despite being an interested party, and also believing both that proof of the social and economic spread of radical dissent is possible, and that we have achieved it in this volume, I stand by my cautious view that 'genuine popular devotion of a humble kind leaves very little trace upon the records of any given time. The believer, especially the conforming believer, makes less impact than the dissident. At no period is it possible to distinguish the conforming believer from the apathetic churchgoer who merely wished to stay out of trouble.'²³ The case I cite of the post-Restoration yeoman William Coe of Mildenhall,²⁴ half of whose diary concerns his tipping in the alehouse, and the other half his meditations on reception of Holy Communion, illustrates my meaning well. We are dealing with a huge spectrum of people, ranging, no doubt, from the non-believer²⁵ through those induced by social pressure to conform to avoid trouble, via genuine conformists of conviction, and those who were prepared to buy and read the new 'small godly' books, to the people to whom the practice of religion was a conscious and deliberate act of belief, like 'our' Calvinists (Table 1), and to those who were prepared to face court prosecution and fines for it, and, ultimately, to those who could, and did, face martyrdom. This spectrum must be expressed statistically in the very limited way that early modern statistics will allow. The Communicants' Returns of 1603, and the Compton Census of 1676 can be used yet again.²⁶ In this volume, we produce further tables of statistics, this time of the taxable status of dissenters of particular persuasions. But these people are not reducible merely to statistics, not only because we are here reducing such a wide spectrum of conviction, and the lack of it, into a Procrustean bed of similarity, but also because statistics in themselves suggest the passivity of the subjects.

Charles Booth wrote a magnificent plea for dispassionate thinking in his plea for the empirical social survey, in 1887:

To judge rightly we need to bear both in mind, never to forget the numbers when thinking of the percentages, nor the percentages when thinking of the numbers. This last is difficult to those whose daily

²³ *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1981, p/b Cambridge, 1985), p. 194 and argument to p. 196.

²⁴ See below, pp. 96–7.

²⁵ Michael Hunter, 'The Problem of "Atheism" in Early Modern England', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Ser., 35 (1985), pp. 135–57.

²⁶ Discussed briefly in Margaret Spufford, 'Can we Count the "Godly" and the "Conformable" in the Seventeenth Century?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), pp. 435–7. Dr Keith Snell, of the Department of English Local History at Leicester, has embarked, with Paul Ell, on computer analysis and mapping of the religious statistics that exist for England. His initial results on the 1851 Ecclesiastical Census appear as K.D.M. Snell, *Church and Chapel in the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1991). He intended to work backwards to end up with the Compton Census. These analyses will provide us with a magnificent new tool. See below, p. 43 n. 134.

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experience or whose imagination brings vividly before them the trials and sorrows of individual lives. They refuse to set off and balance the happy hours of the same class, or even of the same people, against these miseries; much less can they consent to bring the lot of other classes into the account, add up the opposing figures, and contentedly carry forward a credit balance. In the arithmetic of woe they can only add or multiply, they cannot subtract or divide. In intensity of feeling such as this, and not in statistics, lies the power to love the world. But by statistics must this power be guided if it would move the world aright.²⁷

It has sometimes seemed to me recently that we have fallen into the equal, and opposite, error: in the 'arithmetic of woe' sometimes current historians can only subtract or divide; they cannot add, or multiply. Dependence on statistics, which are entirely necessary, by depersonalizing the subjects, is also inherently misleading, and suggests a flaw in the historian's relation to the people who are the subject of his or her study, and a lack of proper respect for the human beings involved, which was splendidly objected to by Richard Cobb in 1971.

I do not care to learn that members of the upper bourgeoisie of Elbeuf possessed from 6–20 servants, that members of the middle bourgeoisie of Elbeuf possessed from 2–6 servants, and that members of the lower bourgeoisie of Elbeuf possessed from 0–2 servants. I do not know what sort of a non-person a 0 servant can be: and I even find it distasteful thus to equate the number of servants to visible signs of wealth and status, along with knives and forks and silver teapots, pairs of sheets and household linen, even if this may in fact be a useful measurement for the assessment of relative wealth. Perhaps I am being sentimental, but it disturbs me to see poor country girls sweating it out below stairs, or freezing in the attic, the object of the lust of the Master and his sons, being further humiliated, long after their death, thus being forced into graphs in the galleyships of ... doctoral candidates.

These girls after all, however poor, possessed their own identity, and faces, sometimes pretty ones, though generally pock-marked, often a generous and open disposition, a great deal of naivety, a proneness to revere and obey their fathers and to love and slave for their brothers, even if their intellectual baggage was as limited as their wardrobe.²⁸

What Cobb is objecting to, with a force for which 'passion' is not too strong a word, is not the use of numbers, but the degree of depersonalization that may go with them, the loss of the 'wealth and variety of human motivations ... the myriad variations of human lives'. We have used

²⁷ Quoted by Brian Jackson in his 'Introduction' to Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 14.

²⁸ Richard Cobb, 'Historians in White Coats', *Times Literary Supplement* 3 Dec. 1971, pp. 1527–8.

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statistics, or at least samples of different sorts of dissenters frequently in this volume, but have tried strenuously to remember the persons, and the passions, behind the numbers.



Our first object, as a group of scholars coordinating our work on the project, then, has been pinpointing the social and economic position of radical dissenters, and even, if possible, some practising conformists, very precisely, by identifying them in taxation returns, and in assessments for poor rates and those in receipt of relief. We wanted to know how far down society practising nonconformists did spread. We are now in a position to make an answer, which is not even tentative, to half of Dr Duffy's first, huge question: 'Was there such a thing as popular Christianity: can we find a genuinely plebeian religious context into which to fit [Pepys'] bible loving shepherd?'²⁹ The reader will find below, p. 19, an example of a very real Quaker shepherd, distraised of his breeches in 1674. Dr Stevenson provides a genuine sans-culotte to answer Dr Duffy, as well as a statistical frame to prove this poor man was not unusual in his society. This answer will, from the nature of the evidence, always be confined to that end of the spectrum of believers who were prepared to be persecuted for their beliefs: it therefore applies only to a tiny minority. We can speak definitely of the plebeian origins and backgrounds of bible loving shepherds, but they are always going to be Lollard, or Quaker, or Open Baptist bible loving shepherds, in trouble with the authorities, and therefore visible to us. But that tiny minority, of whom we can speak precisely, was quite definitely extended to the poorest taxable members of society. There were Lollards taxed on only their wages in 1524–5,³⁰ and Quakers, Baptists, Independents, and even Muggletonians who were exempt from the Hearth Taxes on the grounds of poverty in the 1670s.³¹ Specific radical religious beliefs were found among the very poorest. Dr Stevenson even has a General Baptist vagrant. But we can only speak of the 'genuinely plebeian religious context' of 'heretics',³² not of the orthodox.

²⁹ Duffy, 'The Godly and the Multitude', p. 41.

³⁰ See below, Table 4, p. 114, and pp. 12–13.

³¹ See below, Table 10, p. 338, and pp. 18–19, 334 *et seq.*

³² I have not engaged at all in this essay with the changing definition of heresy through time. See, for instance, Anne Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?', first published in Stuart Mows (ed.), *Religion and National Identity*, Studies in Church History, 18 (Oxford, 1982), reprinted in *idem*, *Lollards and their Books* (London, 1985), p. 162, when she points out that knowledge of the Pater Noster and the Creed in English itself was evidence of heresy. Under fifty years later, a woman of the diocese of Ely was presented to her ecclesiastical court for not knowing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed (see below, p. 75).

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The huge lacuna in this argument is that we could only look for those whose beliefs were unacceptable to their own societies, and were therefore victims of persecution: we could not search for the 'godly', the moderate Calvinists who made up the acceptable English protestants about whose social diffusion there is so much debate. In 1986, Dr Duffy 'granted that puritanism seems to have been most successful amongst the middling and better sorts'. But need we? Is there any theological or social reason why the forms of protestantism, Calvinist orthodox belief, and 'godliness', accepted, and indeed welcomed, by ecclesiastical authority after the 1570s should not spread socially as widely as either Dr Plumb here shows Lollardy did, or Dr Stevenson shows Quaker, Baptist, and Independent beliefs did? There is simply no reason for us to know of the spread of 'godly' beliefs, since they were not presented in ecclesiastical courts, but were a matter for rejoicing. No one needed to flinch after 1558, if a volume of Perkins or Foxe, or even Calvin, was found open on the table in the hall by the churchwardens, as they did when a copy of the Bible in English was found in 1537.³³ There was no need for such an episode ever to be recorded. We cannot know of the spread of either Calvinist conformity, or conformist devotion, although we have attempted an examination of Calvinist dedicatory clauses in wills, which give us a minimum estimate of the number of the convinced 'godly', and a picture of their social distribution. We may perhaps draw a cautious analogy from Dr Judith Maltby's work, showing that in a handful of Cheshire parishes, parishioners whose social and economic level she has identified, including those on poor relief, signed petitions in favour of the prayer book in the late 1630s.³⁴ The key and vital point is that the overseers of the poor in her parishes did not necessarily sign, even if the poor did. The overseers may not, therefore, have been standing at the church door with a quill in their hands, to enforce conformity on the poor. Prayer book conformists also then crossed the social and economic spectrum, and included some of the very poor, as dissenters did. But we can never estimate the number of conformists who had their own convictions. Like dissenters, they may have been another small minority, or they may not.

Our examination of the minimum number of the Calvinist 'godly' to be found from their wills demonstrates their wide social diffusion but does little to make their real numerical strength amongst the 'common sort' apparent to us. In part this is because the churchwardens themselves

³³ A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (Oxford, 1959), p. 8 n. 1, which points out that the works of Calvin appear on a list of prohibited books dated 1542. See below, p. 71.

³⁴ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People: Religious Conformity before the Civil War* (Cambridge, forthcoming).