Household Divinity and Covenant Theology in Lincolnshire, c.1595—c.1640

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John Becke, rector of Kettlethorpe in the latter half of Elizabeth I’s reign, wrote his own epitaph:

I am a Becke or River as you know,
And water’d here the Church, the School, the Poor.'

Few of his contemporaries would have dissented from his interpretation of the minister’s role as one of spiritual and social irrigation. Regardless of differences among themselves in matters of theological or ceremonial emphasis, most clergy gave priority in their parishes to the work of Christian reformation: they had a responsibility to their congregations to know ‘how to prove a thing to be a sin’ and how to ‘dissswade from vice’.2 Even Richard Bernard, one of Lincolnshire’s most radical ministers, came to follow James I’s advice to the puritans by leaving ‘Obscure Scriptures . . . for the Schooles’, since out of these ‘must necessarillie arise questions or controversies’ which might deflect him from his primary task of caring for God’s flock. Francis Marbury, town preacher of Alford, placed first among the signs of his vocation his realisation that ‘I stood well affected to my countrinmen, whom I desired to reforme’. Thomas Bell, rector of Burton Coggles, tells us that

my desire was to profit all: to confirm the strong;

to strengthen the weake; to stay the staggerer;
to rouse up the drowsey; to instruct the ignorant;
to gratifie the thankful; to persuade the doubtfull;
and to confound the proud, malepeart and disloyall hearts.3

The writings and the wills of Lincolnshire ministers show them teaching that ‘grace alwayes hath the precedence, and goeth before good works and righteousness’, and that everlasting life could be obtained only through God’s grace and Christ’s merits. But they also stressed, with increasing momentum in the first half of the seventeenth century, the role of repentance in salvation. Repentance was one of the first signs of a man’s ultimate election to ‘the City and Colledg of deceased Saints’, as Thomas Walking (who censured ‘over-hot’ puritans) wrote in 1608. It embraced not only sorrow for past sins but inward resolution to avoid in future ‘the baies and hookes of the world’ and to do good.4 The means by which a man might be educated, with God’s grace, to achieve such a personal reformation, became known as ‘household divinity’.

Household divinity was not exclusively a puritan craft, though some of its keenest and most skilful practitioners were puritan ministers. ‘Puritanism’, never a static phenomenon, defies attempts at simple and comprehensive definition.5 By the 1630s it was virtually synonymous with ‘anti-Laudianism’, indicating adherence to a Calvinistic theology, as against the Arminian interpretations favoured by the Archbishop of Canterbury and many of his supporters; a fierce hatred of high-church ceremonial; and a stubborn love of preaching. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, attitudes were more fluid. Conservative, as well as radical, divines praised the works of Calvin, Beza, and William Perkins (though this general approval left scope for heated disagreement on particular points of interpretation).6 Nor was puritanism coterminous with non-conformity to the ceremonial requirements of the Church, which were only sporadically and incompletely enforced. Indeed, the norm in the late sixteenth century may well have been one of non-conformity: in Lincolnshire subscription to the Three Articles was seldom demanded, and omission of the surplice by all but the most radical or unpopular of ministers usually escaped comment. Investigations in response to the canons of 1604 showed that more than sixty Lincolnshire ministers — one in eight of the county’s clergy — were non-conforming, and even a cursory glance at the list of offenders reveals their general respectability and conservativeness. They included such eminent non-puritans as Lawrence Stanton, rector of Uffington, dean of Lincoln, and an ‘honest, quiet, and stayde man, not given to factions, nor anie brocher of noveltyes’.7 In so far as puritan ministers of the early seventeenth century had any single distinguishing characteristic it is that they were not quiet and staid, but hot and fiery, impatient for the work of godly reformation to continue, both at the centre of the Church and in their own parishes and families. Their sense of urgency sometimes brought them into conflict with their colleagues and neighbours: they were ‘alwayes in the operative moode’, ‘all upon the spurre’, or (as Bishop William Barlow’s chaplain put it) ‘verie busie bodies’.8 For many years, however, their aims attracted as much sympathy as opposition from the conservative wing of the Church. Household divinity, far from having a divisive effect, was a multi-layered structure built by a wide variety of hands.

‘Son of man, I have made thee a watchtower over the house of Israel, go hear the word at my mouth and give them warning from me:’ this was a text ‘well approved’ by the Bishop of Lincoln’s visitors, who heard it propounded in a sermon at Lincoln in 1614.9 In the early seventeenth century the idea of a parish ministry commanded almost universal approval among the clergy. Just as Richard Bernard believed that the ‘lively faith’ of the elect was derived from ‘effectual calling by the Word preached’, so his conservative colleague, George Budele, could refer to ‘our Saviour Christ his rouzing of us out of our dead winter sleepe of sine by the preaching of the Gospel of Repentance at the windowes of our eares’;10 Robert Johnson, chaplain to Budele’s patron, Bishop William Barlow, thought nothing more necessary to spiritual health than a good sermon, and advised the laity to ‘heare all men that preach the Gospel as much as thou maist’.11 Christopher Dynys, vicar of Calceby, spoke for a whole generation of ministers when he instructed his flock to procure as his successor ‘some honest preaching minister’, so that the closing of his own lips in death would not deprive them of ‘God’s grace, and the working of the Holy Spirit’.12

Lay attitudes were more varied, and the path of household divinity did not always run smoothly. According to Bishop Richard Neile’s visitors in 1614, ‘the multitude is drawne to this conceate, That the preaching of the Word is not only a principall, but even the sole and only means of man’s salvation, and that all religious worship consists only in speaking and hearing’.13 However, for every ‘sermon-gadder’
encountered in the records of ecclesiastical justice, we find at least a dozen other parishioners who dozed or chatted their way through long hours of obligatory boredom. A sermon preached by Chancellor George Eland in Lincoln Cathedral in 1629 prompted one of the congregation to depart for the alehouse, 'saying he had rather have a coafe of his own love'. Even John Cotton, who preached at Boston 'with such plainness as became the oracles of God', could cause his audience 'to wink or nod', and one man, 'being asleepe, to fall downe from the loft into one of the pewes, to the evell example of others'.

According to Robert Sanderson, rector of Boothby (and subsequently bishop of Lincoln), it was the 'loose persons and prophanes ones' who most commonly sneered at their preachers. Although 'over-personal' preaching was discouraged by the bishops, it was part and parcel of household divinity that the clergy should 'bee zealous in reproving of sin, and in correcting vices'. Richard Bernard counselled his fellow ministers not to be so afraid of causing offence that they merely took a 'glance at sin' from 'farre off', 'for feare of hitting'. In fact several minor affrays in Lincolnshire parishes were precipitated by a Phineas in the pulpit who, by 'being angry', hoped to 'appease the anger of God'. There were always some who, like William Kidd of Huttoft in 1637, 'had rather submit ... to the divill then to the minister and churchwardens'. A resident of Camberingham, for instance, warned the vicar 'that if ever he redde anie homilies against drunkenesses, he woul[d] pull his cloak over his eares'. Although we have no way of knowing how often moral guidance was tendered or heeded, either publicly or privately, the undiminishing numbers of offenders presented at each visitation may suggest that the initial failure on both counts was high. Henry Sharrock, vicar of Long Bennington, admitted to the bishop in 1606, that

I live in a towne so disordered, and the persons so headstrong in their disorders, that if I reproove publicly, I am cavedall att afterwards; if privately, scorned and reviled to my face; if I speak of their wilfulness to those with whom I am familiar, if ever it be knowne, I am threatened to be sued for a slander or else complaied to the bishop for so many occasions as they can possibly article ... so that I have beene advised by some my neighbour ministers to passe them over with a kind of neglect: which counsell I have followed this three or foure yeares.

Of all the ways a Christian had of conveying his share of natural gifts to his brethren, the best was by example. Bernard's ideal minister would 'teach with his heart and his life as well as with his voice', because 'common people respect more a preacher's life then his learning'. Although many observers of the contemporary clerical scene agreed that 'men of meaner gifts ... doe sometimes speak as effectually as the consciences of the country people' as those more 'eminent for Learning and Eloquence', no general policy came to be formulated to accommodate this point. Rapid educational expansion in the later sixteenth century dramatically improved the academic qualifications of the men entering the Church, an advance which outpaced the licensing mechanism in the diocese of Lincoln in the early years of the seventeenth century. Thus in 1603 the archidiocesan officers of Lincoln and Stow found that while 60 per cent of the local clergy were capable of preaching, less than half that number had licences. By 1614, however, the picture was more balanced. Most licenced preachers were MA's; most non-preachers were non-graduates; and divided almost equally between the two groups were those clergy who had achieved only a first degree. By this time also monthly sermons were expected by the local ecclesiastical authorities, and complaints by parishioners against dumb-dog ministers had become virtually extinct.

A characteristic expression of household divinity, in Lincolnshire as elsewhere, was — even more than the spoken word — the printed tract. While a mid-Elizabethan divine could confidently proclaim that 'I had rather preach ten sermons than penne one', the next generation of ministers knew through hard experience that sermons 'at first hearing ... made in some no deep impression'. If the message of redemption was to be grasped, there was a need not only for eager preachers, but for 'diligent reading, continuall remembrance and careful practise' by their hearers. The tract was a tool designed specifically for the householder, and was increasingly refined to fit its purpose. Whereas Francis Trigge, rector of Welbourn, took almost four hundred pages in his Touchstone of 1600, to show how it 'may easily be discerned, which is the true Catholicke faith', Thomas Grainger's Tree of Good and Evil of 1616 was kept 'easie for the price, weighty for the matter, and light for the carriage, either in thy pocket, or in thy bosome, or in thy handes' When William Evans, rector of Thorganby, criticised the 'ignorant people' for being 'sooner persuaded by plaine similitudes and familiar examples, than with subtil reasons, and accurate discourses', he was consciously setting himself against a general trend. Every effort was being made to tailor content and presentation to 'the common good of the simple sort.'

Somewhat surprisingly, both teaching and catechising seem to have been awarded lowly status outside the pages of the godly tract. The role of the schoolmaster, like that of the minister, was portrayed by clerical authors as one of teaching the Word of God, and of some four hundred teachers recorded in Lincolnshire between 1595 and 1640 a third were in holy orders. But by far the majority of these were poor curates who needed the money, and a zealous minister was no likelier to teach than any of his more complaisant colleagues. John Clarke, rector of Fiskerton and a schoolmaster 'very famous for learning and piety', was unusual in actually putting into practice the idea that the study of scriptures should be a primary part of education. The canons of 1604 required all clergy to spend at least half an hour before evening prayer on Sundays and holy days instructing the young in the elements of the faith. Yet despite general agreement that 'with this milke they must be fedde, or els never looke that they shall be able to receive strong meate', a constant trickle of ministers appeared at visitations for their neglect in this respect. In the seventeenth century, as in the sixteenth, it was probably true that 'scarce the twentieth minister ... doth performe this duty ...'. Even a stern disciplinarian such as John Foster, rector of Creton (who served as an officer in the consistory court) catechised only in Lent, as did several of his non-conforming colleagues. Little love was lost between some of the catechists and the catechised. One boy took a 'squire' into Hewton church and soaked the congregation; another was spotted 'shooting at the church of Thelmelie with his peace'. In 1601 the youngers of Newton refused en masse to attend their vicar's classes.
If once thou waxest weary of waxing better', counselled Henry Hooke, rector of Nettelton, 'thou ceasest altogether to be good'. Or, as William Ward put it, 'the least sinne without repentance and God's mercy is damnable'.40 looming even larger than the possibility of damnation in the imagination of Lincolnshire authors was the probability of preliminary punishment on earth, and disease and natural misfortune often gave substance to their warnings. During the early seventeenth century bad weather, which turned 'summer... into winter' and 'cheapness of all things into dearth', was followed by plague, and that in turn by 'an inundation of waters' in Lincolnshire, which allegedly swept away twenty villages around Long Sutton.41 Divine judgement on this scale could be random in its effects. David Allen, rector of Ludborough and a man renowned for his piety and reforming zeal, found his family played by several 'fatherly rodders' in 1605 - including 'a grieved fever' which struck down one 'towards child' and placed another 'in great peril'.42 While it was readily comprehensible that 'the sluggish or carnall Christian', like the horse, 'must bee remembered eyther with spurr or switch', the possibility of the whole team being flogged because of one wayward member was sometimes hard to bear.43 The 'Devill, . . . like a common Informer cannot endure to bee out of practise, but must bee alwayes nibling at our heels, slandering and accusing of us unto God': 'no marvell if that wee be afflicted, distressed, and lodged in a Labyrinth of miseries, having such a vigilant adversary . . . .'.44 Not only clerical tracts, but even the county's broadsheets and ballads, became pervaded by a sense of impending doom and despair.45

As well as describing in lurid detail the maze of sin and damnation, ministers also began to offer advice on finding an exit. It was their obligation not only to 'breake downe the pride of sinners', but to 'raise up the humble that sorrow for sinne'.44 Those preachers who, like William Hearne of Hemingby, left their congregations sitting like 'theves in geale . . . with worse countenances then such as are going to hanging this assise', soon came to be criticised for having failed in their duty.43 Francis Tigge's Touchstone affords an early example of changing attitudes: the reader is assured that only God's enemies will find Him severe, that with God's grace he will be reborn, and that 'even as one making a bargain, if hee have the earnest, there is sure of the bargain; so God having promised us heaven, giveth to all His the earnest thereof in this life, that they might be assured of it'. A certain sign of regeneration was 'good thoughts', leading to 'good works' - man's side of the agreement. Unrepented sin would break the bargain, and it would be a 'just thing with God to proceed as Plaintiff against us' and take back his gifts.46

'Covenant theology' was a reaction to the harsh determinism inherent in Calvinistic theories of predestination, as popularised in England by William Perkins in the late sixteenth century. Whereas Calvin himself had left several articles of faith open-ended, thus proving acceptable to a wide range of Elizabethan divines, his disciple Beza had concentrated on deducing from the scriptures certain basic principles on which to build a logical, defensible system of belief. Bezan interpretations, publicised by Perkins and embraced with characteristic enthusiasm by many of the puritan clergy, laid particular emphasis on predestination and made reprobation a matter of central importance. Among the Lincolnshire clergy there were complaints that some 'plead nothing but lawe and judgement to a distressed soule' and 'damnation according to the rigor of the Law'. 'Covenant theology' presented a more humane, and an even more orderly, alternative. None welcomed its appearance, and nurtured it more carefully, than the puritans themselves. The new interpretations were all the more readily accepted because they overlapped and reinforced the emphases of household divinity, and for some ministers the two developments walked hand-in-hand together.44

'Not sinne simply, but sinne not repented of, damnsith': covenant theology worked not from predestination inwards, but from the heart outwards.46 William Worship, vicar of Croft, reminded seekers after godliness that 'teares in themselves are but things indifferent, and never please God but when they issue from a troubled spirit, suppld with grace and wounded with true remorse and sense of sin'.47 Nevertheless, the first stirrings of repentance took on a special significance, not least because they served as an 'Ammutee' against the fretting worme of fear and despair that tended to gnaw 'day and night' at the souls of predestinarian Protestants.48 Certainty of election was crucial: 'Without doubt wee must be sure of yt, or else we shall never obtaine it: God loveth no waverer or doubter'.49 Thus the vicar of Calceby made his will in 1620 'confidentlie and assuredlie' believing that God 'hath freelie remitted and utterlie forgave mee all my horrible sinnes and transgressions, both original and actual, of omission and commission', 'not for anie merit, worth or desert that ever was or is in mee, but for his assured covenant sake . . . .'.50

'Heaven is called Olympus, a hill', and we must 'scrabble up thither upon our hands and our feet, between the rocks of this world'.51 Covenant theology attempted to break the climb into manageable steps. Thomas Granger described good and evil in all their branches and offshoots: in the seventh commandment alone he discerned no less than twenty meanings, each of which he subdivided into several parts. Edward Reynier, preacher to Lincoln corporation, claimed that his Precepts for Christian Practice (running to ten editions in sixteen years) comprised 'Toton Hominis, the whole duty of man contracted into a little Room'.52 The sins that attracted most detailed denunciation, in the pulpits of Lincolnshire as elsewhere, were the most common - and therefore often the relatively trivial.53 Even anti-puritans and non-conformists turned their invective against 'this swilling-tankard-tinkering drunken time, where all goes up for the filling of the bladder and the guts'.54 And when 'noble Prince Henry' suffered 'untimely death', William Worship concluded that 'wee may thanke our Court-oathes, as one chiefie cause'.55 Heinous transgressions of God's law, such as sodomy, were not spoken of in public, lest the preacher 'convey into the minds of corrupt men . . . notions . . . as perhaps otherwise they would never have dreamed on'.56

Of all God's commandments, none was propounded more enthusiastically than the fourth. Christopher Dynys hoped that his children not only would 'deteste, eschew and abhor all envie; hating wrath, malice and spite, which bee the inward worke of Satan', but 'spically that thee bee verie careful and diligent to keepe the Sabbath daihe holie, and spend it holie, in hearing and reading [the] Word of the Lord, and in meditatinghe of God's goodnes toward them all the weeke past'. Cautionary tales devised by Lincolnshire clergy included the fate of 'a certaine nobleman', who went 'a-hunting in the sermon while', and whose
preference for his hounds above divine service ‘caused his wife to bring forth a child with a head like a dog’. In the winter of 1634 fourteen youths spent Sunday playing football on the frozen river at Gainsborough — until the Almighty sent a sudden thaw, which drowned the lot."62

During the first decade of the seventeenth century, conforming and conservative clergy were as anxious as their reforming colleagues to see the Lord’s day better observed. With the growth of covenant theology, however, sabbatarianism became more exclusively a puritan trait.63 When John Vicars, the radical vicar of Stamford St Mary’s, preached that in accordance with the scriptures every master of a household should offer God a six-fold sacrifice on the sabbath, ‘six or seven women heerupon would not serve because they could not fnd such masters’. This ‘newe nunery of Stamford’ was part of a covenant sealed between Vicars and his followers — ‘his children begotten in the Lord’ — whose lives he guided in intimate detail until his deprivation by the High Commission in 1631.64 Tristram Hinchcliffe of Timberland followed a similar path, refusing to administer holy communion to parishioners outside his inner circle.65

‘Household divinity’, designed to reach the soul of every parishioner, was in fact becoming more exclusive. While the mainstream of Lincolnshire ministers continued to accept the unregenerate members of their congregations as part of the visible Church, the more radical brethren began to distinguish themselves and their chosen ones from the unrepresentative majority. At Horncastle, Sutterton and Boston, puritan clergy formed conventicles with puritan parishioners in the 1620s.66 By the following decade there were several other groups in Lincolnshire, consisting of laymen dissatisfied with their own ministers, who went to sermons outside their own parishes. In 1636, for instance, at least nine people from Bolingbroke habitually frequented neighbouring churches, and when they came at home they met at Robert Stennet’s house at midnight, and this Stennet [a layman] stands up in a high chair, with a booke in hand, and there preaches to the rest.67 John Greene, another layman, was part of a similar group at Limber Magna, whence he was presented to the archiepiscopal visitors of 1638 ‘for preaching in a tumb in the night in the house of Mary Wright’.68 Partly because the local ecclesiastical authorities began to press more insistently for uniformity in worship, the number of ‘sermon-gappers’ presented at visitations grew ever larger: 3 in 1631, 24 in 1635, 32 in 1636, and 54 in 1637.69

‘True religion’ was not exclusively a privilege of the educated and the socially superior: conventicles at Horncastle and Scuffard included a shoemaker and an ironmonger.65 Although there were limits to the degree of theological awareness that might be reached by an uneducated person, not all ‘points of divinity’ were (as Archbishop William Laud and his supporters contended) ‘too deep for the capacity of the people’. As Robert Sanderson acknowledged, a ‘scrupulous conscience’ could be formed not only by ‘reading the books’ of puritan authors, but by ‘hearing the sermons, or frequenting the company of men more strict, precise or austere in sundry points, then they need or ought to be’.72 On the whole, however, a generation of sermons and tracts, of household divinity and of covenant theology, met with limited success in Lincolnshire. Ministers fared particularly badly when they entered combat with local custom or collective inclination. If most people fancied mowing on a fair sabbath’s evening, then mow they would; if a fiddler or pipers passed through a village, then spontaneous merriment (with or without the sanction of the King’s book of Sports) was hard to suppress.73 Sir William Armine of Os ngôi, ‘a careful Pilot’ who guided more than one ‘half dead Passenger’ through part of life’s spiritual journey, was remembered at his funeral in 1651 as a sparkling exception to the general pattern: the typical layman, in Lincolnshire as elsewhere, was still the ‘unebelieving lumpish Christian’ whose soul remained unformed.74

FOOTNOTES

2 Richard Bernard, The Faithful Shepherd, London, 1607, pp.18-19, 26-37, 68, 70; Francis Trigg, A Touchstone, whereby may easily be discerned, which is the true Cathollke faith, of all them that profess it the name of Catholiques in the Church of Engladene, that they be not deceived, London, 1609, pp.19, 23, 26.
3 Bernard, op. cit., p.18; William Barlow, The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his excellent Majesty to have with the Lords Bishops...at Hampton Court, London, 1638, pp.41, 45, 49; Francis Marbury, A Faireful Sermon necessary for the Time, London, 1602, no pagination; Thomas Bell, The Anatomy of Popish Tyranny, London, 1603, Epistles Dedicator.
8 Johnson, Davids Teacher, p.53; Robert Sanderson, Twelve Sermons, London, 1632, p.33.
10 Bernard, Double Catechism, p.4; Biddle, Discourse, p.79.
11 Johnson, Davids Teacher, pp.11-12.
12 L.A.O.: LCC wills 1620, 469.
14 L.A.O.: Vj/18, p.132; Vj/20, f.36; Vj/18, ff.131, 171v; Vj/21, f.39v; Ch P/11, f.43.
17 Sanderson, Twelve Sermons, p.33.
Articles to be Enquired of Within the Diocese of Lincoln, Cambridge, 1635, pp.22, 26; Trigg, Touchstone, p.52.

Bernard, Faithful Shepherd, pp.18-19.

L.A.O.: VI/14, f.30; VI/17, f.82v; Ward, Sinner's Indictment, pp.13-14.

L.A.O.: VI/20, f.128v.

L.A.O.: VI/17, f.32v. This dismissive attitude occasionally was extended to more serious matters: for a case of incest, see L.A.O.: VI/21, f.31v.

L.A.O.: Ch P9/9, f.11.

Bernard, Faithful Shepherd, pp.12-13, 93.

Ward, Sinner's Indictment, Epistle.


Trigg, Touchstone; Granger, op. cit., Epistle Dedication.


Lincolnshire schoolmasters in holy orders comprised 77 curates, 24 vicars, 11 rectors, and 43 men who never had a living in the county. See Hajzyk, op. cit., pp.168-70.


E. Cardwell, Synodalia, Oxford, 1842, p.280. It had always been a clerical duty to teach parishioners the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments; the Prayer Book of 1549 added the catechism to the expression of faith which was to be taught.

L.A.O.: VI/19, f.45v; VI/21, f.66, 62; VI/22, f.111; VI/19, f.100v; VI/10, f.88; VI/11, f.83v, 39v; VI/12, pp.407, 411, 479; VI/13, f.136; VI/17, f.81, 122v; Bernard, Faithful Shepherd, p.8-10: Granger, Tree of Good and Evil, Epistle.


L.A.O.: VI/18, pp.92, 128; VI/19, f.45v; VI/11, f.8; VI/12, pp.407, 487.

L.A.O.: VI/10, f.31v; VI/20, f.155; VI/10, ff.135v, 136.

Henry Hooke, A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall ... Jerusalem's Peace, London, 1604, p.121; Ward, Sinner's Indictment, p.121.


L.A.O.: Cor/B/2, nos.7, 8.


Ashto, op. cit., pp.11-12.


Granger, Tree of Good and Evil, p.33; cf. Ward, Sinner's Indictment, p.4.

L.A.O.: Box 58/bundle 1/no. 5.

Trigg, Touchstone, p.31; Ward, Sinner's Indictment, p.19.


Draex, Churches Security, Epistol Dedication; Granger, Tree of Good and Evil, p.72; J.S. Bray, Theodore Beza's Doctrine of Predestination, pp.59-60.

Trigg, Touchstone, p.27.

L.A.O.: I Ccc wills 1620, 469.

Johnson, Davids Teacher, p.33.

Granger, Tree of Good and Evil, pp.44-7; Reynes, Preceptes, Preface.


Buddil, Discourse, pp.65-6.

Worship, Pattern of Invincible Faith, pp.33.

Sanderson, Twelve Sermons, p.75.

L.A.O.: I Ccc wills 1620, 469.


L.A.O.: VI/18, f.73.

L.A.O.: SS 466/1/15; VI/18, f.167v; VI/29, f.83.


L.A.O.: VI/30, f.76.

These data have been derived from archidcalch, episcopcal and archicopcal visitation books; cf. Hajzyk, op. cit., p.366.

L.A.O.: VI/29, f.83; Box 80, nos. 6, 9.


Sanderson, Twelve Sermons, p.97.

L.A.O.: VI/9, f.32v; VI/11, ff.154, 158v, 160; VI/12, p.465; VI/21, f.57v; VI/19, f.53; VI/21, f.122v; VI/24, ff.55v, 57v; VI/28, f.41; VI/30, f.118. Cf. Wrighton, 'Puritan Reformation of Manners', pp.30-4, 102 et seq., 130-1; Thomas, Religion and Decline of Magic, p.179 et seq.