Henry Hallywell (1641–1703)
A SUSSEX PLATONIST

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Henry Hallywell, a Sussex clergyman during the Restoration period, published a series of short books which popularised the philosophical theology of the Cambridge Platonists. This article establishes the facts of Hallywell’s life and parochial ministry at Ifield, Crawley, Slaugham, Plumpton and Cowfold, while briefly introducing his writings. The author will continue her study of Hallywell with an article discussing his Cambridge Platonist ideas more fully, to be published elsewhere.

A PASTORAL PLATONIST IN SUSSEX

Henry Hallywell was a native of Sussex who spent his entire life in the county except for his education at Cambridge and occasional visits to London and Suffolk. He was born at Twineham, went to school at Horsham, and became successively vicar of Ifield, rector of Crawley, Slaugham and Plumpton, Sutton Prebendary in Chichester Cathedral and vicar of Cowfold. His career as a Cambridge-educated country clergyman in the second half of the 17th century was entirely ordinary. What marked him out as extraordinary was his friendship with the Cambridge Platonist philosophers Henry More, Ralph Cudworth and George Rust and the way in which he condensed their voluminous, complicated and often abstruse arguments into a series of attractive little books designed to be read by other clergymen and literate parishioners. While the Cambridge Platonists were academic thinkers, Hallywell applied their core theological ideas to the spiritual life of the ordinary people to whom he ministered; his primary concern was always pastoral.

A biographical article on Hallywell is long overdue. Between 1873 and 1882, a series of short pieces in Notes and Queries discussed Hallywell as a Sussex clerical incumbent, distinguishing him from his father (also Henry Hallywell) and establishing a reliable list of his writings. Yet there was no entry for Hallywell in the Dictionary of National Biography (1885–1900), nor does he appear in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography of 2004. The purpose of this article is to provide an account of Hallywell’s life and career as a Sussex clergyman, with a brief introduction to his writings in their parochial context. While a companion article to be published elsewhere will explore his writings more fully, a brief definition of Cambridge Platonism is necessary here in order to gain some sense of Hallywell’s distinctive theological position.

As Cambridge Platonists, More, Cudworth, Rust – and Hallywell – were members of a loosely-knit philosophical-theological circle which also included Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith and a number of lesser followers. They attempted to accommodate the ideas of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato and his later interpreters to Christianity, following an irenic middle way between the contemporary Calvinist Puritanism and High Churchmanship. Against the Calvinist doctrines of double predestination and total human depravity, the Cambridge Platonists affirmed the goodness of a God who invited all human beings to achieve salvation through a freely chosen life of holiness. Although they conformed to the restored Church of England in 1660, they thought that the High Church requirements of episcopacy and set liturgy were less important than the personal, rational quality of the Christian life, and they emphasised the God-given reason implanted in all humankind. While both Puritans and High Churchmen attempted to contain the problem of human sin within doctrinal and ecclesiastical structures, the Cambridge Platonists sought ‘deiformity’ or Godlikeness, the moulding of the human soul into a fit state to enjoy the eternal happiness of intimacy with God himself. The Cambridge Platonists are usually overlooked in accounts of English church history which focus on the development of Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism, but they are important as ancestors of the liberal Anglican strand within the Church of England today.
CHILDHOOD: TWINEHAM, HORSHAM AND IFIELD

Henry Hallywell came from a Sussex family which can be traced through five generations. In 1593, our Henry’s grandfather, Henry Hallywell I, was married, at St Clement Danes in London, to Margaret, the daughter of Richard Coldam and his first wife Ann Farnefolde. Coldam was a yeoman of Midhurst and a member of the Kyme family of Lewes. Margaret became our Henry’s paternal grandmother and was buried on 16 August 1638 at Twineham, where her son, Henry Hallywell II, was rector. Henry Hallywell II matriculated at Cambridge as a pensioner (i.e. a student whose family paid his fees) from Trinity College at Michaelmas 1616, taking his BA degree in 1621 and his MA in 1624. He was ordained both deacon and priest on 20 May 1625 by Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff. (During the 17th century, bishops resident in London took it in turns to conduct ordinations for candidates from several dioceses.) Henry Hallywell II was instituted on 31 May and inducted on 2 June 1626 to the rectory of Crawley on the presentation of Sir Walter Covert of Slaugham. Resigning Crawley, he was presented to the rectory of Twineham on 21 January 1632, again by Sir Walter Covert, just six days before the latter’s death. On 4 July 1635, he was licensed to preach in the diocese of Chichester by Sir Nathaniel Brent, vicar general of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, possibly an indication that Hallywell was not puritanically inclined.²

Henry Hallywell II and his wife Elinor were the parents of our subject, Henry Hallywell III, who was born at Twineham and baptised there on 14 October 1641 (Fig. 1). Our Henry was described in his father’s will as his ‘eldest son’, but an earlier baby called Henry had been baptised on 17 August 1639 and buried on 10 January 1641. Two
daughters had been born earlier and would survive to adulthood: Mary and Anne were baptised on 9 July 1635 and 2 May 1637, respectively. Twineham was a small parish; in 1676 the Compton census would record 80 residents over the age of 16. According to the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, the rectory of the parish church of St Peter was worth £10 15s. 5d., but its real value would rise to over £50 by 1724. From 1643, Sir John Covert of Slaugham, great-nephew of Sir Walter, held the manor of Twineham Benfield there. Sir John was loyal to the crown during the Civil War and would be created a baronet at the Restoration and elected MP for Horsham in 1661.3

Our Henry was sent to Collyer’s Free Grammar School at the market town of Horsham. Founded by the will made in 1523 by Richard Collyer, a native of Horsham who had become a mercer of considerable substance and a citizen of London, Collyer’s was intended particularly for 60 poor boys from Horsham and the surrounding area, teaching them Latin grammar without charge. The school flourished during the 17th century, with nearly 100 boys, not all of them the sons of poor men, attending in 1666. John Nisbet became master of Collyer’s School in 1648, perhaps about the time Henry arrived there; he was probably the Johannes Nisbit who had graduated MA from St Leonard’s College, at the University of St Andrews, on 21 January 1641. The school’s historian commented that Nisbet’s ‘ambitions were confined to his profession’, but nothing is known of his pedagogical ideas and methods, much less his political or religious opinions. He was, however, a great builder, overseeing major additions to the school which were completed by 1660. Also in 1648, Horsham was the centre of a royalist uprising suppressed by Sir Michael Livesay’s parliamentarian regiment of horse. There was fighting close to the school, and the quartering of Livesay’s troops in the town during 1649, characterised by ‘disorders and plunderings without distinction of friend or enemy’, caused great distress. A congregation of Baptists began meeting in Horsham in 1648, and Quaker preaching started there in 1655, perhaps giving Henry his first acquaintance with groups he would later combat as Nonconformists.4

Henry Hallywell II had become vicar of Ifield by 1651, replacing a negligent and violent predecessor, Edward Mitchell. His patron was Henry Peck of Lewes, from whom he obtained a lease of the parsonage. Hallywell was reconfirmed in his possession of Ifield on 7 August 1660, following the Restoration, and he retained it until his death in February 1667. Ifield was another part of the extensive Covert family landholdings. The parish was almost twice the size of Twineham, with 150 residents over 16 in 1676. The vicarage of Ifield was not a wealthy one, being valued at less than £7 by the Valor Ecclesiasticus, with only two acres of glebe; its real value in 1724 was described as ‘according as it happens’, but the church was large enough to accommodate 300 people. Local tradesmen included cooper, masons, carpenters, butchers, smiths, wheelwrights, bricklayers, glovers and weavers. The village also had iron-stone mines and smelting mills, which had been first held by royalists and then destroyed by General Waller’s troops during the Civil War. After the Restoration, there was a considerable recovery in the Sussex iron industry due to the constant need for military weapons, so the parish was perhaps quite prosperous during our Henry’s later incumbency.5

Concerning the Hallywell family’s life in Ifield, another child, John, was buried there on 6 August 1651, and Henry Hallywell II’s will, made on 6 February 1667, revealed the existence of two other children: Arthur and Margaret. Two ‘loving sons’ (i.e. sons-in-law or stepsons), Edward Mitchell and Thomas Grundy, were also named in the will and modestly rewarded as overseers. Mitchell, possibly the son of Hallywell’s predecessor at Ifield, appears to have been Hallywell’s curate, and Grundy, possibly the ejected minister of Denton, was Mary Hallywell’s husband. Henry Hallywell II was buried in the north nave of St Margaret’s church on 14 February 1667. His wife Elinor had died on 3 January, and they shared the same grave. According to Quaker sources (which were hostile for reasons which we shall see below), he ‘was a long time before his death smitten with lameness and then with blindness, and so died miserably, being afraid to be alone’. The only other fragment of personal information which survives concerning Henry Hallywell II is that he contributed five shillings to the repairing of St Paul’s Cathedral, presumably at the end of his life, just after the great fire in September 1666.6

Henry Hallywell II’s will indicated a fair degree of material prosperity and domestic comfort. The probate inventory of 25 February 1667 valued his goods at £498 10s. 0d. All of the children except...
Arthur, who was sole executor and residual legatee, received specific bequests of table and bed linen. Henry's legacy included a dozen flaxen napkins marked 'E. W.'. This perhaps indicated that his mother Elinor's maiden name began with W, and we might conjecture that she was a Warren from Suffolk. As we shall see, Erasmus Warren of Suffolk was our Henry's contemporary at Cambridge and presided at his wedding; he might have been a kinsman as well as a friend. On the other hand, weaving and spinning were local cottage industries at both Ifield and nearby Cowfold; these textiles might have been received as tithe payments in kind, in which case the 'E. W.' would have been without significance. When Anne Hallywell made her will in 1669, she again left fine household textiles to her brother Henry and sister Margaret.7

EDUCATION AT CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Henry Hallywell was admitted as a pensioner, aged 17, at Christ's College, Cambridge, on 11 May 1657. As we have just seen, Erasmus Warren was his contemporary at Christ's, being admitted on 10 February 1657; if the two boys were cousins, their parents might have sent them to Christ's simultaneously, even though Erasmus was only 14. A clue to the choice of Christ's, rather than Henry Hallywell II's Trinity, might have been the marriage in the late 1640s or early 1650s of Sir John Covert of Slaugham to Isabella, daughter of Sir William Leigh of Loughborough. The Leighs were a large family, and it would be difficult to establish with certainty a relationship between the Leighs of Loughborough and the Thomas Leigh, descended from the Leighs of High Leigh, Cheshire, who was schoolmaster of Bishop's Stortford, but it is perhaps significant that Thomas Leigh's sons and many of his pupils went up from his grammar school to Christ's, including his eldest son William whom our Henry would succeed in a college fellowship. It might therefore be conjectured that Sir John recommended Christ's to the young Henry. Another reason for the choice of Christ's was perhaps the influence of Abraham Halliwell of Pikehouse near Rochdale; John Peile, the historian of Christ's College, thought he was a relative of the Sussex Hallywells. Abraham Halliwell had gone up to Christ's in 1637, taking his BA in 1641 and MA in 1644, and the Christ's College Study Rents Book shows that he still had rooms in college in May 1645. Our Henry Hallywell took his BA in 1661 and his MA in 1664.8

Hallywell's tutor was the minor Cambridge Platonist George Rust. Henry More had been a fellow of Christ's since 1641, and Ralph Cudworth had been master of the college since 1654. Rust had migrated from St Catharine's College, Cambridge, after taking his BA in 1648, and he had read for his MA under More's supervision. He was elected to a fellowship in 1649 and retained it for a decade, so his direct influence on Hallywell lasted for only the first two years of the four-year undergraduate course. Nevertheless, Rust's influence on Hallywell was profound; much of our knowledge of Rust's thought comes from Hallywell's editions of his writings, published in the 1680s. Five academic discourses from the period of Rust's fellowship and two sermons preached later in Ireland – he would end his life as bishop of Dromore in 1670 – showed that he took a deeply rational attitude towards Christianity, detesting the Calvinist doctrine of double predestination, believing in a God who loved all humankind and wanted them to return that love by pursuing holiness of life, and enjoying the latitude of belief allowed by the Church of England. Rust was very likely the author of A Letter of Resolution concerning Origen, published anonymously in 1661, which advocated the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, a controversial theological position favoured by More and adopted in Hallywell's first book, A Private Letter of Satisfaction to a Friend of 1667. While there is no extant evidence for the name of Hallywell's tutor during the second half of his BA course, the influence of More was very considerable in all of Hallywell's published works. As we shall see below, six letters from Hallywell to More are extant – one written from Ifield in 1672 and five more from Slaugham between 1683 and 1686. Internal evidence shows that this series is incomplete, and More's replies have unfortunately been lost.9

Hallywell was elected to the Christ's College fellowship made vacant by the death on 31 July 1662 of William Leigh, the eldest son of the schoolmaster of Bishop's Stortford. King Charles II sent two mandates to the college concerning this vacant fellowship, but Hallywell, a member of Christ's and therefore eligible by college statute, was chosen in preference to Thomas Smoult of St John's. Hallywell's election was in the autumn, following the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity on 24
August, so his acceptance of a fellowship required his acceptance of the Restoration settlement of the Church of England. To fulfil the terms of his fellowship, he was ordained both deacon and priest by Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, having secured a faculty on 18 December 1662 because he was only 21 years old. In 1664, he was willing to become supernumerary, as there were too many fellows at Christ's following the Restoration, but this was not required. Peile found no evidence that Hallywell resided in college, but the Study Rents Book shows that in 1665 he occupied the third chamber on the second storey, counting from the chamber over the buttery, in the Old Court. Peile also said that Hallywell took no pupils, but Peile's own Biographical Register of Christ's College shows that he was tutor to Richard Waller from Horsham and John Dison from Leeds. He also had two sizars (students who acted as servants to fellows in lieu of fees): Samuel Leake from Loughborough and Henry Hauxley from Derbyshire, both of whom were tutored by Michael Stanford, another pupil of Rust. All of these men graduated BA, and all but Waller were ordained to the ministry of the Church of England, but unfortunately none left writings which might have shown Hallywell's influence. Hallywell resigned his fellowship at Lady Day, 25 March 1667, on succeeding his father as vicar of Ifield.10

VICAR OF IFIELD

After Hallywell's parents died in early 1667, he seems to have made haste to settle his own clerical and family life. His father left him the lease of the parsonage of Ifield, and he was instituted as vicar on 1 March 1667, just a fortnight after his father's burial. Six weeks later, on 19 April, Hallywell married Mary Clover of Chippenham, on the eastern edge of Cambridgeshire. Mary Clover had been baptised at the neighbouring parish of Snailwell on 9 June 1644; she was the daughter of William Clover and Mary Rerur, who had been married at Snailwell on 5 November 1641. Henry and Mary Hallywell were married at Worlington in Suffolk, very near to Chippenham. Erasmus Warren, who had grown up in the vicarage at Chippenham and become rector of Worlington on 9 January 1666, officiated at the wedding. There were at least five children of the marriage. Charles was born in 1672; we shall see more of him later. A second son, James, was baptised at Slaugham on 9 December 1681, but nothing more is known of him. There were also three daughters, Catherine, buried at Slaugham on 4 June 1689, Elizabeth, married to Henry Strudwick at Cowfold on 29 September 1696, and Mary, buried at Cowfold on 15 November 1697.11

By Henry Hallywell II's will, our Henry's sister Anne was to live with her brother as long as she pleased or as long as he and his future wife, if he married, were happy to have her there or until she married. If Anne left the family home unmarried, he was to pay her a quarterly allowance of twenty shillings. Perhaps Anne was rather frail; she was ill when she made her will in November 1669, aged 31, and died the following spring. She left a monetary legacy to her cousin, another Henry Hallywell, probably the man of that name who matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in March 1649 and took his MA in 1655.12

Hallywell published five books during his time at Ifield. All of them were short, clearly and pleasantly written and obviously intended to popularise the theological ideas of Cambridge Platonism. A Private Letter of Satisfaction to a Friend was published anonymously and without identification of the printer in 1667, although it had been written by 25 June 1665. Hallywell was undoubtedly concerned that a book advocating both the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of souls and prayers for the growth in holiness of departed souls (although not in the Roman Catholic sense of prayers for souls in purgatory) would receive a hostile reception. While he was developing themes of More and Rust's writings on the soul, his local concern may well have been the preaching of Matthew Caffyn, a General Baptist who ministered to a congregation at Southwater near Horsham and had debated with the Quakers George Fox at Horsham and Thomas Lawson at Ifield in the mid-1650s. Caffyn taught that the soul died with the body and that the whole person – body and soul – would rise together at the final judgement. Hallywell can hardly have been ignorant of this local threat to both Anglican orthodoxy and the Platonic doctrine of the soul's natural immortality. In a letter to More in 1672, he affirmed his belief in pre-existence but also expressed concern about the souls of children who died in infancy. Two years later, in a letter to More's friend Edmund Elys, Hallywell neatly synthesised
the soul’s quest for holiness from the terrestrial to the heavenly life.13

Hallywell’s second work, Deus Justificatus: or, the Divine Goodness Vindicated and Cleared against the Asserters of Absolute and Inconditionate Reproduction of 1668, was again published anonymously, but this time the publisher was named as Walter Kettilby, More’s publisher and London bookseller, whose shop at the sign of the Bishop’s Head in St Paul’s churchyard was later Hallywell’s London postal address. Deus Justificatus was essentially a refutation of the Calvinist doctrine of double predestination; Hallywell’s argument was that holiness of life and obedience to a loving God are the universal conditions of salvation. This book also contained Some Reflections on a late Discourse of Mr. Parkers, concerning the Divine Dominion and Goodness. Parker, a former Presbyterian, was chaplain and censor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon, and would later become Bishop of Oxford himself. In his reflections, Hallywell defended the Cambridge Platonist belief that God’s pre- eminent attribute was goodness, not wrath, against Samuel Parker’s attacks.14

Hallywell’s third work, the anonymous Discourse of the Excellency of Christianity of 1671, was again published by Kettilby. Here, his target was not so much Calvinism as atheism, a problem of great concern to the Cambridge Platonists in the period when Thomas Hobbes’ works were becoming influential and London coffee-house ‘wits’ openly scoffed at religious belief. Hallywell’s rebuttal of atheism was less philosophical and more overtly Christian than those of More and Cudworth; he set out a ‘reasonable’ account of the Christian religion and its moral requirements. A fourth book, The Sacred Method of Saving Humane Souls by Jesus Christ of 1677, continued in a similar vein. Here, the author appeared on the title page as ‘Henry Hallywell Minister of the Gospel at Ifield [sic] in Sussex’, and Kettilby was again the publisher. These books encouraged readers to take responsibility for their own moral behaviour, with the help of God’s grace, and promised the reward of eternal fellowship with God.15

At Ifield, both our Henry Hallywell and his father engaged in a bitter dispute with local Quakers. Under the Commonwealth, while the episcopal Church of England was proscribed, there was religious freedom for Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, but the new sect of Quakers, which emerged about 1652 from the preaching of George Fox, was prosecuted – and persecuted – during the 1650s. We have seen that our Henry probably first encountered Quakers in 1655, while he was a schoolboy in Horsham. By 1658, a Quaker meeting was being held regularly at the house of an Ifield weaver, Richard Bonwick. That same year Thomas Patchinge, a former churchwarden of Ifield, stood up on a bench in St Margaret’s church at the close of a Sunday service to preach the Quaker message of the inner light. The tithing men (minor parish officials) ignored Henry Hallywell II’s order to silence Patchinge, but he was eventually removed by the churchwardens. From that time, a number of Ifield Quakers – including John Tugwell, Arthur Stanbridge, William Garton, Richard Dunton, Jane Dunton, John Shaw and Jane Kempsell – were imprisoned in Horsham gaol, under dreadful conditions, or had their goods and farm animals distrained for refusal to pay tithes. With the passage of the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670, which made meetings for worship outside the established Church of England illegal, the persecution of Quakers increased, but the Ifield meeting continued steadfast. In 1676, there were 40 nonconformists in Ifield, probably mainly the Quakers who had recently built the first meeting house in Sussex, a deeply evocative building which is still used for Quaker worship today (Fig. 2). Ifield Quakers still remember Henry Hallywell, father and son, as persecutors of their spiritual ancestors, although it should also be remembered that clergy and their families were dependent on tithe income for their livelihood.16

Hallywell’s An Account of Familiarism as it is Revived and Propagated by the Quakers of 1673, published by Kettilby and dedicated to Sir John Covert of Slaugham, should be understood in the context of this painful local controversy, in the year when King Charles II’s short-lived Declaration of Indulgence was revoked. The way in which Hallywell drew on Henry More’s Enthusiasmus Triumphatus of 1656 and An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness of 1660 showed that he shared More’s condemnation of ‘enthusiasm’, defined as a false pretence of direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit. Hallywell took this opportunity to defend the legal establishment of the Church of England, its three-fold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, its liturgy according to the Book of
Common Prayer and its financial maintenance by tithes. He was immediately answered by William Penn’s *Wisdom Justified of her Children*, but he did not respond.  

**RECTOR OF CRAWLEY, SLAUGHAM AND PLUMPTON**

Sometime after 1670, Henry Hallywell became rector of Crawley, another living in the gift of the Covert family, as we have seen. Sir John Covert settled the advowson on his daughter Anne when she married Sir James Morton in 1671. In 1676, there were 70 adults in the parish of Crawley. By the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the rectory was valued at £6 15s.; by 1724, its real value was uncertain, but there were four acres of glebe and 20 acres of forest at Shelley, with a total annual value of £7. It is unclear whether the Hallywells ever resided in Crawley; as we have seen, they were still in Ifield in 1677 when *The Sacred Method of Saving Humane Souls by Jesus Christ* was published. Presumably Hallywell resigned Ifield in the late 1670s. Walter Moore died as vicar of Ifield in 1680, and Isaac Ley became vicar and rector in 1681. Ley, who had graduated BA from Balliol College, Oxford, in 1673, was also Hallywell’s curate at Crawley from 1683, becoming rector of Crawley cum Ifield in 1686.

Hallywell was presented to the rectory of Slaugham by Lady Isabella Covert, widow of Sir John, on 8 December and inducted on 20 December 1679. Slaugham Place was the Covert family seat, and there is a large Covert family vault in St Mary’s Church. There were 200 adults in the parish in 1676, but the proximity of the church to the great house suggests that Hallywell probably spent a good deal of his time acting as chaplain to Lady Isabella and her household. A man aged ‘nearly 100’, buried about 1810, remembered that, in his youth, there had been 70 persons in the...
household at Slaugham Place; perhaps a household as large as that of the 1710s was also present in the 1680s. The rectory of Slaugham was nominally worth just over £10 and the real income uncertain, but there were 20 acres of glebe.19

Additionally, Hallywell was presented to the rectory of Plumpton by the Hampton family (descendants of William Hampton, rector in 1635) on 17 January 1681, being inducted on 15 March. Clergy were allowed to hold two or sometimes three benefices, provided their parishes were no more than 30 miles apart and they employed curates to minister in the parishes in which they were non-resident, but they required an archiepiscopal licence to do so. These licences were granted only to university graduates and chaplains to the crown or noblemen. Hallywell was appointed a royal chaplain in extraordinary to King Charles II on 22 January 1681 and received an archiepiscopal licence on 25 January to hold the benefices of Crawley, Slaugham and Plumpton simultaneously. Hallywell’s royal chaplaincy in extraordinary was surely intended to expedite the granting of this licence; he will not have had any clerical duties to perform at court, as these were fulfilled by the royal chaplains in ordinary. Both kinds of royal chaplain were appointed by the lord chamberlain’s warrant. In 1681, the lord chamberlain was Henry Bennet, first earl of Arlington, but Hallywell’s advocate on the Privy Council was undoubtedly Sir Heneage Finch, Baron Finch of Daventry, the eldest brother of Henry More’s dear friend Lady Anne Conway. Since 1673, Finch had delegated his ecclesiastical patronage to his chaplain John Sharp, a Christ’s College graduate and protégé of More who became Archbishop of York in 1691. Hallywell’s claim of a long acquaintance with Sharp and his reference to an obligation to him when he dedicated A Defence of Revealed Religion to him in 1694 strongly suggest that Sharp had recommended Hallywell to Finch in the matter of his licence. The rectory of Plumpton was worth £12, with another 17 acres of glebe. There were 80 adults living in the parish in 1676. The parish was served by two curates during Hallywell’s time as rector: James Stratton or Stratton in 1683 and John Cotten or Cotton from 1686 to 1692; both held MA degrees, but there seems to be no further extant information concerning either of them.20

At Slaugham, Hallywell wrote Melampronœa, or, A Discourse of the Polity and Kingdom of Darkness of 1681, dedicated to Sir James Morton of Slaugham and published by Walter Kettilby. Appearing just six months after Henry More’s expanded edition of Joseph Glanvill’s Saducismus Triumphatus with its large collection of witch stories, Melampronœa was a contribution to More’s controversy with John Webster over the existence of witches. Webster, a former religious radical and now a supporter of the Royal Society, had published The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft in 1677, refuting the belief in witches expressed by More and Glanvill. More had argued that belief in witches was a necessary support to belief in God. Hallywell firmly allied himself with More, styling himself ‘Henry Hallywell, Master of Arts, and sometime Fellow of Christs Colledge in Cambridge’. As ‘Sussex was hardly touched by the witch craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, Melampronœa probably did not arise from Hallywell’s local experience.21

Five of the extant letters from Hallywell to More were written from Slaugham between March 1683 and May 1686. While the predominant theme in these letters was More’s writings on the Apocalypse, they do provide a little personal information about Hallywell. In March 1683, he gently lamented that his ‘condition as to this world be not altogether such as I might reasonably desire with submission to a high providence in regard of my dependants’, and in May of that year he mentioned that he had been very ill. In May 1686, he begged that Robert Coe, BA of Christ’s and the son of Hallywell’s friend William Coe of Horsham, be considered for a fellowship at Christ’s, but this request was not granted. Two of the letters mentioned Hallywell’s editions of George Rust’s discourses. Hallywell’s annotated translation of Rust’s Latin Discourse of the Use of Reason in Matters of Religion was published 1683 and dedicated to Henry More. In 1686, Hallywell brought out Rust’s Remains, dedicated to John Lake, Bishop of Chichester from 1685 to 1689. The publisher of both of these editions of works by Rust was Walter Kettilby.22

SUTTON PREBENDARY AND VICAR OF COWFOLD

During the 1690s, Hallywell’s career and writings showed the influence of a group of clergymen known as ‘Latitudinarians’. Wearied by the theological conflicts which had led to bloodshed during the Civil War and persecution since, the
Latitudinarians were committed to the established Church of England but preached a doctrinally spare version of ethical Christianity, often insisting on little more than belief in the Apostles Creed and the constant habit of good morals. An important centre of Latitudinarian preaching was St Lawrence Jewry in the City of London, where the Cambridge Platonist Benjamin Whichcote was rector from 1668 to 1683. Large numbers of clergymen attended regular weekday lectures there, given during the 1670s and 1680s by John Tillotson, a Latitudinarian who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1691, and John Sharp, whom we have met in relation to Hallywell’s licence for pluralism. Hallywell surely frequented St Lawrence Jewry; the church was only a short walk from Walter Kettilby’s shop. A number of historians have argued that Latitudinianism was the natural successor to Cambridge Platonism, although this is not universally accepted. In Hallywell, we have an instance of one individual who seems personally to have made the transition from Cambridge Platonist to Latitudinarian.23

On 31 July 1690, Hallywell became Sutton prebendary of Chichester Cathedral on the deprivation of William Snatt, a nonjuror (Fig. 3). This prebend was in the gift of Simon Patrick, the Latitudinarian bishop of Chichester from 1689 to 1691. The appointment probably improved Hallywell’s financial circumstances through income from impropriated leases, farms and manors. Hallywell resigned the livings of both Slaugham and Plumpton in 1692 on his presentation to the vicarage of Cowfold by Tillotson. The living was in the gift of Robert Grove, Bishop of Chichester from 1691 to 1696, but Grove had traded this presentation in return for the right to present to another benefice in Tillotson’s gift. Hallywell was inducted on 31 March at Cowfold, succeeding George Winter or Vinter, who had been ‘once a zealous ordaining Presbyter, next warmly Congregational, then as vehemently Episcopal, and in Charles II’s time found there was much to be said in favour of Popery’. Perhaps Tillotson was anxious to appoint a loyal Church of England man of proven ability, as Cowfold had been

Fig. 3. Misericord from the Sutton Prebendary’s stall, Chichester Cathedral. Photograph by author, 2007.
much neglected under a succession of curates since Winter’s appointment in 1652, and large meetings of Baptists and Quakers had grown at the expense of the parish church. Cowfold had an adult population of 300 in 1676, and the village economy supported spinners of yarn, flax and hemp, carpenters, coopers, masons, tailors and butchers, and made provision for the poor. The income of the vicarage was listed in the Valor Ecclesiasticus as £10 6s. 8d., but its clear yearly value exceeded £50 in 1724, including some of the profits of the rectory and 30 acres of glebe in a compact piece of land containing some woodland.24

From Cowfold, Hallywell published two books, dedicated, respectively, to Archbishops Tillotson and Sharp. Hallywell demonstrated his gratitude to Tillotson by dedicating The Excellency of Moral Vertue of 1692 to him. As Hallywell had ‘lately delivered’ the substance of the book ‘to a small Country Auditory’, it represented his local preaching, however much he might have edited the work for publication. Partially based on a sermon by Whichcote, this book was a practical guide to the holy life, stressing the possibilities inherent in human nature rather than penitence for sin. Hallywell’s brief Discourse of Sincerity was issued with this work. As we have seen, Hallywell’s A Defence of Revealed Religion of 1694 was dedicated to Sharp; it was published by Kettilby. In this final book, Hallywell discussed the practical usefulness of Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, against an increasing tide of doubt, and he also stated his support for the Williamite government. Both of these books showed how he was able to apply his simplified version of Cambridge Platonism to the moral, intellectual and political circumstances of the mid-1690s.25

From the final years at Slaugham and during the 1690s at Cowfold, we can see a little more of Hallywell’s elder son Charles, who was educated at home by his father. Hallywell’s method of teaching Latin grammar was set out in his Improvement of the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue by the English of 1690, suggesting that he also taught other boys; he prepared Jeffery Amherst of Cowfold for admission to Christ’s College in 1695. Charles Hallywell was admitted as a sizar, aged 17, at Christ’s under the fellow Thomas Waterhouse on 23 May 1689, receiving his BA degree in 1693. He was ordained deacon on 23 September 1694 by Bishop Robert Grove at Chichester and priest on 30 May 1697 by Bishop Peter Mews of Winchester at Farnham. Charles first became curate of Climping and then vicar of Seaford with Sutton, a living in the gift of his father as Sutton Prebendary, on 11 October 1696. On 14 December 1699, he married Mary Cowdrey of Yapton, and they had three children: John, baptised at Yapton on 25 April 1701, Mary, baptised at Climping on 10 July 1702 and buried there on 3 October 1703, and James, baptised at Climping on 24 June 1705. The succession of Sussex clergymen beginning with Henry Hallywell II appears to have ended with Charles, who survived his father by only five years, being buried at Seaford on 1 March 1708.26

Charles Hallywell and Erasmus Warren’s son Robert provide further probable evidence of a link between the Hallywell and Warren families. In 1693, Charles published a Philosophical Discourse of Earthquakes, attempting to give a scientific account of the earthquake which had been felt in Sussex on 8 September 1692. This work followed very soon after a published controversy between Thomas Burnet, a former fellow of Christ’s, and Erasmus Warren, concerning geology and the inspiration of the Bible, suggesting that Charles took an interest in the writings of this old family friend or kinsman. Burnet had suggested that the Mosaic account of creation had been written as a story which would be acceptable to the Jews at the period of the Exodus from Egypt, but Warren maintained that the validity of Scripture as a whole, and of the Christian religion, depended on the complete veracity of the first two chapters of Genesis. Both Burnet and Warren showed considerable knowledge of the Cartesian natural philosophy which they had been taught at Christ’s by Henry More. Robert Warren also went up to Christ’s and graduated BA in 1701. He was ordained deacon by Bishop John Williams of Chichester on 17 March 1701 and served a curacy at Horsham. It is difficult to believe that Robert Warren’s early ministry in Sussex owed nothing to Hallywell’s influence.27

Henry Hallywell was buried at St Peter’s Cowfold on 9 March 1703, in a grave which cannot now be identified. He died intestate, and his widow Mary renounced her right to administer his estate. On 26 April 1703, administration was granted to John Stone of Rusper, gentleman and Hallywell’s principal creditor, who acted as bondman with John Gatwicke of Shermanbury, Esq., and Thomas Snatt of Horsham, mercer. His estate was valued at £53 1s. 4d.28
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CONCLUSION

Henry Hallywell’s undoubted purpose in writing and publishing eight original books (in addition to his Latin grammar) and two editions of works by George Rust was to make the theological teaching of the Cambridge Platonists accessible to literate people who were not academic theologians or philosophers. In a time when both Puritans and High Churchmen stressed the sinfulness of human nature and the likelihood that most people would suffer eternal punishment, Hallywell wanted people to take cheerful responsibility for cooperation with God in working out their own salvation through the exercise of reason and in holiness of life. His ordinary preaching, as represented in The Excellency of Moral Vertue, seems to have had a similar purpose and content. It is impossible to say how successful he was in persuading people to accept his message; none of his books went to a second edition. Yet the writings of our ‘Sussex Platonist’ justify the careful investigation of his clerical biography. The greater challenge for the present writer will be to attempt to reconstruct something of Hallywell’s intellectual personality as a Cambridge Platonist, with fuller reference to the writings of More, Cudworth, Rust and Whichcote.29

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to archivists at the West and East Sussex Record Offices and to the librarians of Christ’s College, Cambridge, and Lambeth Palace Library for their kind assistance during the preparation of this article.

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NOTES


2 West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO) MP 1096, W. 1


5 Dunkin, 80; Horsfield 2, 225; Fishwick, ‘Henry Hallywell … Ifield … Cowfold’, 324; Cooper, ‘Religious Census’, 144; H. R. Mosse, ‘Notes on Ifield’, SAC 63 (1922), 237–8, on 238; VCH 6, part 3, 62, 66, 69; SRS 78, 135. For the Sussex iron industry, see John Ray, A Collection of English

6 The National Archives (hereafter TNA) PROB 11/323, will of Henry Hallywell II, 1667; WSRO Lib 16685, Ifield, transcript of Parish Register, 1650–1901, s.v. Hallywell, John; Dunkin, 84; Ernest Elliman, ‘Ifield Monumental Inscriptions’, SAC 22 (1870), 214–20, on 215; Fishwick, ‘Henry Hallywell ... Ifield ... Cowfold’, 324; Sawyer, ‘Henry Hallywell ... Ifield ... Cowfold’, 377; T. W. Marsh, Some Records of the Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex from the Original Minute-Books and other Sources (London: S. Harris & Co., 1886), 80 (quotation); Mosse, 238; Venn, s.v. Grundy, Thomas (1649); A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934, 1988), 238.

7 TNA PROB 11/323; East Sussex Record Office PBT 1/1/32/23, will of Anne Hallywell, 1670; VCH 6, part 3, 66, 184; Annabelle Hughes, Sussex Clergy Inventories, 1600–1750, SRS 91 (2007), 119–20.

8 Christ's College, Cambridge (hereafter CCC), Study Rents, 1648–1697, 83v; Berry, 322; Horsfield 1, 264; Cooper, ‘Coverts I’, 4, says ‘Longborough, Gloucestershire’; Peile 1, 298, 447, 526, 575, 577.


11 Henry Hallywell, An Account of Familism as it is Revived and Propagated by the Quakers (London: Walter Kettilyb,

18 Besse 1, 722, places Moore in Ifield on 24 May 1681; Horsfield 1, 264; Foster, s.v. Lee, Isaac (1678); Cooper, ‘Religious Census’, 144; SRS 78, 127–8; SRS 91, 120–1; ‘Hallywell, Henry’ and ‘Ley, Isaac’, *Clergy database* [accessed 19 June 2012].


22 CCC MS 21.32–5, 37, letters from Henry Hallywell to Henry More, 1683–6, from Slaugham; Rust, *Discourse of Reason*; id., *Remains*; Peile 2, 88–9.


24 British Library Add. MS 39332 (7), Dunkin Collection, Sussex Incumbencies, 228; Dunkin, 85; Besse 1, 709, 723, 727–30, 732–4; Horsfield 2, 26, 261; 4; Cooper, ‘Religious Census’, 144; VCH 2, 35 (quotation); 6, part 3, 184–8; Peile 1 577; Alberty, 415, 448–51; Peckham, ‘Additions and Corrections’, 14; SRS 78, 126–7; R. T. Holby, ‘The Restoration to 1790’, in Mary Hobbs (ed.), *Chichester Cathedral: An Historical Survey* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1994), 101–18, on 107; ‘Hallywell, Henry’, *Clergy database* [accessed 19 June 2012].


28 East Sussex Record Office PBT 1/3/13/85, Lewes Archdeaconry Court, Letters of Administration for Henry Hallywell, 1703; Dunkin, 85, 93; Peile 1, 577; SRS 22, 202; Peckham, ‘Additions and Corrections’, 14.
