

LEWES DISSENTERS OUTSIDE THE LAW, 1663–86

by Colin Brent

*Dissenters in Lewes are examined during the period of proscription and intermittent prosecution which lasted from 1663 to 1686. Estimates are made of their number, occupational spread and social weight, and the character of each congregation is discussed.*¹

INTRODUCTION: CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES OF CONGREGATIONAL STRENGTHS

During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, Lewes proved fertile ground for religious experiment; Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers and Baptists all took root.² But except for the Quakers, no detailed evidence survives until 1663, when the records of prosecution begin to illuminate those among them who dissented from the reimposed Anglican establishment. Moreover, in 1669 an episcopal survey of conventicles at Lewes reckoned the Presbyterians at 'about 500', the Independents as 'numerous', and the Quakers meeting in the Cliffe at '60'. The nearest Baptist conventicle noted was at Ditchling, a few miles to the north-west, with a congregation of 'about 10'.³ Other sources broadly confirm this survey. In 1670 the Dissenting pamphleteer, John Ayres*, accepted an estimate by informers that '500 common followers' had attended an open-air Presbyterian service at Henge Lane in South Malling, just outside the town. He was not surprised that informers lurked among them, since 'the Captain of our Salvation, amongst but twelve . . . Select Disciples, found one treacherous Judas'.⁴ Informers were also busy elsewhere. In 1670 they reported three townfolk at Baptist meetings in and around Ditchling, in 1673 'about 150' Independents assembled at the barn of Thomas Fissenden* in All Saints, and in

1675 39 Quakers at worship in the same parish.⁵ Thus, although Presbyterians probably accounted for well over half the Dissenters in Lewes, they were reinforced by a major Independent congregation and a modest Quaker meeting, with a handful of Baptists commuting elsewhere.

But while the relative strengths of these congregations seem clear, their actual size remains more problematic. The episcopal survey's '500' Presbyterians presumably included the full range of 'hearers', fringe sympathizers as well as committed members. Moreover, since Lewes probably housed only about 1,900 people in the 1670s,⁶ the '500' must embrace entire households, even allowing that perhaps ten per cent were drawn from nearby villages, like the Iford yeoman, William Ridge, who attended the Henge Lane service in 1670.⁷ Reckoning entire 'families'—children, servants, apprentices and other dependants—would accord, too, with the patriarchal bias of late Stuart society, and with the tendency of Dissenters to marry within their sect and to screen those admitted to the household circle.⁸ All this points to perhaps 450 resident Presbyterian hearers (including babes in arms), contained in 90 or 100 households. Of the survey's '60' Quakers, proportionately more must have been non-resident, since their organization was regional; thus in 1676 under half of 40 witnesses to a marriage at Lewes were townfolk. Indeed,

the abundant documentation of their militant sect suggests that only eight or nine resident householders were members, equivalent to about 40 people.⁹ The 'numerous' Independents also attracted support from a distance; among the '150' in the barn of Thomas Fissenden were two yeomen from Ringmer and Westmeston, a Plumpton tailor and a Mayfield rentier. If the percentage of such out-dwellers was much the same as for the Presbyterians, and if the turn-out in the barn was a full one, then about 135 resident Independents can be added to 450 Presbyterians and 40 Quakers. Rounded upwards by perhaps 15 Baptists, these cohorts total 640 'hearers'—roughly a third of the town's population, and a build-up of Dissent unequalled in Sussex for size and diversity.

DATA SUPPLIED BY SECULAR AND ECCLESIASTICAL PROSECUTION

Computations based on estimates from an era weak in statistics, but strong in religious rancour, must be tentative of course. But lists of Dissenters also frequently survive among the records of secular and ecclesiastical prosecution. Informers named 53 townfolk at Henge Lane and 28 at Fissenden's barn, as well as periodically denouncing local Quakers at prayer. More was done, by fits and starts, about townfolk who boycotted their parish church. In 1663–5 the High Constables presented to Quarter Sessions 99 such non-attenders in the four borough parishes of All Saints, St. Anne, St. John and St. Michael. Action then flagged till 1670, when they referred 133 offenders to the Horsham Assizes, the most thorough trawl ever made (Table 1). Both campaigns, though, focussed on St. Michael's, and after 1671 zeal petered out once more.¹⁰ From 1682, in the aftermath of the Exclusion Crisis, their presentments to Quarter Sessions were renewed, but the listing proved patchier than before. In 1684 the grand jury, composed of Tory partisans, itself supplied a few names, and then proceeded to seize the initiative entirely after Monmouth's

rising, by branding 52 townfolk (mostly seasoned non-attenders) as 'ill affected' or 'dissenters'.¹¹ Outside the borough, in the politically less sensitive suburbs of Southover and the Cliffe, non-attenders escaped civil prosecution altogether until the 1680s. Earlier the Constable of Ringmer hundred, which included the Cliffe, was reluctant to act against convicted hearers at Henge Lane, and when in 1683 his successor did present to Quarter Sessions a batch of Cliffe offenders, all but nine were Quakers.¹² At Southover not even a belated gesture was made by local officers, so in 1684 the grand jury again stepped in and cobbled together a brief list for the justices.¹³

Non-attenders were also subject to ecclesiastical prosecution, and a record of such cases, cited in the archdeacon's court, survives from 1672 onwards.¹⁴ Citation relied heavily on names being forwarded by churchwardens (Table 1). Their presentments are extant for the borough and Southover, with gaps and 'nil' returns, after 1673; but only two, for 1675 and 1683, are preserved from the Cliffe, which lay in the peculiar of South Malling under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵ The longest lists of non-attenders were forwarded in 1675–7, but as always the suburbs took the minimum of action. In fact the churchwardens at Southover forwarded no names whatever. Robert Holford and Thomas Deane (1674–5) were both close relatives of Dissenters in the parish; Deane, indeed, was a brother-in-law (twice over), and probably a business partner as well, of the Baptist preacher and blacksmith, William Parsell*, his sole executor in 1677. Seth Turner and John Chitty* (1675–7) were cited for failing to make any presentments in 1676, and Chitty was charged with non-attendance as well.¹⁶ In the 1675 return from the Cliffe six or eight of the 16 persons named were Quakers, leaving a suspiciously small residue of other sectarian activists in that populous trading parish. At least four more Quakers resident there went unlisted.

Even in the borough parishes, though, the

TABLE 1
Persons at Lewes Listed as Not Attending their Parish Church, 1663-77

<i>Parish</i>	<i>At Quarter Sessions</i>	<i>At Assizes</i>	<i>1675</i>	<i>In churchwardens' presentments</i>	
	<i>1663-5</i>	<i>1670</i>		<i>1676</i>	<i>1677</i>
All Saints	5	17	42	40(5)	—
St. Anne	14	7	—	—	5
St. John	17	20	7	12(6)	10(1)
St. Michael	63	80	—	39	20(20)
The Cliffe	—	—	16	—	—
Southover	—	—	—	—	—
Unknown	—	9	—	—	—
Total	99	133	65	91	35

Note

The numbers in brackets total those persons in 1676 or 1677 not listed the previous year.

response of churchwardens was patchy. No presentments were forthcoming from St. Anne's in 1675 or 1676, and those for 1677 identified only five non-attenders. At St. Michael's 39 were listed in 1676. Yet the following year 20 new names went forward, including the ministers, Joseph Whiston* and James Bricknell*, the mother-in-law of two others, widow Frances Pickering*, and Walter Brett II*, the brother of a fifth. Still excluded, though, were two eminent Presbyterians, Thomas Matthew* and Walter Brett I*, who sponsored the preaching licence of Edward Newton* in 1672,¹⁷ and Edward Kent* who persistently preserved his children from baptism at the parish church.¹⁸ From St. John's the flow of names was steadier, but the quickest and most thorough listing came from All Saints. Only seven out of 42 non-attenders, presented there in 1675, did not reappear in 1676, among them three mobile householders quite probably out of town: the rentier, Joseph Studley*, and the merchants, Nicholas Godman* and William Peake* (Table 1). But even at their fullest, almost all presentments, secular and ecclesiastical, were incomplete, since they listed householders, and to a lesser extent wives, but ignored servants and apprentices living in, and also adult offspring still under the parental roof,

unless they were already thrusting business men, or militant Quakeresses much in the official eye. At least, though, most persons so identified can be set in a wider web of Dissenting activity (see Appendix), which reinforces the point made by John Ayres* about the 133 non-attenders reported to Horsham Assizes in 1670: 'there is not one of these many . . . who tarry at home out of meer prophaneness nor so much as One Papist'.¹⁹

HOUSEHOLDERS WITH DISSENTING TENDENCIES IN 1665 AND 1676

From these lists of hearers at conventicles and non-attenders at church (defective though they are, especially for the suburbs), many adults with Dissenting tendencies can be identified. A few others have been culled from Quaker archives, from the parish register of St. Michael's ('non-baptisers'), from the fulminations of the grand jury in 1684-5, and from wills disclosing constellations of Dissenting kin, legatees, executors or witnesses, which show the testator, if a non-attender, as linked with a specific sect, or if not, as possessing non-conformist proclivities otherwise unknown. All such adults listed in 1665 for the hearth tax can

in turn be counted as householders,²⁰ and so for 1676 can the married men among them, together with others, men or women, occupying rated property (Table 2). The totals for 1676 are tabulated with some care; householders resident that year figure in only *one* of the columns as (i) non-attenders (1675–7), (ii) non-attenders (1678–86), (iii) ‘dissenters’ denounced by the grand jury in 1684–5, but also non-attending before 1670, (iv) authors of wills with a Dissenting flavour (1678–86), (v) non-attenders (1670–4), and (vi) hearers at conventicles (1670–5). Many householders, of course, occur in several sources. Out of 34 listed in St. Michael’s as non-attenders between 1675 and 1686, 18 attended conventicles in 1670–5, and 13 were denounced by the grand jury; of 14 not re-appearing in either context, two were Dissenting activists in the 1690s, and the rest mostly had family or business ties with nonconformists (see Appendix).

The case of Thomas Botting*, an Independent baker, shows how fully a Dissenting career can be documented. He was listed for non-attendance in 1663, 1665, 1670, 1676 and 1682–4, for refusing to have his children baptized in 1667, 1669–70 and 1673–4, for worship at a conventicle in 1673, and for being a ‘dissenter’ in 1685. He stood surety when his nephew, John Ayres*, was charged with libelling Sir Thomas Nutt, the magistrate who so zealously prosecuted hearers at Henge Lane, and in 1685 he was himself fined £20 for preaching at the house of a neighbour. At his death in 1713 he left house property in Fisher Street and a copyhold at Ringmer.²¹

In the four borough parishes 69 householders can be identified as Dissenters in 1665 and 85 in 1676, the main discrepancy being in All Saints, where the High Constables were much less thorough than the churchwardens later on. Both estimates, of course, overlook the poor, who were of little interest to the authorities when tax-gathering or imposing religious uniformity. But if the impoverished divided much as the more affluent did, then at least 34 per cent of

borough householders can be counted as Dissenters in 1665, and at least 41.9 per cent in 1676—an impressive presence, especially when the deficiencies of the sources are remembered. Most impregnated was St. Michael’s (50.5 per cent), the marketing hub of the borough, where the election of churchwardens was sometimes bitterly disputed. Thus in April 1663 two Dissenters, the Independent John Crouch I* and the Presbyterian John Geary*, backed by 23 other householders (mostly non-attenders), were set aside as candidates by the newly imposed Anglican incumbent, Henry Thurman. They duly served their term, though, after a counter-attack in 1665. Ten years later the archdeacon’s court intervened to overturn as irregular the election of William Godman* and Peter Barton.²² In Southover and the Cliffe, however, where the machinery of prosecution yielded no data by 1665, the number of householders identified by 1676 as Dissenters, 12 (22.2 per cent) and 18 (26.5 per cent), must be regarded as especially minimal.

Taking the borough and suburbs together, at least 115 householders with Dissenting tendencies can be listed as resident in 1676, accounting for 35.4 per cent of all householders previously assessed for the hearth tax, and equivalent to perhaps 520 persons, if dependants are counted. When some allowance is made for deficient sources, such a presence accords well with the 640 Dissenting hearers calculated from contemporary estimates of congregational strengths, and with a later survey that allotted 595 hearers (including non-residents) to the town’s Presbyterian and Independent chapels in 1717.²³

These findings also invite comparison with the parochial returns of adult religious allegiance made by the town’s incumbents in 1676.²⁴ Apart from a solitary papist in the Cliffe, they totalled up 940 Anglicans, but only 189 Dissenters, a mere 16.7 per cent of all adults. The discrepancy is a wide one. Some hearers and non-attenders, of course, may have patronized their parish church at tactically spaced intervals.

But if the returns are examined individually, another explanation suggests itself. Isaac Wright estimated 24 Dissenters in Southover (35.8 per cent) and 27 in St. Anne's (31 per cent), and John Shore 32 in St. John's (25 per cent). The shortfall, therefore, can be located in the other, more populous parishes of the Cliffe, All Saints, and St. Michael's, where William Snatt returned 16 (5.9 per cent), 23 (8.8 per cent) and 67 (21.1 per cent) Dissenters. His estimates, however, seem very suspect. In the Cliffe resident Quakers alone accounted for 12 or 14 adults in 1675. In All Saints Snatt's own churchwardens presented 40 non-attenders in 1676, and from St. Michael's the High Constables reported at least 80 more to the Horsham Assizes in 1670; yet in neither case were all adult dependants included. Since Snatt was an ardent Tory and a future non-juror, it is tempting to ascribe such shortfalls to an excess of polemical zeal.²⁵

CO-OPERATION WITH INFLUENTIAL CONFORMISTS

So vital a Dissenting presence, especially in the borough, outraged Anglicans and monarchists. In 1663 John Hetherington noted sourly its brazen confidence: conventicles crowded as in 'Oliver's time'; shops open on Christmas Day; and Parson Thurman manhandled in St. Anne's churchyard when trying to gatecrash the midnight burial of a 'saint'.²⁶ In 1679 the borough's two parliamentary seats were wrested permanently from Tory control. Both the new Whig members, Richard Bridger and William Morley (the covertly Presbyterian son of the notorious Herbert), received the Earl of Shaftesbury's endorsement, and in 1681 Bridger and Thomas Pelham, Morley's successor, were allegedly supported by the 'Dissenting party' in the town. Thomas Barrett, the local ecclesiastical registrar, wrote despairingly soon after to his overlord, Bishop Carleton, that conventicles, schism, and contempt for the penal laws remained as rampant as ever.²⁷

But Barrett also bewailed the support given to Lewes 'separatists' by influential Whig conformists, whose churchmanship was tactical and skin-deep. Taking this up with the government, Carleton pin-pointed the magistrate, Henry Shelley, whose sister Martha*, like her husband, Roger Coby*, was an Independent. Others in the borough had links with non-conformity, present or past, political or religious. Shelley's fellow magistrate, William Spence of South Malling, a veteran of the Barebones parliament, owned extensive house property close to Shelley's own residence in St. Anne's. In All Saints Ambrose Trayton and William Alcock lingered affluently into the 1670s. Trayton masterminded the town's defences in 1643 and married his daughter 11 years later to Walter Everenden of Jevington, whose kin formed a ramifying clan of radical minor gentry. Alcock had profitably served the county's bureaucracy as clerk of the peace throughout the turbulent 1640s and 1650s.²⁸ In St. Michael's the draper Stephen Snatt, although High Constable in 1646 and 1657, was never an active Independent like his wife* and daughters*, but in 1682 he combined with two of his sons, Henry Shelley and 13 known Dissenters to dominate the trustees of Blunt's Charity.²⁹ Also in St. Michael's resided that arresting memento of civil war and revolution, the dowager Lady Pelham, splendidly endowed by her deceased husband and rebel leader, Sir Thomas, and a sister of the vehement republican, Sir Henry Vane, whom Charles II singled out for execution after the Restoration.³⁰

The tardiness of local action against non-attenders in the Cliffe and Southover probably owed something as well to the influence of Whig conformists. The hundred of Ringmer was controlled politically by the old rebel families of Spence, Morley and Hay.³¹ In the Cliffe itself the merchants John and Walter Everenden were a branch of the clan married into by Trayton's daughter, and by 1664 their sister Elizabeth* had married Henry Godman*, the preacher at Henge Lane. From the late 1660s they co-operated with

TABLE 2
Householders at Lewes with Dissenting Tendencies in 1665 and 1676

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Assessed for hearth tax 1665</i>			<i>Resident 1676¹</i>						<i>Total</i>	<i>Dissenters as % of 1665 householders</i>
	<i>Dissenters</i>	<i>Total assessed</i>	<i>Dissenters as %</i>	<i>Non-attenders 1675-7</i>	<i>Non-attenders 1678-86</i>	<i>Denounced by grand jury</i>	<i>Authors of wills 1678-86</i>	<i>Non-attenders 1670-4</i>	<i>Hearers at conventicles 1670-5</i>		
All Saints	10	53	18.9	22(9) ²	1(1)	—	—	—	—	23(10)	43.4
St. Anne	7	31	22.6	2(1)	1(1)	2(1)	—	1(1)	1	7(5)	22.6
St. John	11	28	39.3	7(4)	—	—	—	2(2)	—	9(6)	32.1
St. Michael	41	91	45.0	31(16)	3(2)	3	1	7 ³	1	46(19)	50.5
Total	69	203	34.0	62(30)	5(4)	5(1)	1	10(3)	2	85(40)	41.9
The Cliffe	—	68	—	10(6)	3(1)	—	2(2)	—	3	18(12)	26.5
Southover	—	54	—	1	2(1)	2(2)	5	1	1	12(4)	22.2
Grand total	69	325	34.0	73(36)	10(6)	7(3)	8(2)	11(3)	6	115(56)	35.4

Notes

1. Householders with Dissenting tendencies, counted as resident in 1676, are marked with a dagger in the Appendix.
2. The numbers in brackets total those householders who were also hearers at conventicles between 1670 and 1675.
3. This total also includes 'non-baptisers' in St. Michael's.

local Presbyterians to control the parish's major charities.³² Some such alliance could also account for the election of Presbyterians as churchwardens in 1669, 1670 and 1674, while the two who presented non-attenders in 1675, William Tabrett and Robert Lancaster, were themselves related to hearers at Henge Lane.³³ Southover, a spacious and affluent suburb, housed at least three rentiers with radical links: Apsley Newton, William Coby and William Lane. Newton was a brother-in-law of Henry Shelley, and their fathers had collaborated closely as rebels. It was Coby's brother, Roger*, who married Shelley's sister, while Lane's widow became the second wife of Edward Newton* in 1689.³⁴

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS

But the resilience of Lewes Dissenters was more than just a question of numbers, or of co-operation with sympathetic conformists. They also enjoyed economic vigour and social weight, permeating every sector of the town's commercial life except the drink trade, that bastion of Tory partisans.³⁵ They were especially drawn to the manufacture and sale of textiles and clothing; 30 shearmen, weavers, feltmakers, dyers, tailors, hosiers, hatmakers, gloves and collarmakers, 24 drapers and haberdashers, and 15 cordwainers and shoemakers, accounted for a third of the 199 male nonconformists known to have been resident between 1663 and 1686.³⁶ Medicine was well represented, and several ejected graduate ministers doubled as schoolmasters. Few were agriculturalists, since Lewesians played little part in the highly capitalized sheep-corn husbandry that surrounded them. Even fewer were 'labourers', reflecting the skilled, small-scale character of the town's production and exchange, and possibly, too, a bias in the conduct of prosecution.

Significantly, the authors of the 1669 episcopal survey described the local Presbyterians, Independents and Quakers, together

with the Baptists worshipping at Ditchling, as recruited from 'the middle sort'. This label defined the self-employed in Stuart England, the peasant farmers and urban traders. Their economic independence placed them in social esteem above the wage earner, whose freedom was flawed by reliance on a taskmaster, but below the rentier, distanced from commerce by unearned income. As such, some historians have allotted 'the middle sort' a key role in nourishing a grass-roots radicalism, religious and political, that transformed civil war into revolution in the mid 1640s.³⁷ Certainly retailers and skilled craftsmen abounded among the Lewes Dissenters, while commentators like Hetherington and Barrett never doubted their capacity for political action. Moreover, they were well entrenched in the wealthier section of the trading class. In 1665 non-attenders headed 26 of the 49 households rated at three hearths or more in St. Michael's, and nine of the 16 assessed at six or above, the other seven householders being the carpet-bagging magistrate, Sir Thomas Nutt, the dowager Lady Pelham, the Whig draper, Stephen Snatt, two lawyers and two innkeepers.

THE PRESBYTERIANS

Yet although the Lewes sects recruited heavily from 'the middle sort', the upheavals that convulsed England during the Civil Wars and the republic left each with its own distinctive character by 1663. Locally and nationally, the conservatism of the Presbyterian outlook satisfied most nonconformists. A preference for strong clerical authority within a cut-and-dried national framework, and a distrust of toleration and freelance preaching, appealed widely to contemporary habits of mind.³⁸ Thus 53 of the 115 Dissenting householders resident in 1676 have been identified as Presbyterian, 31 as Independent, ten as Quaker, and two as Baptist (see Appendix). Six of the remaining 19 were either Presbyterian or Independent, and so probably were most of the rest, since the Quakers are well documented and the Baptists

had no congregational focus in the town. A re-allocation of these 19 among the two larger sects would allow them 65 and 38 householders: equivalent in terms of hearers to 292 Presbyterians, 171 Independents, 45 Quakers and nine Baptists. This falls short of the 450 Presbyterian hearers already deduced from contemporary estimates, and may be due to tactical conformity being more widespread than among the other, more radical congregations.

Clerical influence certainly remained strong, being embodied in the continuing and high-powered ministry of Edward Newton*. After a fellowship at Balliol, he married a daughter of Benjamin Pickering, the spiritual counsellor of Sir Thomas Pelham, and duly succeeded him in 1657 to the livings of Southover and St. Anne's.³⁹ He remained in Southover after his ejection, in clear defiance of the Five Mile Act. Two other ejected clergymen settled in St. Michael's to assist him. John Earle* from Tarring Neville and James Bricknell* from Beddingham had both graduated at Oxford in the 1650s. House searches and other harassment by the borough authorities allegedly hastened Earle's death in 1670, whereupon Bricknell transferred from Brighton to take his place. Moreover, clerical prestige was such that at least three families from the local congregation supplied recruits to the Presbyterian ministry: John Panton*, John Brett* and Thomas Barnard*. After distinguished careers at Oxford, Panton and Brett were candidates for ordination in 1662. The ruin of such prospects diverted them both to medicine. Brett returned to St. Michael's, before setting up as a physician and conventicle preacher in and around Mayfield and Tunbridge Wells. Barnard, baptized in 1644, was younger, and bided his time as a draper in the town until his ordination in 1688.⁴⁰ Two other Lewes families, quite possibly Presbyterian in sympathy, also routed sons towards the ministry. Brett's cousin, William Staninough*, a graduate from University College in 1661 and a candidate for ordination a year later, was buried at St.

Michael's in 1664. Also laid to rest there in 1683 was Edward Beecher*. Educated at the grammar school and St. John's College, Cambridge, he returned home after his ejection from nearby Kingston. A non-attender in 1663, he avoided presentation thereafter.⁴¹

Such families were prominent in the congregation. Brett's father and brother, the grocers Walter I* and II*, sponsored Newton's preaching licence in 1672, as did Panton's brother, the physician Henry*. Three times High Constable before 1663, and 'expenditor' in 1660 when the grammar school was rebuilt, Walter I later handled the finances of William Morley, and acted as a trustee for fellow Presbyterians, such as widow Mary Grundy*, whose husband Thomas, 'a melancholy thinking man', was ejected from Denton. He remained cordial, however, to his kinsman Giles Moore, the conforming rector of Horsted Keynes, supplying him with wheatears from the Downs and 'scurvey water' from the Isle of Wight.⁴² The refusal of Walter II to pay the fines imposed for hearing Henry Godman at Henge Lane in 1670 caused two barrels of his sugar to be distrained, after a butt of currants proved impossible to shift. Six cows were also taken from the farm run by Thomas Barnard*, his brother Richard*, and their widowed mother*, at Northease in Rodmell, an enterprise combined with the family drapery business. According to Ayres*, a nimble-minded milkmaid commented that those distraining 'would have store of Sillibubs, having gotten so much Sugar of Mr. Brett'.⁴³ Such penalties inflicted little permanent damage, however. In 1674 Richard Barnard chose to build a modish brick extension to his High Street residence; in 1688 Henry Panton bequeathed £200 in East India stock, capacious house property on School Hill, and land at Ditchling; and in 1697 Walter Brett II was chosen High Constable.⁴⁴

Newton's preaching licence was also sponsored by the barber-surgeon William Humphrey*, the haberdasher Samuel Crutten-den*, and the draper Thomas Matthew*.

Humphrey, a tenant and probably a professional partner of Panton, was himself distrained in 1670 of 'a fair seeing glass', while Cruttenden lost three hats worth 15s.⁴⁵ Formerly High Constable in 1656, Matthew left 80 a. at Plumpton in 1690, together with £60 to 'outed' ministers, and a house on Keere Street for the shelter of poor widows, to be run by nine Dissenting trustees.⁴⁶ Like Newton, Bricknell, Walter Brett II, Panton and the Barnard brothers, he was also denounced by the grand jury in 1685. So were other Presbyterian sympathizers, firmly entrenched among 'the middle sort': the goldsmith Robert Colgate*, the drapers Samuel Youlton*, Samuel Watts* and Thomas Ridge*, the maltsters John Palmer* and Edmund Goldham*, the hosier Roger Fillery*, the cordwainer Richard Paine*, and the masons Samuel Swane* and Benjamin Wood*. Some hearers of solid substance, though, escaped the net, like the cordwainer Thomas Elphick* and the tailor George Humphrey*, who each held 20 a. at Ringmer, besides house property in the borough.⁴⁷

Being so firmly rooted in 'the middle sort', the congregation preserved its coherence and pugnacity throughout the years of proscription. In 1685, for example, Matthew* roundly asserted that 'every good Protestant or good Christian would be for the Bill of Exclusion', and the same year Henry Owden* strode into the local ecclesiastical court, refused to remove his hat, and 'used many abusive speeches'.⁴⁸ Both outbursts also reveal that abiding abhorrence of 'Popery' and its remnants in Church and State, which had fuelled the sect since the 1640s. But its otherwise conservative tendency is apparent in Ayres' pamphlet on the Henge Lane meeting and its aftermath:

The design of this narrative is not to imbitter the spirits of any against lawful superiors, . . . that would be . . . contrary to these sufferers themselves, being Men that are peaceable and faithfull in the Land. In matters of the Kingdom malice itself can

find nothing wherewith to accuse them, only in this matter of their God.

Besides such ostentatious political quietism, the pamphlet also shows the ingrained contempt of 'the middle sort', the 'honest, peaceable and industrious people', for feckless work-shy informers, for 'persons who like the unjust Steward cannot dig, and to beg they are ashamed, and therefore fit to live like the drone, upon the substance that the industrious bee hath gathered'.⁴⁹

THE INDEPENDENTS

Being more radical than the Presbyterians during the Civil Wars and the republic, Independents had favoured the unfettered preaching of (almost) all forms of protestant belief, and the setting up by the godly of autonomous 'gathered churches'. But because of Presbyterian misgivings, they settled in the 1650s for a network of parish incumbents, tithe-supported and under loose state control, accommodating Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist ministers alike. Church attendance, nonetheless, became optional, and congregations were allowed to organize separately without hindrance. This insistence by Independents on toleration (the most revolutionary concept of the age) also disposed them to welcome the New Model Army, republican government and Cromwell's Protectorate, as guarantees of its continuance, whereas Presbyterian support was at best half-hearted.

But even by Independent standards, the Lewes congregation seems to have been a theologically intrepid one, since its members showed a persistent taste for millenarian preaching. Its first minister, Walter Postlethwaite*, was a prominent Fifth Monarchist, who received the living of St. Michael's upon quitting Cambridge in 1646. After his ejection he remained in the parish, again in defiance of the Five Mile Act, until his death in 1672. His watch and library were bequeathed to the

Lewes-born Oxford graduate, John Crouch II*. A candidate for ordination in 1662, like John Brett* and William Staninough*, Crouch also returned home to St. Michael's soon after. But although licensed as an Independent preacher at Lewes in 1672, and occupying the pulpit next year in Fissenden's barn, he did not permanently succeed Postlethwaite as pastor. Nor did yet another Lewes-born graduate, Henry Godman*. Ejected from Rodmell, he preached at Henge Lane in 1670, but by 1672 he was ministering at Deptford, where he died in 1702.⁵⁰ Instead the congregation plumped for another millenarian, Joseph Whiston*, who had served in his youth as chaplain to Major-General Harrison, the leading advocate in the New Model Army of imminent Apocalypse. A lecturer at Maidstone in the late 1650s, he was based at Mayfield by 1672. Crouch remained on good terms with him, witnessed his will, and treasured a mourning ring received at his funeral in 1691.⁵¹ The congregation also seems to have encouraged lay testimony, since a member, the baker Thomas Botting*, was fined for preaching at the house of Christopher Yokehurst* in 1685.⁵²

Besides being a millenarian, Whiston was also an unrepentant political radical. His nephew William, the distinguished translator of Josephus, who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, recalls in his *Memoirs* writing long letters to convince him of 'the unlawfulness' of the Civil Wars, 'but all in vain'.⁵³ Most probably the Lewes congregation endorsed such a stance. Several members had staffed the county bureaucracy that emerged remodelled on firm republican lines after Charles I's execution in 1649. Thomas Fissenden*, Jeremy Tompkins and George Stonestreat* were sequestrators attached to the committee for compounding by February 1650, and in the following April Anthony Stapley, the regicide member for Lewes, recommended Thomas Crouch* as their agent in the eastern division of the county.⁵⁴ Twenty-three years later, Fissenden, 'Jeremy

Tompkins, Ringmer, yeoman', and Stonestreat's widow, Martha*, were among the congregation in Fissenden's barn, and Crouch's nephew, John, was in the pulpit. Only a few months before, Crouch himself had been chosen by Walter Postlethwaite to distribute a bequest among 'needy persons', presumably Independents.⁵⁵ Stonestreat died in 1669. His trustees included two pillars of the sect, Richard Russell*, his brother-in-law, and John Lopdell*, and two Whig conformists, Henry Shelley and John Spence of Lindfield. His brother John*, a prominent Independent minister before his ejection from Lindfield, was buried in St. Anne's a year earlier.⁵⁶ Two of his uncles also served the county's republican bureaucracy: William Clagget* replaced Fissenden as a sequestrator in July 1650, and Richard Burdett held a receivership of the assessment in May 1657. Clagget remained a marked man after the Restoration, being among those short-listed in 1666 to take an oath 'restraining' nonconformists in corporate towns. Burdett died the same year, but his widow Elizabeth* was presented in 1670 as a non-attender. Both men may well have been Independents.⁵⁷

Martha Coby* and Joseph Studley*, two active members of the congregation in the 1670s, embodied another link with political radicalism in the 1650s, when their fathers were prominent magistrates at Lewes. Nathaniel Studley, indeed, had attended the Barebones parliament, along with William Spence of South Malling. Described as 'Congregational' when his Mayfield house was licensed in 1672 on behalf of the preacher, John Brett*, Joseph transferred soon after to Lewes, where he acted as Whiston's trustee in 1691.⁵⁸ Thomas Fissenden, besides his bureaucratic work, had also fought for Parliament in the mid 1640s. He served as a captain in the local regiment raised by Herbert Morley, alongside Captain Bailey* and Captain Everenden. In 1661 the parish clerk of St. Michael's so designated the cordwainer Edward Bailey, a non-attender there between 1665 and

1670, whose widow Jane* was present later in Fissenden's barn. Captain Everenden, a Cliffe grocer, died in 1664, his daughter Elizabeth having married the ejected minister, Henry Godman*, himself a cousin of Bailey's. Again a network of Independency seems to emerge. Any such sectarian bias in the regiment was doubtless strengthened by its chaplain, 'Mr Osborne', who later assisted Postlethwaite at St. Michael's, being buried there in 1657.⁵⁹

Little such political commitment can be traced among Lewes Presbyterians in the 1640s or 1650s. Moreover, only three of them can be confidently identified among the 22 members of the borough Fellowship in 1661: Walter Brett I*, Thomas Matthew* and Richard Barnard I*. But many others were linked, more or less closely, with Independency. Thomas Fissenden*, Richard Russell*, Richard Button, John Lopdell* and Ralph Pope*, for example, were all present in Fissenden's barn, and remained influential activists. Fissenden, an apothecary, offered his house in All Saints as a meeting place in 1672, and died in 1684 worth over £2,000. Russell, another apothecary, was much in demand among the congregation as a trustee. His Irish and other properties reinforced a medical dynasty that culminated in his grandson Richard, the 'founder' of modern Brighton.⁶⁰ Richard Button retired by 1672 from the grocery trade to Mayfield (another nest of the godly), where his house was licensed on behalf of Whiston. But he kept up his Lewes links, and his bequests in 1678 included a lease of Court farm at Rodmell. John Lopdell, a draper, in his turn registered his house on behalf of Whiston in 1689. He left land at Hellingly and Westham in 1691, when his executor was a cousin, Dr. George Porter, who succeeded Whiston as pastor to the congregation in 1693. Vice-president of Magdalen College, Oxford in 1658, where he overlapped with John Brett* and John Crouch*, Porter was the most distinguished, and the final Dissenting Oxbridge meritocrat, to transfer his ministry to Lewes.⁶¹ Ralph Pope worked the tannery at Green Wall. As the last

junior High Constable elected by the Fellowship, he refused in 1663 'to deliver over the weights and measures and other things in his custody of public use' to successors he deemed lawlessly imposed on the borough from without. In 1698, at the age of 82, along with another surviving member, Stephen Snatt, he tried unsuccessfully to resurrect the Fellowship, by selecting 20 new recruits.⁶²

Several members of the Fellowship in 1661 who were Dissenters thereafter but deceased by 1673, such as George Stonestreat*, Edward Bailey*, Stephen Botting*, Nicholas Curle*, Edward Holmwood* and Robert Swan*, were also closely linked with Independency. Others possibly linked, but deceased or departed by 1673, were Richard Burdett, John Garland, whose sons* and widow (Mary Elphick*) were Independents, Abraham Nicholls, John Savage, and the saddler Richard Savage*, a non-attender in 1665. Nicholls may have been the grandson of that name willed a tenement in Hamsey by Robert Swan, while John and Richard were probably kinsmen of the Independent saddlers James* and John* Savage. Another member, the merchant William Peake*, a Dissenter in the 1670s, was Mary Elphick's brother.⁶³ Stonestreat died affluent, bequeathing an eighth of Houndean manor in 1669. Others left Wealden land: the haberdasher Nicholas Curle (1666) at Hamsey, Ringmer, Fletching and Speldhurst; the maltster Robert Swan (1671) at Hamsey and Uckfield; the cordwainer Edward Bailey (1672) at Hedgelands in Chailey; and so did Stephen Botting's son, Thomas*, at Ringmer. John Garland's son, the merchant Nathaniel*, amassed at least £2,000 by his death in 1700, some of which was distributed within the congregation.⁶⁴ Far from withering away, as the price of religious and political radicalism, such Independents, together with Fissenden, Russell, Lopdell and Pope, remained securely entrenched within the upper echelons of 'the middle sort'.

But although the sectarian rifts of the 1650s sent long fissures forward, the divisions between

Presbyterian and Independent diminished with time. Prosecution furnished them with a common foe. Presbyterians came to realize, too, that their sect would never provide the building blocks for a uniform nationwide religious settlement. Toleration of all protestants was the best they could hope for. Locally, the signs of a growing accord seem clear. In 1670 the Independent minister, Henry Godman, preached to a Presbyterian audience at Henge Lane. The same year widow Elizabeth Gunn* left money to the pastors of both congregations, a precedent that was widely followed, by John Watts* (1680), widow Hannah Cruttenden* (1683), Elizabeth Wacklin* (1685), Alexander* and Sarah* Owden (1688), and William Bennett*, Thomas Elphick* and Henry Panton* (1689). Such togetherness was doubtless encouraged by Whiston, a minister described by Calamy as always anxious to promote 'unanimity'.⁶⁵

THE QUAKERS AND THE BAPTISTS

Not only were divisions between Presbyterian and Independent less acute by the 1680s, but their animosity towards Quaker belief and practice was also lessening. In the later 1650s, however, the Friends had been detested as a subversive threat to every godly cause. At Lewes, for example, Mary Akehurst* invaded St. Michael's and argued theology with the minister (Walter Postlethwaite presumably), until she was tied to the furniture by a desperate husband. Her action sprang from a refusal to accept any church establishment, or to pay tithes and rates for its upkeep. From 1663 such intransigence singled out local Quakers for repeated punishment, including months, even years, of confinement at Horsham gaol, where the Southover tailor, John Wenham*, died in 1668. Besides this contempt for 'mass priest' and 'steeple house', and the open fitting-up of a meeting hall at Puddlewharf in All Saints, the authorities were also outraged by their refusal to swear any oath of allegiance, to hold parish

office, to fund the militia, or to observe the courtesies of court procedure. By the late 1670s, though, such militancy was acquiring a static, almost ritual character, obviously compatible with social order. Lewes Friends began, indeed, to record 'kindly' interventions on their behalf: by the merchant William Peake* in 1678, and by the Whig magistrate, Henry Shelley, soon after.⁶⁶

Such tolerance was perhaps hastened by the contribution of several Friends to the town's commerce, since their sect recruited as heavily from 'the middle sort' as any other. Thus Ralph* and Thomas* Akehurst, sons of the militant Mary, imported cargoes of wine, flax, grain, pantiles, glasses, brandy and blacking through Newhaven in the later 1670s. Mary herself inherited from her haberdasher husband much house property in the Cliffe, where she briefly lodged William Penn in 1672.⁶⁷ Another busy merchant was Ambrose Galloway II*. His stock-in-trade usually included cannon cast upstream in the Weald, a traffic which again reflects an accommodation by Friends to worldly realities. The problem, indeed, of armaments had been specifically side-stepped in 1677, when the Lewes meeting left to his own 'conscience' the action that Walter Norman should take about his employment, the 'Boring of Guns' at Maresfield. Another Friend, the draper Thomas Moseley*, proved affluent enough to bequeath over £800 in 1689, together with property in the Cliffe, Hailsham and Newhaven.⁶⁸

Baptists in the town were few. The episcopal survey located their nearest conventicles at Ditchling, with a congregation of 'about 10'. In 1670 three Lewesians, the tailor Thomas Brad* and the glovers John* and Joshua* Coles, worshipped there at the house of Michael Martin, alongside artisans from Hamsey, Barcombe and Chailey. Brad's daughter Mary married an 'Anabaptist' yeoman from Clayton, Peter Terry, at whose house, also in 1670, preached William Parsell*, a Southover blacksmith. Parsell stood surety that year for his brother-in-law, the cordwainer Nicholas Martin

(a kinsman, presumably, of Michael), when another conventicle was uncovered at Nicholas's dwelling in East Chiltington.⁶⁹ Parsell and John Coles were later denounced by the grand jury in 1685. But only in 1697 was a Baptist meeting house licensed in the town itself, at Eastport Lane in Southover.⁷⁰ Even this obscure, heavily rural sect recruited from 'the middle sort', however, according to the episcopal survey. Certainly, Brad with a copyhold on Keere Street, Parsell with a freehold in Southover, and John Coles with a paid servant, Hannah Line, can all be plausibly allotted to the ranks of the self-employed.⁷¹ Its preachers, other than Parsell, are unknown. But there is one scrap of evidence that politically these Baptists were radical: in 1679 Michael Martin was lodged in Horsham

gaol, on suspicion 'of speaking treasonable words' against the King.⁷²

CONCLUSION

Collectively, therefore, Lewes Dissenters remained resilient throughout the period. Their numbers, economic enterprise, social weight, intellectual leadership and political alliance with conforming Whigs all contributed to their staying power. Such a vigorous presence does much to explain the ruthless demolition of their civic bastion, the Fellowship, in 1663, the continuing anxieties of local Tory loyalists, and their speedy re-emergence after the Glorious Revolution to again permeate the borough's government.

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APPENDIX

PERSONS WITH DISSENTING TENDENCIES, SOME-TIME RESIDENT AT LEWES BETWEEN 1663 AND 1686

A person is included in this appendix on the evidence of (i) attendance at a conventicle (C), (ii) non-attendance at church (NA), (iii) refusal to bring an infant to church for baptism (NBp), (iv) denunciation by a grand jury (GJ), or (v) making a will in which Dissenters figure prominently as overseers, trustees or witnesses. The full range of evidence is set out in each case, but when inclusion rests on (v) only, the person's name is placed in brackets. Wives, unmarried children and widowed mothers are normally placed after the male head of their household (provided, of course, that he was a Dissenter).

The allocation of a person to a particular sect usually rests on (i) attendance at a conventicle, (ii) the making of a will with a strong sectarian bias, or (iii) a strong sectarian bias among close kinsfolk. Use has also occasionally been made of listings of the Presbyterian congregation (Cg) made by Thomas Barnard from 1695 (NU 1/1/1). When an allocation based on (ii) or (iii) is more problematic the person's name is prefaced by a question mark.

Where possible the status of a person has been indicated by listing (i) the number of hearths for which a householder was assessed in 1665, (ii) testamentary evidence of wealth and real property, and (iii) the rateable value (R) of any property occupied in All Saints in 1675 (AMS 5736/1). Persons identified as householders resident in 1676 are marked with a dagger (†).

Other Abbreviations

adm	administration
AS	resident in All Saints
b	brother
bil	brother-in-law
bp	baptized
bq	bequeathed
bqt	bequest
bu	buried
dau	daughter
ex	executor
f	father
fil	father-in-law
gf	grandfather
gs	grandson
h	hearth
HC	High Constable
kn	kinsman
m	mother
mil	mother-in-law
ML	<i>Marriage Licences at Lewes 1670-1732</i> , ed. E. H. W. Dunkin (<i>Suss. Rec. Soc.</i> 6).
ov	overseer
sis	sister
SA	resident in St. Anne's
sil	son-in-law
SJ	resident in St. John's
SM	resident in St. Michael's
Sou	resident in Southover
ST	resident in St. Thomas's (the Cliffe)
tr	trustee
w	wife
wit	witness

Note

Collections of documents cited are in the following repositories:

Public Record Office, ASSI; E; PROB; SP; RG;
East Sussex Record Office, A; ACC; ADA; AMS; B; D;
GLY; NU; PAR; QI; QO; QR; SOF;
West Sussex Record Office, Ep.; Wiston MSS.

*(a) Presbyterian in Tendency**(i) Ministers or their widows*

BARNARD Thomas†: bp at Lewes 1644, draper, SM, NA 1664-83, C 1670, GJ 1685, ordained 1688, joint minister with Edw Newton at Lewes from 1695; f Ri, b Ri.

BRETT John: bp at Lewes 1636, BA Wadham Coll, Oxf, 1656, fellow of Magdalen Coll, Oxf, 1657-61, ejected, SM, NA 1663, applied to preach at Mayfield 1672, also practised as a physician there, died 1678, bq land at Lewes & Bishopstone (PROB 11/358, f. 121); f Wa, b Wa, bil J Watts.

BRICKNELL James†: MA Merton Coll, Oxf, 1655, ejected from Beddingham, applied to preach at Preston-by-Brighton 1672, minister at Lewes 1675-97, also a schoolmaster, SM, NA 1677-83, NBp 1683, GJ 1685, bu 1697 at Sou; w Judith, bu 1678.

DARANDA Frances: widow, SM, NA 1670, dau of Bj & Fr Pickering, married in 1666 Elias D., MA Merton Coll, Oxf, 1648, curate at Mayfield 1656, later pastor of the French church at Canterbury, died 1669; bil Edw Newton.

EARLE John: matric Magdalen Hall, Oxf, 1651, ejected from Tarring Neville, minister at Lewes 1663-70, SM 3h, NA 1663-5, bu 1670; w Anne†, NA 1670-83.

GRUNDY Mary: widow, died at Lewes 1669 (A 31, f. 57), trs Wa Brett I & Th Matthew, married Th G., BA Queens' Coll, Cam, 1621, ejected from Denton.

NEWTON Edward†: MA Balliol Coll, Oxf, 1650, succeeded his fil Bj Pickering at SA & Sou 1657, ejected, ministered at Lewes until his death in 1712, Sou 7h, NA 1674, GJ 1685, bq lands in Ditchling, Firle, Langney & Waldron (A 48, f. 173); kn Wa Brett I.

PICKERING Frances†: widow, SM, NA 1663-79, married Bj P., minister at SA & Sou from 1646 until his death in 1657; sil Edw Newton, sil Elias Daranda.

?STANINOUGH William: f Daniel, a Lewes draper, BA University Coll, Oxf, 1661, a ministerial candidate 1662, died 'of Lewes' 1664 (PROB 11/315, f. 104), bu at SM; uncle Wa Brett I.

(ii) Laity

APPS Joan: wife of Stephen, carrier, SJ 5h, NA 1670, will 1684, wits Ab Vine & Wm Britten (A 36, f. 216); daus Eleanor Harwood & Ez Kenward.

AYRES John: schoolmaster, SM, NA 1670, C 1670, pamphleteer; gf St Botting, fil Th Fissenden.

?BAKER John: labourer, NA 1670 (John Baker, cordwainer admitted to P cong 1704).

BARNARD Richard I: draper, SM 7h, HC 1641, 1650, 1660, NA 1663, died 1666, bq lands in Hamsey & Ireland (PROB 11/322, f. 157); w Frances, NA 1665-70, died 1673; son Th, son Ri.

BARNARD Richard II†: draper, SM as above, C 1670, NA 1670-83, GJ 1685, Cg 1695; f Ri, b Th.

?BARRETT Edward†: clocksmith/gunsmith, SM 3h, NA 1663, GJ 1685; w Jane, NA 1683; dau Ez, NA 1683, married Sam Youlton 1683 (ML).

BENNETT Richard: tailor, AS/SJ, NA 1665, C 1670, adm 1674-£46.7.6 (B 8, f. 84); w Margaret, NA 1665; son Ri.

BENNETT Richard†: tailor, SM 2h, NBp 1670-4, GJ 1685; kn Ab Vine; son Bj, apprentice to Th Elphick.

BRETT Walter I†: grocer, SM 5h, HC 1642, 1650, 1662,

NA 1663-83, sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672, GJ 1684, bu 1685; dau Ez, C 1670, NA 1683; son J, son Wa, sil J Watts, kn Edw Newton.

BRETT Walter II†: grocer, SM as above, HC 1674, 1684, NA 1663-85, C 1670, sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672, NBp 1673-4, GJ 1684-5; w Ez, NA 1677-83, Cg 1695.

BRISTOWE Edward†: tailor, SM/SJ 5h, C 1670, NA 1674-7, NBp 1674, will 1678, bq £100 (A 35, f. 49); w Ez, NA 1677.

BRITTEN William†: tailor, SJ freeholder, C 1670, NA 1674, bu 1702.

COLGATE Robert†: goldsmith, SM, NA 1670-84, NBp 1670-88, GJ 1685, Cg 1695, will 1708 (A 47, f. 112); w Ez, NA 1670-83, Cg 1697; bil J Crouch.

CRIPPS John: cordwainer, SM 1h, NA 1664-70, NBp 1671, will 1673, tr Wm Swan, wits Wa Brett I & Th Matthew (A 33, f. 59); w Joan, NA 1670.

CRUTTENDEN Samuel II†: haberdasher, SM, NA 1663-76, C 1670, sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672, NBp 1672-4; adm 1679-£9.18.5 (B 9, f. 53); w Charity, NA 1676, will 1688 (A 38, f. 101); f Sam, b J. DOVER Mercey: spinster, C 1670.

?DUKE James: SM, NBp 1672-3; w Mary, bq £30 by Th Matthew 1690; ?m 'widow Duke'†, SM 5h, NA 1670-6.

(ELPHICK Susannah): widow, will 1683, bqt to Edw Newton, exs Th Matthew & Ri Barnard (A 36, f. 62).

ELPHICK Thomas†: cordwainer, SM 2h & SJ freeholder, C 1670, NA 1670-82, will 1689, bq land in Ringmer & over £350 (A 39, f. 98).

FILLERY Roger I: hosier, SM 4h, NA 1663, will 1668, ovs Th Fissenden & Th Matthew (A 32, f. 104); w Mary, NA 1670-7; son Rog, son Th.

FILLERY Roger II†: hosier, ST freeholder, NA 1663-83; w Anne, NA 1683, Cg 1695; f Rog, b Th.

FILLERY Thomas†: hosier, SM as for f, NA 1670-84, will 1702, wits Edw Barrett & Sam Youlton (A 45, f. 57); f Rog.

FLOOD William: shoemaker, ?AS, C 1670; 'widow' Flood†, AS R£1, NA 1675-6.

FOULE John: soap boiler, SJ, C 1670.

GEARY John: butcher, SM 3h, NA 1663-5, will 1670, ex J Henty, wits T Barnard, Sam Cruttenden, Th Tourle (A 32, f. 53); sis Francis Wilson, b Ro.

GEARY Ro: butcher, SM, NA 1664; b J.

?GLASEBROOK Leonard: husbandman, SA 2h, NA 1663; w Ez, NA 1663; ? kn Nic G.

GLASEBROOK Nicholas†: blacksmith, SA 1h, NA 1663, C 1670, bu 1703; w Mary, NA 1663, bu 1701.

GLOVER Hannah: spinster, ST, NA 1683; f Ri White.

GOLDHAM Edmund†: maltster, ST freeholder, NA

1683-5, Cg 1695, surety for J Prior 1671 (QR/E/168, f. 50); b Geo, ? b Th.

GROVER Simon†: blacksmith, ST 3h, C 1670; w, C 1670.

GUNN Elizabeth: widow, SM, NA 1664, will 1670, bq to Edw Newton, bq lands in Lancing, ovs sil Th Matthew & Wa Brett I (A 32, f. 265); dau Ez, NA 1664.

HARMAN Benjamin†: joiner, AS R£6, C 1670, NA 1672-83, bu 1719; w Susan, NA 1672-83; fil Ri White.

?HARMAN Thomas†: carpenter/? pipemaker, SA 2h, NA 1663-70, ? GJ 1685 'Harman senior' SA 'pipemaker'; w, NA 1670; ? gs (J son of Th H.) bp by Th Barnard 1689.

HARRIS William†: 'gentleman', AS 6h, bp son at Sou 1677; sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672 (his house, 'Lewes House', being the venue), died at Chichester 1685; f Th H., an ecclesiastical registrar.

- HARWOOD Robert†: mason, Sou 2h, C 1670, NA 1672–84, GJ 1685, Cg 1699.
- HENTY Edward†: cordwainer, SJ 3h, NA 1664–85, C 1670, GJ 1684, Cg 1696, will 1697 (A 43, f. 36); w, NA 1670; ? dau Jane, NA 1670; s J.
- HENTY John†: shoemaker, SJ, NA 1664–70, C 1670; w Ez, NA 1670; f Edw.
- (HOLFORD Robert)†: mason, Sou 8h, will 1681, exs Ri Barnard & Wa Brett I (A 35, f. 460).
- ?HOLMWOOD Thomas: 'gentleman', SM freeholder, NA 1663, will 1689, bq lands in Southease, Barcombe, Hellingly & Hamsey, ex Wa Brett (A 39, f. 40); w Esther, NA 1677, ? 'widow Holmwood' Cg 1695; f Edw.
- HOMEWOOD John†: dyer, ST freeholder, NA 1675–83, will 1691, ov Jas Bricknell (D 2, f. 111).
- HUMPHREY George†: tailor, SM freeholder, NA 1676–83, will 1707, bqts to Newton's, Barnard's & Starr's congregations, bq land at Ringmer (A 46, f. 245); w Anne, NA 1676; b W.
- HUMPHREY William†: barber-surgeon, AS 2h, NA 1665–78, C 1670, sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672, adm 1681–£23.2.5 (B 9, f. 117); b Geo.
- KENWARD Thomas†:, Sou 2h, NA 1683–5, bu 1699; w Ez, Cg 1695.
- KNAPP John: barber, SM 2h, HC 1674, NA 1663–71, took oath of allegiance 1664, C 1670, NBp 1670–3, will 1674, property in SA & SM (A 34, f. 34); w Martha, NA 1664–70; m Ez K.
- LANCASTER Richard: victualler, ST 6h, C 1670, adm 1671–£16.3.2 (Ep. V/1/2, f. 2); w Susan, C 1670.
- LEE Sarah: spinster, SM, NA 1670, adm 1674–£13.2.6, surety Ro Colgate (B 8, f. 95); sis Susan Rickward.
- ?LUCAS Francis†: ?'yeoman', AS R£7, NA 1675–6, ? will 1687, Francis L., Barcombe, yeoman–w Mary, son J, w Th Barnard (A 38, f. 50); w ? Mary, NA 1675–6; ? son J.
- ?LUCAS John:, AS as above, NA 1676; ? f Francis.
- MANTLE Richard†: gardener, AS R£3, C 1670, NA 1683; w, NA 1683.
- ?MANTLE Edward†: gardener (occupied Sir J Pelham's field & an orchard in AS 1675), SJ, NA 1676–83; w Charity, NA 1676–7; ? kn Ri.
- MARTEN Mary: spinster,, C 1670.
- MATTHEW Thomas†: draper, SM 10h, HC 1655, 1657, NA 1663–85, sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672, GJ 1685, will 1690, bq land in Plumpton etc. (PROB 11/401, f. 167); w Ez, NA 1683–5, Cg 1695; mil Ez Gunn, 'cousin' Ri Barnard.
- OWDEN Henry†: carpenter, SA 2h, NA 1663–74, C 1670, GJ 1685; w Eleanor, NA 1670; bil Th Waller.
- PAINE Richard†: cordwainer, ST 2h, NA 1683, Cg 1695, will 1702, bq house property (D 3, f. 206); w Mary, NA 1683, Cg 1695.
- PALMER John†: maltster, ST 5h, NA 1675–83, 'a Presbiterian professor' 1680 (SOF 5/1), Cg 1695; w Anne, NA 1675–83, Cg 1695; ? dau Anne spinster, NA 1683; bil Th Ridge.
- PANTON Henry†: physician, bp at Lewes 1632, AS 7h, NA 1665–85, C 1670, sponsored Edw Newton's preaching licence 1672, GJ 1684–5, will 1689, bq land at Ditchling & over £200 (PROB 11/394, f. 35); m Mary, bil Th Fissenden.
- PELHAM John: tailor, SM, C 1670, NA 1670; m 'widow' Mary†, SM 1h, NA 1670, bu 1677; ? sis Mary, NA 1670, b Th.
- PELHAM Thomas: tailor, SM, NA 1670, adm 1674–£28, to m Mary (B 8, f. 821); b J.
- RIDGE Thomas†: draper, ST 5h, C 1670, NA 1675, adm 1678–£436.16.5 (Ep. V/1/2, f. 24); w Ez, C 1670, NA 1675–83.
- ROBINSON Mary:, C 1670; ? sis Anne, spinster, NA 1670.
- RUSSELL Nathaniel: apothecary, SM freeholder, NA 1676–84, GJ 1685, Cg 1695; f Ri, b J.
- SAXBY: wife of Ri, butcher, ST, C 1670.
- SHARPE Thomas: shoemaker,, C 1670.
- (SMITH Anne)†: widow, Sou freeholder, will 1680, wits Edw Newton & Th Barnard (A 35, f. 423); dau Anne, will 1682, wits Edw Newton, & Th & Ri Barnard (A 35, f. 468).
- STAPELY William: shoemaker, ST, C 1670.
- (SWANE Thomas)†: mason, Sou 4h, will 1678, bq freeholds to sons Jos & Sam (A 35, f. 401); w Ez, 'widow' S., NA 1684–5, Cg 1695; son Jos, son Sam.
- SWANE Joseph: mason, Sou freeholder, NA 1684, GJ 1685, Cg 1695; f Th, b Sam.
- SWANE Samuel: bricklayer, Sou freeholder, NA 1684, GJ 1685, Cg 1695; f Th, b Jos.
- ?SWANE Edward:, Sou, NA 1674; ? kn Jos & Sam.
- TABBRETT John†: carrier, ST 4h, C 1670, will 1683, bq land in Ringmer, ex Jos Studley, wits J Homewood & Ri Paine (D 1, f. 27).
- TAYLOR Richard:, ST, C 1670.
- THETCHER Elizabeth: spinster,, C 1670.
- TI:OMAS Richard: butcher, AS, C 1670.
- TICEHURST William: shoemaker,, C 1670.
- TUPPEN Joan: widow & midwife, SM, NA 1677, will 1682, bqts to Edw Newton & Jas Bricknell, wits Th & Ri Barnard (A 35, f. 459).
- TURLE James: butcher, SM freeholder, C 1670, NA 1683; w Anne, NA 1683; b Th.
- TURLE Thomas†: butcher, SJ freeholder, C 1670, NA 1674–6, married Sarah Dobson 1675 (ML); b Jas.
- TYLER John: brasier, ST, C 1670; ? b Ri.
- TYLER Richard†: hatmaker, ST, C 1670, married Mary Newington 1672 (ML), children bp 1675–8; gf Ri White, ? b J.
- VINE Abraham†: bellowsmaker, SJ 5h, NA 1663–83, Cg 1695, will 1698, kn Ri Bennett (A 43, f. 74); w Mary, NA 1676–7.
- ?WALLER Thomas: mason, SA 2h, NA 1663; bil H Ouden (A 34, f. 316).
- (WATTS John)†: ? draper, SM, married Joan Brett 1675 (ML), will 1680, bq over £500, including 40s to eight Dissenting ministers (A 35, f. 448); w Joan, NA 1679; b Sam, bil Wa Brett I.
- WATTS Samuel: draper, SM freeholder, NA 1684, GJ 1684–5, allowed conventicle in his house 1684 (QR/E/221, f. 2), Cg 1695; b J.
- WHITE Richard†: brasier, ST 3h, C 1670, will 1680, bq substantial sums (PROB 11/363, f. 101); dau Susan Harman, dau Hannah Glover, gs Ri Tyler.
- WINCHESTER Elizabeth: wife of Thomas,, ST 2h, NA 1683, Cg 1695.
- WISKEY Edward†: victualler, SA 2h, NA 1663–74, C 1670; m Amy, NA 1670; f Edw granted a pension in 1659 for service as a surgeon in the Parliamentary army (QO/EW 3, f. 60), will 1681 (A 35, f. 439).
- WOOD Benjamin†: mason, SM 2h, NA 1663–85, C 1670, GJ 1685; w Alice, NA 1670–85.
- YOULTON Samuel: haberdasher, SM freeholder, GJ 1685, Cg 1695; fil Edward Barrett.

*(b) Independent in Tendency**(i) Ministers*

CROUCH John II†: bp at Lewes 1633, matric Magdalen

- Coll, Oxf, 1658, a ministerial candidate 1662, licensed to preach at Lewes 1672, preached at C 1673, also schoolmaster 1675 & scrivener 1684, SM/AS R£4, NA 1663-83, will 1691, bq houses in Lewes & land at Eastbourne (PROB 11/406, f. 159); w Susan, NA 1670-6; f J, sis Susan, bil Ro Colgate, kn Th Fissenden.
- GODMAN Henry: born at Lewes, Mercers School, London, BA Peterhouse, Cam, 1651, ejected from Rodmell, preached at Henge Lane 1670, licensed to preach at Deptford 1672, where he died 1702, also licensed as a physician 1664, married Ez, dau of Captain Simon Everenden of the Cliffe, SA, NA 1663, will 1702 (PROB 11/464, f. 46); f Rog, b Nic, b Wm.
- POSTLETHWAITE Walter: BA Emmanuel Coll, Cam, 1647, incumbent of SM from 1647, after ejection ministered at Lewes till his death, SM 5h, NA 1663-5, will 1672 (A 32, f. 307); w Martha, NA 1665, but ? 'Elizabeth, widow of George Bunyard, clerk, now wife of WP', will 1669 (PROB 11/330, f. 75); b Sam.
- STONESTREAT John: bp at Lewes 1620, f H, mercer (PROB 11/157, f. 25), academic training unknown, ejected from Lindfield, SA 8h, NA 1663, will 1668, bq over £400 & land in Hailsham (A 31, f. 118); w Anne†, NA 1670-85, GJ 1685, adm 1686-£491.19.10 (B 11, f. 6); b Geo, sis Mary Russell, uncle Wm Clagget, aunt Ez Burdett.
- WHISTON Joseph†: academic training unknown, lecturer at Maidstone 1656, ministered at Lewes from 1672 till his death in 1691, SM, C 1673, NA 1677-83, GJ 1684-5, will 1691, bq lands at Haywards Heath & Beeding (A 40, f. 111).
- (ii) *Laity*
- BAILEY Edward: cordwainer, SM 3h, member of the Twelve 1663, NA 1665-70, will 1672, bq land in Chailey (A 33, f. 16); w Jane, NA 1664-70, C 1673; ? Ez B., sister-in-law, NA 1670.
- (BENNETT William): pewterer (London & Lewes), Sou freeholder, will 1689, bqts to Whiston & other Independents, bq land at Wittering (PROB 11/395, f. 58); cousin Th Fissenden, cousin H Pope.
- BOTTING Stephen: baker, SM 6h, HC 1654, NA 1663-71, will 1673, bq over £80, wit Wa Postlethwaite (A 33, f. 65); dau Ez, NA 1664-70; dau Mary†, NA 1664-83, bq house in f's will; son Th, gs J Ayres.
- BOTTING Thomas†: baker, SM as above, NA 1663-84, NBp 1667-74, C 1673, GJ 1684-5, preached at a conventicle 1685 (QR/E/230, f. 70), Cg 1700 (PROB 11/455, f. 73), will 1713, bq land in Ringmer (A 48, f. 279); w Joan, NA 1670; w Sarah, NA 1683.
- BRYAN Mary: wife of Ferdinando, innholder SM, C 1673, bu 1674.
- ?BURDETT Elizabeth: widow of Ri, SM, NA 1670, bu 1673; nephews Geo & J Stonestreat.
- ?CLAGGET William I: gentleman, SM 8h, NA 1663, took oath 'restraining' nonconformists in corporate towns 1666 (QO/EW 5, f. 42), will 1671, wit Ri Russell (A 32, f. 197); s W, nephews Geo & J Stonestreat.
- ?CLAGGET William II†: gentleman, SM as above, GJ 1684, adm 1692-£366.13.6 (B 12, f. 13), tr to Ri Russell 1684; f Wm.
- COBY Roger†: gentleman, SM, C 1673, will 1682, wits H & Th Shelley (A 36, f. 46); w Martha (sis of H Shelley) C 1673; sis Judith Snatt.
- COMBS Mary: wife of Gregory, surgeon SM, C 1673.
- CORNFORDE Mary: wife of J, SJ butcher, NA 1670, C 1673, bu 1674.
- CROUCH John I: tailor, SM 3h, NA 1663-71, C 1673; dau Susan†, NA 1670-83, will 1693, bq over £170 & a messuage on London Bridge (PROB 11/414, f. 64); son J, b Th.
- CROUCH Thomas: tailor, SM & SA 3h, NA 1663, surety for Geo Goldham & J Crouch II after alleged assault on H Thurman, clerk, 1664 (QO/EW 5, f. 4), distributed bequest of Wa Postlethwaite 1672.
- CRUTTENDEN Samuel I: haberdasher, SJ 6h, NA 1663-5, will 1667, bq over £200 & messuage at Hamsey, ovs Th Fissenden & Ralph Pope (A 30, f. 359); w Hannah, NA 1663-70, will 1683, exs Ri Russell & J Lopdell (A 36, f. 191); dau Mary, NA 1670; dau Sarah, NA 1670; son J, son Sam.
- CRUTTENDEN John†: haberdasher, SJ freeholder, NA 1664-84, C 1673, GJ 1685, will 1689, bq lands in Hamsey & Framfield (PROB 11/444, f. 67); w Anne, NA 1676-83; f Sam, b Sam.
- CURLE Nicholas: haberdasher, SM 3h, HC 1647, 1659, NA 1663-5, will 1666, bq lands in Hamsey, Ringmer, Fletching & Speldhurst (Kent), ovs Ri Russell & J Lopdell (A 30, f. 297); w Judith, NA 1665-75, will 1675, ovs as for Nic (A 35, f. 102); dau Susan, NA 1664; s Joshua, haberdasher SM, NA 1663, but later conformed (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* 121, 100).
- DINE Richard†: husbandman, SJ, NA 1664-77, will 1680 (A 35, f. 272); w Ez, NA 1670-7, bqt from Wa Postlethwaite 1672.
- ELPHICK William: merchant, AS R£5, NA 1670-4, NBp 1670-4, died by 1675; w Mary†, NA 1670-84, GJ 1685, will 1707, bq £10 to the congregation of Comfort Starr (A 47, f. 49)-sons, J, Nath & Wm Garland, by first husband, J G. (HC 1661, died 1662)-b Wm Peake.
- FISSENDEN Thomas I†: apothecary, AS 4h, member of the Twelve 1663, NA 1670-84, house licensed for worship 1672, conventicle held in barn 1673, C 1673, GJ 1684, will 1684, bq over £1500 & lands in Funtington (PROB 11/377, f. 113); w Mary, NA 1670-5; son Th, sil J Ayres, cousin J Crouch.
- FISSENDEN Thomas II†: apothecary, AS as above, NA 1670-85, GJ 1685, Cg 1711; w Ez (sis of H Panton), NA 1675-85; f Th, cousin Wm Bennett.
- GARLAND John: merchant, AS, NA 1675-6; m Mary Elphick, b Nath, b Wm.
- (GARLAND Nathaniel): merchant, AS & London, will 1700, bq £20 to the 'church of Mr Starr', estate worth over £1600 (PROB 11/455, f. 73); m Mary Elphick, b J, b Wm.
- GARLAND William: merchant, AS, NA 1684; m Mary Elphick, b J, b Nath.
- GODMAN Roger: physician, SM 3h, NA 1663, bu 1670; sons H, Nic & Wm.
- GODMAN Nicholas†: draper & merchant, AS R£8, NA 1663-75; w Sarah, NA 1675-6; f Roger, b H, b Wm.
- GODMAN William†: draper, SM 1h, NA 1663, NBp 1674; w Ez, ? dau of Jas Carver; f Roger, b H, b Nic.
- GOLDHAM Geo†: tailor, SM 3h, NA 1670-85, NBp 1670-4, Cg 1700; w Mary, NA 1670-84, Cg 1711; b Edm, ? b Th.
- HENTY John: pewterer, SJ, NA 1670, C 1673, adm 1674-£84.9.0 (B 8, f. 94); w Jane†, NA 1670, will 1677, exs Ri Russell & J Lopdell (A 34, f. 250); ? dau Anne, NA 1670.
- HOLMWOOD Edward: draper, SA 6h, HC 1635, 1658, NA 1663, will 1674, ov J Lopdell, wit J Cruttenden (A 34, f. 24); son Th.
- (HUTCHINS Henry): carrier, SJ 3h, will 1665, exs Edw Bailey & Ralph Pope (A 30, f. 222).
- (KNAPP Elizabeth): widow, SM, will 1669, wits J Crouch I & J Crouch II (A 32, f. 3); son J.
- (LEGATT Robert): upholsterer, SM 2h, will 1675, bq over £100, ex J Lopdell, wit Ri Russell (A 34, f. 104); w Mary†, NA 1670-6.
- LOPDELL John†: draper, SM 7h, HC 1656, NA

1663-84, NBp 1671-4, C 1673, GJ 1684, applied for conventicle licence on behalf of Whiston 1689, will 1692, bq lands at Hellingly & Westham (PROB 11/409, f. 50); w Susan, NA 1665-70; w Dorothy, NA 1676-83; son Jas. LOPDELL James: draper, SM as above, NA 1683, tr for Whiston 1691; f J.

?LUKNER : widow, SM, NA 1679, bqt from Wm Bennett.

MILLER Richard: draper, SM, NA 1670, C 1673.

?NEWINGTON Thomas†: gentleman, Sou freeholder, NA 1674, distributed £10 to Sou poor bq by Ri Russell 1684.

PANTON Mary: widow (of J, physician, bu 1654), AS, NA 1670-85, C 1673, will 1693 (A 41, f. 101); dau Ez, NA 1670 (married Th Fissenden II 1675); s J, probably born at Lewes, MA All Souls Coll, Oxf, 1654, ejected as fellow, no known Lewes links thereafter; son H.

?PEAKE William†: merchant, AS 10h, member of the Twelve 1663, NA 1672-5, acted 'kindly' towards Lewes Quakers 1678, will 1684, bq manor of Seaford & Brighton property (PROB 11/116, f. 140); sis Mary Elphick.

POPE Ralph†: tanner, SJ 4h (Green wall), HC 1662, NA 1663-85, C 1673, bu 1706; w Martha, NA 1663-83; son H, son J.

POPE Henry: tanner, SJ as above, NA 1670, C 1673; f Ralph, b J, kin Wm Bennett.

POPE John: tanner, SJ as above, NA 1664; f Ralph, b H.

POSTLETHWAITE Samuel†: tailor, AS R£1.10.0, C 1670, NA 1672-6, C 1673, will 1689 (A 40, f. 80); w Eleanor, NA 1672-6; b Wa.

READ Thomas†: farmer, SJ 2h & SA, NA 1664-85, C 1673, GJ 1684; w Ez, NA 1664; m widow Mary, NA 1670, C 1673; b J.

READ John: husbandman, SJ as above, NA 1670, ? NA Sou 1685; m Mary, b Th.

?RICKWARD Susan: widow, SM, NA 1676, will 1679, wits Nath Russell & J Crouch (A 35, f. 176).

(ROWLANDSON Thomas): carrier, ST, will 1687, exs Wm Bennett & J Cruttenden (PROB 11/387, f. 67).

RUSSELL John: yeoman, SJ, NA 1664; w Martha, NA 1664; b Ri, b Th, b Wm, nephew Wm jun.

RUSSELL Richard†: apothecary, SM 6h, HC 1644, 1653, NA 1663-84, C 1673, will 1684, bq lands in Ireland (PROB 11/377, f. 105); w Mary (sis of Geo & J Stonestreat), NA 1664-76; dau Ez, NA 1670; son J, son Nath, b J, b Th, b Wm, nephew Wm jun.

RUSSELL John: apothecary, SM as above, NA 1664-70; f Ri, b Nath.

(RUSSELL Thomas)†:, Sou 5h, will 1678, ovs Th Fissenden & J Crouch (A 35, f. 27); b J, b Ri, b Wm, nephew Wm.

SAVAGE James†: saddler, SM, NA 1670-83, C 1673; sis Ez, NA 1670; sis Mary, NA 1677-83; b J.

SAVAGE John: saddler (& also schoolmaster), SM as above, NA 1670-7.

?SAVAGE Richard: saddler, SM 5h, NA 1665, ? member of the Twelve 1661, ? kn J & Jas.

SHOULDER Joan†: widow, SM 5h, C 1673, NA 1676, bu 1680.

SNATT Judith: wife of St, draper, SM 7h, HC 1646 & 1657, will 1700, bq lands in Uckfield & Framfield (PROB 11/455, f. 63), NA 1665-83, C 1673; dau Judith, NA 1683; dau Hannah, NA 1683; dau Ez, NA 1683; b Roger Coby.

STEARNS Richard: tailor, SM, NA 1663-70, will 1673, ovs Ri Russell & Ri Button (A 33, f. 96); w Ez, NA 1670; son Sam.

STEARNS Samuel: joiner, SM, NA 1663; f Ri.

STONESTREAT George: gentleman, SM 7h & SA, member of the Twelve 1661, NA 1663, NBp 1669, will

1669, bq part of Houndean manor & over £900, exs H Shelley, J Spence of Lindfield, Ri Russell & J Lopdell (A 31, f. 121); w Martha†, C 1673, NA 1673-85, GJ 1685; son J, b J, sis Mary Russell, uncle Wm Clagget, aunt Ez Burdett; ? kn Ruth S. widow, SA, NA 1670.

STONESTREAT John: lawyer, SA as above, NA 1684, will 1700 (PROB 11/455, f. 63); f Geo.

STUDLEY Joseph†: gentleman, AS, NBp 1671-83, licensed his house at Mayfield as an Independent 1672, NA 1675-83, ex with J Lopdell to Whiston 1691; w, NA 1675.

SWAN Robert: maltster, SM 3h, HC 1657, NA 1663-71, will 1671, bq land at Hamsey & Uckfield, bqt of £1 to Wa Postlethwaite (A 33, f. 10); w Joan, NA 1665-70.

?WILSON Francis: widow, SJ, NA 1676-7, will 1709, bqt to congregation, ov J Olive (A 47, f. 166).

YOKEHURST Christopher†: cordwainer, SM 2h, NA 1663-76, bqt from Wa Postlethwaite 1672, fined for allowing Th Botting to preach in his house 1685, Cg 1700; w Susan, NA 1670-6.

(c) Presbyterian or Independent in Tendency

(i) Ministers

BEECHER Edward: bp at SM 1629, f Anthony, tailor, at school at Lewes under 'Mr Golding', matric St John's Coll, Cam, 1646, ejected from Kingston-by-Lewes, already kept a school in SM by 1661 (A 29, f. 63), SM 7h, NA 1663, no mention thereafter till bu at SM 1681.

(ii) Laity

BURKIN Edward†: blacksmith, AS 2h, NA 1675-83, will 1687, wits J Crouch & Alex Owden (A 38, f. 1); w Ann, NA 1675-83.

(DUNCKE Richard)†: maltster, Sou 4h, adm 1681, to Jos Studley & J Crouch (B 9, f. 114); w Francis, joined Presbyterian congregation 1698.

GOLDHAM Thomas†: tailor, SM, NA 1676, GJ 1685, claimed the prayer book contained things contrary to the word of God 1685 (QR/E/227, f. 55); kn Edm & Geo G.

JONES John†: tallow-chandler, SM 3h, NA 1664-76, NBp 1670-3, adm 1681-£111.12.2, to Ri Paine & Geo Goldham (B 9, f. 130); w Rebecca, NA 1670-6; ? dau,

Martha spinster, NA 1670.

? MARTIN John†:, SM freeholder, NA 1670, NBp 1673-5; ? kn St Botting & J Ayres.

OCKENDEN Matthew: shoemaker, SM, NA 1670, will 1688, wits Jas Lopdell & Th Elphick (A 38, f. 109).

OWDEN Alexander†: locksmith employed by Edw Burkin, AS, NA 1675-83, GJ 1685, will 1688, bq £10 each to congregations of Newton & Whiston (A 38, f. 98); w Sarah, will 1689, similar bqts (A 39, f. 37).

(SYMONS Elizabeth): widow, SM, will 1679, bqts to Mrs Earl & Mr Bricknell, wits Th Fissenden & J Crouch (A 35, f. 355).

(WACKLIN Elizabeth): spinster, SM, will 1689, bqts to Whiston & Newton (PROB 11/396, f. 106).

(d) Baptist in Tendency

?BEECHER William: feltmaker, SM, NBp 1672, wit to will of Th Brad 1674.

BRAD Thomas: tailor, SM 2h, NA 1663-71, C 1670, will 1674 (A 34, f. 25); w Mary, NA 1670; dau Mary, w of Peter Terry, Clayton, 'Anabaptist'.

COLES John†: glover, SM & Sou 2h, NBp 1668-85, NA 1670-85, GJ 1685; w Isabella, NA 1676; m 'widow Cole', NA 1670; b Joshua.

COLES Joshua: glover, Sm as above, C 1670, NA 1670; b J.

?PARSELL John:, Sou, NA 1684; ? b Wm (A 35, f. 69).

PARSELL William†: blacksmith, Sou 2h, preached at C 1670, NA 1684-5, GJ 1685.

(e) Quaker in Tendency

AKEHURST Mary†: widow (of Ralph, haberdasher, will 1666, bq property at Hastings, boat at Brighton & over £250: PROB 11/322, f. 139), ST 9h, C 1675, NA 1675-83; sons Ralph, Th & Alexander; ? dau Mary, NA 1683.

AKEHURST Alexander:, ST as above, NA 1682; m Mary.

AKEHURST Ralph: mercer & merchant, ST as above, NA 1682-3, adm 1686-£326.15.6 (Ep. V/1/3, f. 58); m Mary.

AKEHURST Thomas: mercer, ST as above, NA 1682; m Mary.

BEARD Thomas: grocer, ST, NA 1682-3.

COLVILL William†: cordwainer, ST, C 1675, married widow Ez James 1673, adm 1687-£4.1.9 (Ep. V/1/3, f. 77).

COOKE John: yeoman, Sou, NA 1684-5; w Mary, dau of Ambrose Galloway, died 1682.

COSDEN: w of Th, cordwainer, SJ, NA 1664, C 1675.

EAGER Stephen†: sawyer, SJ 1h & SM, refused oath of allegiance 1664 (QR/E/140, f. 2), C 1675, NA 1676, will 1679 (A 35, f. 178); w Jane, C 1675, NA 1676-86, GJ 1685; dau Sarah, NA 1676; son St.

EAGER Stephen: joiner, SM as above, GJ 1685, 'villefyng' the ecclesiastical court 1685 (QR/E/225, f. 119), NBp 1687; f St.

ELLIS John†: mercer, ST freeholder, C 1675, NA 1675, died 1682; w Susan, NA 1675.

?FRANKE Anne: widow, ST 2h & Sou, NA 1684-5, 'Ann Frank', wit to marriage of Mary Akehurst 1688.

GALLOWAY Ambrose I†: tailor, AS 2h, NA 1670-86, C 1675, GJ 1684-5, will 1696 (A 42, f. 184); w Ez, NA 1670-6, C 1675, died 1683; dau Ez, NA 1670-6, C 1675, died 1679; dau Mary, NA 1675, married J Cook 1676; son Ambrose.

GALLOWAY Ambrose II: merchant, AS, NA 1676-86, GJ 1685, married Ruth Hobbs 1679, died 1718; w Ruth, NA 1682-3.

KIDDER Jane: spinster, meeting-house keeper AS, C 1675, died 1702.

MOSELEY Benjamin†: draper, ST & SM freeholder, C 1675, NA 1675-86, GJ 1684-5, married Jane Hopkins 1679, will 1708, bq lands in Hurstpierpoint & Chailey & over £200 (A 47, f. 90); w Jane, NA 1683; ? sis Mary, AS, NA 1675-6; b Th.

MOSELEY Thomas: draper, ST freeholder, C 1675, NA 1675-83, will 1689, bq property in Hailsham & Newhaven & over £800 (D 2, f. 39); w Esther, NA 1683; b Bj.

PRIOR John†: weaver, ST 1h, C 1675, NA 1675 (? John Prior, ST, cheesemonger, present at Henge Lane in 1670); w, NA 1675.

ROBINSON Thomas†: feltmaker, ST, C 1675, NA 1683, married widow Ez Shuter 1676, died 1723; w Ez, NA 1683.

SHUTER John: mercer, SJ, NA 1670-1, will 1672, ovs Ambrose Galloway & Th Moseley (A 33, f. 17); w Ez, NA 1670-5, C 1675, remarried to Th Robinson.

STEPHENS Richard: grocer, SM, NA 1683-4, GJ 1684-5, will 1694 (A 42, f. 32); w Mary, NA 1684.

?WALTER Joseph†: shoemaker, ST, NA 1675; w, NA 1675; a Quaker meeting discussed settlement of 'Joseph Walter' in AS from Bexhill 1673 (SOF 30/1).

WENHAM John: tailor, Sou, will 1669, bq land in Kingston (A 31, f. 182).

(f) Tendency Unknown

ADLER Henry†: mason, AS 2h, NA 1672-83, granted a county pension in 1659 because his f died in the service of parliament (QO/EW 3, f. 65), will 1688 (A 38, f. 173); w Ruth, NA 1672-83.

BODLE: widow, SM, NA 1670, bu 1677.

CALCHIN William: butcher, SJ 3h, NA 1663, adm 1691 (B 11, f. 110); w Anne, NA 1670, bu 1681.

CATELLUS Anne: w of Sam, carrier, SJ 6h, NA 1670.

CHAMPION: widow, SM, NA 1670, bu 1675; ? dau Sarah, spinster, NA 1670.

CHITTY John†: weaver, Sou freeholder, NA 1676, children bp 1668-76.

CONY Anne†: widow, AS R£1, NA 1675-6.

COSDEN Thomas: shoemaker, SJ 2h, NA 1664.

CRAY William†: cooper, AS R£1, NA 1675-83, NBp 1675-86; w Mary, NA 1675-83.

DABSON Grace: w of Joseph, glover SM, NA 1670.

DABSON Martha: spinster, SJ, NA 1664.

EAGER James†: baker, AS R£4, NA 1676.

EARLE Stephen: grocer, SM, NA 1664.

ERIDGE Edward: shearmen, SM 2h, NA 1663.

FAULKNER: widow, SM, NA 1664.

HILLS George: gardener, SM, NA 1663-70, bu 1670; w Mary, NA 1670, bu 1670.

KENT Edward†: brasier, SM, NBp 1670-7, adm 1691-£9.12.0 (B 11, f. 107).

MARTIN Thomas†: turner, SM, NA 1670-7, adm 1679-£33.2.6 (B 8, f. 109); w Susan, NA 1670, bu 1670; w Margaret, NA 1677.

MAYBANKS Anne:, AS, NA 1675-6, bu 1677.

MILLER Richard: labourer,, NA 1670.

MOORE Richard: husbandman, SJ, NA 1670; w Margaret, NA 1670.

MOORE: widow, SM, NA 1676, bu 1681.

NEWTON William: tailor, SM 2h, NA 1663.

PALMER William†: husbandman, AS R£1, NA 1675-6, bu 1684.

PECKHAM Mary: spinster,, NA 1670.

POOLE Benjamin: upholsterer, SM, NA 1682.

PURSER Anne: w of Wm,, AS, NA 1675-6.

READ: w of Ri, tanner, AS 3h, NA 1670.

READ Hannah:, AS, NA 1675-6.

READ Hester: spinster,, NA 1670.

READ Martha†: widow, AS R£4, NA 1675-6.

READ Samuel†: turner, SM, NA 1677-9, NBp 1678-80.

RELPH Constance: spinster,, NA 1670.

RUSSELL John:, Sou, NA 1684-5.

RUSSELL Robert: yeoman, Sou, NA 1684.

SMITH Anne: w of J, gentleman, SA, NA 1677.

SNELL Susan: widow, SM, NA 1670.

STONE Mary: w of J, cooper, AS R£1, NA 1675-6.

STREATFIELD Edward: mercer, AS, NA 1671.

STREETER John: yeoman, SJ, NA 1685.

STYLES Richard†: cooper, AS & SM freeholder, NA 1672-84, NBp 1668-83; w Katherine, NA 1672-83.

TOWNER Richard†:, SM, NBp 1674, adm 1682-£36.17.10 (B 9, f. 132).

WALLS Richard:, SM, NA 1677.

WATERMAN Thomas†: collarmaker, SM freeholder, NA 1684; w Susan, NA 1684, children bu in SM from 1671.

WATERS Andrew:, Sou, NA 1672.

WHEELER: widow, Sou, NA 1684.

Notes

(For explanation of manuscript references see note to Appendix above)

- ¹This article should be read in conjunction with the author's 'The Neutering of the Fellowship and the Emergence of a Tory Party in Lewes 1663-1688', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **121** (1983), 95-107, which describes the ousting of Dissenters from control of borough administration there.
- ²See the Appendix for an allocation of Lewesians to these sects between 1663 and 1686. An asterisk in the text denotes that a person appears in the Appendix. The evidence for such allocation is given in the case histories, and references contained in them are not always repeated in these notes. For sectarianism at Lewes before the Restoration, see Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (1975), 120-2.
- ³G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (1911), **1**, 32-3; **2**, 1033.
- ⁴For Ayres' authorship of the pamphlet 'A NARRATIVE of the proceedings of some Justices and others . . . against several peaceable people in and about the town of Lewes . . .', see QR/EW/171, f. 2. Thomas Crosby in *The History of the English Baptists* (1738), **2**, 247, gives the author as 'Mr. Jerem. Ives'. The pamphlet is printed in T. W. Horsfield, *The History and Antiquities of Lewes and its Vicinity* (Lewes, 1824-7), **1**, Appendix, pp. xxv-xxxii.
- ⁵QR/EW/166, ff. 78-9; QR/E/167, f. 42; QR/E/179, ff. 56-7; QR/E/188, f. 41.
- ⁶J. P. Huzel, 'Population Change in an East Sussex Town: Lewes 1660-1800', *Suss. Industrial Hist.* **3** (1971), 7.
- ⁷QR/EW/166, f. 50.
- ⁸See the Appendix for relevant case histories.
- ⁹RG 6/1264; SOF 5/1, 30/1, 32/1.
- ¹⁰Q1/EW 3, ff. 24-6, 37-8; QR/E/139, f. 1; QR/E/140, ff. 1, 3; ASSI 35/112/6, f. 57; 35/113/8, f. 26; 35/113/9, f. 30.
- ¹¹Q1/EW 5, ff. 140, 146-8; QR/E/217, f. 14; Q1/EW 6, ff. 18, 28; QR/E/220, f. 28; QR/E/221, ff. 2, 5; QR/E/223, f. 16; QR/E/224, f. 21; QR/E/225, ff. 42, 51, 55, 118-19; QR/E/226, ff. 48-50.
- ¹²Horsfield, *Lewes*, **1**, p. xxvii; Q1/EW 5, ff. 146-8.
- ¹³Q1/EW 6, f. 28.
- ¹⁴Ep. II/9/27-30; Ep. II/15/4-6. The 35 Lewesians cited for non-attendance in 1672-4 were distributed as follows: All Saints 18, St. Anne's 1, St. John's 5, St. Michael's 8, and Southover 3.
- ¹⁵*Churchwardens' Presentments: Archdeaconry of Lewes*, ed. Hilda Johnstone (Suss. Rec. Soc. **50**); Ep. V/3/6; Ep. V/3/8.
- ¹⁶A 34, f. 325; A 35, f. 460; Ep. II/9/28, f. 28.
- ¹⁷SP 29/320, f. 209.
- ¹⁸PAR 414/1/1/1.
- ¹⁹Horsfield, *Lewes*, **1**, p. xxxi.
- ²⁰E 179/258/16, 18.
- ²¹QO/EW 6, f. 65; A 48, f. 279.
- ²²PAR 414/9/1/1c; Ep. II/9/28, f. 13.
- ²³Dr. Williams' Library, London, Dr. John Evans' list of Dissenting congregations and ministers in England and Wales.
- ²⁴J. H. Cooper, 'A Religious Census of Sussex in 1676', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **45** (1902), 144.
- ²⁵*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **121**, 99.
- ²⁶SP 29/81, f. 56; 29/86, f. 87; Q1/EW 3, f. 35.
- ²⁷*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **121**, 102-4.
- ²⁸Fletcher, *County Community*, 144, 262, 308; W. H. Godfrey, 'Trayton of Lewes, Sketch Pedigree', *Suss. N. & Q.* **3** (1931), 251.

²⁹*The Town Book of Lewes 1542-1701*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Suss. Rec. Soc. **48**), 70, 81; ACC 690 (uncatalogued).

³⁰Fletcher, *County Community*, 32.

³¹*Ibid. passim*.

³²PROB 11/315, f. 118; 11/321, f. 114; Thomas Woolgar, *Spicilegia*, **1**, 364-5 (Suss. Arch. Soc. Library).

³³PAR 415/9/1a; QR/EW/166, f. 50.

³⁴A 35, f. 422; A 36, f. 46; A 38, f. 105; Wiston MS. 1778; Fletcher, *County Community*, 352; *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, ed. Joseph Foster, **3**, 1064.

³⁵*Suss. Arch. Coll.* **121**, 101.

³⁶The spread of occupations was as follows: minister 11, rentier 8, lawyer 1, physician 2, apothecary 5, barber-surgeon 2, schoolmaster 1, merchant 8, goldsmith 1, shearman 1, weaver 2, feltmaker 2, dyer 1, tailor 17, hosier 3, hatmaker 1, glover 2, collarmaker 1, draper 18, haberdasher 6, cordwainer 7, shoemaker 8, upholsterer 2, grocer 5, butcher 6, baker 3, victualler 2, maltster 4, mason 7, bricklayer 1, joiner 3, carpenter 1, sawyer 1, blacksmith 4, locksmith 1, gunsmith 1, brasier 3, pewterer 2, cooper 2, turner 2, tanner 3, bellowsmaker 1, saddler 3, pipemaker 1, tallow-chandler 1, soapboiler 1, carrier 3, gardener 3, farmer 1, husbandman 5, labourer 2, 'yeoman' 6, unknown 11. The 'yeomen' were not necessarily agriculturists. See Appendix for distribution between sects.

³⁷See especially Brian Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution 1640-1649* (1976).

³⁸See especially David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the English Revolution* (1971); Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament* (1974).

³⁹Fletcher, *County Community*, 256.

⁴⁰A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (1934), 71, 73, 176-7, 380-1; NU 1/1/1.

⁴¹Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 45, 459; PROB 11/315, f. 104; A 29, f. 63.

⁴²QO/EW 3, f. 78; GLY 2932; A 31, f. 57; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 238; R. W. Blencowe, 'Extracts from the Journal and Account Book of the Rev. Giles Moore', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **1** (1848), 91, 96.

⁴³QR/EW/166, f. 51; Horsfield, *Lewes*, **1**, p. xxviii.

⁴⁴W. H. Godfrey, 'No. 173, High Street, Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **68** (1927), 75; PROB 11/394, f. 35; *Suss. Rec. Soc.* **48**, 121.

⁴⁵Horsfield, *Lewes*, **1**, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

⁴⁶*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **48**, 81; PROB 11/401, f. 167.

⁴⁷A 39, f. 98; A 46, f. 245.

⁴⁸QR/E/225, ff. 118-19.

⁴⁹Horsfield, *Lewes*, **1**, pp. xxv, xxx.

⁵⁰Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 150-1, 225, 396; Fletcher, *County Community*, 120; A 32, f. 307.

⁵¹Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 524; A 40, f. 111.

⁵²QR/E/230, ff. 70-1.

⁵³W. Whiston, *Memoirs* (1753 edn.), 5-6.

⁵⁴*Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60*, **1**, 172, 181.

⁵⁵A 32, f. 307.

⁵⁶A 31, f. 121; QR/EW/142, f. 11; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 465.

⁵⁷*Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60*, **1**, 264; QO/EW 5, f. 42; Fletcher, *County Community*, 223-4.

⁵⁸*Ibid.* 132, 281-3, 293, 300; Lyon Turner, *Original Records*, **1**, 533.

⁵⁹SP 28/135 (July 1644-Sept. 1645); PROB 11/315, f. 118; PAR 414/9/1/1c.

⁶⁰*Suss. Rec. Soc.* **48**, 85; PROB 11/394, f. 35; 11/377,

f. 105.

- ⁶¹Lyon Turner, *Original Records*, 1, 533; PROB 11/356, f. 21; 11/409, f. 50; QO/EW 9 (July 1689); Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 395.
- ⁶²QO/EW 4, f. 78; *Suss. Rec. Soc.* 48, 120.
- ⁶³A 47, f. 49; A 33, f. 10; PROB 11/116, f. 140.
- ⁶⁴A 30, f. 297; A 31, f. 121; A 33, ff. 10, 16; A 48, f. 279; PROB 11/455, f. 73.
- ⁶⁵A 32, f. 265; A 35, f. 448; A 36, f. 191; A 38, f. 98; A 39, ff. 57, 98; PROB 11/394, f. 35; 11/395, f. 58; 11/396, f. 106.
- ⁶⁶SOF 5/1, *passim*; QO/EW 4, f. 24. See also William Figg, 'Extracts from Documents Illustrative of the Sufferings of the Quakers in Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 16 (1864), 65-125.
- ⁶⁷E 190/774/12, 778/27, 779/6, 780/26, 781/18, 782/26; PROB 11/322, f. 139. For Penn's stay see *Ringmer Hist. Newsletter*, 18 (Dec. 1983); 19 (Jan. 1984).
- ⁶⁸E 190/781/12, 782/11, 783/11, 784/21, 785/10; SOF 30/1 (Aug. 1677); D 2, f. 39.
- ⁶⁹Lyon Turner, *Original Records*, 2, 1033; QR/EW/166, ff. 42, 79; QR/E/167, f. 42; QO/EW 6, f. 15; A 43, f. 106; *Suss. Rec. Soc.* 50, 15.
- ⁷⁰N. Caplan, 'An Outline of the Origins and Development of Nonconformity in Sussex: 1603-1803' (1961), 45 (TS. in E.S.R.O. library).
- ⁷¹ADA 156-7; ACC 2229 (uncatalogued); PAR 414/1/1/1 (28 June 1669).
- ⁷²ASSI 35/120/7.