

THE BRIGHTON CHARITY SCHOOL IN THE EARLY 18TH CENTURY

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The foundation or expansion of the Brighthelmston [Brighton] charity school in the first years of the 18th century was probably instigated by the propaganda of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The objectives of the subscribers can readily be inferred: to counter the growing strength of protestant dissent, and to mitigate the risk of social disorder due to the town's destitution. The initiative and financial support seem to have come almost entirely from outside the town, and doctrinal scruples were put aside in favour of educational excellence, in the employment of a prominent Quaker as schoolmaster for some 50 years. The ages and destination upon leaving of the boys at the school in 1702–5 are examined.

The earliest explicit record of the Brighton charity school is in 'The free-school book of Brighthelmston Anno D'ni 1701'.¹ In this book, for the following 50 years, the vicars of Brighton entered the schoolmaster's receipts for his salary and various other memoranda concerning the school. Among the latter is the record that the girls' school was opened on 30 September 1702 'by Mr. Springetts order'. Whether the boys' school was opened in the previous year or was then already in existence is unclear. Earlier reference to educational provision in Brighton is scant. William Cartwright was licensed by the bishop in 1581 as a schoolmaster in Brighton; he was also town clerk from 1558 until his death in 1609/10.² Edward Harffye of Brighton described himself as 'clerk and writing master' in the 1650s and 1660s.³ John Friend, schoolmaster, died in 1681. Part of a shop under the cliff in 1660 was 'the reeding house' which may mean a schoolhouse. A rental of 1665, now known only in a modern copy, refers to a piece of land in the Hemphshares 'neere the Free-scoole', but the last word was read in the original by L. F. Salzman as 'Freestoole'.⁴ The schoolbook records that in January 1702 27 boys were readers and 26 writers; some organized education for several years before is likely, to produce the number who had progressed from

reading to writing. The sum of subscriptions received, as shown below, seems to have reached a peak around 1704, suggesting a fund-raising effort at the very start of the century.

What we may be seeing is the revitalizing and extension of an existing school, perhaps for boys only with few or no free places, as a way of tackling the problem of poverty. The exemplars were in London where, from the 1690s, 'schools were established to take boys—and girls—under twelve off the streets. The aim was to clothe, feed and teach them for a few years—with emphasis on literacy, moral training and practical skills—and then arrange suitable apprenticeships'. But the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), founded in 1699 by clergy and laity of the Established Church, reversed the priorities in its advocacy of schools for the poor. 'Declaring that social problems derived from the decay in religion, and this in turn from the decline in catechizing, it circularized the clergy urging the establishment of a school in each parish to teach the catechism on weekdays and conduct children to church on Sunday. . . . Here children could be taught to read, as a preparation for learning the catechism'. The Brighton school was in correspondence with the Society by 1704.⁵

The promoters of Brighton's school were

probably moved by both considerations, by reason of decline in the town's economic mainstays, fishing and cargo carrying, and of growing adherence to protestant nonconformity. Between 1570 and 1660 the town's population had grown at least threefold, and the tonnage of shipping belonging to the town increased by a similar factor. The peak may have been passed sometime in the third quarter of the 17th century, for by then the sea was encroaching on the seafarers' workspace on the beach beneath the cliff. But the first major catastrophe came in 1688 when, perhaps for the first time in well over a century, Brighton did not send a fleet to the largest and most profitable fishery, that for herring at Great Yarmouth. Why this should have happened is not known in detail (though the immediate cause may have been the disturbed political conditions of September 1688), but the facts are that around 30 boats went to Yarmouth most years in the early 1680s, and only three or four in a few years between 1689 and 1696. These years were no time to try to compensate by increasing Brighton's involvement in carrying coal from Tyneside, and in 1716 Brighton boats were carrying only a little more than in 1683. Thereafter this trade also saw a precipitate decline, to less than a fifth of 1716's volume in 1722.

In consequence the population declined, by perhaps 35 per cent between the 1670s and the 1740s when it was a little over 2,000. Recorded baptisms dropped sharply between the 1680s and 1690s and again in the second half of the 1720s. The probate values of seafarers' chattels show a downward trend, by as much as half between the 1670s and 1700s. As to those at the bottom end of the social scale, it was in 1690 that the justices in quarter sessions started to rate neighbouring parishes for the support of Brighton's poor, and they rated an ever greater number until in 1708 a single 1½*d.* rate was levied on the whole of eastern Sussex to establish an endowment fund.⁶

As well as the town's economic decline the same period saw the growth of protestant dis-

sent. There was a Presbyterian meeting of about 200 hearers in Brighton in 1669, with a minister from 1672; the Compton census of 1676 reported 13 per cent dissenters amongst the adult population; and the Common Fund survey of 1690 400 hearers.⁷ The congregation flourished under John Duke who became minister in 1698. Within a year land was acquired for a chapel and a growing number of children were being received into the congregation rather than into the Anglican church: only ten children were entered in the parish register as 'born' (rather than 'baptized') during the 26 years 1672-97, but six, seven and six were so entered in the years 1698, 1699 and 1700, and an average of ten a year in 1701-5. The Presbyterian register starts in April 1700 and allows direct numerical comparison with the Anglican. If the births recorded in the registers of the parish church, the Presbyterian chapel and the (much smaller) Quaker meeting are collated to eliminate children in the last two from outside Brighton or entered in two registers, the children received into the two dissenting congregations comprised 25 per cent of all recorded births in the first 20 years of the century, though falling to about 15 per cent in the years 1731-45.⁸ The proportion of 24 per cent for the years 1716-25 may be compared with the vicar's estimate, in response to Bishop Bowers' visitation articles of 1724, that 30 per cent of families were Presbyterian and 2 per cent Anabaptists and Quakers, and with the Revd. Robert Bagster's survey of dissenting congregations in 1717, recording 560 hearers.⁹ If hearers were adults aged 16 and over, and if the population was 2,500 of which 60 per cent were so aged, then the hearers comprised 37 per cent of the adult population. But the Brighton chapel served a wider area, and if the proportion of non-Brighton baptisms in the register is taken to indicate the proportion of non-Brighton hearers, then the Brighton hearers comprised 29 per cent. So the figures produced by both sides are reasonably consistent and reflect a situation which must have alarmed the Anglicans.

The Brighton school was undoubtedly an

Anglican foundation. The 'orders' set out in the schoolbook, probably in 1702, stipulated that the boys were to attend church twice on Sunday, absences being reported on Monday; that their catechism was to be heard on Monday night and on Wednesday by the master (for the writers) and by the usher (for the readers); that the usher was to hear the readers' lessons; that the writers were to read a chapter (of the Bible) before they began to write; and that the girls were to come constantly to church on Sunday. Rough notes in the book list the boys given a Book of Common Prayer in the years 1715-18, and the major endowment of the school in 1735 specified that while benefitting from it children were to resort only to the services of the Church of England. Practical skills, though, were not ignored. The S.P.C.K.'s *Reports* record in 1704 that the boys were also taught navigation and to cast accounts and in 1710 that the girls were taught to read, knit and sew.

One source suggests that it was the vicar's responsibility to teach the children: a writer in the early 1720s stated that the vicar's 'Maintenance is very small, and therefore the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Parts have made an Augmentation to it by Subscription of £50 per Annum, yet on this Condition, that he shall instruct 50 poor Boys of the Town in Reading and Writing'. This statement cannot be substantiated, but represents an understandable confusion, because the main excuse generally advanced for the parish clergy's neglect of catechizing was the poverty of benefices and the prevalence of pluralism. In fact, there was a separate move to augment the benefice. 'A voluntary subscription of several gentlemen' was raised to purchase, for £300 in March 1707, the advowson of the neighbouring and almost uninhabited parish of West Blatchington so that it might be united with that of Brighton. The four named in the deed of trust were from the same circle, as will be shown below, as supported the school: they were all gentry with seats in Lewes or the surrounding countryside and none with property in Brighton, Henry Pelham

of Lewes, John Morley Trevor of Glynde, Peter Courthope of Danny, and Peter Gott the elder of Stanmer.¹⁰

If the vicar was not obliged to teach, he nevertheless managed the school's finances, for the receipts for the schoolmaster's salary and the schoolhouse rent were made out to him, and subscribers generally paid him their contributions. George Hay (1652/3-1737), vicar between 1700 and 1705, was probably much involved in the school's establishment, and as a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, may have been more open to advocacy of education than many English clergy. He was subsequently rector of Horsted Keynes when, in 1707, Lightmaker's school was founded there.¹¹

Until 1735 the Brighton school was financed by subscribers who undertook to pay so much a year and by donors of, particularly, clothing. The S.P.C.K.'s annual *Report* for 1704 gave the total of annual subscriptions as about £47; that for 1710 recorded it to have fallen to £40, and a correspondent in 1713 said it had fallen from £46 to £30.¹² No subscription list has been found, but payments have been traced in several private account books, as follows:

1708, Timothy Burrell of Cuckfield, 'customary' payment of £1 for the half year;

1714-18, Richard Springett of the City of London, £1 a year (paid for five years in arrears after his death);

1723 onwards, Spencer Compton of Eastbourne, later Earl of Wilmington, £2 2s. a year; 1724, Henry Pelham of Stanmer (died 1725; cousin of the Duke of Newcastle), £6;

1731, Mr. Alford, £2 2s.;

1731-51, the Hon. Henry Pelham (died 1754; brother of the Duke of Newcastle), £2 2s. a year, paid to the vicar for the school;

1736-8, the Duke of Newcastle, £5 a year, paid to the vicar for the school.

None of these subscribers had any known specific ties to Brighton, either of residence or of property-owning. Yet these were not their only charitable payments to the Brighton poor: Spencer Compton, as part of his 1727 election

expenses, gave 4 gns. to the poor women, and the Duke of Newcastle gave £35 for meat for Brighton's poor at Christmas 1739. Other gentry without ties to Brighton did likewise: John Morley Trevor of Glynde gave £2 at Christmas in 1708, 1712 and 1716, and Henry Campion of Danny £3 12s. 6d. for wheat in 1741. These gifts reflect the gentry's anxiety about conditions in Brighton, because gifts outside the parishes in which benefactors owned land were very much the exception. They also tended to be smaller. For instance, the Duke of Newcastle gave £5 to the Brighton school, but £10 and £17 to schools in Lewes and Seaford where he had substantial interests. Beside Henry Pelham of Stanmer's £6 must be set between £18 and £20 in each of 1721, 1722 and 1724 for clothing, and £20 10s. for teaching, the 'Grey Coat boys', referring, it seems, to the free grammar school in Lewes. Some of this money, admittedly, he may have been spending as a trustee of Mrs. Mary Jenkins's endowment; that may have also provided the £100 which his father spent on building a schoolroom in 1715.¹³

The absence of accounts precludes showing whether or not Brighton's landowners contributed to the school. But the fragmentation of the parish between several manors and the dominance of copyhold tenure meant that the four gentry owners (in the 1720s, the Duke of Dorset, the Earl of Thanet, Thomas Western of Rivenhall in Essex, and William Vinall of Kingston near Lewes) drew an annual net income from Brighton of perhaps only between £40 and £60 each. So, against their other sources of income, their stake in the town was small. The only known donation by any of them was £20 for Christmas doles from the Earl of Dorset in 1690. The town's residents were also unlikely to contribute much. The most substantial of them were the tenants of three or four modest sized farms; and among all the wills of Brighton residents proved in the archdeaconry court between 1691 and 1750 only two included charitable bequests.¹⁴

It is likely, therefore, that the subscription

list was made up of fairly small payments which, because of the contributors' weak association with the town, were liable to be stopped at times of retrenchment. So it was fortunate that endowments came to the school by bequests in 1718 and 1735. The smallest, from George Beach of St. Olave's, Southwark (but formerly of Brighton), mariner, in 1735, yielded under £1 a year. The next largest came in 1718 from Richard Springett, citizen and apothecary of the City of London, but by family of Plumpton, and a subscriber in his lifetime; he left £200 to be applied by his executors to the best benefit of the school. The interest was paid regularly until 1735.¹⁵ Richard was but one of three brothers who benefitted the school. The school's largest benefactor in the first half of the 18th century was Anthony Springett. Born in 1651/2 into an established gentry family, he attended the University of Cambridge, though apparently without graduating, was admitted to the Middle Temple soon after, and, many years later in 1716, at the age of 54, was ordained and presented to the living of Westmeston which he held until his death in 1735. His three brothers predeceased him without issue, so the family seat at Plumpton passed to him; he also died without issue. It was 'Mr. Springett' who ordered the girls' school to be opened in September 1702, 'Mr. Springett' who paid the mistress in 1702/3 and 1704/5 and 'Mr. Anthony Springett' who paid for coats for 20 boys in July 1702. It was Anthony who wrote the only recorded letter to the S.P.C.K. (in 1713) on the state of the Brighton school; in it he expressed concern that the annual income from subscriptions had fallen from £46 to about £30, and asked that the fact should not be publicized in the Society's next *Report*, in the hope that new subscriptions would be obtained.¹⁶ In 1701 the school was in a house towards the southern end of the east side of Black Lion Street rented for £2 10s. a year. In 1725, Anthony and his brother William (died 1732) bought a house and garden in Meeting House Lane (facing down Union Street) which the school occupied from January 1726 until

1828 and which at his death he transferred to his executors as trustees. Also by his will he appointed as trustees the Duke of Newcastle, the Hon. Henry Pelham, Thomas Pelham of Lewes, senior and junior, Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, and the incumbents for the time being of Brighton, Plumpton, Westmeston and Falmer, to hold an Exchequer annuity running to 1806 and yielding £50 a year (so with a capital value of about £1,200). The money was to be distributed as follows: £25 to the Brighton school, £13 to the Plumpton, Westmeston and Chilmington schools, £10 to the Falmer school, £1 for a sermon at Brighton (to be attended by the children at the Brighton and Falmer schools), and £1 for the trustees' refreshment on that occasion. The payment to the Brighton school subsumed Richard's bequest of 1718.¹⁷ Not without reason, histories and guidebooks from the 1790s onwards stated the school to be found by Anthony Springett in 1725 and indeed called it Springett's school. Yet, in common with all other known early benefactors of the school (except for George Beach), Anthony Springett and his brothers had no connection with Brighton beyond residence within a 15-mile radius. Great must have been the distress in Brighton if it excited such widespread concern.

Despite its Anglican character, the school's master for nearly half a century was a prominent Quaker. The master when the schoolbook opens was John Scras, but he retired on 31 August 1702 and died the following November; he may have been a young man if he was the John Scras baptized at Hove in 1675.¹⁸ His successor was John Grover who was born in 1677 at Hurstpierpoint into a Quaker family and retained his allegiance to the Society of Friends throughout his life. He was described as of Brighton, maltster, at his marriage in 1697 to Elizabeth Harrison, and when he became a trustee of the Friends' Brighton meeting house in February 1701. Appointed master of the school from September 1702, he continued in office until at least June 1750; he died on 29 September 1752, aged 75.¹⁹

Grover acquired a certain celebrity during

his life and later. The earliest panegyric appeared in 1730, written a few years earlier by a Mr. Haylor:

This Town hath never given a Title to any of the Noble Families of this Kingdom, nor produced any Men of Worth and Ingenuity, 'till within little more then 30 years, one *John Grover*, who being a Native here, became famous for his Mathematical Skill. He was descended of mean Parentage, and bred up illiterately, but having an inquisitive Genius, stirring him up to the Acquirement of Arts and Sciences, he apply'd himself to Mathematicks, and without so much as one Days Instruction, attained by his Diligence to as great a Proficiency in that Science as any in his Time in *Great Britain*, and by that Means became a great benefactor to this Town by giving their Sailors a true Notion of the Art of Navigation; besides, he wrote divers Hands, very finely.²⁰

The use of the past tense is curious, as if Grover were dead, but there is no basis for linking the attributes to anyone else. There is also no firm evidence for the high claim made for his mathematical ability. A notebook of his surviving a century ago was apparently filled with ordinary arithmetical rules and problems. He was probably no more than a very quick arithmetician. He did indeed write a superior hand, and acted as the local scrivener: an obituary said that 'he obtained a considerable knowledge of the law, in which capacity he was highly useful; he practiced with uncommon honesty and moderation in his demands'. He was among the appraisers (and was usually the scribe) of 76 out of the 118 surviving probate inventories of Brighton residents between 1710 and 1750, and was a witness to, and probably the draftsman of, many wills in the same period. He did work for the Church: he made out the annual transcript of the parish register for submission to the bishop for many years from 1702, and, more

surprisingly, he was appointed as the bishop's attorney in the lease of Brighton rectory in 1741.²¹ That he should supplement his salary is unsurprising, as he was paid only £8 a year as master, a low sum by comparison with other charity schools; for instance, the master at Horsted Keynes in 1707 was paid £20 with leave to take 20 paying pupils. We know of only one paying pupil taken by Grover, namely Anthony Stapley of a local gentry family at Hickstead, in 1730/1.²²

The S.P.C.K. would not have approved of a Quaker as master: the conversion of Quakers (especially in America) was among its early aims, and it recommended that masters should be communicants.²³ Grover was master throughout the period in which Springett made his gifts, and Springett could no doubt have had Grover removed if he so wished. Springett may have been moved, not only by respect for Grover's abilities, but also, in spite of his Anglican orders, by sympathy for Quakers arising from family connections. His father's twin brother's widow married secondly a Quaker in 1654; her daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett (1644–94), was the first wife of William Penn, the prominent Quaker founder of Pennsylvania. As the last surviving of four sons, all of whom died without issue, Anthony Springett settled the Plumpton estate on the female coheirs of his great-uncle, Sir Thomas. All bequests in his will were in cash or securities, for his executors were to realize his other assets. Aside from the endowment of the schools, over 70 per cent in cash terms of these bequests were to the descendants of William Penn by Gulielma Maria. Only two of their children reached adulthood, and only one was living after 1720, Laetitia, wife of William Aubrey, who received £1,000 for life. The other, William II, died in 1720, and on Laetitia's death the £1,000 was to pass to the son of William II's daughter whose two daughters each received £500. To William II's surviving son, William III, went £2,000, on condition that he released all claim to the Plumpton estate. Laetitia and William II are said to have left the Society of Friends, but William III to have re-

turned to it on his marriage in 1732. None of the Penn beneficiaries were resident in Sussex. William III was settled at Shangerry Castle, Co. Cork, though he did hold Rocks Farm in Withyham, and we may speculate that the Palladian south front of the house (now called Penn's Rocks), which is dated between 1737 and 1740, was financed by Springett's bequest. William III's only son, born in 1738, was appropriately called Springett Penn; he died without issue in 1762.²⁴

It seems likely, too, that Grover had the support of the vicar of Brighton whose tenure nearly corresponded to Grover's. George Hay was succeeded in 1705 by William Colbron who not only was vicar until 1744 but even after the institution of his successor, Henry Michell, continued as minister until his death aged 85 in 1750. It was only thereafter, probably early in 1752, that Michell moved to Brighton from Maresfield of which he was rector from 1739 to 1789.

The deaths of Colbron and Grover in 1750 and 1752, and Michell's arrival in the latter year, must have marked the end of an era for the school. An accommodation on doctrinal matters had no doubt long since been reached between Colbron and Grover. The threat from the Presbyterian chapel had receded, presumably as John Duke's vigour declined, for he died in 1745 and in the previous 15 years chapel baptisms fell to 15 per cent of recorded births; a writer in 1760/1 estimated the Presbyterian families at only 8 per cent. The character of the town was changing rapidly and fundamentally. The first stirrings of its development as a fashionable watering place came in the second half of the 1740s and were well under way by 1754. Michell came to a town with quite different and better prospects than Colbron had done in 1705. Probably the school could now look for subscriptions from the members of the landed, professional and commercial classes who bought or rented houses in Brighton for use in the summer season, and indeed an endowment worth £7 a year came from the Countess of Gower in 1771.²⁵

No doubt Michell made changes to empha-

size the school's catechetical character: the last entries in the schoolbook are of orders to the S.P.C.K. in July and September 1752 for books, including 100 copies each of the Book of Common Prayer, Josiah Woodward's *The Seaman's Monitor*, and 'the Bishop of London on the earthquake'. We do not know the name of John Grover's successor: whether he was his son William (1704-68) who was a schoolmaster in 1735 and to whom he bequeathed his mathematical instruments. At some date unknown the girls' school failed; it was revived only between 1805 and 1818. In 1768 a second (Anglican) charity school was founded with an endowment worth £70 a year under the will of William Grimmatt, a London merchant who had been

taught by Grover in Brighton. Until 1801 it was housed separately under its own master, but between then and 1818 the two were combined under one master in Meeting House Lane. They were separated in 1818 when Springett's school became the National school, only to be both subsumed into the Central National school newly built in Church Street in 1828. The £400 realized by the sale of Springett's house went towards the cost of the new school. Grimmatt's charity now provided clothing for 40 boys, and, despite the annuity having expired 30 years before, the Assistant Charity Commissioner reporting on Brighton in 1837 suggested that some of the boys should be denominated Springett's scholars.²⁶

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APPENDIX: THE SCHOOLBOYS, 1702-5

The schoolbook has four lists of boys in the school: readers as at 12 January 1702, writers probably at the same date, readers as at December 1705, and writers at the same date. On the pages facing the first two lists are the names of pupils admitted to the respective classes after the lists were made, apparently within, but not throughout, the period before the 1705 lists were made. There is also a list of boys who had left the school, usually with their employments; it seems to cover leavers between January 1702 and soon after December 1705. These lists can be collated with a fair degree of confidence. With less confidence can the boys be identified in the baptismal register: two or even three boys of the same name are to be found baptized within a few years, and the burial register is defective for the critical period 1689-1701, so whether any died in infancy cannot be determined. In cases of doubt, the date of baptism which is in the main cluster of years for other boys in the same list has been chosen. Baptism dates have been taken as if they were birth dates, and ages measured at 31 December 1701 and 1705.

The age distributions can be summarized as follows. Of the readers in January 1702, 46% were aged 7 or 8, and 15% aged 11; the remaining 10 readers were spread in ones and twos over the other ages between 5 and 15. December 1705's readers were more bunched: 64% were aged 8, 9 or 10; but again the remainder were spread in ones and twos over the other ages between 5 and 16. The writers in 1702 were 54% aged 9, 10 or 11, and 17% aged 13, with the remainder between 7 and 14. Seventy-two per cent of 1705's writers were aged 10 to 14, and 17% 15 or 16 (the oldest), and one was aged 9. The possibility must be allowed that older boys left at Christmas and younger ones were admitted in January, so that the age distribution in January 1706 may have been younger than the figures above for the previous month. Even so, we can infer that the average age at entry rose between 1702 and 1705. In 1702 it was perhaps typically 7 years, but more likely 8 years in 1705. A boy who had a full school career perhaps spent two to three years in the

readers' class and three years in the writers' class. But staying in the school for four to five years was far from universal: of the 27 readers in 1702, two were still readers nearly four years later, ten were writers, and five had moved up to the writers' class but had left, leaving ten who apparently left from the readers' class.

The proportion of Brighton boys who attended the school can be estimated. The number of male baptisms and births in the parish register in each year has been inflated by 5% for births to dissenting families not entered in the register, and deflated by 26% for mortality before the age of 8.²⁷ Age participation rates based on attendance at any time between 1702 and 1705 can be calculated by year of baptism:

Year	Per-centage	Year	Per-centage	Year	Per-centage
1688	19	1692	43	1695	50
1689	18	1693	83	1696	61
1690	46	1694	46	1697	17
1691	40			1698	5

The 1688 and 1689 figures are low because by 1702 some of those cohorts must have left the school, while some of the 1697 and 1698 cohorts no doubt entered after 1705. So we can conclude that between 40 and 50% of Brighton boys reaching the age of 8 in the early years of the century attended the school.

Finally, the destinations of boys leaving between 1702 and 1705 as given in the schoolbook are:

apprenticed to husbandry	1
to husbandry	3
apprenticed to a mariner	5
to sea	28
apprenticed to a shoemaker	1
to a shoemaker	1
to a butcher	1
apprenticed to a barber and tailor	1
to a shipwright	1

apprenticed	2
continued at school at parents' expense	1
removed to Shoreham	1
removed to London	1
drowned at sea	1
dead	1
(no destination given)	3
TOTAL	52

The distinction between 'apprenticed to a mariner' and 'to sea' suggests that (e.g.) 'to a butcher' is not shorthand for 'apprenticed to a butcher'. 'To sea', etc., may reflect that the boy went to work with his father or other close relative who would not expect a premium for taking the boy to learn a trade. The premiums when boys were apprenticed were presumably paid by the parish.

Notes

- ¹The schoolbook is in Brighton Area Library. Extracts have appeared in F. Harrison & J. S. North, *Old Brighton, Old Hove, Old Preston* (1937), 142–52.
- ²W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), S.T.C./III/C, f.56; *The Parish Register of Brighton, 1558–1701*, ed. H. D. Roberts (Brighton, 1932), 37.
- ³F. Harrison, 'Deryk Carver's Bible', *Suss. N. & Q.* 7, 72–3.
- ⁴E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), W/A 35/304; *ibid.* SAS/BRI 54, 21 Aug. 1660; Charles Goodwyn, rental of the manor of Brighton, 1665 (typescript in Brighton Area Library); A. Mawer & F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 (1930), 291.
- ⁵J. Simon, 'Was there a Charity School Movement? The Leicestershire Evidence', in *Education in Leicestershire 1540–1940: a Regional Study*, ed. B. Simon (Leicester, 1968), 61, 63. For Sussex schools in correspondence with the S.P.C.K., see J. E. Wadey, 'Schools and Schooling in Sussex, Part II', *Suss. N. & Q.* 14, 270–6.
- ⁶J. H. Farrant, 'The Rise and Decline of a South Coast Seafaring Town: Brighton, 1550–1750', *Mariner's Mirror* (forthcoming).
- ⁷N. Caplan, 'An Outline of the Origins and Development of Nonconformity in Sussex, 1603–1803' (1961), typescript in Suss. Arch. Soc. Library, *passim*.
- ⁸[J. Sawyer], *The Churches of Brighton . . . Part 3* (?1881), 253, 255–6; *Parish Register of Brighton; Brighton Presbyterian Registers 1700–1837*, ed. M. J. Burchall (Brighton, 1979); P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), RG 6/1308.
- ⁹W.S.R.O., Ep. I/26/3; N. Caplan, 'Religious Dissent in Sussex in 1717', *Suss. Arch. Soc. Newsletter*, 21, 116–17.
- ¹⁰Mr. Haylor in T. Cox, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua et Nova*, 5 (1730), 511; Simon, *Education in Leicestershire*, 63; W.S.R.O., Ep. II/41/12.
- ¹¹W.S.R.O., Ep. I/26/3.
- ¹²S(ociety for) P(romoting) C(hristian) K(nowledge, Archives), ALB/CR1/4, 3450. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. A. E. Barker, the Society's Archivist.
- ¹³R. W. Blencowe, 'Extracts from the Journal and Account-Book of Timothy Burrell', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 3, 155; E.S.R.O., DAN 2197 (Springett); Suss. Arch. Soc. Library, Budgen papers, 86 and 117 (Compton); B(ritish) L(ibrary), Add. MSS. 33341, 33617 (Pelham of Stanmer); E.S.R.O., DAN 2198 (Alford and Campion); E.S.R.O., SAS/FB 112, 113 (Pelham); B.L., Add. MS. 33157 (Newcastle); E.S.R.O., GLY 3461–3 (Trevor).
- ¹⁴J. & S. Farrant, *Aspects of Brighton 1650–1800* (Brighton, 1978), 73–80 and sources listed at 84–6, on landholding; *ibid.* 21 on bequests; T. W. Horsfield, *The History of Sussex*, 1 (1835), 128.
- ¹⁵J. G. Bishop, *Brighton in 1744–61* (Brighton, 1895), 57; P.R.O., PROB 11/566.
- ¹⁶J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses to 1751*, 4, 138; J. Comber, *Sussex Genealogies*, Lewes Centre (Cambridge, 1933), 282; S.P.C.K., ALB/CR1/4, 3450.
- ¹⁷E.S.R.O., SAS/BRI 56, 12 Aug. 1701. Later the Thatched House Inn stood on part of the site: J. & S. Farrant, *Aspects of Brighton*, 63; P.R.O., PROB 11/675/44.
- ¹⁸E.S.R.O., XE1/255/11; Comber, 246.
- ¹⁹C. E. Clayton, 'Some Notes on the History of John Grover, of Brightelmstone, and Extracts from the "Chronology" of Elizabeth Grover', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 36, 75; P.R.O., RG 6/1308; E.S.R.O., SOF 9/1.
- ²⁰Cox, *Magna Britannia*, 511.
- ²¹*Suss. Arch. Coll.* 36, 80–1; J. & S. Farrant, *Brighton Before Dr. Russell* (Brighton, 1976), 15; W.S.R.O., Ep. II/16/27A; Ep. VI/56/12/5.
- ²²W. K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.* (1959), 39; E.S.R.O., HIC 475, p. 5; E. Turner, 'On the Domestic Habits and Mode of Life of a Sussex Gentleman', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 23, 47.
- ²³Clarke, *History of S.P.C.K.* 11–12, 38.
- ²⁴P.R.O., PROB 11/675/44; Comber, 103, 279–82; E. Turner, 'The Springetts of Broyle Park, Ringmer', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 22, 222; A. Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (New York, 1932), 247–8, 270–1, 314, table facing p. 336; C. Hussey, 'Penn's Rocks, Sussex', *Country Life*, 129, 644–6.
- ²⁵W.S.R.O., Ep. II/16/27A; A. Relhan, *A Short History of Brightelmston* (1761), 33; S. Farrant, *Georgian Brighton 1740–1820* (Brighton, 1980), 14–19; *2nd Report of Charity Commissioners*, H.C. 83 (1819), x-A, p. 224.
- ²⁶E.S.R.O., SOF 9/1; W/A 58/727; *2nd Report of Charity Commissioners*, p. 224; *30th Report of Charity Commissioners* [101], H.C. (1837), xxiii, pp. 681–4.
- ²⁷J. & S. Farrant, *Aspects of Brighton*, 13.