

◆ Puritanism and a Sussex clerical scandal in the 1630s and 1640s

By Matthew Reynolds

John Wilson, vicar of Arlington 1630–43, has attracted historical notoriety as an alleged sodomite in polemical attacks against him by Parliament during the English Civil War. Using fresh evidence from the Wilson family archive, deposited in the British Library, this article sheds new light on Wilson's background and ministry. It attempts to cast a critical eye on accusations of sexual impropriety made by his parishioners in the 1630s and later by Parliament in the 1640s. In particular, it highlights how local rumours were exploited by Puritan gentry circles in Sussex, notably the clique around Thomas Pelham, Anthony Stapley and Herbert Hay, for their own political ends. Whether true or not, the godly manipulated gossip to challenge the probity of the established episcopal Church within Sussex and the wider Stuart state. By attempting to make Wilson a cause célèbre the Puritans in turn divided opinion within the county and elsewhere. Through the agency of clerical scandal, we can see not only the forming of political and religious allegiance in county society in the 1630s and 1640s, but also the entrenched nature of Puritan opposition in Sussex that predated the collapse of Charles I's Personal Rule and agitated for its end.

This article recounts an alleged sex scandal involving a Sussex parson, which was brought to light during the 1630s and 1640s against a drift to civil war. The episode should be of interest for more than its shock value, for it also offers a unique window onto opinion forming and thus the choosing of sides in Stuart England's ideological 'wars of religion'.¹ A scandal will serve this purpose well. That scandals can reveal much about public outlook is recognised by sociologists, both from an 'objectivist' perspective that a society's moral consensus is indicated by the misconduct it chooses to condemn, as well as from a 'constructivist' model concerned with how perceptions of the scandalous are transformed by reactions to an event as driven by the media. Sexual scandals in particular are 'constructed' at such points of interaction between the presumed transgressors, their denouncers and an audience.² Keeping with this pattern, we will first unravel the accusations and the polemical context in which they were made, before secondly moving on to consider the transgressor, his background and connections within the local setting. Thirdly, we will examine the denouncers, in this instance Sussex's Puritan circle and its agenda. Finally, we consider how the ensuing scandal was exploited by the godly in their aim to uncover the corrosive effects of the established episcopal Church at the grassroots and beyond, and the ways in which their

campaign unsettled 'conformist' opinion in Sussex, especially among the clergy.

The last point is central given that Puritanism is back as an oppositional force in Stuart England.³ As yet, though, we lack a comprehensive study of Puritan agitators at work within Sussex to develop Anthony Fletcher's pioneering work on the county's godly gentry, which traces the emergence of a partisan clique on the eastern division of the county bench.⁴ Two Arminian bishops of Chichester, Richard Montague (1628–38) and Brian Duppa (1638–42), agreed. Complaining about local magistrates who 'awed some of the clergy into like opinions with themselves', they were both of the opinion that their diocese was 'not soe much troubled with Puritan ministers as with Puritan Justices of the Peace.'⁵ Fletcher suggested such lay assertiveness arose from provincial hostility to the Stuart state, especially the programme of 'Laudianism' which intruded upon gentry parochial interests. In one sense this is true, although from what is now known about the overlap of local and national affairs within the public sphere of 17th century England, we need to broaden the scope of Sussex's Puritan network as it exposed the reputed clerical misconduct outlined below.⁶

READING THE ACCUSATIONS

It is time to introduce John Wilson, vicar of Arlington. Wilson is notorious for featuring in John White's piece of inversion, *The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests*, published in 1643 with White's expressed aim of undermining confidence 'root and branch' in episcopal government with tales of 'Idoll, idle or scandalous' clerics formerly condoned by bishops (See the opening page in Fig. 1). Significantly Wilson tops the list. Some of the charges are familiar, so that Wilson was a 'great drinker' who preached that 'Parliament are rebels' because all subjects were bound to obey the king's command, 'whether it be good or evill'. Apart from his alehouse haunting and Royalism, Wilson's anti-Calvinism is also censured. This was in respect to baptism which he stated, 'utterly taketh away original sinne, and that the sinnes committed after baptism are only by imitation, not by naturall corruption', meaning the sacrament was universally regenerative, not just for the elect. Apparently, this enabled him to baptise a bastard child without scruple, while Wilson also enjoined images in churches and praying with beads. However, rather more astonishing is the opening accusation that Wilson 'in most beastly manner, divers times attempted to commit buggery with Nathaniell Brown, Samuel Andrewes and Robert Williams his parishioners', so by 'perswasions and violence' they 'might make up his number eightene', besides attempting to bugger a mare, for as he 'openly affirmed' buggery is 'no sinne'. Here we have a venal absolutist, idolater and sodomite, rolled into an inversion of the ideal pastor. For rather than strive to save his parishioners' souls, Wilson sought to condemn his flock, the curious 'number eightene' most likely alluding to the eighteen victims 'upon whom the tower in Siloam fell' as evoked by Christ in

Luke 13: 4. Christ's point was that the casualties of Siloam were killed by accident and not providential design upon their failing to repent. Similarly, Wilson's parishioners were entirely innocent of the reported shame brought upon Arlington by their minister and his 'evill and justly offensive' ecclesiastical superiors, as denigrated by White.⁷

Near contemporaries, and historians since, have tussled over interpreting such allegations, the most obvious approach being to reject them outright as propagandist fiction, fabricated by White and his fellow committee men. For example, John Walker in his equally propagandist account of clergy sufferings, dismissed such charges as



Fig 1. Seventeenth-century sensationalism, John Wilson's profile in John White's *Century* (1643).

‘altogether forgeries’. Echoing Walker, Fiona McCall has recently criticised the editorial processes behind *Century*, highlighting how White distorted complaints to make them appear more repugnant to his readers.⁸ Indeed, accusations of sexual impropriety served as a convenient means to slander Laudian and/or Royalist clergy. Tales of incontinency and dissipation fill a quarter of the hundred profiles given – including three out of the seven Sussex clerics mentioned – although Wilson’s charges stand out both for claiming buggery and for specifically naming wronged parties. For this reason alone, historians of sexuality are more receptive to the allegations, inferring genuine sexual preferences from them. However, whether Wilson can be clearly identified in an ‘essentialist’ way as a Stuart homosexual, is challenged by a ‘constructionist’ argument which sees sodomy accusations as distinct from a well-defined sexual identity yet to be fashioned.⁹ Certainly, Tudors and Stuarts understood sodomy in broad terms as both a moral transgression and criminal offence. If we turn to Sir Edward Coke for a contemporary legal definition, ‘buggery or sodomy’ was perceived as a ‘detestable and abominable sin among Christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge against the ordinance of the creator and order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast’. Carnal knowledge entailed *penetratio res in re* or ‘thing in thing’ ‘the least penetration’. But intention derived as much from ‘pride, excess of diet, idleness, and contempt of the poor’ as it did from promiscuity, meaning sodomy was a manifestation of any number of compulsions labelled as sinful and unnatural.¹⁰ Potentially, any could be ensnared by such gross sin, so sodomy was not associated with the sexual behaviour of a specific group.

To support this point, recorded cases of sodomy tried by the criminal courts were very few in number, reflecting disinterest in persecuting a targeted ‘type’, but also something that is readily explained by Coke’s caveat that ‘both the agent and the consentient are felons’. Recipients of the act were equally liable to be prosecuted. Since, under the 1534 ‘Act for the Punishment of the Vice of Buggery’ – re-enacted in 1563 – the statutory punishment for sodomy was hanging, accusers would be implicating themselves in a capital crime.¹¹ Deliberate concealment may account for a paucity of criminal proceedings. At the same time, as Tim

Hitchcock reminds us, contemporaries did not necessarily associate same-gender intimacy with sodomitical deviance, in part because the sexual economy of the time was more pre-occupied with regulating extra-marital reproductive sex – and the risk of illegitimate children – than with policing non-reproductive sexual behaviour, including between men. Indeed, early modern society could esteem male friendship as a means to advancement, allowing for intimacy both emotional and physical that was entirely platonic.¹² If so, this begs the questions, apropos John Wilson, when did intimacy transgress perceived boundaries, in other words what was Wilson’s reprehensible act? Here it is telling that the cleric was accused of ‘attempting’ buggery. Certainly, this ensured that named parishioners would not incriminate themselves, but it leaves room for speculation over the ‘attempt’ and much can be inferred that is hard to substantiate.

A more fruitful way forward is to look for other meanings available to readers of *Century*. In particular, by insinuating sodomy, John White was simply locating sexual deviance within a wider mesh of anti-Papal prejudice instantly recognisable by the mid-17th century. The slur or imagined link between Popery and sodomy was discernible in the formative stages of the English Reformation. As such it became a fixation in reformed polemic, particularly in the writings of John Bale, so that Popery and sodomy were connected together as two corrupting influences that might seduce unwary Protestants.¹³ Similar odium was applied to other threats to religious unity, such as ‘libertine’ sects during the 1650s and in the Restoration. Readers of *Century* were therefore attuned to coupling sodomy and Popery, especially during a crisis; for example, the convergence had underpinned ‘patriotic’ libels attacking the Jacobean court during the Spanish match.¹⁴ If any needed reminding, they had only to look at two sensational scandals of the previous decade. The first was the infamous Castlehaven case of 1631, in which Mervyn Touchet, second earl of Castlehaven, was executed for sodomising two servants, even assisting one of them in the rape of his wife. The trial raised issues of domestic and social disorder. However, subsequent retelling in 1643 focused attention on the late earl’s crypto-Catholic beliefs as the cause of his depravity, which reductive version suited Parliament’s purpose in caricaturing aristocratic cavaliers as unprincipled Papists. More significant, since it concerned a

clergyman, was the case of John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in Ireland. Atherton's trial and execution for committing sodomy with his steward proved a gift to 'root and branch' abolitionists in the Long Parliament, equally incensed by the Laudian Church's 'Popish' innovations. An anonymous set of 'Observations' put it bluntly. Arguing that the episcopate had made concessions to Papists, it added that 'when bishops should be condemned for the sin of sodomy, it is time for the Church to look into and suppress them'.¹⁵ Similar moral outrage permeated *Century's* attack on John Wilson, another reputedly disgraced agent of lordly prelates.

JOHN WILSON'S BACKGROUND

However, can we say with certainty that Wilson was an anti-Calvinist, still less an ardent Laudian ceremonialist in the 1630s, let alone a sodomite? Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, Wilson did not publish a defence against White's charges. However a surviving family archive, deposited in the British Library, allows us to reconstruct John Wilson's background and career.¹⁶ Needless to say, this source paints a more attractive picture of the cleric than that provided by *Century*. Born by his own account in 1602 in Fletching, Sussex and baptised there in 1604, John was the second of six siblings – Charles, John, William, Thomas, Francis, and Cassandra – of John Wilson senior and Mary, daughter of Thomas Gardiner 'master of the fines office' (Fig. 2). Charles died in 1621, which left John junior heir to his father's estate.¹⁷

John senior, a native of Tockwith near York and a barrister, came to Sussex in 1589 in the service of Sir Richard Leeche of Fletching. Leeche's widow Charity re-married Charles Howard, future second earl of Nottingham. This meant that Wilson entered the service of the Howards, acting as their legal agent in Sussex and Surrey, while investing in property as well as the iron industry, to operate a furnace at Hartfield. As a result, he held local office, first as subsidy collector for Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings Rapes, before joining the county bench in 1633. He also upgraded his seat to Sheffield House in Fletching with its 'Gallery, great Chamber, Gardens and walkes', leased from Charles Howard. At his death in 1641, he left his widow annuities from rents in Chailey and Hartfield, as well as £350 cash bequests to his five remaining children, gifts

commensurate with his status as an armigerous 'esquire'.¹⁸

Besides the Howard link, the Wilsons also moved in the circle of George, Lord Goring, later earl of Norwich, of Hurstpierpoint. Wilson's daughter Cassandra married Ralph Beard, Goring's secretary, but more importantly, Francis Wilson, the youngest son became a professional soldier in the service of Goring's son, also George, in the Dutch war against Spain.¹⁹ Ties with the Gorings may have helped shape the Wilson family's Royalism during the Civil War. Francis, who fought for the king at Edgehill, was subsequently captured by Parliament and imprisoned in the Gatehouse where he died in 1658. The third son, William, who purchased Eastbourne Place, was also suspected of Royalist plotting during the Interregnum. In 1660, he could show his true colours by proclaiming Charles II's restoration with a wine-fuelled bonfire celebration on the Downs, which sign of loyalty helped him secure a baronetcy. Finally, we have, according to *Century*, John Wilson's preaching absolute obedience to the monarch.²⁰

If the Wilsons' political alignment is easy to trace, what of their overriding religious outlook, which they would have defined as conforming to the established Church of England, but conforming to what? If John Wilson senior's views set the tone, he appears as a conventional Calvinist. At least to judge from his will, he expressed hope that his 'sinful soul' would surely enter the 'heavenly Jerusalem there to remain with the blessed saintes world without end'.²¹ Family correspondence confirms that Wilson intended to raise his children as orthodox Protestants. This was certainly the case with John, who emerges as the most academic of his siblings and the recipient of a glowing report from the master of Tonbridge School attesting to his 'understanding and memory being such as I would not desire to deale with a better'. His father's choice of tutor is equally revealing. Thus John Wilson junior was placed in the care of John Hatley, long-standing vicar of Wadhurst since 1604, who as a respected Jacobean pastor would not have immersed his pupils in maverick theology.²² Instead, Hatley trailed his charge around 'many conferences' and 'exercises and disputations' of 'greatest moment' in Sussex clerical households, expounding upon his 'great Beza's testament', solidly annotated with Calvinist exegesis.²³

Wilson matriculated as a pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1621, proceeding to BA in

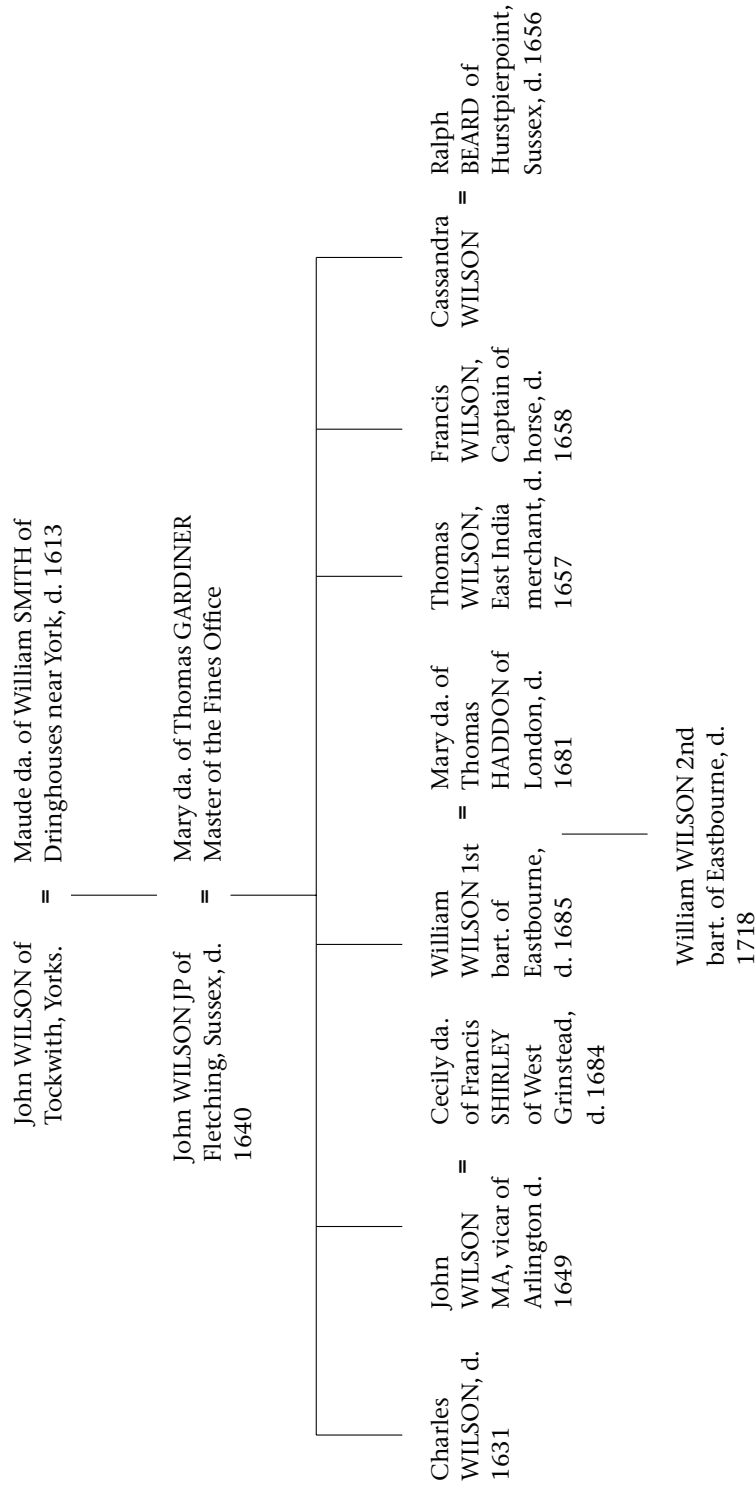


Fig 2. Wilson family tree.

1625 and MA in 1628, whereupon he informed his father 'whereas you suppose I doe not intend to be a divine, I nowe professe I mind nothing more', which led him to ordination from Thomas Dove, bishop of Peterborough.²⁴ The impression so far is an earnest and devout young man entirely orthodox in outlook. Whether Wilson was drawn to anti-Calvinist views at Cambridge, espoused by his college master John Richardson in the 1620s, is not conveyed in his correspondence to his father. If anything, he was squeamish about the 'many papisticall bookes' circulating within the university.²⁵ More certain, however, is that through his college he met his future wife, Cecily, sister of Thomas Shirley, fellow of Trinity. In 1628, a marriage settlement was devised. Cecily would wed John on condition that his father found him a benefice worth £100 *per annum*, from which an annuity of £40 could be conferred on the Shirleys. In the event, a living of this value was not forthcoming. Instead, the annuity was supplemented from rents in Fletching, while John Wilson had to make do with Arlington, into which he was instituted in 1630.²⁶ It remained his only cure. Although John Wilson of Arlington has been conflated with a cleric of the same name who held Peasmarsh, 1629–35, since the latter had children by his wife Susanna, we can safely assume we are dealing with two individuals.²⁷

We can now pause and say something about Wilson's patron to this living, Anthony Hugget MA, who would become another influence in his life. Arlington advowson was owned by the canons of Woodhorne prebend in Chichester Cathedral, who preferred to lease their patronage rights, including to Hugget in 1630. But Hugget was familiar with Wilson beforehand. Again, the Howard connection is relevant because Hugget had served as chaplain to William, Lord Effingham, brother to the second earl of Nottingham, while evidence also points to Hugget as undergoing the same Calvinist rearing as Wilson.²⁸ Indeed, to suggest that Hugget received an evangelical upbringing is perhaps an understatement since his father, Anthony senior, was a persistent nonconformist as curate of Northill, Bedfordshire. Finally suspended from Northill in 1605, Anthony senior later resided until his death in 1624 at Horne, Surrey, incidentally a chapel of Bletchingley in the gift of the Lords Effingham, where another of his sons, baptised Godsgift and Latinised as 'Donumdei' came to hold the cure. Such naming with 'godly signification' was indicative of

forward Protestantism, matched in Hugget senior's case by a bequest of 'Calvins Institutions' in his will.²⁹

Anthony junior was collated to St Thomas at Cliffe, Lewes, in 1611, and Glynde in 1616, yet experience of both hardened him into an authoritarian figure, a transformation explained in structural terms in that both livings lay within the peculiar of South Malling, subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury as administered from Hugget's church of Cliffe by successive deans and their surrogates. To supplement his income, from February 1622 Hugget himself became surrogate to the peculiar court, which meant he could discipline his parishioners directly, thereby causing friction among his two flocks.³⁰ Being based in Lewes, he also acted from November 1629 as surrogate to the archdeacon of Lewes, enabling him to become a redoubtable dispenser of ecclesiastical justice in east Sussex, a region described as 'virtually autonomous' from the diocesan seat at Chichester and therefore in need of closer judicial management.³¹

Hugget certainly rose to the challenge, made more urgent by the entrenched Puritanism within both of his cures, and across Lewes Archdeaconry as a whole. At Cliffe, a particular *bête noire* was William Pennel, who in 1603 had been active in collecting signatures for a petition – part of a three-pronged campaign by the gentry, ministry and commonality of Sussex – to James I, calling for freedom from an insufficient ministry and the ecclesiastical courts, the 'two evils which continually harme us'. A habitual 'gadder' to sermons at other parishes, Pennell sat out services at Cliffe in his hat. In turn Hugget denied him access to the sacrament unless he first learnt to recite the Prayer Book catechism, leading to heated exchanges. 'If his tongue were out of his head all the land would be better for it', opined another parishioner about Hugget to the minister's face.³² At Glynde, Hugget had to contend with Robert Morley, sometime county sheriff, whose father William had been a Marian exile and whose half-brother Herbert signed the gentry petition of 1603. This called for an end to the 'hott urging of ceremonies' contrary to the 'prescript of gods word'.³³ Morley with his nephew and neighbour Herbert Hay of Glyndebourne, boycotted Hugget's sermons, preferring to seek spiritual comfort at Ringmer under John Sadler, father-in-law to John Harvard, of Harvard College fame.³⁴ Hugget felt the

competition keenly. This was particularly so after Morley became a trustee for another godly project, the re-edifying of South Malling church sited next to Cliffe parish. Building work was completed in 1628. At this point the trustees appointed Mascall Gyles, an irascible dissenter over bowing at the name of Jesus, to the curacy. Gyles attracted an audience including folk from Cliffe, so it was time for Hugget to exercise clerical patronage of his own.³⁵

THE SETTING

Wilson's appointment to Arlington, which lay within Pevensey Deanery and Lewes Archdeaconry, was both political and pastoral. Hugget therefore sought to plant a like-minded conformist in an area of Sussex recognised for its Protestant nonconformity, while Hugget was well placed to buttress his protégé's first ministry with court sanction if required, since Arlington was a demanding posting for a green divine fresh out of Cambridge. Like all parishes, it possessed its own unique challenges, which were partly to do with topography. Writing in 1835, Thomas Walker Horsfield described Arlington as a 'straggling and extensive parish', eight miles in length, being roughly divided by the Cuckmere as it flowed south-west from the Weald across the Downs. The church was located in the township of Arlington at a point where the Lewes to Pevensey road forded the river. However, this site was not convenient

for all parishioners, a number of whom inhabited the scattered settlement of Dicker Common, two miles to the north and closer to Hellingly and Chiddingly, where spiritual needs had been served by the Augustine priory at Michelham, dissolved at the Reformation. To the south, the parish extended to Milton Street by Wilmington on the Downs. From here, even determined churchgoers faced a five-mile round trip, while the journey could be hampered since the Cuckmere was prone to flooding along the alluvial belt bordering the Downland, further hindering regular church attendance.³⁶

Much like other Stuart parishes, Arlington was home to both saints and sinners, with a broad spectrum of confessional outlook. At one end was the Catholic recusant household, until his death in 1624, of Thomas Tindall 'gentleman', who sponsored his son Edward's training abroad to be a seminary priest.³⁷ But at the other end we find a sufficiently godly core which helped fashion Arlington church into a reformed preaching space (Figs 3a, 3b and 4). If names of 'godly signification' are taken as a clear expression of Puritan 'culture', a trickle of ten such names can be extracted from the surviving parish register to 1640, which beginning in 1607 records burials of an earlier Elizabethan generation baptised with pious titles, although Aid-on-High and Hate-ill Vinall were baptised in 1631 and 1635 respectively.³⁸ Testamentary evidence yields further pious names. For example, Thankful Foote – who died in 1626 – and his sister Zealous's



Fig 3. Photographs of Arlington church taken prior to restoration work in 1891–3. These images capture the whitewashed interior of an open preaching space created after the Reformation, familiar to Stephen Turner, William Knight and Caleb Burdett. The west gallery and box pews are of later 18th-century date. (ESRO, PAR 232/4/1/8, reproduced by kind permission of East Sussex Record Office.)



Fig 4. Arlington church in 2015, exterior looking west (photograph by Elaine Rogers).

ancestors had long lived in Arlington, Edward Foote having been the last bailiff of Michelham Priory.³⁹ Yet other worthies, not endowed with godly titles, were singled out as devout. John Clifton, a kinsman of the Footes and head of another Arlington family, upon his death in 1613 was praised in the parish register for maintaining a religious household.⁴⁰

However, setting the pace and direction of reformed faith was the clergy. In this respect, John Wilson's immediate predecessors were certainly colourful, beginning with the most militant, Stephen Turner, who came to Arlington in 1576 and was duly indicted at the assizes for refusing to wear a surplice. Suspended in 1584, Turner finally resigned in 1591, engineering a handover to his 'proctor' and 'auncient approved' friend William Knight.⁴¹ Knight was of the same godly stamp, since in 1603 he was identified as a drafter and promoter of the Sussex ministers' petition, turning Arlington into a Puritan campaign hub where, according to the bishop of Chichester's hostile report, 'multitudes held conventicles' and people were encouraged to subscribe 'under a blind zeale of reformation'. The same occurred within the district at Hellingly under

its pastor John Warren.⁴² At Chiddingly, Knight's confrere John Bingham, self-proclaimed 'minister of the word of God', was also involved, although he retained his living when both Knight and Warren were deprived during the drive for clerical subscription in 1604–5.⁴³

Within Arlington, Stephen Turner's transition to William Knight was supervised by the local squire Herbert Pelham. Resident at Michelham Priory between 1587 and 1601, he acquired the patronage rights to Arlington, refusing to admit any in Turner's place 'unless intimation' were first made to him.⁴⁴ Pelham has been judged a Catholic by virtue of his first marriage to Catherine Thatcher whose father John was a recusant. However, we may note that Pelham's brother-in-law William Morley was a Marian exile, while his second wife Elizabeth West was of similar reformed outlook, being daughter to Thomas West, second baron de la Warr, and Anne, daughter of the decidedly godly Sir Francis Knollys, cousin to Queen Elizabeth.⁴⁵ They were married at the West family seat at Wherwell, Hampshire, in 1594. A year previously the vicar there, Stephen Batchelor, had been investigated by the Privy

Council for a 'lewd' sermon 'tending seditiously to the derogation of her Maiesties government', and he too would be deprived in 1605.⁴⁶ Thomas, third baron de la Warr, Pelham's brother-in-law, succeeded to the title in 1602. Significantly, both assumed a conspicuous lead in the Sussex gentry petition to James I, but they were equally busy organising local ministers as Sussex clergy were mustered by Mr Erburie 'theire generall', who is identifiable as Anthony Erbury, rector of Wherwell the home to the de la Warrs.⁴⁷ Pelham and West strove to shape the Cuckmere valley into a base of Puritan agitation.

Such activity may have been a distant memory by the time of John Wilson's arrival in 1630, and indeed, Herbert Pelham had vacated the parish after becoming heavily indebted, eventually resettling in Fordington Dorset, albeit continuing to press for further reformation as MP for Reigate. He daringly promoted a petition charging Archbishop Bancroft with treason. On the other hand, Herbert's son John remained in Arlington with his wife Katherine *née* Yardley, 'a woman that truly feared God and eschewed evill', as her burial entry in the parish register testifies. John Pelham lived on until 1641, surely keeping the spirit of reform alive in Arlington.⁴⁸ In this task, he was aided by his illustrious cousin, Thomas Pelham, first baronet of Laughton and Halland in East Hoathly, and the wealthiest man in early Stuart Sussex. 'Who may in all your country say better than you, my shepheard is the Lorde, his rod and his staff comfort me?' So began an effusive dedication to Thomas Pelham by Edward Topsell, former rector of East Hoathly and a divine keen to play to a godly audience, who praised Pelham's pious house, more than vainly adorned with 'sutes, rapiers and spurs, gaming and playing scores'.⁴⁹ Pelham too was a force for driving the Gospel forward. He subscribed to the 1603 petition, and later defended preachers from indictment at the assizes for non-conformity, but of more importance, he sponsored another great bastion of godly learning, a public lecture, at Lewes.⁵⁰ Details are sketchy. Yet we know that the post was held by Anthony Laphorne, a truculent nonconformist who was suspended in May 1623.⁵¹ Upon his death in 1624, Pelham passed the mantle of godly patron to his son, Thomas, second baronet, who continued to fund the Lewes lecture. In this he was joined by his cousin Anthony Stapley of Patcham, a future regicide, who was also Herbert Pelham's nephew

and guardian to Robert Morley's son. With Morley, Stapley acted as trustee for South Malling church, and he would expose John Wilson later on.⁵²

If this seems tangential, there was a consequence of so much Pelham influence over Arlington, since the family undertook to shape the parish's religious identity following William Knight's ejection in 1605. Thus Thomas Pelham, first baronet, worked assiduously to find a suitable successor. Having taken a lease of the advowson, and insisting on a year's trial period as curate, Pelham presented a 40-year-old native of Barcombe called Caleb Burdett to the vicarage. He was to remain incumbent for 23 years until his death in 1629. While Burdett avoided provocation with the ecclesiastical authorities – a condition of his appointment – he was one of the godly, warning his son to execute his estate 'knowing that God's blessing shall rest upon the righteous'.⁵³ Similarly, the new minister was associated with William Knight who stayed in Arlington as farmer of the parsonage. Knight continued in the service of the Gospel in other ways, most notably by publishing an exhaustive 606-page Biblical digest – 'ever to the weakening of his sight' – which aimed to guide fellow ministers in 'building of the Lords house among us'.⁵⁴ Presumably, Burdett also drew inspiration from this practical preaching manual. In 1616, he witnessed Knight's will prior to officiating at the burial of Stephen Vinall, 'sometime pastor of Steyning', whom Knight counted as 'cousin' and named his overseer. Vinall had suffered the same fate of deprivation in 1605.⁵⁵ So under the Pelhams' protection and Caleb Burdett's pastoral care, Arlington became a refuge for dispossessed clergy, and frustration over ejection must have been shared by local laity. Indeed some remembered the preachers in their wills.⁵⁶ Similarly Stephen Vinall had a younger kinsman, Theodore, a hosier by trade who also assisted Caleb Burdett by keeping a school in Arlington church.⁵⁷ His unlicensed teaching became a cause of concern for local ecclesiastical authorities.

For a vehement conformist such as Anthony Hugget, aspects of Arlington's religious life were out of order, and ready for a younger energetic cleric, such as John Wilson, to regulate. Certainly Wilson was the parish's first university-educated incumbent, late in the day, in 1630. However, if the Lewes Archdeaonry act books are a guide, reforming ardour was delayed until two years into Wilson's ministry when, in the wake of an episcopal

visitation and probably upon goading by Hugget, Wilson began to discipline his cure. First Theodore Vinall was detected for his unlicensed teaching. Then the churchwardens were presented for failing to furnish a communion carpet and 'a decent cushion or cloth for the pulpit'. The surplice was not in 'decent order'. More depressing was the parlous font which 'will not hold water, but we are sayd to use a bason (which at all other tymes I doe wash hands in) for that sacred use.'⁵⁸ Such evocation of ceremonialist language was an unsettling novelty to Arlington's godly.

SCANDAL AND THE GODLY

Given Wilson's officious spurt, allegations of sexual impropriety could seem a deliberate smear by parishioners who, accustomed to a more evangelical milieu, were anxious to be rid of an importunate cleric. This may have been so, but not entirely. The first documented whiff of scandal came in February 1633 when one of the churchwardens, Thomas Jorden, informed the archdeaconry court that 'George Clark late of our parish hath reported that John Wilson clerk did offer to have buggered him' which report was 'renowned' within the parish. Anthony Hugget, as surrogate, moved swiftly to contain slanderous talk. The same month Wilson was made to purge himself before his erstwhile patron at Arlington church, although witnesses to his oath comprised sympathetic local clergy headed by Richard Rootes, vicar of the Wilson family seat at Fletching and John Wilson senior's 'kind and loving friend'. More testy, perhaps, was John Edshawe, rector of Chailey. Later he would distinguish himself upon resisting arrest by Parliamentarian troops, first 'with his cane', then with a hedging bill 'thrown him by a neighbour', which sliced off a soldier's thumb. Not surprisingly, accusations were dismissed and Wilson continued in his ministry.⁵⁹ (Further information on Wilson's clerical supporters is provided in Table 1.)

Arlington, like every early modern parish was receptive to rumours – a euphemistic 'public fame' – although in this instance the original reporter, George Clark, remains elusive within the historical record. Thomas Jorden 'gentleman' was another slippery character. Despite being churchwarden, he was reluctant if not negligent, habitually being absent from worship at Arlington with various excuses, such as the 'atrocious and foule weather'.

Previously, members of his family were indicted for recusancy. But living at Milton Street, he doubtless preferred the shorter journey to Wilmington where the family had its 'sepulchre' and where Jorden's children were baptised.⁶⁰ His detection of attempted buggery could be construed as a ploy to distract Wilson from demanding church repairs. At the very least, that the citation came from Jorden permitted Wilson and his confreres to reject allegations as lacking credibility, which should have been the end of the matter with the clergy closing ranks to stifle malicious gossip. Jorden duly conformed to his duty over the font.⁶¹

However, once begun, rumours were hard to suppress, and clearly whatever happened between them, George Clark was adamant he had been wronged by Wilson and wanted justice. We can infer this from a curious deposition among the Wilson papers, dated October 1635. The informant this time was a servant and parishioner of John Wilson called William Chapman, who related a conspiratorial conversation at the White Horse Inn in Lewes, where he was invited by George Clark and Dyn Hanson to drink and 'he inferred speak with him' in private. Clark fell into 'prating words' about Wilson that they had all 'served him'. Hanson then divulged further remarks about their master, suggesting that Chapman too 'could speak as many if he would faire able him' since it would 'be worth £20 a piece'. Chapman was hazy on details of these 'words'. But he was convinced that an inducement was on offer to slander Wilson, which he declared was surprising since 'Mr Wilson did never use or offer any uncivill behaviour to me in all the time I served him or at any time sithence.' Clark and Hanson had attempted to coax the wrong man.⁶² (Wilson's named accusers and witnesses are listed in Table 2.)

Several questions emerge from this encounter. First, who was Dyn Hanson and, secondly, what did he hope to achieve by being in league with Clark? Thirdly who was putting up the £20 apiece for information? Further correspondence within the Wilson archive helps us to answer the first question, since Dyn – or Dennis – Hanson is identifiable as the curate of Newick, the neighbouring parish to Fletching.⁶³ Quite why he turned rumourmonger is unclear. The evidence reveals more about efforts at damage control by Wilson's clerical supporters, Anthony Huggett and Richard Rootes, who sent a report upon cornering Hanson in his father's shop

Table 1. List of known clerical supporters of John Wilson, 1633–40, together with their livings

Name	Living(s)	Dates	Evidence from
BURTON, Edward DD	Sedlescombe (rectory) Westham (vicarage) Broadwater (rectory)	1628–40 resigned 1638–? but no record of sequestration 1646–61 died	TNA, SP 16/442/137 (also father-in-law of John Wilson's brother William)
DOE, Thomas MA	Newick (rectory) Brighton (vicarage)	1613–53 died 1622–53 died (Brighton Parish Register)	BL, Add MS 49605, f. 79
EDSAWE or EDSHAW, John MA	Chailey (rectory)	1621–46 sequestered	WSRO, Ep II/9/20, f. 139
HUGGETT, Anthony MA	St Thomas at Cliffe (rectory) Glynde (vicarage)	1611–43 sequestered 1616–43 sequestered	BL, Add MS 49605, f. 75 (also presented John Wilson to Arlington)
INIANS, James MA	Streate (rectory) St Anne, Lewes (rectory) East Grinstead (vicarage)	1626–35 resigned 1626–42 died 1637–42 died (East Grinstead Parish Register)	WSRO, Ep II/9/20, f. 139
OLDFIELD, Thomas MA	Chalvington (rectory) Maresfield (rectory)	1628–55 died 1639–46 sequestered	WSRO, Ep II/9/20, f. 139
ROOTES, Richard BA	Fletching (vicarage)	1619–50 died (Fletching Parish Register)	WSRO, Ep II/9/20, f. 139 BL, Add MS 49605, f. 76

Table 2. Named accusers and witnesses against John Wilson from the family archive and Quarter Sessions records.

Name	Status / occupation	Residence
BROWNE, Andrew	Parish clerk	Arlington
CLARKE, George	Parishioner	Arlington
CLIFTON?	Parishioner	Arlington
HANSON, Dennis or Dyn	Clerk and curate	Newick
HAY, Herbert	Gentleman and JP	Glynde
JORDEN, Thomas	Gentleman and churchwarden of Arlington	Wilmington
PELHAM, Thomas	2nd Baronet and JP	Halland and Laughton
SICKLEMORE, Thomas	Tailor and parishioner	Arlington
STAPLEY, Anthony	Gentleman and JP	Patcham
WILLIAMS, Robert	Parishioner	Arlington

in Cliffe where he was sternly admonished. Hugget found Hanson's utterances a 'thing of nothing', the rant of 'a drunken foole', while Rootes had knowledge of the 'fowle words' spoken by Hanson at Halland. Another minister pressed into service was Thomas Doe, Hanson's vicar at Newick, who took Hanson to task 'as if the matter had concerned my own brother', forcing Hanson to confess and backtrack that 'he spoke such words, but they nothing concerne Mr Wilson.' Doe signed-off with a glowing character testimony, 'Mr Wilson is my loving friend. I love and respect him.'⁶⁴

As to Hanson's motives, they may have been partly financial. His presence at Halland is revealing since this was Sir Thomas Pelham's seat, and the Pelhams retained an interest in the spiritual wellbeing of Arlington. The trail leads to Pelham

as potential sponsor of the reward money. Perhaps Hanson, however the Wilson camp dismissed him as a drunken liar, hoped for Pelham patronage in this affair, since he was certainly God-fearing, trusting his soul to be 'layd by his power through faith by salvation' in his will.⁶⁵ If this presses conspiracy too far, the godly were taking allegations of sodomy against Wilson very seriously. This was understandable given as they would have interpreted events, a supposed 'whitewash' by the church courts of a matter of public morality, but the timing was ripe to uncover clerical sex scandal. July 1635 had seen Archbishop Laud's metropolitical visitation and with it the controversial 'altar policy', already in situ at Anthony Hugget's church at Cliffe.⁶⁶ Whether John Wilson was a zealous proponent of altar worship, and there is no record

of him enforcing this through the archdeaconry court, his close ties with ultra-conformists like Hugget made Wilson a handy target for a critique of Laudian innovation, one that could pair idolatry with sodomitical behaviour. Wilson was becoming a local *cause célèbre*.

We see this most clearly in further depositions, in abstract, among the Wilson papers, dated October 1636, and endorsed 'witnesses about my brother Wilson's business'. Testimonies were taken on oath, most likely by JPs out-of-sessions. Clearly, they were recorded by a sympathiser, who skewed the statements to imply collusion and manipulation, especially by 'Mr Hayes' who 'stirred-up witnesses to speake against Mr Wilson', and this was surely Herbert Hay of Glyndebourne, whom we have met as one of Anthony Hugget's antagonists. Hay had been appointed Justice for Pevensey Rape that year, and so wanted to make his mark and possibly embarrass Hugget by investigating Wilson. Moreover, his role as protagonist is confirmed in that the evidence was 'proved' by his daughter Elizabeth, while we know that Hay held 'divers parcels of land in Arlington' making him well placed to quiz Wilson's parishioners. He became a colleague of Thomas Pelham and Anthony Stapley.⁶⁷

The extent to which Hay managed proceedings is indicated by the sources interviewed, some of whom were not altogether reputable and seemingly indulged in mischief. Such was Thomas Sicklemore. As he boasted, he had been invited privately to Mr Wilson's 'and sett some to be in a corner and hee to crie out', but he was no great wit. Earlier he had been cited in the church court for, in his own words, 'going a whore hunting'. Apparently, he lusted after Elizabeth Thornicroft, whom he upbraided as 'a whore' and 'all the country knows what shee is and what a bad report shee hath had.' Sicklemore's host was indignant. Asked why he defamed Elizabeth, he pondered 'the more he spoke against her, the sooner he would have her.' On oath he retracted his statement about Wilson and denied the offending 'act'.⁶⁸ Rather less mischievous but with more malicious intent were two parish worthies, firstly Andrew Browne, the parish clerk, who convinced his brother 'to swear that Mr Wilson would have buggered Chapman', presumably the loyal servant approached a year before. The second, Robert Williams, believed that three or four others 'would get Mr Wilson to do the act to hang him'.⁶⁹ Browne too tried to encourage one Mabbe to come forward

by offering him a year's free work if 'he would witness against Mr Wilson that he should bugger him or some other body.' Mabbe was an appealing witness to Herbert Hay who 'could certifie him more of Mr Wilson than any other' possibly because Mabbe had a first name Freegift singling him out among the godly.⁷⁰

Central to this is, not whether the allegations were true, rather that Hay and his circle felt they could capitalise upon them. While the evidence was not substantial enough to secure a formal indictment, Puritans among the magistracy positioned themselves around the Wilson scandal since it confirmed their fears about the Church's corrupting and idolatrous nature. However, critics who thought the allegations groundless or framed malevolently duly aligned themselves against the godly and – as they saw it – Puritan opposition. John Wilson's father, also a JP who had his family's reputation to defend, made his political sympathies clear at the 1637 sessions when he presented 'one Treepe' of West Hoathly for seditious words that 'there was none served the king but rogues.'⁷¹ Another foe of the godly was Dr Edward Burton of Eastbourne. As a clerical JP, and John Wilson senior's brother-in-law upon his stepdaughter's marriage to William Wilson, Burton entreated Archbishop Laud in July 1640 to arrange a judicial enquiry into irregularities on the bench. As he lamented, the 'Puritan faction' had grown bold in east Sussex. By 'swaying of temporal affayres in open sessions their own way with difference and distinction between other men and those of their own character', Burton 'could no longer endure the country'. He named among 'ringleaders' Herbert Hay and Anthony Stapley, soon to become county MP to the Long Parliament with Thomas Pelham.⁷²

But time was running out for Burton and for John Wilson junior, who had survived rumours of sexual scandal, incredibly assuming a place on the county bench following his father's death in 1641. At this point, he overplayed his hand. In July 1642 he informed the bench of seditious words from one of his parishioners, Samuel Andrewes, who argued that king Charles was 'not of Gods anointed for God did not anoint him' so 'the king had no power from God to make laws'.⁷³ Wilson employed the same tactics used against him in 1636, attempting to press for a formal indictment and a test case. However, it backfired spectacularly once Anthony Stapley and Herbert Hay examined Andrewes, a

literate and politically articulate tailor who was associated with John Pelham at Arlington, to reveal his side of a heated exchange with his vicar.⁷⁴ Most incriminating for Wilson was his alleged retort to Andrewes that 'if the king commanded images to be sett up in church to be worshipped we ought to follow it' out of obedience. 'It is no marvel that thou art a rebel, the parliament are rebels and do rebel against the king setting forth laws contrary to his will', chided Wilson, surely with reference to the recently issued Nineteen Proposition, which had demanded all affairs of state be debated in Parliament.⁷⁵ Wilson's opinions were seen as inflammatory by Stapley and Hay, who bound him over as a barrater, or instigator of needless law suits. It is likely that Stapley communicated Wilson's damning words to John White, since acquiescence to image worship corroborated what Sussex Puritans had already said about the cleric, that he was a deviant sinner and sodomite.⁷⁶ John White easily mingled these recent sessions' proceedings with former sexual scandal in his caricature. Similarly, Samuel Andrewes was named alongside an earlier informant Andrew – mis-transcribed Nathaniel – Browne as well as Robert Williams, as victims of Wilson's attempted transgressions. Inevitably, a vote was taken in the Commons to sequester Wilson. In his place John Manning, a 'godly learned and orthodox divine', was appointed while Wilson died intestate at Fletching in November 1649, his widow re-marrying and living on until 1684.⁷⁷

CONCLUSION

So there we have John Wilson, maligned by parish gossip, informed upon by an absentee churchwarden and then broadcast to the nation by a Puritan clique. His story certainly illustrates the tenacity of disgruntled churchgoers in Civil War England to remove unpopular clerics, and the power of rumour in that process. But with Wilson, the animus for allegations of deviance owed as much to the godly magistracy's resolve to legitimise resistance to the Church and the crown. Lloyd Bowen has recently highlighted the importance of clergymen as agents of Royalist propaganda during the crises of 1642, and Wilson's evidence against Samuel Andrewes for sedition was clearly

pitched at gathering support for the Royalist cause in Sussex, already being espoused by Wilson's younger brothers. Stapley, Pelham, Hay and their adherents, while marshalling eastern Sussex for Parliament, had to prevent any such test case being aired publicly.⁷⁸

Here the suppressed sodomy charges came into play once more, since they could be employed to discredit – and discredit utterly – not only Wilson, but the episcopal Church of England that Puritans in Sussex and elsewhere had long confronted. This was not just a short-term strategy cooked-up in 1642. We see in the former attempts to indict John Wilson for sexual impropriety, an organised godly network at work locally and, in the figures of Anthony Stapley and Thomas Pelham sitting on committees to assign preaching ministers, nationally through Parliament. In the accusations levelled in the 1630s, we can also trace the emergence of political divisions. As Thomas Doe remarked, Wilson had his 'enemies', but also his 'good friends' who manoeuvred themselves to preserve the reputation of the established church and its clergy. What became of those friends after the publication of *Century* is another matter. Anthony Hugget suffered similar character assassination in White's polemic, which dwelt on his suspected incontinency, venereal disease and wife-beating, although a year prior to his death Wilson found someone willing to salvage his good name.⁷⁹ This was an incensed anonymous author of a 1648 Royalist tract *Persecutio Undecima*. Rather late in the day, it turned the tables on John White, 'a lyer from the beginning' as well as an adulterer, whose accusations of buggery were outrageous since Wilson 'some years before this Parliament' had been cleared by Sussex Justices 'who sifted out that Puritans' plot against him (as one of those Justices told me)'.⁸⁰ Thus the Sussex clerical scandal and its massaging by the godly helped condition local allegiance, but as a victim of the unfolding drama of Puritan revolution, should we find sympathy for John Wilson?

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Andrew Foster, Daniel Bradshaw and the editor for their helpful and encouraging comments on a draft of this article.

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- ⁷ J. Eales, 'White, John (1590–1645)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) (hereafter ODNB); John White, *The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests Made and Admitted into Benefices by the Prelates* (London, 1643), 1–2. For a broader analysis of familiar charges against clerics in the 1640s see I. Green, 'The persecution of 'scandalous' and 'malignant' parish clergy during the English civil war', *English Historical Review* **94** (1979), 507–53. I owe the reference to Luke 13: 4 to John Farrant.
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- ¹⁰ Edward Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (London, 1644), 58–9.
- ¹¹ Seven indictments for sodomy, six of which were bestiality charges, survive for Elizabethan Sussex. See East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), RYE 8/2, and J. S. Cockburn (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records: Sussex Indictments, Elizabeth I* (London, 1975), 145, 153, 156, 230, 284, 324. County quarter sessions have yielded a single bestiality charge for James I's reign. See West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), QR/WS/4/64, a reference I owe to Janet Pennington.
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- ¹⁸ Blencowe, 10–13; BL, Add MS 49608, ff. 1–2; ESRO, AMS 2765, 2776–8; Fletcher, 353; The National Archives (hereafter TNA), PROB 11/185/188.
- ¹⁹ Blencowe, 18–24, 48; B. Donagan, 'Goring, George, first earl of Norwich (1585–1663)', ODNB; R. Hutton, 'Goring, George, baron Goring (1608–1657)', ODNB.
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- ²² BL, Add.MS. 49605, ff. 3, 17; 'John Hatley (CCed person ID: 70090)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835* <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>, accessed 5 Aug. 2015.
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- ²⁴ *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* iv, 429; BL, Add MS 49605, f. 27.
- ²⁵ N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* (Oxford, 1987), 38–43; BL, Add MS 49605, f. 28.
- ²⁶ BL, Add MS 49608, f. 10; ESRO, SRL 1/6/6–7. Arlington was worth £48 *per annum*, W. K. Ford (ed.), *Chichester Diocesan Surveys 1686 and 1724*, *Sussex Record Society* (hereafter SRS) **78** (1994), 169.
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- ³¹ WSRO, Ep II/9/19, f. 65; A. Foster, 'Chichester diocese in the early seventeenth century', SAC **123** (1985), 187–8.
- ³² Hatfield House, MS 101, f. 160; ESRO, FRE 4223, f. 30; C. Brent, *Pre-Georgian Lewes c890–1714: the Emergence of a County Town* (Lewes, 2004), 294.

- ³³ 'Robert Morley, 1577–1632' <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>> (hereafter *HOPO*), accessed 11 Aug. 2015; ESRO, FRE 4223, f. 25.
- ³⁴ WSRO, Ep V/3/3, f. 110; C. Edick Wright, 'Harvard, John (1607–1638)', *ODNB*.
- ³⁵ Brent, 294–5; WSRO, Ep V/3/3, ff. 112, 121v, 123, 148v.
- ³⁶ T. W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex* (Lewes, 1835), 1: 320; ESRO, ACC 8934/1/4, ff. 1–4, history of Arlington by Elizabeth Doff.
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- ⁴⁰ ESRO, PBT/1/1/14/140B; PAR 232/1/1/1, f. 6.
- ⁴¹ WSRO, Ep II/5/6, f. 40; *Assize Records: Elizabeth I*, 143; J. Goring, 'The reformation of the ministry in Elizabethan Sussex', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983), 362–3; BL, Add MS 39327, f. 139; TNA, PROB 11/124/215.
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- ⁴⁵ 'Herbert Pelham, 1546–1620', *HOPO*, accessed 12 Aug. 2015; J. Frederick Fausz, 'West, Thomas, third baron de la Warr (1577–1618)', *ODNB*; W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Knollys, Francis (1511/12–1596)', *ODNB*.
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- ⁵³ Caleb Burdett (CCed person ID: 74353), accessed 5 Aug. 2015; BL, Add MS 39327, f. 140; ESRO, PBT/1/1/20/199.
- ⁵⁴ TNA, STAC 8/244/15; William Knight, *A Concordance Axiomaticall* (London, 1610), 'Epistle dedicatory' and the work's pastoral endorsement by C. G.
- ⁵⁵ ESRO, PBT/1/1/15/107; PAR 232/1/1/1, f. 8; Fincham, *Prelate*, 324.
- ⁵⁶ ESRO, PBT/1/1/12/283. Vinall was especially frustrated after losing suits to recover tithe owed to Steyning vicarage, TNA, KB 21/3/58, f. 61v.
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- ⁵⁸ K. Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Article and Injunctions - II*, COERS 5 (1998), 31; WSRO, Ep II/9/20, f. 104; 9/21, ff. 2, 8v.
- ⁵⁹ WSRO, Ep II/9/20, ff. 137v, 139; TNA, PROB 11/185/188; A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1988), 355.
- ⁶⁰ WSRO, Ep II/9/21, f. 8v; 9/22, f. 13; 9/23, f. 68; Ep II/15/1, f. 17; *Assize Records: James I*, 11; TNA, PROB 11/54/38; 11/244/345.
- ⁶¹ WSRO, Ep II/9/21, f. 8v.
- ⁶² BL, Add MS 49605, f. 73. WSRO, Ep II/9/21, ff. 63v, 68.
- ⁶³ BL, Add MS 49605, ff. 79, 82; 'Dennis Hanson (CCed person ID: 77298)', accessed 5 Aug. 2015.
- ⁶⁴ BL, Add MS 49605, ff. 75–6, 79; 'Thomas Doe (CCed person ID: 12235)', accessed 5 Aug. 2015.
- ⁶⁵ ESRO, PBT/1/5/121.
- ⁶⁶ This point needs further explanation. Cliffe purchased 'rayles at the communion table' in 1633, although whether at first they enclosed a table set permanently 'altarwise' is unclear. Certainly, at the time of the 1635 visitation and thereafter, we can infer a Laudian arrangement singled out for praise by the Vicar General. ESRO, PAR 415/9/1/1 (1633 accounts); Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Article and Injunctions - II*, 108–9.
- ⁶⁷ BL, Add MS 49605, f. 74; Fletcher, 83, 241, 353; TNA, PROB 11/227/182.
- ⁶⁸ BL, Add MS 49605, f. 74; WSRO, Ep II/5/13, ff. 33r–v.
- ⁶⁹ BL, Add MS 49605, f. 74; ESRO, PAR 232/1/1/1, f. 27.
- ⁷⁰ BL, Add MS 49605, f. 74; ESRO, PBT/1/5/164. Freegift Mabbie married at Arlington in 1619.
- ⁷¹ ESRO, QR/39/2.
- ⁷² Blencowe, 27; TNA, SP 16/442/137; Fletcher, 248–9.
- ⁷³ Fletcher, 353; ESRO, QR/57/63, 65.
- ⁷⁴ Andrewes was literate in that he could sign his name, ESRO, SAS/D/477. His father Christopher named John Pelham overseer of his will, ESRO, PBT/1/1/22/21B.
- ⁷⁵ ESRO, QR/57/60, 62; S. R. Gardener (ed.), *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625–1660* (Oxford, 1906), 249.
- ⁷⁶ B. C. Redwood (ed.), *Quarter Sessions Order Book, 1642–1649*, SRS 54 (1954), 16; J. Peacey (rev.), 'Stapley, Anthony (1590–1655)', *ODNB*.
- ⁷⁷ *Commons' Journal* iii, 271; ESRO, PAR 329/1/1/1, 156; PBT/1/1/36/164B, will of Cecily Wilson *als* Eggesden. John Manning's regard among the local godly can be inferred from a surviving set of notes on his sermons taken by a visitor to Arlington. See ESRO, DUN 52/9/19.
- ⁷⁸ L. Bowen, 'Royalism, print and the clergy in Britain, 1639–1640 and 1642', *Historical Journal* 56 (2013), 297–319; Fletcher, 253–6, 262.
- ⁷⁹ BL, Add MS 49605, f. 79; White, *Century*, 32.
- ⁸⁰ *Persecutio Undecima: or, the Churches Eleventh Persecution* (London, 1648), 26–7.